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Edited by
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C E U

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Cover Illustration
Foresti presents his work to Queen Beatrix of Hungary.
De claris scelestisque mulieribus (Ferrara: Laurentinus de Rubeis, 1497).

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Lectori salutem!

Volume 19 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the Academic Year 2011-2012. As usual, the first section contains articles based on the most innovative MA theses and work by students of the department. This year's thematic block celebrates medieval queens, a subject whose time has come. The block, introduced by Marianne Sághy, contains a discussion on queenship studies by Christopher Mielke, a PhD student in the department, a review article on issues of queens' incomes and power by our alumnus Attila Bárány, and a case study of the political and documentary complexities surrounding Queen Beatrix of Hungary by Valery Rees, recurrent visiting professor, who also provided the cover illustration.

In 2011 CEU and the department co-hosted an important conference on Armenian Studies, which brought together scholars from all over the world. It was organized by István Perczel, ably assisted by our students Sona Grigoryan and Ashkhen Davtyan, our alumna Zaroui Pogossian and our alumnus Kornél Nagy. We present here an introduction to the conference by István Perczel, the opening address by Valentina Calzolari-Bouvier, and the program. The abstracts and other information are available on the website of the CEU Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (http://cems.ceu.hu).

As usual, Part II of the *Annual* provides the Head's Report detailing departmental developments over the last year as well as abstracts of the MA theses and PhD dissertations that were defended during the year. These academic documents and/or their abstracts can also be viewed via the CEU Library website (www.ceu.hu.library.ceu/ETD).

For more information on recent and forthcoming events, particularly our departmental 20th Anniversary celebration, please visit our website at: http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu. Please also follow the events of the department and adventures of our alumni on our Facebook page: Medieval Studies Department.

Finally, we would like to thank everyone who assisted in the production of this volume: Annabella Pál, Theodora Artimon, András Vadas, Christopher Mielke, and Ágnes Havasi.

Budapest, May 2013

Judith Rasson and Marianne Sághy, editors

PART 1

Articles and Studies
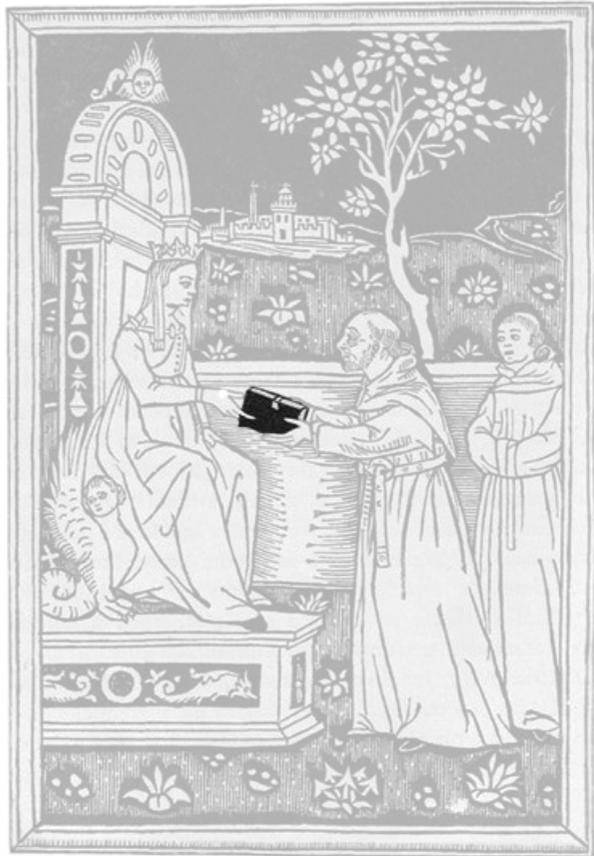
THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND VISUAL POLITICS: COMPARING THE SELF-REPRESENTATIONS OF CONSTANTINE AND AUGUSTUS

Mariana Bodnaruk 📥

> *Augustus primus primus est huius auctor imperii, et in eius nomen omnes velut quadam adoptione aut iure hereditario succedimus.*
>
> The first Augustus was the first founder of this empire, and to his name we all succeed, either by some form of adoption or by hereditary claim.
>
> (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Alexander Severus* 10.4)[1]

I begin with political history. To understand what happened after the Battle of Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312 CE and how the new political order of the empire was constituted I start with the question: What does Constantinian art say about imperial politics in the aftermath of the year 312 CE? This article addresses this question at the intersection of art, politics, and ideology, comparing Constantine's visual self-representation with that of the first emperor, Augustus.[2] The visual image Constantine created incorporated a variegated mixture of messages that echoed contemporary trends in the equally complex eulogistic writing.

It all began with the Constantinian Arch in Rome. Constantine had just overcome the army of the usurper Maxentius and captured Rome. Maxentius died disgracefully and his head was paraded in triumphal procession exhibited to the populace of Rome, his military forces – the *equites singulares* and Praetorian Guard – were dissolved, and his memory was obliterated.[3] In the exultation of victory, the time was ripe for Constantinian revenge, yet the Roman senators,

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[1] SHA, *Alexander Severus* 10.4, vol. 2, ed. and tr. D. Magie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 196–197.

[2] Mariana Bodnaruk, "The Politics of Memory and Visual Politics: Comparing the Self-representation of Constantine and Augustus," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2012).

[3] Eric R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation.* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 216–217.

the very aristocrats who had supported Maxentius, retained their offices.[4] Like young Octavian, who chose to exercise the politics of *clementia* towards supporters of Mark Antony after his Actian victory, Constantine sought to maintain good relations with the most influential members among the senatorial aristocrats. At that time he appeared to be a glorious winner over the common enemy and as such received the triumph traditionally granted by the senate.[5] What is more, around 315 CE the emperor also received a commemorative monument from the senate, the triumphal Arch; Constantine's defeat of his enemy was therefore put in the context of previous famous imperial victories.

Having liberated Rome from the rule of a tyrant,[6] in terms reminiscent of the claims of Augustus expressed in the *Res Gestae* three and a half centuries earlier,[7] Constantine evoked his ideological "father", the founder of the empire. Octavian, the future Augustus, had received a triumphal arch from the senate in the Roman Forum about 29 BCE, after the naval victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra. The Roman revolution of Augustus was paralleled in the Roman revolution of Constantine: An empire at peace with itself was founded on the forgetting of civil conflict.

Constantine reigned longer then any of the emperors had since the forty-five years of Augustus, who had created the imperial system three centuries earlier. For twenty-three of the thirty years of his reign, Constantine ruled as a Christian, the first ever to sit in Augustus' place.[8] Resembling the first Roman emperor, Constantine launched an enormous urban building program and spread imperial

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[4] Noel Lenski, "Evoking the Pagan Past: *Instinctu divinitatis* and Constantine's Capture of Rome," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008): 206–259.

[5] See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[6] *CIL* 6.1139 + 31245 = *ILS* 694. Timothy D. Barnes, "Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper: The Meaning of '*Tyrannus*' in the Fourth Century," in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcionense*, ed. Giorgio Bonamente (Bari: Edipuglia, 1996), 55–65.

[7] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 1.1, ed. and tr. P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 18–19; Averil Cameron, "Constantius and Constantine: An Exercise in Publicity," in *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*, ed. E. Hartley et al. (York: York Museums and Gallery Trust, 2006), 24.

[8] Harold A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 4; Eusebius claimed that Constantine was the only emperor to reach *tricennalia*, ignoring Augustus: *Laudatio Constantini* 2.5, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), 199; *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, tr. Harold A. Drake (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 86.

images all over the empire.[9] Evoking a comparative perspective, Constantinian art can be assessed on a large scale in its relation to earlier imperial imagery, apart from specifically Christian affiliations. However, approaching Constantinian visual politics, the samples of approximately fifty surviving sculptural portraits of Constantine pose limitations[10] when contrasted to the samples of two hundred and twelve preserved portraits of Augustus.[11]

Eusebius and the Theology of Augustus

Focusing on the structural correspondence between the realm of the divine and the empire, the domain of politics – following the original Schmittian construct of political theology[12] – Erik Peterson has dealt with an ancient version of political theology that consisted of an ideological correlation of political structure and religious belief system: One God and one emperor on earth. In the Christian version after the conversion of Constantine, this construct served the same purpose as previous polytheist theories on kingship had;[13] it legitimated

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[9] For a comprehensive catalog of imperial portraits, see Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I: Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

[10] Jaś Elsner, "Perspectives in Art," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 256.

[11] An estimate made in Dietrich Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (Berlin: Gebruder Mann Verlag, 1993); R. R. R. Smith, "Typology and Diversity in the Portraits of Augustus," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996): 30–47.

[12] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, [1922] 1985), 36.

[13] Diotogenes, *On Kingship*, ed. H. Thesleff, in: *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo: Åbo University Press, 1965), 73–74; Erwin R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928): 55–78; Polybius, *Historiae* 6.4.2, vol. 3, ed. and tr. W. R. Paton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), 274–275; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 1*, ed. and tr. J. W. Colhoon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932; Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Disadvantages of Monotheism for a Universal State," *Classical Philology* 81, no. 4 (1986): 285–297 shows that polytheist political theology, that is, an attempt to relate the structure of the Roman Empire to the structure of the divine world, appeared relatively late, for the first time in the late second century CE, when Celsus polemized against Christians and Origen chose him as his adversary in his devastating *Contra Celsum*; see also John Procope, "Greek and Roman Political Theory," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350 – c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25–26; Michael J. Hollerich, "Introduction," in Erik Peterson, *Theological Tractates*, ed. and tr. M. J. Hollerich (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), xxiv.

a monarchical government by authorizing the belief that a single divine power is the ultimate source of political rule. It demonstrated a particular affinity for theologies that emphasized the subordinate character of the Logos (Word) to God the Father.[14]

With Melito of Sardis[15] and Origen,[16] a link between the establishment of the Augustan *Pax Romana* and the birth of Christ became a *topos*.[17] With Eusebius,[18] who historicized and politicized Origen's ideas, one encounters firstly a typological parallel connecting Augustus with Constantine (not really conveyable by quotation), the moment of imperial foundation with its ultimate accomplishment through which both Augustus and Christ were finally manifested in the person of the first Christian emperor, Constantine. For Eusebius, in principle, monotheism – the metaphysical corollary of the Roman Empire – began with Augustus, but had become reality in the present under Constantine. When Constantine defeated Licinius, Augustan political order was reestablished and at the same time the divine monarchy was secured.[19] Eusebius asserts that Augustus inaugurated monotheism by triumphing over the polyarchy, the cause of endless wars, and Constantine only fulfilled what Augustus had begun. The political idea

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[14] See Eusebius, *Laudatio Constantini*, ed. Heikel 1902, 193–259; tr. Drake 1976, 83–102 for Arian political theology.

[15] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.26.7–8, vol. 1, ed. and tr. K. Lake (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 388–391, tr. G. A. Williamson (New York: Penguin Classics, 1989), 133–135; Erik Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," in idem, *Theological Tractates*, 91–92. Melito's pronouncements that religion, which blossomed under Augustus, was intrinsically linked with the empire's prosperity was an old apologetic theme, but not an actual politico-theological reflection, which came only with Origen.

[16] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.30, ed. M. Marcovich (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 107; tr. H. Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 92: Καὶ σαφές γε ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου βασιλείαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς γεγέννηται, τοῦ, ἵν᾽ οὕτως ὀνομάσω, ὁμαλίσαντος διὰ μιᾶς βασιλείας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. On Origen, see Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 87–93.

[17] The first linkage of Augustus with the gospel is found around 204 CE in Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielem* 4.9, ed. and tr. M. Lefèvre (Paris: Le Cerf, 1947), 280–285. See also Ilona Opelt, "Augustustheologie und Augustustypologie," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 4 (1961): 44–45.

[18] For Constantine's role compared to that of Christ, see Eusebius, *Laudatio Constantini*, ed. Heikel 1902, 193–259; tr. Drake 1976, 83–102; Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966), 614–617.

[19] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.19; 4.29, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin: Akademie, 1975), 55–56; 130–131; tr. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101–102; 163–164; Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 94.

that the Roman Empire did not lose its metaphysical character when it shifted from polytheism to monotheism, because monotheism already potentially existed with Augustus, was linked with the rhetorical-political idea that Augustus was a foreshadowing of Constantine.[20]

Peterson has emphasized the "exegetical tact" – a "striking lack" of which he found in Eusebius – that kept all other ecclesiastical writers from binding the empire so closely to God's intentions that it would appear to be less an instrument and more the object of divine blessing for its own sake.[21] At stake in this open political struggle was that, if monotheism, the concept of the divine monarchy in the sense in which Eusebius had formulated it, was theologically untenable, then so too was the continuity of the Roman Empire, and Constantine could no longer be recognized as the fulfiller of what had begun in principle with Augustus, and so the unity of the empire itself was threatened.[22]

Actium and the Milvian Bridge as Sites of Civil War

Constantine's commemoration of the victory over his political rival referred to the first and paradigmatic one in the imperial context, evoking the Augustan victory over Mark Antony that constituted a precedent for Constantine.[23] Like Maxentius, Mark Antony suffered sanctions against his memory soon after his suicide in Egypt; before victorious Octavian returned to Rome, the senate had ordered the erasure of Antony's name along with the names of all his ancestors.[24] This severe action did not meet with Octavian's approval, however. Exercising *clementia Caesaris*,[25] both Octavian and Constantine forgave political opponents their previous loyalties to the losing side. By the very proclamation of clemency and amnesty they strove to forget, officially and institutionally, that there were two

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[20] Ibid., 97.

[21] On later Christian writers, see: Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 585; 725. On Orosius, see Opelt, "Augustustheologie und Augustustypologie," 46–57.

[22] Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 102–103.

[23] Harriet Flower, "*Damnatio Memoriae* and Epigraphy," in *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. Eric R. Varner (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2000), 59.

[24] Ibid., 63.

[25] Peter Heather, "New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Elite in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 11–33.

parties and the winners themselves solicited the forgetting by making equal both those who were on their side and those – no longer dangerous – who were not.

Ordered by the senate, born of a negative sentiment of repentance after Maxentius' defeat, the Arch of Constantine did not glorify a splendid foreign victory, but a civil war between Roman armies, radically different from most, if not all, of its precursors. Hence, the only related monument was Octavian's commemorative series of Actian arches, and, in particular, the Arch in the Forum Romanum that mirrored the Augustan politics of memory and forgetting.[26] One of the monuments honoring Actium, which Octavian dedicated to Neptune and Mars in Nikopolis with a celebratory inscription and ornamentation in the form of spoils of war – the prows and warship rams of Antony's fleet – was erected in 29 BCE near the very site of the battle. Another one was the Actian arch in the Roman Forum recorded on the coin reverses of 29–27 BCE.[27]

What unites early Augustan and Constantinian monuments is the idea of inception; through momentous victories both cemented, first and foremost, their positions as rulers, and, at the same time, the conquest was presented to the populace of Rome as one over a despot (Antony), a foreign queen (Cleopatra), and a tyrant (Maxentius). This version of negation also concerns the positive content of memory in relation to a military victory. In other words, the triumphant one hesitates between not – or never – evoking an enemy who must be forgotten and exploiting a procedure for commemorating his own military achievement. Yet he could emphasize the negation as such. Negation resulted in an official decree of forgetting; the case of Mark Antony after his defeat in 31 BCE was the first example of the "sanctions against memory," thus, as with the striking resurrection of the practice in the early fourth century, Maxentius became one of the first victims of the *damnatio memoriae* decree.

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[26] Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 447. The concept of the "politics of memory" comprises two sides: the affirmative visual politics of imperial self-representation and a negative type of remembering (e.g., *damnatio memoriae*). For basic bibliography on *damnatio memoriae*, see: Friedrich Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur 'Damnatio Memoriae'* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936); Charles Hedrick, *History and Silence: The Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). Harriet Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), however, rejects the concept of *damnatio memoriae*, arguing instead for "sanctions against memory." For a recent contribution, see: Florian Krüpe, *Die Damnatio memoriae. Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eine Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (198–211 n. Chr.)* (Gutenberg: Computus, 2011).

[27] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 82.

To Remember and Forget in Rome: A Founding Forgetting

A panegyrist praises Constantine by referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue,[28] implicitly evoking the *Pax Augusta*. The laudatory inscription on the Arch of Constantine thanks the emperor for having saved the state from a tyrant and his faction in a way that linked a number of Augustus' accomplishments: ending civil wars, restoring peace, and returning power to the senate and the Roman people.[29] The Constantinian inscription – reminiscent of Augustus' *Res Gestae*[30] – claims to have taken revenge over the tyrant, stopped the *factio*, and saved the city. Alluding to the founder of the Augustan Peace, the inscription characterizes Constantine's accomplishments by calling him *liberator urbis* and *fundator quietis*.[31] It is not surprising that the Christian Lactantius eulogized Constantine for his unification of the empire, the "illegitimate" division of which during the period of tetrarchy is considered to be against God's will.[32] It was only later that Eusebius fully adopted the traditional language of the panegyrists and the ideas that stemmed from the rhetoric.[33] Symptomatically – appearing as a "curious accident" entirely in a Sherlock Holmesian sense of the term – there is but a single explicit literary parallel to the growing resemblance of Constantine to Augustus over time, which, on the contrary, is wholly visible in representational art.[34]

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[28] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.21.6, ed. and tr. C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 250, 583; Barbara S. Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," *Classical Quarterly* 39 (1989): 233–246.

[29] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 13; 34, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 24–25; 34–37.

[30] Compare similar language in Greek in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.41.2, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 37; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 86. Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 1, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18–19 with the critical commentary in Tacitus, *Ann*ales 1.9–10, ed. and tr. Jackson 1979, 258–265; tr. A. J. Woodman (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004), 7–8. Averil Cameron, "Constantius and Constantine: An Exercise in Publicity," in *Constantine the Great*, 24.

[31] *CIL* 6.1139 + 31245 = *ILS* 694.

[32] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 7.1–2, ed. and tr. J. L. Creed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 10–11.

[33] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.39–40, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 36–37; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 85–86. Eusebius' formulation of the idea about the Roman Empire could have been shaped by rhetorical *topoi* in the *encomia* on Rome. Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 226, n. 136.

[34] Richard Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantin Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 15.

In turn, Maxentius' massive architectural program aiming to restore Rome to her former glory as the capital of the empire was appropriated by Constantine,[35] who in fact did not launch an architectural *damnatio memoriae*,[36] destruction of the buildings of his ill-fated predecessor. After Augustus' demise, the buildings of the first emperor became emblematic of the Golden Age he had inaugurated, and restoring or rebuilding one of them constituted a visible act of alignment with his memory: Maxentius thus deliberately publicized his affiliation to the "founder of the city," Augustus, the new Romulus-Quirinus.[37] The resonant message of Maxentius' building campaign – that Rome had been saved and reborn – was ideologically significant enough to ensure Constantine's unreserved expropriation of it. A quick walk through Maxentian Rome would have included his major building projects (appropriated by Constantine together with the disfigured and re-carved portraits of his defeated enemy) – the basilica, the circus complex on the Via Appia, the imperial baths on the Quirinal.[38] In effect, in an intricate play of metaphors, Constantine, the expander of the city, reappeared as a new Augustus, the *pater urbis* of Rome.

The Revenue of Remembering: The Evocative Power of *spolia*

Once again, forgetting was the foundation of the *Pax Constantiniana*; traces of the internal war were quickly erased and replaced metaphorically. While the re-use of sculpture and architectural elements formerly belonging to the defeated rival was triumphant in character (as such related to the spoils of victory and thus reminders of the conflict),[39] the treatment of *spolia* in the Constantinian politics of memory appears revivalist. Whether in opposition or affinity, Constantine bound himself with the symbolic capital of its owners through *spolia*. It was not

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[35] Penelope J. E. Davies, "'What Worse Than Nero, What Better Than His Baths?': '*Damnatio Memoriae*' and Roman Architecture," in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 34.

[36] Ibid., 42 argues for the absence of *damnatio memoriae* in architecture for the Constantinian period.

[37] On Maxentius' references to Augustus' building program in Rome, see Mats Cullhed, Conservator Urbis Suae. *Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius* (Stockholm: Paul Aström, 1994); and also Hartmut Leppin, and Hauke Ziemssen, *Maxentius: Der letzte Kaiser in Rom* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007).

[38] From the beginning of his reign Maxentius represented himself as an heir to Augustus, who claimed to have revived the institutions and traditions of the republic, see the recent contribution by Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 224–252.

[39] Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 153.

by chance that in a series of alignments and juxtapositions he associated himself with the victorious emperors of the second century – expanders of the empire – appropriating Trajanic, Hadrianic, and Aurelianic reliefs.[40] Moreover, the civil war panels of the Constantinian monument – the only representation of internal *stasis* in imperial art – included representations of great victories over barbarians, and metaphorically equated abominable domestic conflict with the prestigious foreign campaigns of the Roman army in a single narrative.[41]

Jaś Elsner has suggested a structural parallel between the aesthetics of spoliation, e.g., Constantine's Arch, and the cult of Christian relics exemplified in his Constantinopolitan mausoleum.[42] The mausoleum rotunda bears a resemblance to mausoleums of the age of the tetrarchy, themselves referring to an Augustan precedent.[43] Although, Eusebius explains, Constantine had consecrated the building to the Saviour's apostles, he himself intended to be buried there, to place his tomb in the midst of the "cenothaphs" of the twelve apostles so that his soul would benefit from the prayers that would be addressed to them.[44]

Thus, the late antique practice of using *spolia* structurally paralleled (if it was not genealogically related to) the use of polytheist trophies and, later, Christian relics like those kept in the celebrated statue and its pedestal in the Forum Constantini, the monument that later acquired symbolic status far above that of any other non-Christian monument in Constantinople. One of the famous *spolia*,

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[40] Phillip Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art," *Art History* 12 (1989): 387–418.

[41] Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 3, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18–19.

[42] Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149–184.

[43] Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) suggests *imitatio Alexandri* in Augustus' mausoleum.

[44] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.58–60, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 144–145; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 176–177. Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 138–139; Glanville Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. A Contribution to the Criticism of the *Vita Constantini* Attributed to Eusebius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 51–80 rightly defends the idea that the basilica of the Holy Apostles was constructed by Constantius II; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 69–70, incorrectly ascribes the whole church of the Holy Apostles to Constantine; Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990): 51–62, establishes that the circular mausoleum is the work of Constantine.

the Palladion, an ancient guardian statue of the armed Pallas Athena, associated first with Troy and its fortunes and later with Rome and its destiny, is reported to have stood under the porphyry column Constantine brought from Rome.[45] Similarly, the largest collection of heroic statuary appropriated for Constantinople, around three dozen in all, placed in the Baths of Zeuxippos, were linked to the Trojan epic.[46] The vision of Roman origins articulated by Virgil in the Augustan age still retained its currency in the Constantinian era.

If, looking for the possible location of his new city, as is clear from fifth-century commentaries on the foundation written by Zosimos[47] and Sozomen,[48] Constantine had chosen Ilion, there could be little doubt that the empire would have eventually reenacted its primary Augustan model. The first Roman emperor was known for his foundation of a new Ilium city on the alleged site of Troy. Constantine's foundation thereafter, itself an appeal to Augustus, would have been grounded in the reality of its mythical origin.

An Embarrassing Triumph: Augustus and Constantine as *triumphatores*

From the day of Constantine's entry into Rome in triumph on 29 October 312 CE, one parallel with Augustan times seems indisputable. His battle resembled the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE in two fundamental respects. As Timothy Barnes has phrased it, first, both battles started with an awareness of a foregone result, for Constantine could have been defeated by Maxentius no more then Octavian could have been crushed by Mark Antony, and, second, both conflicts provided a foundation myth for the victor to transform the Roman state and its ideology.[49] Both succeeded in a discursive alteration of their internal enemy into a foreign one. Augustus himself and the Augustan poets intentionally portrayed the campaign of Actium as a war waged by a united Italy against an Egyptian queen and her Oriental allies together with the Roman renegade, Mark Antony, reinforcing it with

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[45] Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 68, no. 114.
[46] Ibid., 53.
[47] Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 2.30.1, vol. 1, ed. F. Paschoud (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), 101–2; tr. R. Ridley (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1982), 37.
[48] Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.3.2, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1864), 936–937; tr. C. D. Hartranft in *Church History from A.D. 323–425*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Parker, 1890), 259. Christopher Kelley, "Bureaucracy and Government," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 192–193.
[49] Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 82.

cultural opposition by presenting the conflict between Octavian and his adversary as a match between "our Roman Jupiter" and "barking Anubis."[50] Constantine denied that his defeated rival was the son of the legitimate tetrarch Maximian and forced Maximian's widow to confess in public that she had conceived Maxentius in adultery with a Syrian.[51] Remarkably similar to Augustus' transformation of Mark Antony into the ideological figure of an eastern tyrant, Constantine, in the guise of a legitimate defender of the Roman people, presented Maxentius as a *tyrannus*.[52]

When Constantine entered Rome, his arrival was conducted and perceived as a triumph, even if in the form of urban *adventus*.[53] Roman emperors never celebrated triumphs over foes in a civil war; in August 29 BCE Octavian held triumphs on three successive days which officially commemorated his victories over the Dalmatae, the defeat of Cleopatra, and the conquest of Egypt. Although Roman forces marched into the city in times of civil war, they had never been forced to besiege the sacred Urbs Roma.[54] His seizure of Rome was simultaneous with the construction of the enemy within the imaginary discourse. The degree to which art and ceremonies were used by both sides to foster this discourse in the popular imagination is striking.

Octavian's naval victory was commemorated by founding the city of Nikopolis in Epiros, beautified with a triumphal arch. Similarly, in 324 CE, Constantine founded Constantinople in commemoration of his victory over Licinius. The great Constantinian project of founding the city, viewed from the perspective of a visual strategy that developed over three decades, paralleled

[50] Propertius 3.11.41, ed. T. E. Page, tr. H. E. Butler (London: Heinemann, 1912), 214–215; Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 297, 335; Robert Alan Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 19–85, 137–278.

[51] *Origo Constantini* 12, ed. I. König (Trier: Trierer Historische Forshungen, 1987), 40; tr. J Stevenson in *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu and Dominic Monserrat (London: Routledge, 1996), 45; Barnes, *Constantine*, 82–83.

[52] *Panegyrici Latini* 12.19.1; 4.31.1, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 322, 604; 376, 623; Thomas Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 64–71; Barnes, "Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper," 55–65.

[53] Sabine McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 33–89; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 35–130; Beard, *The Roman Triumph*.

[54] Noel Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 59–90.

the Augustan exploitation of imagery.[55] Along with a collection of statuary, Constantine brought a bronze statue of the Ass and Keeper from Nikopolis to Constantinople, a monument of Octavian's victory at Actium.[56] Like Augustus, Constantine was repudiating a system of power-sharing in favor of the more traditional apparatus of the Principate, a mode of rule defined by Augustus himself.[57] One of the monuments Constantine imported from Rome was an imperial portrait of Emperor Augustus himself, which would have invited advantageous comparison.[58] The statue of Augustus would even have pushed the equation back in time to imply similarity not only between Constantine and Augustus as rulers, but also between the Principate and the Constantinian Empire.

Circus and Palace

As much as the triumph staged political harmony by eliminating conflict, the ritual of circus games enacted social consent. Meeting eye-to-eye with the *populus Romanus* at the circus, Augustus firmly recognized it as an emperor's duty to attend the games and when unable to be present he sent his apologies (*petitia venia*) to avoid offence.[59] Like Caesar, he used to watch games from the *pulvinar*,[60] in a way constructing the shrine as an imperial box that allowed for his divine recognition. In Constantinople it was the *kathisma* where the emperor appeared in his full splendor before the public at the races, a box reminiscent of the *pulvinar*, the couch of the gods at the Circus Maximus at Rome.[61]

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[55] Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics," 177–178; "Perspectives in Art," 256.

[56] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 96, vol. 1, ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe (London: Heinemann, 1913), 272–275; tr. C. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93; *Parastaseis* 64, ed. and tr. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 140–147; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 2.82, vol. 2, ed. Th. Preger (Leipzig, 1907), 192–193; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), 650; tr. H. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 359; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 44, 62, 65, 67, 213, no. 122.

[57] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 66; Stephenson, *Constantine*, 200.

[58] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 63, 214.

[59] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 45.1, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 196–197; tr. Edwards 2000, 68.

[60] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 45, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 196–199; tr. Edwards 2000, 68; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 26–29; Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 176–177.

[61] Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 152, 157 n. 11; Gilbert Dagron, "L'organisation et

The circuses' *spina* was frequently adorned with obelisks, and if one can believe Pliny the Elder, the earliest obelisk had been installed on the *euripus* of the Circus Maximus on Augustus' orders after the annexation of Egypt following his victory at Actium.[62] Constantine enlarged the circus eastwards and his son bestowed an obelisk on it to match that of Augustus, still standing in Constantius' times.[63] Although it is possible that Constantine had already planned to remove the Theban (Lateran) obelisk before 324 CE,[64] the obelisk would have been the most appropriate gift on the occasion of his twentieth anniversary visit to Rome in 326 CE. The obelisk would have been seen by the senatorial establishment as a pagan monument in the balance to the imperially-funded church-building program.[65] It would therefore have been an offering to the capital from the newly

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le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*," *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000): 122–124.

[62] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.70–71, vol. 10, ed. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones, tr. D. E. Eichholz (London: Heinemann, 1962), 158–161.

[63] Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.17, vol. 1, ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe (London: Heinemann, 1935), 252–53, on Constantius' donation; Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312–609* (London: Routledge, 2000), 24–26.

[64] *CIL* 6.1163 = *ILS* 736, Constantius' inscription claims that the obelisk was intended by his father as adornment for Constantinople; Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 17.4.13, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1935, I, 322–325 asserts that Constantine planned to send the obelisk to Rome. Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 310–311 prefers Constantius' version; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–55, assumes that Ammianus lied "to diminish the significance of Constantius' gift or to avoid making reference to Constantinople," cf. Garth Fowden, "Nicagoras of Athens and the Lateran Obelisk," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107 (1987): 54–57; *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 47 argues that Ammianus is correct and understands the whole obelisk project as conceived by Constantine in the context of his finely balanced relations with his pagan subjects and "his desire to conciliate the pagan establishment of Old Rome." Raymond Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 137 n. 9, supports the idea that Constantine decided to honor Rome with the gift of an obelisk. Gavin Kelly, "The New Rome and the Old: Ammianus Marcellinus' Silences on Constantinople," *CQ* 53 (2003): 604–606; *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 224–230, allows both possibilities. Steven E. Hijmans, "The Sun Which Did Not Rise in the East: The Cult of Sol Invictus in the Light of Non-Literary Evidence," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 71 (1996): 115–50, advances the diverting suggestion that Constantine and Licinius had agreed to erect the obelisk in Rome soon after Maxentius' defeat, yet the project failed with the failure of their alliance.

[65] Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 55. On the church-building program as Constantine's self-representation, see: Suzanne Alexander, "Studies in Constantinian Church Architec-

re-conquered East, for the unique single obelisk (a major cult-object, previously the focus of its own small temple) could stand for the empire's unity under a single ruler. According to Ammianus, Augustus, who beautified Rome with other obelisks, left it untouched for religious reasons.[66]

Yet Constantine, as Ammianus continues shifting his focus from Augustus, "rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world."[67] As Ammianus points out, it was a solar symbol, and inscriptions confirm that Augustus dedicated his obelisks in the Circus Maximus and the Campus Martius to Sol.[68] Egyptian obelisks with a pyramidal tip covered in gold glorified the sun, as the likeness of Apollo-Helios extolled Constantine on top of the porphyry column, another immense task of transportation from Egypt to Constantinople that he had embarked upon.[69] Intending to move the obelisk which Augustus had not moved, planning to place it in proximity to the existing

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ture," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 67 (1971): 281–330; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986); *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Rudolf Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 71–82; Hugo Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

[66] Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 17.4.12–14, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1935, I, 322–325.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *CIL* 6.701=702, ... *Aegupto in potestatem populi romani redacta. Soli donum dedit*; cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 27.1, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 32–33 with Jaś Elsner, "Inventing *Imperium*: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome," in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. J. Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 40, who suggests that the inscription on the Horologium's obelisk on the Campus Martius all but quotes the *Res Gestae Augustae*; on Egyptian cults in Rome and the transportation of obelisks, see Hubert Cancik and Hildegard Cancik-Lindemaier, "'Tempel der ganzen Welt' – Ägypten und Rom," in *Ägypten – Tempel der Gesamten Welt: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, ed. Sibylle Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 41–46 with n. 16. In the sixth century, Cassiodorus mentions two obelisks that adorned Augustus' mausoleum and asserts that Constantius' obelisk was dedicated to the sun and the smaller Augustan obelisk to the moon, Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.51.8, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1894), 106, tr. S. Barnish (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 69. See also John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 248–249; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–155.

[69] Richard Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1932), 26; 140–145, pl. 68, 57–59, shows that a fashion for works in porphyry, initiated by Augustus, was revived after the long break under Diocletian and continued to enjoy popularity under Constantine; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantin: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1964), 83; Garth Fowden, "Constantine's

Augustan obelisk of the Circus Maximus in Rome, Constantine launched a project that surpassed the height of the monolith Augustus had acquired, aggrandizing his sole rule enunciated after civil wars. Although he never acquired a genuine Egyptian obelisk, Constantine adorned the central barrier of Constantinople's hippodrome with one built of masonry.[70]

The *Chronicon Paschale*, the *Chronicle* of Malalas, and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* describe the ceremonial procession at the hippodrome on the occasion of the *encaenia* of Constantinople on 11 May 330 CE.[71] Recalling the *pompa circensis* of Caesar and early Augustan Rome, Constantine's gilded statue with the Tyche of his new city in its right hand and, probably, the radiate crown, was transported on a wagon from the starting gates of the hippodrome to a point opposite the imperial box.[72] After that, Constantine appeared wearing a diadem and presided over chariot races. Augustus did not dare to follow Caesar's precedent of displaying his own statue in a chariot in the procession of deities,[73] but his keen interest in the *pompa* is demonstrated by Suetonius.[74] The parading statue of the departing Constantine suggests that he was claiming to be a *presens deus*, the concept behind

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Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion," *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991), 119–131; Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 312–313.

[70] On the masonry obelisk in Constantinople as probably of Constantinian date, see Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, art. X, 17–20; Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 86 with n. 20. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–157 ascribes the masonry obelisk to Constantine; cf. Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*," 106, who argues that that the presence of two obelisks in the Circus Maximus must have provided the model for Constantinople, and thus the rule of Constantius II is *terminus post quem* for the erection of the masonry obelisk.

[71] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 13.8, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 322, tr. E. Jeffeys et al. (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 175; *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. 1, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 529–556, tr. M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 17–8; *Parastaseis* 56, ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 132–133, 242.

[72] *Parastaseis* 56, ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 100–103 with 215–218; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 41, 44–45 argues for a figure of Victory standing upon a globe, representing the worldwide extent of Roman power; Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 240–241, no. 160.

[73] Suetonius, *Divus Caesar* 76.1, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 98–99; tr. Edwards 2000, 35 *sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est*: ... *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa*; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 43.45.2; 44.6.3, vol. 4, ed. and tr. E. Cary (London: Heinemann, 1916), 290–291; 316–317.

[74] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 43, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 190–194; tr. Edwards 2000, 66 *accidit uotiuis circensibus, ut correptus ualitudine lectica cubans tensas deduceret.*

the ruler cult in the Greek East that had been articulated in Rome by Augustus' time.[75] The panegyrist of 310 CE refers to Constantine as the *praesentissimus hic deus*, this most manifest god.[76]

The spatial context of the hippodrome in Constantinople, remarkably similar to every one in all the tetrarchic capitals, included an adjacent palace directly connected to the imperial box by a stairway, evidently in direct imitation of the Domus Augustana/Circus Maximus complex in Rome.[77] Malalas reports that Constantine completed the Severan hippodrome and built a *kathisma* like that in Rome for the emperor to watch races, and also built a large palace, closely patterned on that in Rome, near hippodrome, with a staircase leading from the palace to the *kathisma*.[78] The author emphasizes that Constantine followed the pattern of Rome twice, once in the construction of the *kathisma* and once in linking it with the palace.[79]

Consecratio

The ritual of *consecratio*, the funeral ceremony[80] and apotheosis of deceased emperors from Augustus in 14 CE to Constantine in 337 CE – the most problematic for Christian ideology – was a re-enactment of the elevation of the departed to heaven and his divinization.[81] As rare examples of well attested imperial funerals, the *consecrationes* of Augustus and Constantine are remarkably parallel, for the latter partially followed a model provided by the former.[82]

Both emperors died outside of their residential capitals. After the death of Constantine the ceremonial began with a military procession that carried the mortal remains to Constantinople, where the body, crowned and in imperial robes,

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[75] On Augustus as a *presens deus*, see: Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 314, 316.

[76] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.1.5 and 22.1, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 219, 251, 573, 583.

[77] Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 180–181.

[78] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 13.7, ed. Dindorf 1831, 320, tr. Jefreys et al. 1986, 173–174; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 1832, I, 527–530, tr. Whitby and Whitby 1989, 16.

[79] Jonathan Bardill, "The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations," *JRA* 12 (1999): 216–230.

[80] Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); cf. Egon Flaig, "Die Pompa Funebris. Adlige Konkurrenz und annalistische Erinnerung in der Römischen Republik," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995), 115–148; *Ritualisierte Politik* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003), 49–68.

[81] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 152–153.

[82] Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 56.34–46, ed. and tr. Cary 1924, VII, 74–107.

was displayed in the palace.[83] As in the case of Augustus in 14 CE, the official deification of Constantine, the last emperor for whom consecration coins were struck, came immediately after the funeral, but the ceremonial was transformed for the burial. Imperial funerals traditionally included ritualized deification of the emperor by staging a *pompa funebris*, which, for Augustus, was said to have included almost the whole population of Rome.[84] Eusebius portrays scenes of lamentation evoking the iconography of the apotheosis, noting that the people and senate of Rome dedicated an image to Constantine with him seated above the heavenly vault, and describing a coin type chosen by Constantius II. It had a veiled effigy of the dead emperor on the obverse and him driving a *quadriga* up to heaven, from which the hand of God emerges, on the reverse. Gilbert Dagron has stressed that Christianization allowed the Classical image of the imperial *consecratio* to be re-employed.[85]

Augustus' funeral was designed by the emperor himself, who left instructions for the senate to follow. Similarly, Constantine initiated the building of his own mausoleum.[86] The mausoleum-rotunda, as Cyril Mango has discovered, resembled tetrarchic imperial mausolea.[87] It has been also assumed that the sarcophagus in which the remains of Constantine's mother, Helena, were placed had been confiscated from the mausoleum of Maxentius, for whom it was originally made.[88]

Constantine was buried in a holy place of apostles, inaugurated the cult of relics initiated by the Roman Arch with its abundant *spolia*.[89] The circular mausoleum of Augustus on the Campus Martius, the ultimate prototype for later imperial mausolea, was one component of a tripatrite complex that also consisted of the

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[83] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.61–75, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 145–151; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 177–182.

[84] Simon Price, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83.

[85] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 137.

[86] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.58–60, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 144–145; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 176–177.

[87] Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," 51–62. For instance, the mausolea of Diocletian in Split, Galerius in Gamzigrad and Thessalonike, Maxentius on the Via Appia outside Rome, Helena on the Via Labicana, Santa Costanza on the Via Nomentana, and Centcelles in Taragona.

[88] Mark Joseph Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausolea in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 118; Jam Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections," *Millenium* 8 (2011): 144, argues against the suggestion that Helena's sarcophagus was initially designed for Constantine.

[89] Elsner, "From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics," 157–158.

Ara Pacis and Horologium, which also used Augustus' commemorative scheme and references to the Actian victory.[90] Just as Augustus inaugurated the empire with his victory in civil war, so too did Constantine, who began the empire anew, establishing a new residential capital, palace, and burial place. The Constantinian mausoleum paralleled the message of the Augustan one as a dynastic monument, but also as a foundation of a new imperial line that had succeeded the original line of Augustus.

Sculpture: Memory in Marble and Bronze

The Constantinian reorganization of imperial portraiture was instituted in consequence of the civil war against Maxentius and affiliated with an Augustan figure. Although it lost continuity with the tetrarchic representation,[91] Constantine's representation became a battleground for the different politics of memory. Iconography confirms that the emperor was aware of the advantages of representing himself in Rome in the fashion of a princeps, a soldier, but a civilian at the same time,[92] and images of Augustus served as a model for Constantinian portraits.

At least one marble head has been securely identified as a portrait of Augustus re-utilized to represent Constantine.[93] The iconography of this colossal head from Bolsena suggests a date for the re-carving due to its similarity with the emperor's figure in reliefs on the Constantinian Arch. As soon as his *quinquennalia* of 311 CE a new portrait type was defined for Constantine.[94] David Wright has

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[90] Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 13–19.

[91] For the iconographical argument, see R. R. R. Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century," *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997), 185–187; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 171. Cf. Maria R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Bedeutung far Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1963), 57–69, who traces instead the Trajanic image of Constantine. For the assumption that the Constantinian image was based on Augustus' imitation of Alexander, the ultimate prototype, see Evelyn Harrison, "The Constantinian Portrait," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 94–95.

[92] For Constantine as an emperor with intellectual attainments who presented himself as a patron of literature in the mold of Augustus, see: Barnes, *Constantine*, 84, who point out the letter exchange between Constantine and the Roman senator and poet Publius Optatianus Porfyrius in late 312 CE.

[93] Antonio Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," in idem, *Scritti Minori* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 173–182, figs. 1–4, for a portrait of Augustus from Bolsena recarved as Constantine (Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia).

[94] The likening of Constantine to Augustus might have originated from his experiments with the image on early coins.

outlined the basic iconography of the Constantinian portrait: A youthful face with a broad forehead and prominent cheekbones that give the upper part of his face a rectangular character. This is complemented by strongly modeled facial muscles flanking the nose, mouth, and chin, and by a jaw-bone that expands outward slightly at the back of the jaw, giving a clear-cut articulation between jaw and neck.[95] The image, in form and certainly in meaning, was modeled on the tall, lean-faced, and youthful-looking portraits of Augustus.

More than a dozen surviving versions of this basic type that follows Augustus' iconography embody diversity in the new clean-shaven image.[96] One example is a colossal marble statue of Constantine that once occupied the west apse of the Basilica of Maxentius on the Forum Romanum,[97] the other is a large marble head displayed in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome. After Licinius defeat in 324 CE and the seizure of the East, Constantine adopted the diadem and the heavenly-gazing Alexandrian type of representation, although the physiognomy retained an idealized youthful face with an aura of majesty developed on the basis of the Augustan model. It only changed into a heavier and old-age style of portraiture around 333 CE.[98]

Coinage as a Medium of Commemoration

After a short period of conventional tetrarchic iconography on his first gold coins,[99] coin portraits of Constantine struck as early as 306–307 CE with the title

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[95] Ibid.

[96] On the Constantinian portrait in the context of late antique imperial images, see Raissa Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano (267–363)* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1972); Richard Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts: Von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933); Hermann Dörries, *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantin* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954); Hans Peter L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361 n.Chr.* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1984). For the introduction of a new portrait type, see: Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 186.

[97] L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen,* 70–75; Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits, I*, 147–150, no. 122, pls. 151–152 (with earlier literature).

[98] David Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 507, in a search for the real portrait of Constantine has preferred his old-age portrait.

[99] *Roman Imperial Coinage* VI Trier 620a (*aureus* from 305–306 CE), see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 4. See also an *aureus* from 306–307 CE, *RIC* VI Rome

"Caesar"[100] abandoned the military image and defined a new one of a beardless young caesar,[101] appropriate for Constantine's political expectations of accession after 306 CE.[102] Rare gold and almost equally rare silver coins of high artistic quality from Trier suggest different stylistic developments.[103] The type established at the Trier mint during the first months of Constantine's reign were perpetuated – with some interruptions late in 307 CE when he assumed the title Augustus[104] – for nearly three decades with only slight modifications.[105]

    With Maxentius' defeat in 312 CE, the mints in Rome and Ostia, along with Ticinum (Pavia), began to strike coins for Constantine.[106] Maxentius at the mint of Ostia[107] and Constantine at Ticinum[108] had equally experimented with thin-faced frontal heads resembling the lean-faced Augustan style.[109] The type was modified to introduce more facial subtleties and became the standard Augustan portrait of

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[100]   141, pl. 6. His earliest portraits on coins bear an identifiable tetrarchic style, see Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 9.

[100]   *Aurei* from 306 CE: *RIC* VI Trier 633, *RIC* VI Trier 615, and *RIC* VI Trier 627, for the latter, see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 6–7. An *aureus* from 307 CE: *RIC* VI Trier 755.

[101]   Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 179–180, 185, reveals its derivation from the third-century portrait types of boy Caesars, cf. Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 494, fig. 5 (Maximinus Daia as caesar). See *RIC* VI Trier 630b.

[102]   Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 494–495, 506.

[103]   *RIC* VI Trier 636 (306 CE), with Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 495–496, fig. 8, emphasizing the heroic character of the best Constantinian silver die as certainly dependent on the Augustan model, see: L'Orange, et al. *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, pl. 67a. For the Augustan image on Tiberian coins, *RIC* I Rome 72, 74, 77, see: issues in honor of Divus Augustus with his head on the obverses, and *RIC* I 91–93 on the reverses; also Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," pl. XI, 4. Compare the iconography of the deified Augustus on the obverse of the *consecratio* issue of *argentei* of Emperor Decius (from ca. 251 CE), *RIC* IV.3 Milan 77 and 78, and Divus Augustus on the reverse of the rarer *aureus* of the Emperor Gallienus (from 260–268 CE), *RIC* V.1 Rome 28; also Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 496, fig. 9, accentuates the recognizability of the Augustan hairdo for the Roman public in Constantine's time.

[104]   *RIC* VI Trier 758 (from 307 CE), *RIC* VI Trier 821 (from 310 CE), for the latter, see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 10, the hairdo is now even more luxuriant than that of Augustus.

[105]   Ibid., 496, 505.

[106]   Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 505.

[107]   Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," pl. X, 3–4.

[108]   Ibid., pl. XI, 2.

[109]   Ibid., 188.

Constantine.[110] One can assess Augustan iconography on the famous medallion of 313 CE that featured Constantine in a double profile portrait with Sol and on frontal coin portraits of 316 CE.[111]

After his final victory over Licinius, Constantine remained represented as a young ruler. About 324 CE he adopted the diadem of Alexander and his heaven-gazing pose with strong evocations of divine kingship for special issues of coins.[112] The Constantinian portrait remained the heroic Augustan type that had been standardized a dozen years earlier; similar coins were struck in 324–325 CE at Thessalonica, Sirmium, and Ticinum.[113] However, from circa 326 CE a new type was launched into circulation that eventually prevailed in the 330s CE.[114] This type absorbed a placid Augustan tranquility[115] yet kept the diadem. That Augustus was a model for Constantine (*Fig. 1*) is made explicit by a series of silver medallions minted late in Constantine's reign (336–337 CE) carrying the legend "AVGVSTVS" and "CAESAR"[116] in direct imitation of Augustan coins produced three hundred years earlier.[117]

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[110] *RIC* VII Trier 21; Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 505, fig. 13 for the best numismatic versions of this portrait type, a *solidus* struck at Trier in the first half of 315 CE while Constantine resided there.

[111] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 185–186.

[112] *RIC* VII Nicomedia 70. For the diadem, see Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 56[66; Alföldi, *Die konstantinische Goldprägung*, 93–5; Patrick Bruun, *RIC* VII, 43–44; Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 506, fig. 14; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 11–19, figs. 5–7.

[113] See: Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 506, for style distinctions between eastern and western mints.

[114] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 187, p1. XI. 6; Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiser-porträts*, 76–77, pl. 4.41–7; Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung*, figs. 220–223, 230, 234.

[115] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.4.4; 4.5.4; 4.10.2; 4.35.4, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 223, 574; 354, 613; 381, 626.

[116] Patrick Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," in *Costantino Il Grande dall'antichtà all'Umanesimo: Colloquio sul Christianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata 18–20 Dicembre 1990*, vol. 1, ed. G. Bonamente and F. Fusco (Macerata, 1992–1993), 225, figs. 15–16; *RIC* VII Siscia 259; see also similar *RIC* VII Lyons 283, *RIC* VII Arles 410, *RIC* VII Thessalonica 221, *RIC* VII Constantinople 132, *RIC* VII Nicomedia 197, and unlisted in *RIC* VII Trier issue minted in 336 CE.

[117] *RIC* I Ephesus? 486, struck ca. 25 BCE; Jean-Baptiste Giard, *Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire Romaine, I. Auguste* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1976), pl. 37, 963, 964, 966.

Fig. 1. a) Constantine, RIC VI Trier 633, aureus, 306–307 CE; b) Constantine, RIC VII Ticinum 40, solidus, 315 CE; c) Constantine and Sol comes, gold medallion from Ticinum, 313 CE; d) Maxentius, RIC VII Ostia 10, aureus, 310–312 CE; e) Constantine, RIC VII Ticinum 36, silver medallion, 315 CE; f) Licinius, RIC VII Nicomedia 41, solidus, 321–322 CE; g) Divus Augustus (rev.), RIC I Rome 23, aureus, 40 CE; h) Augustus, RIC I Ephesus? 486, as, ca. 25 BCE; i) Constantine, RIC VII Nicomedia 112, solidus, 325–326 CE; j) Constantine, RIC VII Siscia 259, silver medallion, 336–337 CE. Source: Photographs in the public domain. Images of all the coins shown larger than actual size.

Conclusion

The ideological discourse of the Constantinian empire was construed in remarkable resemblance to the Augustan one. Both the polytheist and Christian narratives placed the reign of Constantine in a typological relationship with that of the founder of the empire.[118] Constantine appeared to re-enact the actions of his ultimate predecessor by putting an end to civil discontent and inaugurating peace anew, completing the work initiated by Augustus. The impulse toward typological thought and the desire to use this mode of interpretation that arose in the fourth century CE led Constantinian writers to see events that showed the way to the Augustan foundation of the empire as those that prefigured or foreshadowed political events in the time of Constantine. While the Christian texts are preoccupied with reconciling the Roman emperorship and salvation history, making Constantine the first Christian emperor and the liberating agent of divine providence through a typological link with Augustus, under whose reign Christ deliberately chose to be born, the polytheist panegyrics figurally interpret Constantinian rule as a return or indeed renewal of the Golden Age, referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

The visual narratives addressed the typological functions of the emperor insofar as Constantine was portrayed as a new Augustus, as a founder of a city and dynasty, and ultimately, as an architect of a new empire. Constantine's visual politics thus stood in striking parallel to the program of Augustan classicizing iconography, imagining a Constantinian likeness typologically. Constantine thus adopted a youthful and handsome clean-shaven portrait image from an Augustan model.

The cohesion and integrity of the empires of Augustus and Constantine were therefore preceded by devastating internal strife which they subdued. All this suggests a parallel: whereas Octavian had established order and unity by putting an end to the dying republic, the *Pax Constantiniana* was constituted due to the final disintegration of a quarrelsome tetrarchic arrangement. In this respect, Augustus became the primary model for the iconography in for the Constantinian image that was worked out after his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE. Although after the decisive defeat of the last Constantinian rival, Licinuis, in 324 CE, the

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[118] On *typos* and typology, see: Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1982), 4. On Lactantius' figural interpretation, see: Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in idem, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, tr. Ralph Manheim (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 34, 44–46.

typological focus shifted to Alexander the Great, it did not replace the Augustan iconography, now imbued with the divine attributes of Hellenistic kingship. The media of sculpture and coinage clearly show an increasing tendency to introduce elements from the royal iconography into the primary Augustan visual scheme first adopted by Constantine.

Within the typological scheme inherent in both polytheist and Christian textual narratives, Augustus functioned as a forerunner of Constantine, while, at the same time, the latter is iconographically represented in visual narratives closely modeled on Augustan sculpted and coin portraiture that similarly celebrated the all-mighty triumphant emperor of the unified state. Every beholder of Constantinian imagery was thus exposed to the power of this bewildering ideological combination of intricately connected imperial image-making, Augustan visual allusion, and historical reference to contemporary Roman political concerns.

SACRED SPACES AND SACRED LIVES:
HIEROTOPICAL PERCEPTIONS IN ṬŪR ‘ABDĪN
IN THE MIDDLE AGES RECONSTRUCTED THROUGH LOCAL
HAGIOGRAPHICAL TRADITIONS

Reyhan Durmaz 📄

> [W]e could never find out when, how and by whom it [the Monastery of Mor Ḥanonyo] was built nor the name of the saint by whose name it was (first) known and proclaimed before Bishop Ḥanonyo – as this has happened to many monasteries whose stories of the saints on whose names they were built (have been lost). As (for example) that of the holy Mor Behnam, who now in our days is doing miracles and mighty works (just) as in the time of the apostles, to all those who come to him in faith. There is no story at all about him except only that which is told in oral tradition – and one as it pleases him can tell it in an elaborate or in a concise (way). So this is the reason why we remembered these monasteries [the ones restored by John of Mardin in the twelfth century], the origin of their building and the names of the saints who built on the resting places of the saints, (although), indeed, it would be proper that there ought to be a special story for each monastery.[1]

Patriarch Michael the Great (d.1199) expresses the unreliability of oral tradition and emphasizes the need for possessing foundation stories in written form for each church and monastery John Bishop of Mardin (d.1165) restored, together with stories of the holy men associated with them.[2] He is one of the prominent representatives of an era known as the Syriac Renaissance, in which the Syrian Orthodox identity, after a long period of formation, crystallized under Islamic

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[1] Michael the Great, "About Mor Yuhannon of Marde," in *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, vol. 2, trans. Arthur Vööbus, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalis 376 (Louvain: Secreteriat du *CSCO*, 1976), 207.

[2] This article is adapted from the author's MA thesis: Reyhan Durmaz, "To Go There Seven Times in Faith is Like Going to Jerusalem": Hagiographical Traditions and Hierotopical Perceptions in Ṭūr ‘Abdīn in the Middle Ages," (Budapest, Central European University, 2012).

rule.[3] With Michael's words in mind, this article discusses the dialogue between hagiography and sacred spaces in Ṭūr 'Abdīn in the Middle Ages.

Ṭūr 'Abdīn, the limestone plateau lying to the south of the Tigris basin in northern Mesopotamia, has been inhabited by Christian communities since approximately the fifth century. Particularly after the establishment of the Syrian Orthodox (West Syrian) Church in the sixth century, the region, with its significant monastic centers and Christian settlements, became a prominent stronghold of Christianity. The distribution of early Christian monuments on the landscape of the plateau was a product of trade and pilgrimage routes, the dynamics of the Roman-Persian frontier, and splits in the Church due to the Christological controversies of Late Antiquity. Under these three factors, starting from, securely speaking, the sixth century onwards, particularly after the Islamic conquest of the region in 640, numerous churches and monasteries were erected in the region.

Due to the perennial monastic presence, a grand corpus of hagiography in Syriac emerged in the region. Although the tradition places the stories of the holy fathers as early as the fourth century, most of the prominent hagiographic compositions appear to have been written or edited around the ninth century. For instance, the *Qartmin Trilogy*, the lives of the three founding fathers of the Monastery of Mor Gabriel (Qartmin Abbey), has a *terminus post quem* of 819.[4] Another example is the *Life of Aḥo of Rish'ayno*,[5] who, according to tradition, built three monasteries in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, which probably took final shape in the ninth century, for his cult appears to have flourished around this time.[6] It should be noted that this literary kinesis is part of a greater movement of the identity-building processes of the Syrian Orthodox Church under Islamic rule, which I will address below.

Ṭūr 'Abdīn as a whole, and its specific ecclesiastical monuments, were objects of reconstructed memories, *lieux de mémoire*, in the Middle Ages.[7] In order

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[3] For an extensive account of the phenomenon, see: Bas ter Haar Romeny, et al., "The Formation of a Communal Identity among West Syrian Christians: Results and Conclusions of the Leiden Project," *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2009): 1–52; Herman Teule, "Reflections on Identity. The Suryoye of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Bar Salibi, Bar Shakko, and Bar Hebraeus," *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2009):179–189.

[4] *Qartmin Trilogy*, microfiche supplement to Andrew Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990); for an analysis of it, see: ibid., 13–18.

[5] *The Life of Aḥo*, Vatican Syriac 37, fol.176a–191b.

[6] Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 94, 96ff.

[7] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7–24.
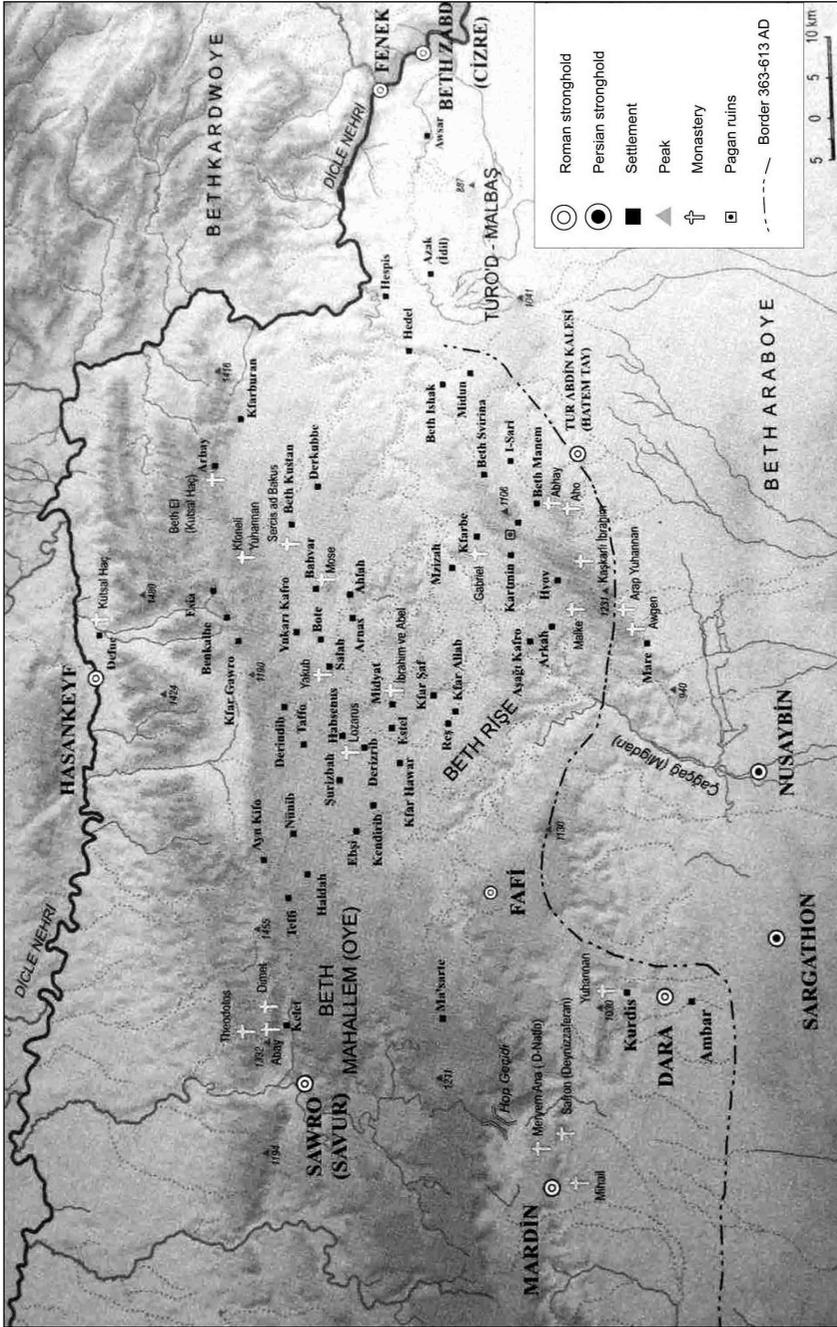
Fig. 1. Map of Ṭur 'Abdin. Adapted from Suavi Aydin, Kudret Emiroğlu, Oktay Özel and Süha Ünsal, Mardin: Aşiret – Cemaat – Devlet [Mardin: Tribes-Lineages-State] (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı: Istanbul, 2000), 477.

to retrieve the collective memory of a glorious past related to them, sacred spaces were not only built and renovated, but also written about extensively. The memories of the founding fathers of many churches and monasteries were preserved and reinforced in brief forms in the liturgy and in more elaborate forms in saints' lives in order to promote the veneration of ancient holy fathers and specific monuments and thus to reinforce the Syrian Orthodox identity. Jan-Eric Steppa argues that: "hagiography was more than edifying stories, … it was an instrument for organizing the collective memory of monastic culture."[8] Considering that the circulation of hagiographic compositions was not confined to the monastic milieu, but also reached lay persons,[9] one can argue that hagiography reinforced not only the collective memory of both monastic and lay communities, but also the perceptions and preferred approaches to sacred spaces associated with the ancient holy fathers. How did the relationship between hagiography and sacred spaces shape the context of medieval Ṭūr ʿAbdīn?

Bishop John of Mardin undertook a massive project of constructing and restoring numerous churches and monasteries in the region of Mardin and Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.[10] He mentions that his aim was to encourage monks to inhabit many of these sacred places.[11] Thus, he created a taskscape, as Peter Jordan uses the term.[12] That is, he created a landscape in which the visitors, lay people and monks, were expected to undertake certain tasks – take care, venerate, and inhabit the places that had been restored.

Rebuilding ruined sacred monuments, however, was not enough; one needed to know when each had been founded and by which holy man. This is a fundamental insight into the close relation between the hagiographic compositions and sacred spaces in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. In the absence of the former, the latter's sacredness was not complete. Hagiographic compositions not only secured information pertaining to the history of particular churches and monasteries, but also established and reinforced the traditions pertaining to the perception of those sacred spaces. These traditions appear to have evolved around three main concepts: the relics

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[8] Jan-Eric Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002), xxix.

[9] Derek Krueger, "Early Byzantine Historiography and Hagiography," in *Writing 'True Stories': Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East*, ed. Arietta Papaconstantinou (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 19.

[10] Michael the Great, *Mor Yuhannon*, 205–7.

[11] Ibid., 206.

[12] Peter Jordan, *Material Culture and Sacred Landscape. The Anthropology of the Siberian Khanty* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), 17–18.

of the founding father(s), the expansion of monastic spaces, and the interaction between villages and monasteries.

One of the dramatic scenes in the *Qartmin Trilogy* is when brethren at the monastery exhumed Mor Gabriel's body about a century after his death in 667. Amazed by how well-preserved the body was, they took the body into the church, placed it on the north side, and prayed *with* the holy man to cure an epidemic.[13] The story implies that there was no holy man alive to call on for help. As Palmer argues, relics in the Middle Ages were given immense value, more than in Late Antiquity.[14] Starting from the late seventh century, and particularly after the mid-eighth century, relics were a significant source of power and thus determinants of sacred spaces. The monks at Qartmin wanted to know how many holy fathers were buried at the House of Saints. The author of the *Life of Shem'un d-Zayte* (d. 734)[15] emphasized the burial of Shem'un at Qartmin Abbey, near Mor Samuel and Mor Shem'un of Qartmin.

The author of the *Life of Ya'qub of Ṣalaḥ* gives a detailed account of Bar Shabo and his disciples' martyrdom and the church built over their relics.[16] The author of the *Life of Aḥo of Rish'ayno* brought the most venerable of all relics, the True Cross, into his narrative; Aḥo allegedly acquired a piece of the True Cross in Constantinople and took it back to his monastery.[17] The importance of relics in sacred spaces can be seen, besides the literary *topoi* in hagiographical compositions, in the *West Syrian Synodicon*, in which John of Mardin's restorations are narrated. The author says that the saints buried in the restored monasteries still make supplications "from their resting places."[18]

In the *Trilogy* it is not only Gabriel's relics that receive special attention. It happens that the holy men who are buried in the vicinity of the holy abbey live, act, and speak like living people. All of the saints are literally present there, which is why the monastery was perceived as such a holy place. A monk at Qartmin Abbey takes an oath that he "shall never leave this holy abbey nor the vicinity of your resting place, in which the dead converse and speak with the living on

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[13] Ibid., 89–91.

[14] Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 182ff.

[15] Bishop of Harran from Ṭūr 'Abdīn, d. 734; *Life of Shem'un d-Zayte* [Simeon of the Olives], Mardin MS, fol.152a–210a, trans. Jack Tannous, unpublished (a copy of which he kindly provided for me).

[16] Translation of the *Life* in Dale Johnson, *Monks of Mount Izla, 156–174* (Lulu Press, 2004).

[17] *Aḥo,* fol.186a–b.

[18] Vööbus, *Synodicon,* vol. 2, 207.

equal terms whenever they will."[19] One of these holy fathers seems to have been Shem'un d-Zayte, who, after his impending death was revealed to him by God, chose to come and spend the last years of his life at Qartmin Monastery, where he was finally buried in a niche.[20] In his *Life* it is written that his relics still performed miracles. Note that in the *Life of Ya'qub of Ṣalaḥ* the martyred Abbot Bar Shabo and his disciples' voices "were heard in the night singing Hallelujahs like the angels in heaven" after a church was built where they had been martyred, the place that later became the Monastery of Mor Ya'qub.[21]

This notion of the continuous presence of the holy can be observed in numerous hermits' caves all over the Ṭūr 'Abdīn plateau, which have been taken over and inhabited successively by generations of monks and hermits. Throughout the generations the holy fathers of Ṭūr 'Abdīn have continued to live in these places, like a *genius loci* or even the *numen* of the place. The notion of a living protective spirit inhabiting a specific space, as referred to in the Greco-Roman religious context, is comfortably applicable to the practice in Ṭūr 'Abdīn. A prominent example of this notion is the series of caves which were inhabited by monks until recently north of the Monastery of Mor Ya'qub in Ṣalaḥ. Another modern example is the village of Beth Svirina, which is believed to be protected by the twenty-five saints, i.e., churches and chapels, surrounding it. Each holy man whose relics are believed to be buried in these sacred spaces is believed to be protecting the village.[22]

Fig. 2. Hermits' caves north of the Monastery of Mor Ya'qub, Ṣalaḥ (fifteenth century?) (Photo by the author, Feb. 2010).

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[19] *Trilogy*, 71.
[20] *Shem'un d-Zayte*, fol. 203b–206b. The exact location of the burial is not specified.
[21] Johnson, *Monks*, 168.
[22] Hans Hollerweger, *Living Cultural Heritage – Turabdin: Where Jesus' Language is Spoken* (Linz: Freunde des Tur Abdin, 1999), 253.

The second notion pertaining to sacred spaces that arises from hagiographic compositions is the territorial expansions of monastic settings. The *Qartmin Trilogy* portrays the sense of a flexible monastic setting. The monks there are depicted as not strictly secluded within the enclosure wall; "some would go down into the great broad wadi and even further away from it and there they would stand and chant, some alone, some in pairs."[23] Qartmin Abbey also had numerous monasteries associated with it. The monastery of Mor Abrohom and Abel in Midyat is described as an "offshoot" (ܐܬܠܝܕܬܐ) or daughter-house of Qartmin Abbey;[24] so was the monastery near Serwan, which was inhabited by the seventh-century stylite Shemʿun.[25] The spiritual extension of the monastery was solidified and materialized under Shemʿun d-Zayte, who endowed Qartmin Abbey with gardens, fields, villages, churches, and monasteries.[26]

In Shemʿun's *Life* one also encounters a particular monastic disposition, the foundation of a lower and an upper monastery:

> After these things, he [Shemʿun] went and enclosed himself in a pillar which was high, and fair and excellent, which was in the lower monastery which had been built by the first monks who were in the plain which is next to the ancient city of Sīrwān which had been built by Shapur the King of the Persians and then the Romans destroyed it in battle. Mar Simeon dwelt in the pillar of this monastery, as we have said, with many monks and husbandmen (who were from their monastery of Qartmin) who were living in this lower monastery and who were sowing many plots of land with the plow for the table which was in the monastery.[27]

Here, one sees a physical connection between multiple monasteries, one called "the lower monastery," and another called Qartmin Abbey. The notion of physically connected monastic settings, a glimpse of which is given in the *Life of Shemʿun d-Zayte*, is thoroughly described in the *Life of Aḥo of Rishʿayno*:

> And they were leaving the lower monastery for the upper monastery while singing, celebrating and praising [God] and their estates had no interruption from one gate to the other. And all the inhabitants of

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[23] *Trilogy,* 61.

[24] Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 114 n. 3.

[25] *Shemʿun d-Zayte*, fol. 154b–155b.

[26] *Shemʿun d-Zayte*, fol. 160b–163a, 178a.

[27] Ibid., fol.154b–155a.

that locality were going and coming more during the night than during daytime.[28]

The *Life of Aḥo of Rishʿayno* narrates the spiritual and physical connection of the two monasteries believed to have been founded by Aḥo under divine guidance. It notes that while the brethren of the two monasteries walked frequently between the lower and upper monastery singing psalms and hallelujahs, there was no physical barrier separating the properties of the two monasteries.

The first monastery, according to the *Life*, was built by a layman, Theodor. He also endowed the monastery with many fields and vineyards which had previously belonged to the nearby village. When Aḥo's mother visited his monastery she saw the harvest near the monastery, which suggests both the territorial expanse and the wealth of the monastery. Theodor also built Aḥo's second monastery, the White Monastery (the Upper Monastery) at Bno Il. Later in the *Life,* when Aḥo left and began his second pilgrimage, the wealth of this monastery and its close relations with both the Lower Monastery and the Qalʾat Haytam Ṭay (the Fortress of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn) are described.

Monasteries built close to one another were not always interdependent, however. John of Mardin discusses the relations between the monasteries of Mor Ḥanonyo and Mor Abai in Sawro and how the two acted together. He orders that:

> anything that is left over of the crop and other things and of produce and of harvest and fruits, shall be used to fill the need of the place [the Monastery of Mor Abai] and of its brethren – that the remainder shall be brought to this said monastery. And (also) when the Monastery of Mor Abai is in need, then they from Mor Ḥanonyo shall bring to fill its need.[29]

The Monastery of Mor Ḥanonyo was the seat of the patriarch in the twelfth century, and thus it was natural that it should take care of other Syrian Orthodox monasteries in the region, but it is significant that this was put into writing. In this way, the spiritual and physical connection between the two monasteries was reinforced and part of the territory of Syrian Orthodox monasticism was defined.

The landmarks of the spiritual territory in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn were not only the monasteries; hagiographic writings highlight the spiritual, economic, and social relations among the monasteries and villages of the plateau. Despite the divine

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[28] *Aḥo,* fol. 184b.
[29] John of Mardin, "Other Canons about the Monasteries of Mor Abai and of Mor Ḥanonyo," in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, vol. 2, 230.

experience that demarcates sacred space, sacred and profane spaces in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn have always been integral parts of each other. When Samuel and Simeon in the *Qartmin Trilogy* start out on their spiritual journey, they first settle "one bow-shot's distance from the village [of Qartmin]."[30] This physical proximity between the village and the monastic setting underlined by the *Trilogy* is clearly visible in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and is probably the result of the protective role of holy men when seen connected with their dependence on the villages and other topographical features of the plateau.

Each monastic community on the plateau had a territory consisting not only of various interconnected monasteries, but also villages.[31] The *Life of Yaʿqub of Ṣalaḥ* mentions that Daniel, Yaʿqub's successor, "acquired many villages" for the monastery when the community flourished.[32] Likewise, Shemʿun d-Zayte purchased villages, among other assets, for Qartmin Abbey in the seventh century.[33]

The visual and physical relations between the villages, the large and small monasteries and the hermits' caves constitute(d) a multi-layered sacred order, in which the main monastery of a district is a focal sacred point between the village and the associated smaller monasteries. The location of the Monastery of Mor Yaʿqub is connected visually to the nearby village of Ṣalaḥ located to its southeast. In contrast, the monastery has a spiritual extension to the north, through numerous hermits' caves, not all of which can be seen from the village.[34] The monastery of Mor Abay in Qeleth is connected to the village and to the smaller monasteries of Mor Dimeṭ, Mor Shabay, Mor Theodotos, and the hermits' cave dedicated to Mor Barṣawmo on the opposite side of the valley.[35] The same visual relation exists between the monastery of Mor Abrohom and Hobel and the village of Midyat to the west.

A hierotopical map of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn can be generated as a network of the main and subsidiary monasteries and hermit's caves. The interrelation between these places and profane life is well-depicted by Gregory bar Hebraeus (d. 1286,

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[30] *Trilogy,* 15.
[31] Andrew Palmer, "La Montagne aux LXX Monastères: la géographie monastique du Ṭūr ʿAbdīn," in *Le Monachisme Syriaque,* ed. Florence Jullien, Etudes Syriaques 7 (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), 194–5; *Monk and Mason,* 28, 110–11. Note the term "satellite arrangement" he uses.
[32] Extract in Palmer, *Monk and Mason,* 110, n.198.
[33] *Shemʿun d-Zayte,* fol. 178a.
[34] Author's observations, especially during field work in February, 2010.
[35] Hollerweger. *Turabdin,* 149.

Fig. 3. The Monastery of Mor Barṣawmo seen from the village of Beth Svirina (Photograph by the author, Feb. 2010).

Fig. 4. The village of Qeleth seen in the background from the Monastery of Mor Abay (Photograph by the author, Apr. 2010).

Bishop of Aleppo, Maphrian of the East, and a prominent Syrian Orthodox author) writing about the rules of perfection for monks:

> At any village or town he [a traveling monk] reaches, he has first to present himself at the church. He shall not remain longer than three days in the same village or town. And when he has reached the cell of the Father [he wishes to visit], he shall not knock at his door, but sit down till he will perceive and call him.[36]

He also states that in some cases recluses in their caves engaged much in earthly matters, to the extent that their cells became meeting-places for people from towns and villages, and that in those instances hermits should leave their caves.[37] Intense physical and social interrelations between the villages and monastic settings in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the seeds of which were sown in Late Antiquity, continued well into the Middle Ages. Bar Hebraeus' accounts show some of the dynamics underlying these relations and the way canonical rules tried to control them. Another hierotopical notion is expressed in the hagiographical traditions: pious laymen and their role in building and protecting sacred spaces.

The author of the *Qartmin Trilogy* does not emphasize this notion. The story of the monastery is kept to a great extent within the spiritual realm, although economic and social relations with the villages and lay people in the vicinity are mentioned. Simeon and Samuel, the two founding fathers of the monastery, begin their spiritual journey by detaching themselves from the nearby village. In the rest of the story there is hardly any hierotopic connection between the monastery and the surrounding secular setting. This pattern changes significantly in the *Life of Shem'un d-Zayte*, written around the same time.

In this *Life*, Shem'un is not depicted merely as a holy man. As Palmer states, the purpose of his *Life* seems to be to give an account of his economic activities and building projects.[38] He was a local man from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and he expanded the (spiritual) extension of Qartmin Abbey to villages, mills, olive groves, and other places. He was an exemplary landlord, an outstandingly pious man, who supported the economic well-being and social reputation of the monastery (and other sacred monuments of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn) to the full. He endowed all his monetary holdings on Qartmin Abbey and represented the monastery and Christians of the region in the highest courts of the ruling powers. The author of this *Life*

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[36] *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, Together with some Chapters from his Ethicon*, trans. A. J. Wensinck (Leyden: Brill, 1919), 31.

[37] Ibid., 20–22, 30.

[38] *Monk and Mason*, 183.

does not hesitate to record a miraculously long life span for him, from the early eighth century to the reign of al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833),[39] in order to serve all these purposes. The Fortress of Ṭūr 'Abdīn, called the "fortress of Demetrius" (allegedly its original founder) and "Haythum," are also mentioned in the *Life*.[40] It narrates that Shem'un ordered the leaders of the region, Abraham and Lazarus, to rebuild the fortresses, one of which was this castle. His spiritual duty was not only to support the monasteries, but also to reinforce the security of the region.

One of the most prominent examples of the role of pious laymen in determining the hierotopic qualifications of Ṭūr 'Abdīn appears in the *Life of Aḥo*. Both of Aḥo's monasteries in Ṭūr 'Abdīn were allegedly built under the patronage of Theodor, a Christian landlord from the region. He not only built splendid monasteries for Aḥo and his disciples, but also endowed great stretches of land on the community. His piety, zeal, generosity, and eagerness are occasionally noted in the *Life*. He became so holy that, although a lay person, he was buried in the House of Saints (burial chamber) of the monastery.

Another patron of Aḥo's monastery was the commander of the fortress of Ṭūr 'Abdīn, Demetrius the Roman. Having mentioned the physical proximity of the monastery to the Fortress of Ṭūr 'Abdīn, the hagiographer elaborates on how Demetrius was a pious soldier who frequently visited the monastery and built a burial chamber out of hewn stone for the abbey.[41] He, like Theodor, was buried in this chamber as a reward for his piety. The monasteries associated with Aḥo are depicted in the *Life* of Aḥo as generously supported places, the security of which was insured by the high military officials of the region. This pattern is repeated in the *Life of Ya'qub of Ṣalaḥ*, in which Rufus, the governor of Hesno d-Kifo, frequently visits Ya'qub's monastery, is blessed by the holy man, and supports the community on various occasions.[42]

The dynamics underlying the literary emphasis on the close relations between sacred spaces and pious patrons are evident in the socio-economic changes in Ṭūr 'Abdīn in the Middle Ages. Although the situation regarding building and the security of churches and monasteries under the initial Muslim rulers was in flux, from the late eighth century onwards monasteries were no longer exempt from taxes (*jizya*)[43] and, during Mutawakkil's reign (821–861), there was an official

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[39] *Shem'un d-Zayte*, fol.166a–167a.
[40] Ibid., fol.157a–158b.
[41] *Aḥo*, fol.184a–185b.
[42] For other villages that may have been founded by *limitanei*, see: Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 54–5.
[43] Ibid., 187.

ban on building churches.[44] Over the course of the ninth and tenth century the Eastern Mediterranean was gradually transformed into an Islamic landscape.[45] A significant aspect of this Islamic world, however, must have been the patches of Christian strongholds, one of which was the region of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. This gradual isolation made the monasteries dependent on the local landlords as patrons and protectors.[46] The landlords, emerging either from among wealthy lay persons or clergymen, managed the assets and income of monasteries which had become subject to taxes. They were also patrons of building activity, as can be seen in the commemorative inscription that notes the contributions of local patrons to the rebuilding of the conventual church in Ṣalaḥ in 753.[47] According to this inscription, numerous lay persons contributed varying amounts of money to rebuilding the church.

This powerful position of landlords and other wealthy individuals afforded them enough privilege to contribute to the religious affairs of the region as well as to exploit the local populace, especially in economic terms.[48] For instance, Gregory bar Hebraeus, while still young, was sent to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn to collect funds from villages and monasteries in order to support Dionysius of Melitene in a patriarchal rivalry.[49] Since a significant portion of the local population were the monastic communities, in the hagiographical compositions one finds various descriptions of exemplary lay people, pious, wealthy, and dedicated. In some cases their religious identity was as prominent as their secular patronage, like that of Shemʿun d-Zayte. In other cases, like that of Theodor in the *Life of Aḥo of Rishʿayno*, the landlord is presented as a lay person wholly dedicated to the monastic community. In either case the message of the writings was clear: holy men of the past were not alone. Churches and monasteries benefited greatly from the generosity and protection of pious lay people, and, as a result, they embraced the latter with their sacredness. With this ideology the medieval audience for saints' lives, consisting of lay people as well as monastics, was called on to be whole-heartedly dedicated to the sacred spaces.

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[44] A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 50ff.

[45] Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 14.

[46] R. Stephen Humphreys, "Christian Communities in Early Islamic Syria and Northern Jazira: the Dynamics of Adaptation," in *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates*, ed. John Haldon (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 45.

[47] Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 206ff.

[48] Ibid. 55, 187.

[49] Theodor Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History,* trans. John Sutherland Black (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1892), 240–1.

Conclusion

During my 2010 visit to the village of Beth Svirina in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, Velit, my friend and driver asked our young guide in the village: "How do you remember all of the names of these churches?" Our guide, who must have been no more than ten years old, answered: "The names of these churches are like our own names. Do you ever forget your name? Likewise, we never forget these names." Our guide knew the stories of more than twenty churches surrounding the village, which he, like all the other children, had learned at the village church from their *malfono* (teacher). He led us on a small tour in and around the village and introduced us to every sacred space on our way: which church was used for healing purposes; which holy man was buried at which church; which part of the church a woman can or cannot step into; which church's ashlars were so big that how it was built is a mystery, and so forth. He described a sacred zone, together with its history, rules, and various other aspects. Could this modern picture be a glimpse of medieval Ṭūr ʿAbdīn? Were stories of holy men and the churches associated with them part of their identity, "like people's names"? What one can see from the writings produced in the medieval time period is that at least there was a voluminous corpus of literature in the form of saints' lives which aimed at generating such an image.

Comprehensive close reading, comparison, and literary analysis of hagiographical compositions from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has not yet been the subject of any scholarly enquiry. This research, taking a small step forward, has discussed hierotopical approaches to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and its sacred monuments through hagiographic compositions. It is clear that a monastery was not confined to its enclosure wall; its spiritual extension reached out to other monasteries (the ones founded by disciples), churches, and caves. The holy fathers of the past were perceived to be still alive in these places. Furthermore, building, venerating, and protecting sacred spaces were not only tasks for the monastic communities; this was also the spiritual duty of pious lay people, who would be blessed by "the holy steps of" both ancient and contemporary holy men.

Sacred lives written in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the Middle Ages narrated to their audience a world where holy men still had a sacred presence, and pointed out the still-standing churches, monasteries, and hermits' caves for them to seek out that holiness. The holy past was incomparable in sanctity, yet it was depicted as having extended through time and been reified in the surrounding sacred places. This literary tradition was a part of a grander identity-building movement that aimed to reinforce the group identity and collective memory of the Syrian Orthodox communities in the Middle Ages.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE TRANSLATED FROM ARABIC INTO GEORGIAN: A REVIEW[1]

Tamar Pataridze 📥

Eastern Christian literature contains a wide range of texts deeply rooted in a tradition of multilingual exchanges. This article aims to review medieval Christian Arabic literature that was translated into Georgian in Palestine between the eighth and tenth century.[2] It is important to identify the channels of communication used among the diversity of possible channels. This information helps in interpreting an original – to some extent it predicts what to expect. Such studies also make it possible to examine the transmission of ideas under the impact of the political situation, since Georgia was occupied by the Arabs from the middle of seventh to the end of the tenth century.

Byzantine literature translated into Georgian has been widely studied[3] and some research has been devoted to the transfer of Georgian texts from the Greco-Syrian and the Greco-Arab worlds.[4] In contrast, the study of transfers from the Semitic (Syriac and Christian Arabic) literature of the Near East to Georgian

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[2] For some general studies regarding this subject, see: Mariam Nanobashvili, "The Development of Literary Contacts between the Georgians and the Arabic-speaking Christians in Palestine from the 8th to the 10th century," *Aram* 15 (2003): 269–274; Paul Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels, 1950); Enriko Gabidzashvili, ქართული ნათარგმნი აგიოგრაფია [Translated Georgian hagiography] (Tbilisi: National Centre of Manuscripts, 2004): 99–108; Paul Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 241–365; Levan Menabde, "ქართულ-აღმოსავლური ლიტარტურული უნრთიერთობანი" [Georgian-Oriental literary relations], *Mačne* 2 (1993): 15–31.

[3] In English, see: Tina Dolidze, who reviews the work of important early scholars in: "Foundation of Kartvelian-Byzantine Studies in Georgia," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 18 (2012):126–136.

[4] Concerning the philological aspects of Greco-Syriac translations and a socio-cultural framework of these literary contacts see the extensive research by Sebastian Brock. The Greco-Arabic literary connections that occurred in Syro-Palestinian environments have been widely studied by Sidney H. Griffith, who is often cited. See also Lorenzo Perrone's research, which is very relevant for this subject.

literature represents a desideratum because there is a lack of systematic studies. There is no general synthesis of the global socio-cultural context that addresses why translations were made, who the key translators were, what texts were translated, where the centers of translation (presumably monasteries) were, and the dates of these translations. Only a small amount of research has been devoted to the different aspects of the transformation and adaptation of texts from Semitic literature as they passed into Georgian literature. Only a few scholars have dealt with the philological aspects specific to the languages of these translations and the philological criteria for identifying translations from Semitic languages into Georgian have never been well defined. Therefore, based on philological criteria it is always problematic to distinguish between Arabic and Syriac influences on the language of Georgian translations; consequently, it is even difficult to recognize which texts are precisely concerned when speaking of Semitic-Georgian literary relations. This situation is even more regrettable considering that the layer of Syro-Palestinian Christianity is the oldest and the most important source that influenced and nourished Georgian literature during its early ages. The Georgian translations of these texts are characterized by remarkably archaic elements that laid the foundations for cultural and religious traditions in Georgia. A certain number of foreign originals of these texts have not survived and therefore the Georgian translations have acquired the importance of primary sources for Near East Christian studies. Indeed, the study of Christian Arabic and Georgian literary relations in the so-called Jerusalem epoch (fifth to tenth centuries) has great importance for the clearest understanding of the circulation of ideas and texts in the Christian Near East.

In this respect the present paper will try to identify and summarize the reception channels of Christian Arabic literature in Georgian and to clarify some other modalities of these literary exchanges, namely, the epoch and key places where these connections originated. As for the reception channels of Christian Arabic literature, these are texts that entered Georgian literature in various ways, directly, through direct translations from Arabic into Georgian or indirectly by means of another language, usually Greek, which corresponded to translations of translations. It should also be noted that the identification of these patterns is a work of great complexity, especially when critical editions are not yet available.

In general, it is known that the Arabic-Georgian literary contacts went on between the eighth and tenth centuries[5] and developed mostly in Holy Land

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[5] At the end of the tenth century the Georgians were oriented to Byzantine literature as a result of the intensification of Georgia's relations with the Byzantine Empire, the appearance of Georgian cultural centers in Greece, and the isolation of the patriarchate

monasteries, especially at the *lavras* of Mar Sabas, a still-standing Greek Orthodox monastery also known as The Great Lavra of St. Sabbas the Sanctified, near Bethlehem, and Mar Chariton, a monastery in Judea subsequently abandoned. Manuscripts produced at these monasteries are today held mainly in the collection at St. Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai Peninsula.

Texts that Passed from Greek to Arabic to Georgian

The study of Christian Arabic-Georgian literary relations begins with the story of *The Persian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614*, written in Greek by the monk Antiochus Strategos at the monastery of Mar Sabas in the sixth century. The original version of Antiochus' work has been lost; only the Arabic and Georgian translations are extant.[6] N. Marr was the first scholar to prepare an edition of the Georgian version, with a Russian translation[7] and a parallel Arabic version of the text along with a philological study of Georgian translation's language. Georgian proper noun forms and the terminological polysemy of some Arabic words misled the Georgian translator and Marr considered the Georgian version derived from the Arabic model. The influence of Arabic syntax reflected through the Georgian translation was another piece of evidence supporting such a conclusion. The Arabic version's existence was first mentioned by K. Riant[8] and later published in a French translation by A. Couret[9] based on manuscript BnF ar. 154 (AD 1604–1607). Later, P. Peeters[10] discovered another Arabic manuscript in the Vatican Library and published it in 1924.[11] Moreover, he identified a Georgian version

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of Jerusalem, which ultimately led to an increase in the role and importance of Constantinople, see: Nanobashvili, "The development," 274.

[6] The Georgian version entitled "წარტყუენვაჲ იერუსალჩმისაჲ", is preserved in *Tbil. Q-70* (AD 1771)*, Tbil. H-3411* (eleventh century), and *Tbil. H-535* (eleventh century).

[7] Nikoloz Marr, *Антиох Стратиг, Плѣнение Иерусалима Персами въ 614 году* [Antiochus Strategos, The Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614] (St. Petersburg, 1909).

[8] Paul Édouard Didier Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, *II*, *partie I, Fonds orientaux. Ancien fonds arabe* (Paris, 1884), 173.

[9] Alphonse Couret, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614. Trois documents nouveaux* (Orléans, H. Herluison, 1896): 1–16. [Republished in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 2 (1897): 123–164].

[10] Paul Peeters, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," *Mélanges de l'Université de St-Joseph* 9 (1923–1924): 3–42.

[11] Other manuscripts which preserve this text are: Sinai ar. 428 (tenth century), Sinai ar. 520 (tenth century), and Sinai ar. 531 (AD 1232), see: Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955).

of this text in the codex Bodl. georg. 1 (AD 1050).[12] Consequently, G. Garitte prepared a new edition of the Georgian version based mainly on the Bodleian manuscript discovered by Peeters and also provided a Latin translation of the Georgian text.[13] Garitte also edited the four Arabic recensions of this text with a Latin translation,[14] furnishing moreover a wide-ranging study of literary and historical issues related to the Georgian and Arabic versions. Marr demonstrated that the story of the conquest of Jerusalem was widely spread in Georgia and was well known to many authors of ancient Georgian literature. The Arabic translation, dating to the eighth and ninth centuries, came from a Greek original. The Georgian translation cannot be later than the tenth century; in G. Graf's opinion it can even be dated to the eighth or ninth century.[15] N. Sesadze has reviewed the text's history.[16]

The story of *The Killing of Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*[17] relates the sorrowful fate of Sinaitic fathers from AD 373 to 378. Attributed to Ammonius, this story is preserved in almost all the languages of Eastern Christian literature. The Coptic original has been lost, but a number of different translations survive, namely, the Greek, chronologically the oldest, followed by the Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Slavonic versions. The Georgian version shows quite archaic features and is preserved in the *Sinai Polykephalon*, copied at Mar Sabas in 864.[18] The first editor of the Georgian version, K. Kekelidze,[19] had considered that the Georgian

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[12] Paul Peeters, "De codice Hiberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 301–318.

[13] Gérard Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (hereafter: CSCO), 202–203; *Scriptores Iberici* (Louvain, Peeters Publishers, 1960), 11–12.

[14] Gérard Garitte, *Expugnationis Hierosolymae, A.D. 614*; *Recensiones Arabicae*, vol. 1, CSCO, no. 340–341 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1973) and *Recensiones Arabicae*, vol. 2, CSCO, no. 347–348 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1974).

[15] Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur,* Studi e testi 147 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944): 41.

[16] Neli Sesadze, "წარტყუენვაჲ იერუსალჱმისაჲ შესწავლის ისტორია" [Hitory of research on the *Conquest of Jerusalem*], *Macne, Series of Language and Literature* 3 (1971): 103–111.

[17] The Georgian title is: "ცხორებაჲ წმიდათა და ნეტართა მამათაჲ, რომელნი მოჲსრნეს მთასა სინას და რაითის ბარბაროზთაგან."

[18] Two other manuscripts preserving this text are Ath. 57 (tenth to eleventh centuries) and *Ath. 8* (tenth century).

[19] Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1918), 28–44.

translation depended on a Greek original. Later, under Peeters'[20] influence, he revised his opinion and recognized that the Georgian version was translated from Arabic. As for the Arabic version, R. Gvaramia has made a detailed study;[21] she analyzed the type of relations between the Arabic and Georgian versions and prepared parallel critical editions. Among the six Arabic manuscripts that Gvaramias's edition is based on, five are Sinaitic.[22] She gives a great number of proofs demonstrating that the Georgian translation depended on an Arabic model; the Georgian translator was confused by the polysemy of some Arabic terms. Moreover, Gvaramia identifies some morpho-syntactic Arabisms that are reflected in the Georgian translation and make the meaning of some sentences unclear. The phenomena of paronomasia (bringing two words together with similar forms but different meanings. In Arabic it is generally divided into verbal and lexical), still observable even through the Georgian translation, and an unusual frequency of sentences starting with verbs serve as additional arguments supporting this conclusion. It should be noted that the Arabic translator made an effort to be precise when he translated this work from Greek into Arabic in AD 772. In the light of this examination one may conclude that this is one of the oldest documents of Christian Arabic literature. Finally, Gvaramia considered the manuscript Sinai ar. 542 (ninth to tenth centuries), which contains the Arabic version of *The Killing* copied at Mar Sabas, to have come from the same *lavra* where the Georgian version was translated.[23]

In 1954, Garitte[24] devoted a special study to the *The Life of Stephan the Sabaite* (d. AD 794) and edited the Georgian version with a Latin translation. In Greek, this life is known only from a single manuscript, Coislin 303 (tenth century). The Georgian version is preserved in Sinai. Geo. 6 (AD 983). Garitte was hesitant on the question of the origin of the Georgian translation, which seemed to him "quite distinct" from the Greek version. He could not find any "Semitisms" in the Georgian translation, however, which led him to form another hypothesis. It should be noted that at that time the Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Life* were

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[20] Paul Peeters, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 404.

[21] Rusudan Gvaramia, *ამონიოსის "სინა-რაითის წმიდა მამათა მოსრვის" არაბულ ქართული ვერსიები* [Arabic-Georgian versions of Ammonius' account of the killing of holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita] (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1973).

[22] *BL Or. 5019* (eleventh century), Sinai ar. 542 (ninth to tenth century), Sinai ar. 557 (thirteenth century), Sinai ar. 400 (thirteenth century), *Sinai ar. 401* (thirteenth century), and Sinai ar. 423 (AD 1623).

[23] Gvaramia, "Arabic-Georgian versions," 031.

[24] Gérard Garitte, "Un extrait de la Vie d'Étienne le Sabaïte," *Le Muséon* 67 (1954): 71–93.

still unknown. Garitte only published additional research in 1959,[25] in which he established that the Georgian version depended on an Arabic model. Meanwhile, he discovered the Arabic version of the *Life* in two manuscripts – Sinai ar. 505 (thirteenth century) and Sinai ar. 496 (AD 1238) – which had colophons stating that the *Life* was translated from Greek into Arabic at Mar Sabas in AD 903. Based on a tripartite comparison among the Greek, Arabic, and Georgian versions, Garitte declares that the problem of the origin of the Georgian translation is "absolutely" clear: "le géorgien dérive du grec par un intermédiaire et cet intermédiaire n'est autre que la version arabe."[26] The Georgian translation was made between 903 (the date of the Arabic translation) and 983 (when Sinai geo. 6 was copied). It should be stressed that this is one of the most important documents giving a detailed and vivid picture of the lives of Palestinian monks in the eighth century and providing valuable information about the Church of Jerusalem.

Al-bustân is an Arabic version of the Greek *Leimonarion* written in Syro-Palestinian milieus. This collection of maxims is the work of John Moschus (seventh century). Aside from the Greek original, versions of this text are known in Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, and Slavonic. The Georgian version was first published by I. Abuladze.[27] Gvaramia has devoted an exhaustive study[28] to the Arabic version of the text, editing it based on the oldest manuscript, Sinai ar. 549 (tenth century), adding a modern Georgian translation and a philological study analyzing the correlation between the Georgian and Arabic versions. She also studied the linguistic peculiarities of the Arabic translation, recognizing it as a typical example of early Christian Arabic literature (eighth and ninth centuries). Gvaramia shared the opinion already expressed by Abuladze and Garitte,[29] considering that the Georgian version was a translation made following an Arabic

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[25] Gérard Garitte, "Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte retrouvée en arabe au Sinaï," *Analecta Bollandiana*, no. 77 (1959): 332–369.

[26] Ibid., 339.

[27] Ilia Abuladze, იოანე მოსხი, ლიმონარი, ტექსტი გამოკვლევითა და ლექსიკონით [*Leimonarion*, edition with research and glossary] (Tbilisi, Mecniereba, 1960).

[28] Rusudan Gvaramia, *ალ-ბუსთანი, X საუკუნის სინური ხელნაწერების მიხედვით, არაბული ტექსტი ქართული თარგმანითა და გამოკვლევით* [*Al-Bustân* from a Sinai ms of the tenth century, Arabic version with Georgian translation and research] (Tbilisi, Mecniereba, 1965).

[29] Gérard Garitte, "La version géorgienne du Pré Spirituel," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 2, *Studi e Testi*, 232, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964): 175: "L'examen philologique du texte géorgien permet d'être beaucoup plus catégorique et d'affirmer que *Le Pré Spirituel* géorgien n'est autre chose que la traduction d'un modèle arabe."

model. This conclusion was based on the observation of Arabized proper nouns and on the great number of exact morphosyntactic copies found in the Georgian translation. The comparative study of the Georgian-Arabic-Greek versions shows the pattern, however, that the Georgian always supports the readings proposed by the Arabic version when they are different from the readings that appear in the Greek version of the text.

In 1980, Gvaramia published the Georgian version of *The Martyrdom of Panteleimon*.[30] The oldest (a so-called *keimena* [the first primitive redaction of the text]) is known in two different recensions. The earliest, preserved in *Sinai geo. 71* (thirteenth century), comes from a Greek original. However, the second branch of the *keimena* redaction – preserved in manuscripts *Sinai geo. 11* (tenth century), Sinai geo 62 (tenth century), and Bodl. georg. 8 – is translated from Arabic. The oldest Arabic manuscript which contains the text of *The Martyrdom* is BL. Or 5019 (eleventh century).[31] A textual comparison among the Georgian, Arabic, and Greek versions shows that the first two of them are similar, having the same readings different from the Greek. Some morphosyntactic Arabisms are also reflected in the Georgian translation through an unaccustomed use of particles, adverbs, and conjunctions. It should be noted that BL. Or 5019 contains another treatise which was translated from Arabic into Georgian (*The Killing of the Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*). Gvaramia presumed that these two Georgian translations (*The Martyrdom* and *The Killing*) were created in the same environment. The Georgian translation seems to have been produced in the eighth or ninth century.

Kekelidze studied the Georgian version of *The Martyrdom of Eustace*,[32] who converted to Christianity and was tortured by Diocletian (AD 284–305). The Greek original, written by Simeon the Metaphrast, cannot be considered a model for the Georgian version because of notable differences between them. An Armenian version of *The Martyrdom* is also known.[33] Based on the forms of the proper names, Kekelidze, in his analysis of the Georgian translation, presumed it

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[30] Rusudan Gvaramia, "პანტელეიმონის წამების ქართული ვერსიები და მათი წყაროები" [The Georgian versions of the *Martyrdom of Panteleimon* and their sources], *Mravatavi* 7 (1980): 36–49.

[31] Other manuscripts preserving this work are: *Sinai ar. 534, Sinai ar. 535, Sinaï ar. 440*, all of them from the thirteenth century.

[32] Korneli Kekelidze, *ანტიკის გადმონაშთები ძველ ქართულ ლიტერატურაში* [Traces of antiquity in old Georgian literature], *Researches* 8 (1962): 132–142. The Georgian title is "წამებაჲ ევსტრატისი," the text is preserved in Sinai geo. 11 (tenth century) and Tbil. A-95 (eleventh century).

[33] Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica orientalis* (Brussels, 1910), 70.

was dependent on a "lost Arabic" model. It seems that the translation was made in the ninth or tenth century.

Once more, it was Garitte who devoted a study to the Georgian version of *The Life of Kyriakos* written by Cyril of Skythopolis (sixth century).[34] Kyriakos (d. AD 449) was a Palestinian monk working in the Mar Chariton *Lavra*. Written originally in Greek,[35] a Georgian version of this *Life* is also preserved in BL. Add. 11281 (AD 1034–1042), a manuscript copied at the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. The first editor of the Georgian version was Imnaišvili.[36] In 1963, Garitte published it again,[37] demonstrating by a philological study of the Georgian version that there was no question of a direct connection with the Greek version; the Arabic version could have been used as an intermediary. Indeed, later Garitte discovered the Arabic version[38] of the *Life* preserved in Sinai ar. 395 (fourteenth century). A three-way comparison among these versions shows that the Georgian version systematically reproduces all of the readings given by the Arabic version when they differ from those in the Greek version.

The Autobiography of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite is generally regarded as having had the fascinating history of passing through all of the oriental languages. The Georgian version, published by Peeters[39] with a Latin translation, is preserved in Ath. 57 (tenth to eleventh centuries). The Armenian version of *The Autobiography* derives from the Georgian and is very close to it; Peeters provided abundant evidence for this conclusion. But, the Georgian version, although a model for the Armenian version, derives from the Arabic model.[40] Peeters' three-way textual comparison among the Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian versions shows the presence of some Arabic terms in

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[34] Gérard Garitte, "La version géorgienne de la Vie de Saint Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962): 339–440. The Georgian title is "ცხორებაჲ წმიდისა კირიაკობისი."

[35] See Eduard Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, *Texte und Untersuchungen, XLIX, 2* (Leipzig, 1939): 222–235.

[36] Ivane Imnaišvili, *მამათა ცხორებანი, ბრიტანეთის მუზეუმის ქართული ხელნაწერი XI საუკუნისა* [Lives of Fathers, Georgian manuscript of British Museum from the eleventh century] (Tbilisi, 1975), 244–255.

[37] Gérard Garitte, " La Vie géorgienne de Saint Cyriaque et son modèle arabe," *Bedi Kartlisa* 28 (1971): 92–105 and "La version géorgienne de la Vie de Saint Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962): 399–441.

[38] Gérard Garitte, "La Vie géorgienne de Saint Cyriaque et son modèle arabe," in *Scripta Disiecta 1941–1977, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 22, vol. 2 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 662–675.

[39] Paul Peeters, "La version ibéro-arménienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Analecta Bollandiana* 39 (1921): 277–313.

[40] Preserved in BnF ar. 74 (thirteenth century).

Georgian that the translator just transliterated and otherwise ignored. The Georgian translator interpreted some Arabic polysemic terms wrongly and also fell victim to misreading graphically similar Arabic words. According to Peeters:

> À Jérusalem, à la Laure de Mar Saba, dans le désert de Jourdain, au Sinaï, au mont Saint-Syméon, dans la montagne Noire et en bien d'autres endroits où les Géorgiens étaient nombreux et avaient leurs établissements propres, il se trouvait des polyglottes capables de traduire en géorgien un texte arabe.[41]

Finally, it should be noted that Peeters always argued that the Arabic version depended directly on the Greek original. Thus, the migration of this fascinating legend had numerous stages from Greek into Arabic, from Arabic into Georgian, and from Georgian into Armenian.

Once again, it was Gvaramia who published an article entitled:"The Arabic Version of the Second Epistle of Basil the Great and its Relation to the Ancient Georgian Recension."[42] The Georgian version of this work is preserved in Tbil. H-622 (tenth century), a manuscript that Outtier thinks was translated from the Arabic model.[43] Indeed, the Arabic version of *The Epistle* is found in Strasbourg ar. 4226 (Strasb. ar. 151), copied in AD 885–886 at the Mar Sabas monastery. Gvaramia compared these two versions and saw that the Georgian version depended on the Arabic version. This conclusion was supported by the identification of frequent exact morphosyntactic copies in Georgian and by textual proximity observed between these two versions. Gvaramia published the Arabic version from the manuscript of Strasbourg. Thus, the Georgian translation of *The Epistle* adds to the number of literary works translated from Arabic into Georgian in a Syro-Palestinian environment in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Martyrdom of Saint Elianos ('Amman) is the story of a saint preserved exclusively in a Georgian version.[44] Indeed, otherwise completely unknown, Saint Elianos is not mentioned by any other liturgical book from the Greek or Eastern Churches. Besides the *Martyrdom*, Elianos' name is mentioned only by Georgian liturgical documents that follow the Hierosolymitan [Jerusalem] Church tradition

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[41] Peeters, "La version ibéro-arménienne," 286.

[42] Rusudan Gvaramia, "ბასილი კაპადოკიელის მეორე ეპისტოლის არაბული ვერსია და მისი მიმართება ადრეულ ქართულ რედაქციასთან" [An Arabic version of the second Epistle of Basil the Great and its relation to the ancient Georgian recension], *Mravaltavi* 10 (1993): 146–153.

[43] Bernard Outtier, "Martius, Barsus, Tarnus ou Martyrius? Nouveaux fragments arabes et géorgiens de Sahdona," *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 1 (1985): 225–227.

[44] The Georgian title is "წამებაჲ წმიდისა ელიანოზისი."

(for example, *The Lectionary of Jerusalem*). *The Martyrdom* is preserved in Tbil. A-95 (eleventh century) and Georg. Bodl. 1 (noted above), which have Hierosolymitan origins. The text was published by Kekelidze[45] and translated into the Latin by Garitte.[46] According to Kekelidze, the account of this *Martyrdom* seems to have been written first in Greek in the sixth or seventh century, but the original has been lost. The Georgian version derives from the lost Arabic model because of the vocalization peculiarities in the proper names in the Georgian translation. It seems that the translator was using an Arabic model where the short vowels were not noted. In comparison, the simple and parataxic syntactic constructions (a feature of Semitic languages in which phrases are arranged independently, in a coordinate rather than a subordinate construction) used in the Georgian translation reproduce a feature of the Arabic model. The Georgian translation seems to have been made in the ninth century.

Texts that Passed from Syriac to Arabic to Georgian

The Georgian version of *The Life of St. Nisime* is preserved in codex Tbil. A-249 (tenth to eleventh century).[47] Kekelidze, the first editor of this *Life*, translated it into Russian and provided a philological study of it.[48] Behind the Georgian version he supposed a Coptic original, although he did not give a convincing philological argument for it. Peeters[49] contested the hypothesis of a Coptic original and also reported the existence of a Syriac version.[50] The Syriac *Life* was published first by P. Bedjan[51] and second by S. Lewis.[52] Based on these publications it becomes clear

[45] Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta,* vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1946), 32–37.
[46] Gérard Garitte, "La Passion de Saint Élien de Philadelphie ('Amman)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961): 412–446.
[47] Other manuscripts preserving this work are: Tbil. A-146 (fourteenth century), Tbil. A-382 (fifteenth century), Tbil. A-124 (eleventh century), *Wien, Nationalbibliothek georg. 4* (AD 1160). The Georgian title is: "ცხორებაჲ და მოქალაქეობაჲ ნისიმესი."
[48] Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1918), 202–214 and "Эпизод из начальной истории египетского монашества" [An episode in the history of early Egyptian monasticism], *Researches* 7 (1961): 76–101.
[49] Paul Peeters, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 478–479.
[50] Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Brussels, 1910), 178.
[51] Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 5 (Paris: Otto Harrassowitz, 1895), 405–409. Edition based on BL Add. 14649 (sixth to seventh and twelfth centuries), *BnF syr. 235* and *236* (both from the twelfth century).
[52] Agnes Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest," *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 81–93.

that there are actually two different redactions in Syriac – an extended one and a brief one. Once again, Outtier argued that: "on est ici en présence d'un texte syriaque ayant pénétré dans la littérature géorgienne par le truchement arabe."[53] This hypothesis was definitively confirmed by a detailed study undertaken by N. Tsakadze,[54] who proceeds by a comparative study of the Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian versions to conclude that the *Life* was initially written in Syriac, translated later into Arabic, and translated again into Georgian. The oldest manuscript preserving the Arabic version of the *The Life* is Sinai ar. 542, which has a quire pagination in Arabic and Georgian, comes from the monastery of Mar Sabas, and gives the first redaction of the Arabic text. A second redaction is attested in some manuscripts from Mingana, all of them written in Garshuni. The comparative study of these two redactions shows that they had different translators. The Georgian version is close to manuscript Sinai ar. 542. Based on a triple comparison of the Syriac-Arab-Georgian sentences, Tsakadze demonstrates that the number of mistakes in the Georgian translation can be easily explained by the polysemy of the corresponding Arabic terms; the Georgian translator failed to understand some grammatical forms of the Arabic model correctly. Tsakadze provides a critical edition of the Georgian translation. Moreover, she translated the Syriac version of Bedjan's edition of *The Life* into Georgian. She also published an Arabic version of *The Life* from Sinai ar. 542, adding a Georgian translation and, finally, she published a Garshuni redaction with a Georgian translation. Tsakadze's conclusions were questioned by M. van Esbroeck,[55] however, who, based on the analysis of the names "Pitirum" and "Tabenesis," concluded that they are transmitted relatively correctly in Georgian, but seriously transformed in Arabic and Syriac. Van Esbroeck thought that the possibility of a direct translation from the Arabic into Georgian was excluded and the translator of the Georgian text would have had access to a lost Greek model of *The Life*. It is important to stress that this work is one of the first literary documents translated into Georgian in Palestine. The language, considerably archaic, gives an idea of the antiquity of this translation.[56] To summarize, one may conclude that the Arabic translation of

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[53] Bernard Outtier, "Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249: Un recueil traduit de l'arabe et sa physionomie primitive," *Bedi Kartlisa* 35 (1977): 107.

[54] Nani Tsakadze, ნისიმეს ცხორების სირიული, არაბული და ქართული ვერსიები [Syriac, Arabic and Georgian versions of the martyrdom of Nisime] (Tblisi: Georgian National Academy of Sciences, 1973).

[55] Michel Van Esbroeck, "La légende géorgienne de l'ascète Nisime," *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes* 1 (1985): 117–125.

[56] Kekelidze, "Эпизод," 92.

The Life was made from a Syriac original at the monastery of Mar Sabas, which is where the oldest Arabic manuscript (Sinai ar. 542) originated. The emergence of the Georgian translation must also be connected with the *lavra* of Mar Sabas because of the oldest Georgian manuscript which contains its text – Tbil. A-249. According to Outtier, this manuscript collects some texts of Palestinian tradition[57] which passed from Syriac to Arabic and from Arabic to Georgian. Indeed, one of the texts contained in Tbil. A-249 ends with a colophon reporting: "It was translated at the *lavra* of Mar Sabas."[58]

Garitte had the merit to publish the Georgian version of *Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian*[59] based on manuscript BL Add. 1128. Another edition of this *Life* was due to I. Imnaišvili,[60] who used the same manuscript. This text is also preserved in another manuscript, Tbil. A-249, of Palestinian origin. According to Peeters, Tbil. A-249 is the oldest codex, preserving rare and unique documents.[61] Imnaišvili did not prepare a critical edition and Tbil. A-249 was inaccessible to Garitte. Even so, based on the philological analysis of the text, Garitte argued that the Georgian *Life*: "leaves visible some traces of the Syriac original."[62] Indeed, several different recensions of *The Life* are known to Syriac tradition;[63] one of them was published by Lamy[64] based on manuscript BnF syr. 235 (thirteenth century). The Georgian version relates to this recension, although it is increased by some specific passages.[65] Garitte's conclusions were based on observations related to the language of the Georgian translation, which was characterized by several signs suggesting a Syriac origin. There were a number of exact morphosyntactic copies and many mistakes in translation easily explicable by a Syriac original. However, later this question was reviewed and discussed again by Outtier, who drew attention to the existence of the Arabic version of *The Life* preserved in several manuscripts, at least one

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[57] Outtier, "Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249:" 109.

[58] Tsakadze, "Syriac, Arabic and Georgian versions:" 93.

[59] Gérard Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes de Saint Syméon Stylite l'Ancien et de Éphrem*, CSCO, 171; *Scriptores Iberici* 7 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1957) and CSCO 172, *Scriptores Iberici* 8 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1957). The Georgian title is: ცხორებაჲ ეფრემ ასურისაჲ.

[60] Imnaišvili, *Lives of Fathers,* 306–373.

[61] Paul Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 290.

[62] Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes*, vol. 2.

[63] See Joseph P. Amar, *The Syriac Vita Tradition of Ephrem the Syrian*, CSCO, 629–630; *Scriptores Syri*, 242–243 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2011).

[64] Tomas Joseph Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones*, vol. 2 (Malines: H. Dessain, 1886), 5–90.

[65] Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes*, vol. 2.

of which is dated to the tenth century. Namely, it is the question of Sinai ar. 457 (tenth century) having a quire numeration in Arabic and in Georgian. Analyzing Garitte's arguments, Outtier insists that, in fact, many of the philological clues which Garrite considered "syriacismes" can also be easily seen as "Arabisms" because they are natural for both of these related Semitic languages. As for mistakes in translation, according to Outtier, the Georgian could also have been influenced by the Arabic version. What is more, "les accords du géorgien avec l'arabe contre le syriaque sont légion."[66] In light of these conclusions, it seems that the Georgian version of *The Life of Ephrem* was connected to the Syriac original only through the Arabic version, indirectly, and Arabic version played the role of intermediary link between them. The Syriac *Life of Ephrem* dates from the early eighth century and the Georgian translation was made in the ninth century.

Texts that Passed from Greek to Syriac to Arabic to Georgian

The manuscripts Tbil. A-249, Tbil. A-144 (tenth century), Ath. 9 (AD 977) and its copy, Tbil. A-56 (eighteenth century), have preserved the story of Joseph of Arimathea and the church at Lydda. This story, which became a focus of global attention, was first published by Marr[67] based on the three manuscripts cited above. Marr suggested that the apocryphal *Story of Foundation of the Church of Lydda* was translated into Georgian from Syriac or from Arabic in the eighth or ninth century. Marr based his analysis on some proper names in the Georgian translation. For A. Stengenšek,[68] a Syriac original was behind the Georgian version. In 1901, A. Harnack[69] translated this story into German from the Russian translation available in Marr's edition and Th. Kluge[70] prepared a new German translation directly from the Georgian in 1915. Finally, in 1977, M. van Esbroeck

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[66] Outtier, "Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249," 103–104.

[67] Nikoloz Marr, *Иосиф Аримафейский, тексты и разискания по армянско - грузинской филологии* [Joseph of Arimathea, texts and research in Armenian-Georgian philology], vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1900).

[68] Avguštin Stengenšek, "Mitteilungen. Neuere russische Arbeiten zur armenisch-georgischen Philologie," *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901): 377–378.

[69] Adolf von Harnack, "Ein in georgischer Sprache überliefertes Apokryphon des Joseph von Arimathia," *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 39 (1901): 920–931.

[70] Theodor Kluge, "Die apokryphe Erzählung des Joseph von Arimathäa über den Bau der ersten christlichen Kirche in Lydda," *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1915): 24–38.

published a French translation.[71] Kluge hesitated about whether Greek, Syriac or Armenian models lay behind the Georgian translation. In the meantime, Peeters[72] had noted some alterations in the proper names; when "P" becomes "B" is relevant to indicate the weakness of Arabic alphabet. Finally, as noted above, Outtier considered the totality of manuscript Tbil. A-249, including *The Church of Lydda*, as having been translated from Arabic into Georgian. It should be noted that codex Ath. 9 is one of the manuscripts used by Abuladze in his edition of *The Teachings of the Fathers*.[73] The texts comprising this codex contain, according to Abuladze, terms borrowed from Pehlevi [Middle Persian] or Arabic. Once again, Outtier supposed an Arabic origin for codex Ath. 9.[74] However, Van Esbroeck noted that: "quand on examine la légende de Lydda, on n'aperçoit aucun indice du vocabulaire comparable à celui de la collection [i.e., *The Teachings of the Fathers*], encore moins des parallèles."[75] It should be stressed that the story of *The Church of Lydda* appears exclusively in manuscript Ath. 9 and is not shared by the other manuscripts that form the collection of *The Teachings of the Fathers*. Kh. Samir, who continued to review all of these hypotheses, noted that the Arabic version of this legend was still unknown.[76] Nevertheless, it seems possible to admit with Marr, Peeters, and Outtier that the Georgian translation derives from a (lost) Arabic version. Van Esbroeck supposed a Syriac model for the Arabic version and a Greek original behind the Syriac version.[77]

Texts that Passed from Arabic to Georgian

The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite[78] is known in two versions, Greek and Georgian. The Greek version of the oldest archetype of this story was published

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[71] Michel Van Esbroeck, "L'histoire de l'église de Lydda dans deux textes géorgiens," *Bedi Kartlisa* 35 (1977): 109–131.

[72] Paul Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 287–289.

[73] Ilia Abuladze, *მამათა სწავლანი X და XI საუკუნის ხელნაწერების მიხედვით* [Teaching of the Fathers according to the manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries] (Tbilisi, 1955).

[74] Outtier, "Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249:" 40.

[75] Michel Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (Louvain-La-Neuve: Peeters Publishers, 1975).

[76] Samir Khalil Samir, "Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens et les versions patristiques arabes," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42 (1976): 221.

[77] Van Esbroeck, "L'histoire de l'église de Lydda:" 113.

[78] The Georgian title is: "წამებაჲ წმიდისა მიქაელისი." See a bibliography concerning Michael the Sabaite in Graf, *Geschichte*, 23.

in 1892.[79] In fact, in the Greek Michael's martyrdom was incorporated into the *Life of St. Theodore of Edessa*, but in reality the *Martyrdom* is earlier than *The Life* and has been mistakenly included in it.[80] Despite these two versions, the Passion seems to have been written initially not in Greek or Georgian, but in Arabic (in the ninth century).[81] Then was translated into Georgian at the Mar Sabas monastery between the ninth and tenth centuries. The Georgian version was published by Kekelidze[82] based on Ath. 5. The Latin translation of *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite* is due to Peeters[83] and the English translation to M. Blanchard.[84] Peeters' translation was based on a philological argument considering the Georgian translation derived from an Arabic model; in his eyes, the numerous exact morphosyntactic copies of many adverbs and the "mannered elegance" that can be felt in the Georgian translation served as proof. He enumerates many other indications in his notes added to a Latin translation. Samir[85] shared the view that an Arabic model lay behind the Georgian version, a view adopted by Blanchard.[86] S. H. Griffith agreed with the other researchers; according to him:

> All the authorities who have had the occasion to examine the text so far have agreed that it was translated from Arabic. Here it will be argued that in all probability the original author of the Michael's story was an Arabophone monk of the monastery of Mar Sabas, who wrote the account of Michael's exploit in Arabic at some point in the ninth century.[87]

Blanchard summarized some clues such as morphosyntactic Arabisms identified by different researchers with the objective of detecting the (lost or unknown) Arabic model behind the Georgian translations. She found that some of these clues were relevant for *Michael's Martyrdom*. In my opinion, a monk

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[79] Иван Помяловский, *Житие Св. Отца нашего Теодора Архиерископа Эдесского* [The Life of our Holy Father St. Theodore Archbishop of Edessa] (St. Petersburg, 1892). See also: Alexander Vasiliev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–1943): 165–225.

[80] Paul Peeters, "La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930): 82.

[81] Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental*, 21 and 185.

[82] Kekelidze, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, 165–173.

[83] Peeters, "La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte:" 65–98.

[84] Monica J. Blanchard, "The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery," *Aram* 6 (1994): 150–163.

[85] Samir, "Les plus anciens," 226.

[86] Blanchard, "The Georgian version," 159.

[87] Sidney H. Griffith, "Michael the Martyr and Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery," *Aram* 6 (1994): 121.

at Mar Sabas initially composed, this *Martyrdom* in Arabic for the glory of his monastery and it was preserved in a Georgian translation thanks to a compiled manuscript that copied a number of other *Passions*, all translated from Arabic into Georgian in the same epoch. However, a different opinion should be mentioned here: The famous Georgian translator, George the Hagiorite (eleventh century), wrote in the *The* Vitae *of Our Blessed Fathers John and Euthymius* that Euthymius the Hagiorite (AD 955–1028) had translated the *Abukura* (აბუკურა) from Georgian into Greek.[88] This information is difficult to understand because no work entitled *Abukura* is known in Georgian literature. Some researchers, Kekelidze,[89] for example, have suggested that *Abukura* be identified as *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite*, which was narrated to the fathers of Mar Sabas by Theodore Abu Qurrah (eighth or ninth century), a great author of Christian Arabic literature and a monk of the *lavra*. P. Ingoroqva and L. Datašvili consider this text an "original" composition written at Mar Sabas monastery by a Georgian monk named Basil. They argue that the Georgian version was an example of rhythmical prose composed in four verses, each of them constituted of eight syllables. They consider this redaction a model that Euthymius used to translate from the Georgian into Greek. Euthymius would have had a genuine interest in translating this *Martyrdom*, which is absent from Greek literature[90] (as mentioned above, it is included in the *The Life of Theodore of Edessa*, but in the Greek tradition this text does not exist independently). As for the Greek *Life of Theodore of Edessa*, Ephrem Mtsire translated it into Georgian in the eleventh century.

Research concerning the *The Martyrdom of Pansophius of Alexandria* has been published by Peeters.[91] Kekelidze, who edited the Georgian[92] version, considered the *Martyrdom* an apocryphal work preserved only in the Georgian tradition by manuscript Sinai Geo. 6. Based on this conjecture, Peeters, who also prepared a Latin translation, judged that this text was derived from an Arabic original. He

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[88] "ცხორებაჲ ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა იოვანესი და ეფთვიმესი" [The Lives of our Blessed Fathers John and Euthymius], *Dzeglebi* 2 (1967): 41. For a Latin translation, see: Paul Peeters, "Vie de Jean et Euthyme," *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1917–1919): 8–69.

[89] Korneli Kekelidze, "რომანი აბუკურა და მისი ორი რედაქცია ძველ ქართულ მწერლობაში" [The story of Abukura and its two redactions in Georgian literature], *Researches* 6 (1960): 18–41.

[90] Ibid., 29–30.

[91] Paul Peeters, "La Passion de Saint Pansophios d'Alexandrie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 307–337.

[92] Georgian title: "წამებაჲ წმიდისადა ყოვლად ქებილისა მოწამისა პანსოფი ალექსანდრიელისაჲ," Korneli Kekekidze, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, 48–59.

interpreted some nonsense in the Georgian translation as caused by graphical confusion among similar Arabic terms.

Once more, it was Peeters who suggested that the Georgian version of the *The Martyrdom of Saint Romanos the Younger*[93] relied on an Arabic model composed immediately after the death of the saint and before AD 787. Peeters translated the Georgian version into Latin and Kekelidze made a translation into Russian,[94] but he only had one incomplete manuscript of the *Martyrdom* to work with. Because of this gap, based on a complete manuscript from Mount Athos, A. Khakhanov[95] republished the text. Peeters has provided a number of proofs demonstrating that the Georgian version depended on a (lost) Arabic original: the proper names are borrowed from Arabic onomastics and some other Arabic terms are simply transliterated into Georgian. Finally, many mistakes can be explained by the translator having misread Arabic terms. The title of the Georgian version declares that the *Martyrdom* was composed at Mar Sabas by the monk Stephan of Damascus of the *lavra*. One can suppose with great probability along with Peeters that it was composed in Arabic. The Georgian translation, created in a Syro-Palestinian environment, is the unique surviving version.

Peeters devoted detailed research to *The Life of Anthony Rawakh*.[96] The Georgian version, based mainly on manuscript Ath. 57, was edited by I. Qipšidze with a Russian translation.[97] Qipšidze recognized some Arabic influence on the forms of Georgian proper names, but he did not believe he could conclude that the Georgian version derived from the Arabic. Peeters brought up new points based on Vat. ar. 175 (eighth century). In fact, there are two different redactions of this text in Arabic: one of them is the *Martyrdom* transformed later by a hagiographer into the *Life/Autobiography of Saint-Antoine Rawakh*.[98] Peeters demonstrates that the Georgian version strictly follows *The Autobiography* as it

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[93] Paul Peeters, "Saint Romain le Néomartyr (†1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 393–427. Georgian title : "წამებაჲ რომანოზ ახლისაჲ."

[94] Korneli Kekelidze, *Новооткрытый агиологический памятник иконоборческой эпохи* [Newly found hagiologic monument from the iconoclastic period], *Researches* 7 (1961): 64–75.

[95] Alexander Khakhanov, *Материалы по грузинской агиологии* [Georgian hagiologic documents], *Труды по востоковедению* 31 (1910): 25–46.

[96] Paul Peeters, "Une autobiographie de Saint Antoine le néo-martyr," *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914): 52–63. The Georgian title: "წამებაჲ წმიდისა რავახისაჲ."

[97] Joseph Qipšidze, *Житие и мученичество Св. Антония-Раваха* [The life and martyrdom of Holy Antony Rawakh], *Христианский Восток* 2 (1913): 54–104.

[98] For another redaction, see: Paul Peeters, "St. Antoine le néo-martyr," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 410–450.

exists in Vat. ar. 175. I. Dick has published the oldest Arabic version of this text and assesses the current status of the question in his introduction.[99]

The homily of Jacob of Serug (AD 451–521), *Elias and Archangel Michael*, seems to have been translated from Arabic into Georgian. Once again, Outtier was behind this hypothesis;[100] in fact, this homily is attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, but Outtier identified it as a work of Jacob of Serug.[101] The Georgian version is preserved in the manuscripts Tbil. A-144 and Tbil. A-691 (fourteenth century). In Arabic there are four different recensions of this text preserved in the manuscripts BnF ar. 143 (fourteenth century) and 281 (AD 1547). An edition of all of these versions is in preparation by Outtier. According to Outtier's observations, the Georgian version seems to have been translated from Arabic in Palestine in the ninth century.

Conclusion

In general, Syro-Palestinian multicultural and multilingual monasteries presented the most favorable conditions for a development of closer ties between Georgian and Arabophone monks. Indeed, the Georgian presence at the Holy Places of Palestine is recorded in historical sources and there is also archeological evidence for it, especially from the fourth century, after Georgia adopted Christianity. From the sixth century this presence was rather impressive. Georgians were in Jerusalem and its environs, in the Palestinian deserts, in most of the oldest monasteries and *lavra*s. But the most important place for Christian Arabic-Georgian literary relations was the monastery of Mar Sabas. This research has demonstrated that the largest number of the Georgian translations derived from Arabic models are connected with this monastery by being the place of origin of their Arabic models or by being the place where the Georgian translations originated or both. This was the case of *The Persian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614*, *The Killing of the Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*, *The Life of Stephan the Sabaite*, *The Second Epistle of Basil the Great*, *The Life of St. Nisime*, *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Romanos the Younger*, and others. These are mainly accounts describing Syro-Palestinian saints and milieus and these texts are important to

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[99] Ignace Dick, "La passion arabe de Saint Antoine Ruwah, néo-martyr de Damas," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961): 109–133.

[100] Bernard Outtier, "Homélie de notre Saint et bienheureux Père Éphrem sur le prophète Élie et l'archange Michel," in *Le Saint Prophète Élie d'après les Pères de l'Église, Spiritualité Orientale* 53 (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1992): 433–451.

[101] However, without giving arguments, which are promised for further research.

research in Syro-Palestianian Christian studies. Indeed, according to Griffith, "the Georgian manuscripts have played …an important role in discovering the history of the appearance of the Arabic language in the literature of the Holy Land monasteries."[102] The reasons must be highlighted here: First, Mar Sabas Monastery was one of the oldest fiefs of Georgian literature in the Holy Land until the tenth century, where numerous Georgian manuscripts were created and copied; second, the monastic communities of the Holy Land, including especially Mar Sabas, were famously cosmopolitan and multilingual in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Greek was the dominant language of ecclesiastical culture from the fourth to the eighth century, but after this period and between 750 and 1050, Arabic became increasingly the language of the Melkite (Orthodox Christians who follow the Council of Calcedon of 451) community of Christians.[103] By the beginning of the ninth century, Mar Sabas Monastery found itself at the heart of an Arabic-speaking ecclesiastical network where Arabic was a living language for the monks and translations were made from Arabic into Georgian.[104] It has become evident that this situation offered a most favorable condition for the rapprochement of Georgians and the Arabic-speaking Christians living and working together. It should also be noted that, in contrast, the Arab invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries in Georgia limited the literary and scribal work of the Georgian monasteries. Then, "it was only natural that the Georgian monks living in the Holy Land monasteries would take upon themselves the burden of translating, composing and copying the church literature for their suffering homeland."[105]

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[102] Sidney H. Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *The Muslim World* 78 (1988): 15–16.

[103] Sidney H. Griffith, "Antony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *Church History* 58, no. 1 (1989): 7. See also Sidney H. Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 11–31.

[104] Nanobashvili, "The Development of Literary Contacts:" 273.

[105] Yana Tchekhanovets, "Early Georgian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," *Liber Annuus* 61 (2011): 468.

POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE OTTONIAN EMPIRE
(919–1024)

Gábor Bradács 📩

This paper is about poor relief and the role it played in the representation of royal power in the ninth- and tenth-century Holy Roman Empire. The territorial framework is the Kingdom of Germany, or rather, the Eastern Frankish Kingdom,[1] established in 919, and the Holy Roman Empire after 962; this political entity included not only the present-day German-speaking countries, but also Alsace, Lorraine, the Low Countries, and the northern part of Italy. The chronological framework ranges from the coronation of Henry I of Germany (919) to the death of Emperor Henry II (1024), which was the age when the concept of sacral kingship developed in the Holy Roman Empire, linking theocratic tendencies with contemporary political thinking in the image of the ruler. The topic combines church history, social, economic, and legal history. The complexity of the topic requires a thoughtful choice of methodology and a variety of methods.

The primary sources here are the scholarly series of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica and the Regesta Imperii.[2] These source editions meet high standards of critical edition. There are two major source groups; the first and richest consists of charters and other administrative sources, which include German and Italian charters of the tenth and eleventh century. Another important group is the historiographic and hagiographic sources, which enable a specific approach to "imperial" poor relief. Surprisingly, historiographic documents like the annals, chronicles, *gestae episcoporum*, and so on, provided less information for my research than I expected. Legal sources, council decisions, and the *ordines* for

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[1] Hagen Keller and Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich I. und Otto der Grosse: Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1985).

[2] Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Emil von Ottenthal, ed., *Regesta Imperii II. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Herrschern aus dem Sächsichen Hause 919–1024* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893); Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Harald Zimmermann, ed., *Regesta Imperii II. 5. Papstregesten 911–1024* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998); Theodor Sickel, ed., *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter: MGH], Diplomata: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae [hereafter: DD] 1) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1879–1884); Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, eds. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, 3 vols. (MGH, Diplomata: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 6) (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1941), reprint of: Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1952 [1959] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1978).

royal coronations contributed even less. Due to limitations of space, archaeological and pictorial materials could not be integrated here, but they would surely provide useful additional material. The secondary literature reflects diversity, despite the fact that poor relief in the Ottonian age has only been researched tangentially by scholars.[3] In recent German historical scholarship, research on representation, the self-interpretations of kings, and rituals of power have played an important role (Gerd Althoff,[4] Ernst Schubert[5]), along with the construction of memory in the Ottonian dynasty (Johannes Fried).[6] Althoff has thoroughly researched the connection between the *memoria* of dead members of the dynasty and poor relief, concluding that the motivation for the pious donations in several charters was the redemption and the eternal happiness of the soul of the grantor or his/her predecessors.[7]

The variety of sources and their interpretation necessitate applying a large range of methods. Understanding the social and economic levels requires a traditional historian's paradigm and sources. Close examination of the charters is needed here; all the documents should be explored in which any aspect of poor relief (offerings, the establishment of alms houses, pious donations, pilgrim houses, shelters, etc.) is mentioned. One has to pay attention to the fact that due to the uniformity of charter texts, the word *hospicium* could mean feeding the poor, but also the guest house of at monastery where pilgrims were sheltered. With regard to the terminology one has to consider whether any textual reception

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[3] Egon Boshof, "Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976): 265–339; Peter Dinter. "Die Armenfürsorge in Bischofsviten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts," in: *Arbor amoena comis. Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Bonn 1965–1990*, ed. Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990): 133–142.
[4] Gerd Althoff, *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im* Mittelalter (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003).
[5] Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, ed. *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1998).
[6] Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte. Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*, Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands 1 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1994); Fried's concept is greatly criticised in Gerd Althoff, "Von Fakten zu Motiven. Johannes Frieds Beschreibung der Ursprünge Deutschlands," *Historische Zeitschrift* 260 (1995): 107–117; further, see: Hanna Vollrath, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtsschreibung. Zur Diskussion um das Buch 'Der Weg un die Geschichte' von Johannes Fried," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 43 (1995): 451–459.
[7] Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 47 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1984), 172–179.

happened from some previous charter of the Carolingian era.[8] This approach requires the traditional charter critique. One has to take into consideration how many charters were issued by which ruler, when, where, on what occasions, and who were the recipients of the donation mentioned in the charter.

Michel Mollat du Jourdain formulated a proper definition of poverty which can also be applied; his ideas apply not only to medieval poverty, but also to other periods. The main characteristics are: a poor person is someone who, either temporarily or permanently, is suffering a situation of weakness, dependence, humiliation, and privation; the degree of this suffering depend on the period and society.[9] In the Christian context, the attitude towards poverty was twofold; while the Old Testament viewed poverty on a phenomenological level, the New Testament considered it something which could contribute to an individual's redemption and also play an important role in the salvation history of mankind.[10] In the tradition of the Old Testament, poverty is considered a feature of equality before God ("The rich and poor have met one another: the Lord is the maker of them both"[11]), but also an instrument of divine punishment; opulence is a sign of divine grace ("The blessing of the Lord maketh men rich: neither shall affliction be joined to them,"[12] "for it is easy in the eyes of God on a sudden to make the poor man rich"[13]).

In the New Testament, the attitude toward poverty and wealth changed substantially: Jesus came into the world with the promise of his Father's kingdom, where people in need will be blessed, but in this eternal kingdom there will be no place for the rich, because "they already have their consolation." In the kingdom

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[8] The usual formulae like *pro remedio animae*, or *pro salute animae* also appear in several charters of the Merovingian and Carolingian Empire, see: Eugen Ewig, "Die Gebetsklausel für König und Reich in den merowingischen Königsurkunden," in: *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters [Festschrift Karl Hauck]*, ed. Manfred Balzer, Norbert Kamp, Joachim Wollasch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 87–99 and ibid., "Der Gebetsdienst der Kirchen in den Urkunden der späteren Karolinger," in: *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Martin Maurer and Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1982), 45–86.

[9] Michel Mollat du Jourdain, "Pauvreté chrétienne III. Moyen âge," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, vol. 12, ed. Marcel Viller (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 648.

[10] Uta Lindgren, "Armut und Armenfürsorge I. A. Begrifflichkeit. I. Soziologie," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (1980), 985; Simon Légasse, "Pauvreté chrétienne I. Écriture sainte," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 614–634 (with further bibliography).

[11] Proverbs 22:2.

[12] Proverbs 10:22.

[13] Ecclesiastes 11:23.

of God, hated, persecuted, and hungry people are welcome.[14] The theological and practical origins of Christian poor relief are found in the epistles of Saint Paul; the second epistle to the Corinthians contains an interesting conclusion in which poverty becomes Christ's instrument for the salvation of mankind: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich he became poor, for your sakes that through his poverty you might be rich."[15]

The poor were an organic part of medieval daily life.[16] There were many reasons for being poor in the Middle Ages. After the end of the Carolingian Empire, there was an increase in population numbers; changes in the system of land tenure led to a crisis in agriculture, which caused pauperization among the lower social strata.[17] Pauperization and the loss of land holdings may have led to migration into the towns; poverty was aggravated by periodic famines between the ninth and eleventh century.[18] The other group of medieval poor consisted of the voluntary paupers, who were mostly monks, hermits, and pilgrims.[19] Both groups

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[14] Luke 6:21–26; Matthew 5:11–12; for Jesus' attitude to the poor see further: Jon Sobrino, "Relation de Jésus avec les pauvres et les déclassés. Importance de la morale fondamentale," *Concilium* 150 (1979): 25–34; Eduard Lohse, "Das Evangelium für die Armen," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 72 (1981): 51–64; for the Gospel of Luke as the "gospel of the poor," see: George W. S. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich and God's Judgement in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel According to Luke," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1978–1979): 324–344; Gabriel Pérez, "Lucas, evangelio de exigencias radicales," *Servidor de la Palabra. Miscelanea biblica en honor del P. Alberto Colunga* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1979), 319–367; Thomas E. Phillips, "Reading Recent Readings of Issues of Wealth and Poverty in Luke and Acts," *Currents in Biblical Research* 1 (2003): 231–269.

[15] 2 Corinthians 8:9 and ibid. 9:11 ("That being enriched in all things, you may abound unto all simplicity, which worketh through us thanksgiving to God"); to the question of the "poverty" of Christ see Légasse, *Pauvreté*, 632–633 and S. Zedda, "La povertà di Cristo secondo s. Paolo (2 Cor. 8, 9; Fil. 2, 7–9; Col. 1, 24; 2 Cor. 13, 3–4)," *Evangelizare pauperibus. Atti della XXIV Settimana Biblica* (Brescia: Paideia, 1978), 343–370 (this book is the most comprehensive overview of the issue of poverty in the Bible).

[16] Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 134.

[17] Ernst Werner, "Armut und Reichtum in den Vorstellungen ost- und westkirchlicher Häretiker des 10.–12. Jahrhundert," *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII. Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievali,* vol. 8 (Todi: Presso l'Academia Tuderina, 1969), 105–112.

[18] For a history of medieval famines, see: Fritz Curschmann. *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1900, 82–85 (this is still the most comprehensive, but to some extent outdated, work about the history of medieval famines).

[19] Mollat du Jourdain, *Les moines*, 215.

of poor were targets of pious donations. However, the word *pauper* did not mean exclusively penniless people, but also those who could not defend themselves as they were not allowed to carry weapons, in other words: the unprotected.[20]

In the normative texts of the late eighth and early ninth century one sees a structural change as the distinction between the "rich" (*potentes*) and "poor" (*pauperes*) was introduced into the terminology. The term *pauperes liberi*, for instance, referred to a person unable to wield power but obliged to take part in military operations and fight as a soldier (*pauperiores liberi, qui in exercitum ire debent*) and to vassals at the royal court, who had no power (*pauperiores vassi de palatio*).[21] This dichotomy had already appeared in the literature of the previous century; one should think of Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* in which he makes a sharp distinction between *maiores* and *minores*, as the social élite distinguished themselves from the mass of the poor.[22] Work was the important feature which made a sharp border between the small group of the upper class and the mass of paupers: it declassed, degraded the one who worked; it was considered "servant's work" (*opus servile*), which was enough that free, independent people became "poor," or rather, "servants."[23] But this "service" was not total dependence on the élite; the work of the lower strata of society was needed in order that the upper-class, or the social class which was still able to arm itself, could provide military and social protection for the "poor," with law, order, and poor relief, which also included relief for widows and orphans.[24]

The terminology of poverty did not change essentially in the Ottonian period. One can say, with good reason, that the vast majority of society could be regarded as poor, but they did not always require financial aid automatically. Peter Dinter assumes that famines and other great disasters might have played an important role in the pauperization of the population of the Ottonian and Salian *Reich*, or at least they might have been a cause of the numerous pious donations of this era.[25] This suggestion is worth thinking over; if one compares the data on the disasters described in the narrative texts of the Ottonian and Salian age with

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[20] Bosl, *Armut Christi*, 41–47; Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 135.

[21] Boretius, *Capitularia*, 100 (no. 34): C. 12. *De obpressionibus liberorum hominum pauperum, qui in exercitu ire debent et a iudicibus sunt obpressi*; *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (MGH Scriptores, [hereafter: SS] 1) (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), 38: …*noluit de infra palatio pauperiores vassos*; Bosl, *Grundlagen*, 71.

[22] Johannes Schneider, "Die Darstellung der pauperes in den Historiae Gregors von Tours," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1966): 57–74, especially 71–74.

[23] Bosl, *Grundlagen*, 89.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 134

that in the charters, one may establish some connection between practical poor relief and the actual difficulties of everyday life. Little information is available about these famines and disasters; the *Life of Saint Gerard* by Widric mentions a famine in Lorraine, particularly around Toul (984).[26] Three years later storms caused severe damage and floods in the western part of the empire. Archbishop Adalbero of Reims described the storm in his letter to Archbishop Egbert of Trier and the damage caused to traffic in the territory of Lorraine and around Trier.[27] In the autumn of 989 another kind of natural disaster caused damage in the same territory, the Rhineland and Lorraine; severe drought and extraordinary heat in the spring and summer was followed by illness and starvation among both humans and animals. A witness of this event, Archbishop Gerbert of Reims (later Pope Sylvester II), also suffered from the famine, writing about an "infectious autumn" (*pestilens autumnus*).[28] In addition, the appearance of Halley's Comet and a solar eclipse (on October 21, 990) boosted the panic in the realm of the nine-year-old Emperor Otto III.[29] In 992, the crops perished in storms in some territories of Germany and Italy, and the aurora borealis could be seen in the empire.[30] In

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[26] Widric, *Vita s. Gerardi episcopi*, ed. Georg Waitz (MGH SS 4) (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 496: *C. 8. De inedia panis vitata, cellariis beati viri ad erogandum apertis. Reflexo autem tramite ad propria dum remeat, Langobardorum fines mox penetrat, ubi quam plures creditae sibi plebis repperit, quos victus inedia e a nativo solo expulit. Hos misericordiae sinu confovens, suae comites viae ascivit, et multitudinem trecentorum ferme hominum suo alendam sumptu congregavit, cum qua propriam urbem mediante quadragesima introiit*; Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Mathilde Uhlirz ed. *Regesta Imperii II. Sächsisches Haus 919–1024. 3: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto III* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1956), no. 956z.

[27] Fritz Weigle, ed. *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 2) (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1966), 138 (no. 109): *Omni difficultate rerum accepto itinere interclusi expectendum censuimus portum salutis. Nam declivia montium torrentes continui intercipiunt. Campestria sic iuges aquae vestiunt, ut villis cum habitatoribus sublatis, armentis enectis, terrorem ingerant diluvii renovandi. Spes melioris aurae a phisicis sublata. Refugimus itaque ad vos tamquam ad arcam Noe, Treverimque invisere totis viribus conamur, beati O. per vim extorta obsequia in beati Petri apostolorum principis devotionem relaturi*, see: Curschmann, *Hungersnöte*, 107.

[28] Weigle, Briefsammlung, 190 (no. 162): *pestilens autumnus pene vitam exforsit*; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte*, 107; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, no. 1016c and 1017.

[29] Martina Giese, ed. *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 72) (Hannover: Hahn, 2004), 477 (989): *Cometae apparuerunt, quas pestilentia subsequuta est grandis hominum et iumentorum et maxima boum*; ibid. (990): *Ecclipsis solis facta est XII. Kalend. Novemb. hora quinte dei*; to the identification of Halley's Comet and the chronology of the solar eclipse, see: Derek Justin Schove and Alan J. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 242, 297.

[30] Giese, *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 482 (992): *XII. Calend. Novembris totum coelum ter in nocte visum est rubrum fuisse; ibid. (993): In nocte natalis sancti Stephani protomartyris, id est VII. Calend.*

the next year, cold weather after the heat and drought destroyed the agricultural areas and an early cold and snowy winter caused famine again.[31] The disastrous events of the year 993, the long cold winter, and the drought and famine caused the death of thousands in the borderlands of Germany and France, as well in Saxony (994).[32] The first two decades of the reign of Otto III were full of disasters, so one might assume that Emperor Otto was forced to give numerous donations to the poor. Looking at the list of charters, however, only one diploma was issued by the young emperor, to Kornelimünster Abbey in 985. The abbey (today part of Aachen) lies near the Rhine River. Thus, the estate of the abbey might have been affected by the disasters between 984 and 989. Otto confirmed the previous privileges, the rights to immunity, the market, and the mint. The emperor granted the tithe to the abbey for food and hospitality to the poor and the monks.[33] The charter does not give any further account of the disasters; its terminology is general and based on previous documents. Thus, there is no persuasive proof that the "imperial" relief of the Ottonian and the Salian age might have been connected with the severe natural disasters of the period. On the contrary, in the decades of great disasters (the 990s and the 1060s) it seems that the fewest charters were issued; clearly one cannot declare a probable connection

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Ianuarii, inauditum seculis miraculum vidimus, videlicet circa primum gallicinium tantam lucem subito ex aquilone effulsisse, ut plurimi dicerent diem oriri. Stetit autem unam plenam horam; postea rubente aliquantulum coelo, in solitum conversum est colorem; see Robert Russell Newton, *Medieval chronicles and the rotation of the earth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1972), 713; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii* II, no. 1077a.

[31] Georg Waitz, *Annales Hildesheimenses* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 8) (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), 26 (993): *Et inde a nativitate sancti Johannis baptistae usque in 5 Id. Novembr. pene per omnem aestatem et autumnum siccitas nimia et fervor inmanis fuit; ita ut innumerabiles fruges non pervenirent ad temporaneam maturitatem propter solis ardorem; quo non modicum subsequebatur frigus, et magna nix cecidit, magnaque pestis simul et mortalitas hominum atque iumentorum evenit;* Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii* II, no. 1078b, 1110d.

[32] Giese, *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 484–485 (994): *Hiems durissima 3. Non. Novembr. exorta, usque 3. Non. Maii stetit, rarissimis intermissa diebus. Deinde pestiferis et frigidis flantibus ventis, noctibus plurimis pro rore hibernum cecidit frigus. Ad ultimum Non. Iulii grande est factum gelu, tantaque siccitas fluminum et penuria facta est pluviarum, ut in plerisque stagnis et pisces morerentur, et in terris arbores plurimae penitus arescerent, et fruges perirent et linum. Subsequuta, quoque est grandis pestilentia hominum, porcorum, boum et ovium; prata etiam in plerisque locis ita exaruerunt, veluti igne exusta fuissent ... Fames etiam hoc anno magna facta est pluribus in locis Saxoniae;* Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, no. 1132b.

[33] MGH DD O III 18 (Nimwegen, August 20, 985): *...**Decima** vero omnis dominicate culture ad usus fratrum pertinens iubemus atque sancimus, ut perhennis temporibus ad portam monasterii **in alimoniam pauperum atque hospitum detur**, cetera autem omnia ad stipendia monachorum ibidem deo famulantium* proficiant in augmentis.

of institutionalized poor relief with famine, plague, and natural disaster on the basis of the fragmentary source material.

The number of the people who requested help in the Ottonian and Salian age also cannot be determined accurately. The charters tell about perhaps two hundred people who were fed or clothed by the pious donations of the rulers. The description of the council of Dortmund by Thietmar of Merseburg (see above) confirms that royal or ecclesiastical poor relief might have been a provisional solution for the social problems of the age. As was mentioned above, three hundred poor people were fed by the participating bishops, five hundred by Duke Bernhard of Saxony, and one thousand five hundred by the royal couple (Henry II and Queen Cunigunde) when they were received in Dortmund. This is two thousand three hundred people all together, which can be regarded as a relatively great number of people to take part in a banquet given by the participating notables of the council, but still, this was only one single event![34] Clearly, the practice of poor relief in the Ottonian age and later cannot be compared to recent notions of poor relief; there was no institutionalized charity or the financial means for continuous poor relief. The only institution which was willing and able to maintain social justice and relative "welfare" in the society of the early medieval Holy Roman Empire (and later), was the Church: the Church, which received its donations from the king or emperor, and therefore relied greatly on the economic situation and depended on the benevolence of the royal power. Such poor relief could be successful only when cooperation functioned between the Church and the "state." This co-operation, however, depended on the personal interest of the ruler, who might have had any number of expectations of the Church, like representation or the glorification of the royal power or the ideological ratification of the royal might.

If the majority of the population in the Ottonian and Salian Empire lived in "poverty," one must keep in mind that the concept of poverty in the early Middle Ages was different from that held at present, because it referred to social conditions of dependance or to work-lifestyles.[35] Of course, the accepted features of poverty were not unknown in the Ottonian and Salian Holy Roman Empire: lack of financial means, indigence, poor conditions and standards of living, or social dependence on the upper social strata.[36] The dispositions and practical

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[34] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 296.

[35] For the development of the concept of poverty, see: Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty. A History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 15–72.

[36] Bosl, *Armut Christi*, 5; ibid., *Das Problem der Armut in der hochmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische

activities of the poor relief carried out in the tenth and eleventh century were clearly unable to improve the social conditions and standard of living of the poor – but what were the real intentions? The underlying research interest here is determining the role of representation, rituals of royal power, and the pontifical dignity and discovering the possible ideological background of the deeds of charity in the realm of the early medieval Holy Roman rulers.[37]

Twenty-seven charters were issued between 919 and 1024 dealing with poor relief. Five charters were issued by King Henry I,[38] sixteen by Otto I,[39] and four by Emperor Henry II.[40] Emperors Otto II and Otto III, father and son, gave only one charter each dealing with the issue of poor relief.[41] Most charters record the donation or corroboration of different privileges, like legal immunity, the right to freely elect the abbot, certain royal rights (minting, market, the rights over

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Klasse, 104/5) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften); ibid. "Armut, Arbeit, Emanzipation. Zu den Hintergründen der geistigen und literarischen Bewegung vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Herbert Helbig zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Knut Schulz (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 128–146.

[37] John W. Bernhard, "King Henry II of Germany: Royal Self-representation and Historical Memory," in: *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2003), 39–69; Gerd Althoff., "Rechtsgewohnheiten und Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter," *Gewohnheit, Gebot, Gesetz: Normativität in Geschichte und Gegenwart; eine Einführung*, ed. Nils Jansen and Peter Oestmann (Tübingen: Mohr & Siebeck, 2011), 27–52.

[38] MGH DD H I no. 1 (Fulda, 3 April, 920); MGH DD H I no. 19 (Nabburg, 30 June, 929); MGH DD H I no. 26 (Werla, 23 February, 931); MGH DD H I no. 37 (Erwitte, 9 May, 935); MGH DD H I no. †42 (Worms, 931?).

[39] MGH DD O I, n. 2 (Magdeburg, 14 October, 936); MGH DD O I, no. 5 (Dahlum, 30 December, 936); MGH DD O I no. 29 (Salz, 29 May, 940); MGH DD O I no. 41 (Magdeburg, 6 August, 941); MGH DD O I, no. 68 (945–953?); MGH DD O I no. 81 (Rheims, 19 September, 946); MGH DD O I no. 106 (Frankfurt, 26 December, 948); MGH DD O I no. 179 (Frankfurt, 10 March, 956); MGH DD O I no. 210 (Cologne, 3 June, 960); MGH DD O I no. 213 (Magdeburg, 13 July, 960); MGH DD O I no. 227 (Brüggen an der Leine, 7 June, 961); MGH DD O I no. 237 (Rignano Flaminio, 21 February, 962); MGH DD O I no. 240 (Pavia, 2 April, 962); MGH DD O I no. 258 (San Leo, 26 August, 963); MGH DD O I no. †442 (Rome, 962); MGH DD O I no. †453 (Strasbourg, 1 November, 972).

[40] MGH DD H II no. 291 (Fasciano, 1014); MGH DD H II no. 297 (Piacenza, 1014); MGH DD H II no. 354 (Dammerkirch, 29 August, 1016); MGH DD H II no. 429 (Fulda, 3 May, 1020).

[41] MGH DD O II no. 103 (Fulda, 27 May, 975) and MGH DD O III no. 18 (Nijmegen, 20 August, 985).

forests, lakes, and so on). Poor relief appears in these documents as an extra administrative task.

The very first charter of King Henry I, published on 3 April 920, corroborated the privileges donated by Louis the Pious,[42] Louis the German,[43] and King Conrad I,[44] for instance, royal defense, immunity against the jurisdiction of the lay nobility,[45] the right to collect the tithe within the territory of the monastery, and the right of free election of the abbot.[46] Henry also remarked in the charter about the tithe that it was intended to be used for renovating church buildings and providing food and accommodation for the poor, pilgrims, and guest monks. This passage became the model for later charters about the social function of the tithe. The tithe was to be used for maintaining of monastic buildings (*aedificia perficienda vel restauranda*), providing candles for light in the church (*luminariaque renovanda*), and feeding the poor and guests (*pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere*),[47] as was ordered by the rules of St. Benedict of Nursia (chapters 31 and 53).[48] These requirements, namely, feeding the poor and accommodating guests, appear in Carolingian charters in almost the same manner and the Carolingian charters also refer to the Rule of St. Benedict. In his other charter, King Henry I of Germany donated candles and money for lighting the church building for his "eternal memory" on behalf of his wife, Queen Matilda, ensuring prayers to Lord for mercy (*pro nobis coniuge proleque nostra domini misericordiam exorare*).[49]

In his charter of 930, King Henry I obliged Kempten Abbey (Bavaria) to spend its tithe from *Buosenhoua* (Biessenhofen, Bavaria) to support the poor.[50]

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[42] Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, no. 613.

[43] MGH DD LD no. 15.

[44] MGH DD K I no. 6.

[45] …*eiusdem monasterii cum sibi subiectis sub immunitatis nostrae defensione possidere*…

[46] *…ipsi monachi inter se tales invenire possint qui ipsam congregationem secundum regulam pii patris Benedicti regere valeant, per hanc nostram auctoritatem consensum et licentiam habeant eligandi abbates.*

[47] MGH DD H I no. 1, 39: *decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum atque mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

[48] Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, Patrologiae cursus completes, series latina 66, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1852), C. 31. *Infirmorum, infantum, hospitum pauperumque cum omni sollicitudine curam gerat, sciens sine dubio quia pro his omnibus in die iudicii rationem redditurus est.*

[49] MGH DD H I, no. 37.

[50] MGH DD H I no. 19 (Nabburg, 30 June, 929): *post eius autem obitum* (Abbot Agilolf) *ambae donationes ad alimoniam fratrum et decimationes salicae terrae in Buosenhoua ad* **hospitale**

The charter for Fulda Abbey by King Otto I (936) is a similar case, affirming the previous privileges (royal protection, free election of the abbot, immunity) of Louis the Pious, Conrad I, and Henry I; the tithe collected from the estates of the abbey was to be used for feeding the poor and pilgrims.[51]

In the Ottonian age few documents mention poor relief explicitly. One of them is the charter of Otto I from 941, in which the king gives the monastery of St. Maurice in Magdeburg all his property in the villages of Rohrsheim, Upilingi, and Netthorp in the Harzgau for feeding the poor.[52] Unfortunately, no other information is known about this charter; Widukind and other historians and annals do not mention it. The history of the Hastière Monastery (in German Waulsort, today Belgium), founded in 946, is better known. Otto authorized the foundation of a monastery dedicated to poor relief and hospitality at the request of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and Bishop Odo of Liège. The foundation was initiated by a noble man named Egilbert and his wife, Hereswind, who invited Irish monks into their new foundation. Otto donated the right of freely electing the abbot of the monastery with the restriction that as long as the Irish monks lived they were allowed to elect someone from among of them as abbot; in addition, the king granted the title "monastery of pilgrims" (*monasterium peregrinorum*).[53] The charter is perhaps the single document which confirms the

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in sustentationem pauperum pertinerent et, si eis abstraherentur, ad condonatores vel successores eorum remearent.

[51] MGH DD O I n. 2 (Magdeburg, 14 October, 936): *habeat praefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis,* **pauperibus** *quoque et* **peregrinis** *tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint praebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione* **hospitum pauperumque** *semper esse paratos...*

[52] MGH DD O I, no. 41 (Magdeburg, 6 August, 941): …*Quocirca noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam et futurorum industria, qualiter nos pro dei amore nostraeque animae remedio, nostri etiam sospitate regnique stabilitate ad monasterium quod deo sanctisque martiribus Mauricio atque Innocentio construximus, quicquid infra marcam hic nominatarum villarum: Uplingi, Rareshem, Netthorp, proprietatis habuimus in pago Hardaga in comitatu Thiatmeri, in* **hospitales recipiendorum usus pauperum** *iure perenni in proprium donavimus cum omnibus adiacenciis et appendiciis suis illuc legaliter aspitientibus, quandum nostri inde fuit, mancipiis agris pratis pascuis silvis aquis aquarumque decursibus molendinis piscationibus viis et inviis mobilibus et immobilibus, omnia ad coenobium deo pro veneratione prelibatorum martirum, Mauricii videlicet et Innocentii, in loco qui dicitur Magadoburg a nobis fundatum* **in** *predictos* **usus hospitalitatis pauperum** *contulimus…*; for the monastery and cathedral chapter of St. Maurice, see: Gottfried Wentz and Berent Schwineköper, *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972).

[53] MGH DD O I no. 81 (Reims, 19 September, 946): *Quorum petitionibus nos, sicuti dignum erat, aurem libentissime accomodantes, quippe qui salutis nostri commoda postulabant, statuendo decrevimus ut illud monasterio perpetuo* **in usus peregrinorum et pauperum** *stabiliatur firmetur*

existence of lay piety and the existence of a monastery not founded by a royal or ecclesiastical person. The monastery has its own historiographical compilation, the *Historia Walciodorensis monasterii*, which gives a more detailed account of the foundation and the creation of the monastery.[54]

Emperor Otto II confirmed the same charter for Fulda as his father and other predecessors (Pippin, Louis the Pious, Conrad I and Henry I). He confirmed especially royal protection, immunity, exemption from episcopal authority, and the collection of tithes for poor relief.[55] Otto III also confirmed all the privileges granted to the monastery of Kornelimünster at the request of the Abbot Erwicus, who appeared before the emperor with his monks (*cum sibi subiecta catervula*), and at the request of his mother, Empress Theophanu (*genitrici nostre dilectissime commonenti obsequentes*);[56] all of the previous dispositions of his predecessors were corroborated and Otto commanded that the tithe be distributed to the poor and travellers at the monastery gates.[57]

Henry II was the only ruler of the Liudolfing dynasty who granted a pious donation to a church for the salvation of his soul, preparing the way for the

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atque corroboretur et semper in ditione Scottorum permaneat et, quamdiu aliquis illorum vixerit, nullus alius fiat abbas nisi unus ex ipsis, post decessum vero illorum alius deum diligens amator sancte regule efficiatur abbas. [Ipsum autem monasterium quia ad hoc noscitur esse constructum, vocetur deinceps monasterium peregrinorum.]

[54] Georg Waitz, ed. *Historia Walciodorensis monasterii* (MGH SS 14) (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), 510–512.

[55] MGH DD O II no. 103 (Fulda, 27 May, 975): …*Precipimus etiam ut de villis ecclesiae sancti Bonifacii, servis etiam et colonis in illis manentibus quas moderno tempore habere videtur vel que deinceps in ius ipsius loci dominus amplificaverit, habeat praefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, **pauperibus** quoque et **peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios** possint praebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos **in susceptione hospitum pauperumque** semper esse paratos*; the charter is a literal copy of MGH DD O I no. 2 and the pontifical bull issued by Pope Zachary (741–752), see: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ad condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, vol. 1 ed. Philipp Jaffé, Samuel Löwenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner and Paul Ewald (Leipzig:Veit, 1885), no. 2293.

[56] Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, ed., *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991).

[57] MGH DD O III no. 18 (Nimwegen, 20 August, 985): …***Decima*** *vero omnis dominicate culture ad usus fratrum pertinens iubemus atque sancimus, ut perhennis temporibus ad portam monasterii **in alimoniam pauperum atque hospitum detur**, cetera autem omnia ad stipendia monachorum ibidem deo famulantium proficiant in augmentis.*

practice of the Salian rulers.[58] In his charter to Reichenau Abbey (1016),[59] Henry corroborated the previous privileges to the monastery at the request of Abbot Bern based on earlier documents issued by Otto I, Charles III, Louis the Pious, and Charlemagne, which contain the right of the free election of the abbot (with royal approval) as well the possession of the ninth and the tithe in the Suebian territories. Henry also granted the tithe to the monks so that they would pray to God for mercy and the redemption of his soul; furthermore, he gave the tithe to the monastery as a sign of his charity. The emperor did not specify the content of the sentence *quae pro nostra elemosina praedicto contulimus monasterio*, but one may assume, on the basis of later evidence, that it implies poor relief; the monastery might have used the tithe might later for poor relief.[60] Emperor Henry II also confirmed the privileges of the important imperial abbey of Fulda in his charter from 1020 at the request of Abbot Richard, with the same contents as his predecessors. The tithe was to be collected from the monastery's estates and used for renovating the monastery buildings and caring for the poor and pilgrims.[61]

Hagiographical sources also contain valuable information on Ottonian poor relief. One of them is the *Vita Mathildae reginis*, the life of Matilda of Ringelheim, queen consort of Germany (ca. 895–968), the wife of King Henry I of Germany (876–936) and the mother of Emperor Otto I (912–973).[62] The

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[58] John William Bernhardt, "Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden: Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich," *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?* ed. Bernd Schneidmüller (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), 327–348.

[59] About Reichenau in this period see: Thomas Kreutzer, *Verblichener Glanz: Adel und Reform in der Abtei Reichenau im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008).

[60] MGH DD H II no. 354 (Dammerkirch, 29 August, 1016): …*Haec autem superius comprehensa pro emolumento animae nostrae ad idem monasterium contulimus, quatenus monachi stipendium necessarium habentes pro nobis alacrius domini misericordiam exorare procurent, sed et statuentes praecipimus, ut nonae atque decimae, quae* **pro nostra elemosina** *praedicto contulimus monasterio, primo antequam summa censuum et tributorum dispertiatur, agentibus monasterii dentur, et postmodum fiat divisio partium, quae ad nostrum vel comitum nostrorum ius pertinere debent.*

[61] MGH DD H II no. 429 (Fulda, 3 May, 1020): …*Precipimus etiam, ut de villis aecclesiae sancti Bonifacii, servis etiam et colonis in illis manentibus, quas moderno tempore habere videtur vel quae deinceps in ius ipsius loci dominus amplificaverit, habeat prefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda, et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos* **in susceptione hospitum pauperumque** *semper esse paratos.*

[62] Bernd Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde (Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior – Vita Mathildis reginae posterior)*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 66 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1994).

Vita contains important information about the political history of the Ottonian period of early medieval Germany and the family of Queen Consort Matilda. Saint Matilda was celebrated for her devotion to prayer and almsgiving; her first biographer depicted Matilda like the Frankish queen, Radegund (ca. 520–586), as she left her husband in the middle of the night and stole away to pray or give alms to the poor.[63] Chapters eight and nine of the *Vita antiquior* deal with Queen Matilda's charity activities. Historically, the *Older Life* of the queen consort contains valuable information about the foundations of Saxon monasteries and nunneries. The author of the *Vita* uses a biblical phrase, *ibunt de virtute in virtutem*,[64] as the queen founded new churches and monastic communities, for instance, at Pöhlde (between 946 and 950), Quedlinburg (about 961), and Gernrode (before 965). The establishment of the monastery at Gernrode, however, seems to be connected with Margrave Gero of Saxony, although the alleged foundation by Queen Matilda appears both in the *Vita antiquior* and the *Annales Palidenses* due to the relationship of the queen with Hedwig, the first prelatess of Gernrode.[65] Parts of chapter eight are mostly based on the *Life of Queen Radegundis* written by Venantius Fortunatus, a Frankish hagiographer of the sixth century, in which the pious Queen Matilda offers the churches and monasteries that she established not only to clerics, but also to paupers and indigent. The poor received warm meals in the refectories of the monasteries every day; pilgrims and wanderers could take a bath in the monasteries of the queen consort. All of these passages in the *Vita antiquior* are re-wordings of the description of the pious deeds of Saint Radegund, although one cannot say that they are mere literary topoi because several charters issued by the queen consort or King Henry I confirm the fact of these foundations. Chapter nine describes the life of the widowed queen consort after 936; there is no mention, however, of the date of these events, but they are known from other sources (the Saxon history written by Widukind of Corvey and the *Annals of Quedlinburg*). After the death of King Henry I of Germany, Matilda moved to the house of secular canonesses in Quedlinburg. The abbey was founded in 936 by Queen Matilda as a memorial to her husband. Henry was buried there, as was Matilda herself. This chapter gives a detailed account of the

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[63] On Radegund's biography, see: Jason Kahn Glenn, "Two lives of Saint Radegund," in: *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Kahn Glenn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 57–70.

[64] Psalms 83: 8, "they shall go from virtue to virtue."

[65] Winfrid Glocker, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik. Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses.* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1989), 355.

relationship of the widowed queen consort with Ricburg, the first abbess of the convent, who helped Matilda with poor relief and provided care for the sick and infirm.[66] Chapters seventeen and eighteen of the *Later Life* are revised and more detailed versions of chapters eight and nine of the *Older Life*. A high-contrast difference from the *Older Life* is the more intensive use of Classical Latin verses, especially the *Aeneid* of Vergil, as well as rhyming prose ("and she who ruled over many as their queen would serve the poor as if she were their handmaiden").[67] Chapter eighteen gives an account of a miracle the queen performed when she stood on a mountaintop and gave food to a great multitude of paupers. Matilda threw down a slice of bread, and the slice was multiplied and shared by all of the poor who were present and witnesses of the miracle. This episode has no parallel in the *Older Life*, but the source of the miracle is quite clear: the feeding the multitude by Christ in all four canonical Gospels[68] and the intact slice of bread shared by the saint and given to the poor mentioned by Sulpicius Severus in his *Life of Saint Martin* (chapter 26, verse 2). The *Later Life* contains a number of miracles performed by the queen consort before and after her death; writing this new version of Mathilda's life may have been connected with her canonization.

The *Epitaph of Adelheid* by Odilo of Cluny is another important hagiographical work on poor relief in the Ottonian period.[69] The *Epitaph* tells many stories

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[66] Vita antiquior c. 9: *...sanctimonialis autem ante eam sedens nomine Ricburg, que ipsius in ministerium praeelecta erat.* Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 129.

[67] Vita posterior c. 17: *...que multis imperabat regina, pauperibus serviebat quasi ancilla.* Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 180.

[68] Matthew 14:13–21 and 15:32–39; Mark 6:31–44 and 8:1–9; Luke 9:10–17; John 6:5–15.

[69] Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 637–645; for a recent critical edition, see: Herbert Paulhart, ed., *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband 20, 2 (Graz: Böhlau, 1962), 27–45; Lothar Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum. Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in den herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1968), 41–59; for an English translation, see: Sean Gilsdorf, ed., *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and The Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004) with a huge bibliography and a detailed introduction; on the *Epitaph*, see: Paolo Lamma, *Momenti di storiografia Cluniacense* (Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 1961), 30, 57; Johannes Staub, "Odilos Adelheid-Epitaph und seine Verse auf Otto den Großen," in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies; Cambridge, September 9–12, 1998,* vol. 2, ed. Michael W. Herren, Christopher James MacDonough and Arthur G. Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 400–409.

of the widowed Empress Adelheid taking care of the poor in different ways.[70] The hagiographically inspired ideal of the just ruler and noble ruler appears in Odilo's work, influenced by the theology of Saint Jerome. The phrase *caritativa compassionis* is inspired by the mimesis of Christ; Odilo assumes that deeds of charity and the other gestures of the self-abasement actually led to the death of Adelheid, following the the Apostle Paul's teaching of obedience until the end (2 Corinthians 11:29).[71] Adelheid's compassion for the poor of Christ, poor relief and almsgiving ultimately led to the happiness of the "eternal banquet" (*aeterna tabernacula*).[72]

Several lives of canonized bishops are closely connected to urban poverty because the bishops were usually responsible for feeding the poor living in towns. Famines are often mentioned as motivation for the mercy shown by the bishops. According to his life written by Gerhard of Augsburg, the bishop of Augsburg, Ulrich (Udalrich), ordered the giving of one-third of the ecclesiastical possessions to feed the poor and for the salaries of clerics.[73] Adalbert of Prague gave orders many times to provide food for the poor of his episcopal see; he ordered a division of the church possessions and that a third be used for paupers.[74] Before

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[70] Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 642–644.

[71] Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 643: *Quae fuit maxima eius tribulation pro cunctis a lege Dei declinantibus caritativa compassio*; Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 53.

[72] Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 641 (c. 10); Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, ibid.

[73] Gerhard of Augsburg, *Vita Udalrici*, MGH SS 4, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 412, c. 26: *ut…tertia pars [possessionum] presbiteris pauperibusque…eo vivente donaretur*; on the life see: Werner Wolf, "Von der Ulrichsvita zur Ulrichslegende. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Wandlung der Vita Udalrici als Beitrag zu einer Gattungsbestimmung der Legende," PhD dissertation (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität, 1967); Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. Bd. 4.: Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter: 920–1220 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999), 148–151.

[74] Johannes Canaparius, *Vita Adalberti*, Monumenta Poloniae Historica ns 4, no. 1, ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw: Państwo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), 14, c. 9: *…terciam vero in agmina pauperum proflua, miseratione expendens…*; on the Life of Adalbert, see: Jadwiga Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego" [Critical studies on the lives of Saint Adalbert, bishop of Prague], *Studia Żródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 2 (1958): 41–79; Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 478–479, 554; Johannes Fried argues against the traditional view of authorship and denies that Canaparius was the author of the Vita Adalberti, see: Johannes Fried, "Gnesen – Aachen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben," in *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den "Akt von Gnesen*," ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002), 235–279.

Adalbert left Prague, he distributed all silver items kept in the treasury of the bishopric to the poor.[75]

This article presents the social policies, poverty, and poor relief in the early medieval Holy Roman Empire, focusing on the Ottonian and Salian age. Sources on this topic are fragmentary and sporadic. Taking different kinds of sources – narrative texts, charters, and so on – into consideration, one may conclude the following: 1.) Poor relief and the notion of poverty were rooted in Carolingian traditions the poor were considered powerless people, without the right to rule, or simply servants. The church and its institutions – monasteries, *xenodochia*, *matricula*, and so on – were used in everyday practices of hospitality and poor relief. 2.) It is not easy to determine who actually received the pious donations of poor relief – new settlers in the growing towns, pilgrims, or peasants who had been bankrupted by bad weather or the destruction of wars and other events. The existence of a huge number of these people can be neither proved nor excluded positively, or rather, one can only assume the impact of the demographic change on the status of poverty within the society of the Ottonian empire. 3.) The rulers of the Liudolfing dynasty, the Ottonians (between 919 and 1024), carried on the practice of poor relief that they inherited from the Carolingians. This is proved by the similarity of the terminology of the legal texts and the importance of the monastic centers. 4.) Only a few references survive about the charity of queens and empresses. Hagiographical narratives about the lives of Saint Mathilda and Adelhaid were inspired by biblical and hagiographical terminology, so they are less reliable, although deeds of charity ascribed to queens cannot be denied.

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[75] Johannes Canaparius, *Vita Adalberti*, MPH ns 4.1, 19, c. 13: *Argentum pauperibus large distribuens episcopalem cameram evacuat.*

"BOUND BY PLEDGE:"
BÁRTFA AND KING SIGISMUND'S POLICY OF PLEDGING TOWNS[1]

János Incze

Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, one of the most important political figures of Europe in his age, was famous for his bad financial management even among his contemporaries. Because of his serious financial problems he often borrowed money and pledged royal (imperial) domains. As a result of his pledging activity in Bohemia he left his successor on the Bohemian throne with a burdened financial heritage, near insolvency.[2] In the Holy Roman Empire, Sigismund's pledging activity led to an increase in imperial town pledgings to an extent previously unknown.[3]

Sigismund's pledgings in Hungary have not been researched thoroughly, although it is known that he was certainly involved in many such transactions.[4]

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[1] When I refer to geographical names in the paper, I will first give the Hungarian forms because they appear under these names most often in the sources. In the cases of personal names, I will use the commonly used English names, if they have them, and, if not, then the spelling will be based on the ethnic affiliation of the person. This article is based on my MA thesis: "My Kingdom in Pledge. King Sigismund of Luxemburg's Town Pledging Policy, Case Studies of Segesd and Bártfa," (Budapest: Central European University, 2012).

[2] Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 516. For further details about his Bohemian pledges, see: Jaroslav Čechura, "Die Säkularisation der kirchlichen Güter im hussitischen Böhmen und Sigismund von Luxemburg" in *Sigismund von Luxemburg, Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387–1437. Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400*, ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi, Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf: Fahlbusch Verlag, 1994), 121–131. Milan Moravec, "Zástavy Zikmunda Lucemburského v ceských zemích z let 1420–1437" [Sigismund of Luxemburg's pledges in the Bohemian territories between 1420–1437] *Folia historica Bohemica* 9 (1985): 89–175.

[3] These were mainly pledging the towns' sources of revenue, see: Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 510. About the imperial town pledges see: Götz Landwehr, *Die Verpfändung der deutschen Reichsstädte im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1967*)*.

[4] In Hungarian historiography the studies making the most significant contributions to the topic were written in the 1930's. Syntheses of Hungarian history usually refer to these works: Emma Lederer, *A középkori pénzüzletek története Magyarországon (1000–1458)* [The history of financial transactions in Hungary in the Middle Ages (1000–1458)] (Budapest: Kovács J., 1932). József Deér, *Zsigmond király honvédelmi politikája* [King Sigismund's military defense policy] (Pécs: Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó, 1936). The work of József Deér was continued using the same methods and approach thirty years later by Gyula Rázsó, "A

The fact that Sigismund acquired the Hungarian throne through pledging the Margraviate of Brandenburg to his cousin Jobst (Jodok) expresses well the important role of pledges in his Hungarian reign.[5] This essay presents a small part of this huge and complex topic by analyzing one of the most interesting aspects of Sigismund's pledging policy, namely, pledges of towns, through the case study of Bártfa (Bardejov, Slovakia). As part of the analysis, the transaction and its background will be described thoroughly, as well as the pledgees and their motivations behind the transaction. Pledging created a bond between the two parties for a long time; this essay will show their coexistence and cooperation, with its conflicts and problems. Moreover, the long-term consequences of the transaction will be presented from the perspective of the town and the kingdom.

Defining Royal Pledging

Before presenting the case study, for a proper background of the story a short overview is needed about the characteristics and functions of royal pledges in medieval Hungary. The charters of the pledge transactions are the best available sources for such an investigation; in this brief overview I will refer mainly to them.

In Sigismund's preserved contracts of pledge, the notion of pledging was described by the Latin words *impignorare* and *obligare*.[6] Usually a provision was included in these documents that the pledgee's heirs were entitled to inherit the pledged domain with all of its pertaining lands and inherent rights. Also, the debt of the ruler as pledgor was supposed to be inherited automatically by his successors; the death of the pledgor did not cause redemption or any change of rights. Besides inheritability, the pledgees gained the right of transferability[7] over these estates to transfer or to pledge further to anyone they wanted. By the transfer of pledge, the new possessor had the same obligations and rights which were included in the contract of pledge. Pledging was not only about collecting

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zsoldosság gazdasági és társadalmi előfeltételei és típusai Magyarországon a XIV–XV. században" [The economic and social preconditions and types of hiring mercenaries in Hungary in the fourteenth and fifteenth century], *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 63, no. 1 (1962):160–217.

[5] Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon* [King Sigismund's reign in Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), 15–16.

[6] …*impignorauimus et obligauimus*…, e.g., Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829—1844), vol. 1–11 (hereafter: Fejér), X/4 CXLII; Landwehr, *Die Verpfändung,* 384.

[7] …*in vita et in morte commiteret*… Fejér, X/V, XXII.

the revenues of the pledged domain; the pledgees were obliged to protect the inhabitants of the domain.[8] The king assumed the responsibility not only for himself, but on behalf of his successors as well, to protect the pledgees and their heirs in their newly acquired lands, a legal institution called warranty (*evictio*).[9] This is indicated by the Latin words *protegere* and *defensare* in the sources. It meant that if the pledgees were involved in a lawsuit, the expenses had to be covered by the pledgor.

A clause on redemption was another feature of the charters of pledging, which represented the main difference between a donated or sold royal possession and a pledged domain. The pledgees and their heirs were required to return the pledged royal possessions to the ruler at any time without any opposition if he repaid the original sum of the pledge.[10] It also implied that the pledgor was obliged to compensate the expenses of investments in and repairs to the pledged possession.[11] From a legal perspective, the pledged properties were never alienated;[12] the pledgee never gained the right of ownership through a simple pledge transaction. Another crucial point is the rarely denoted time period of royal pledging. In Sigismund's transactions of pledge the notion of pledging something for a set number of years was unknown; the duration of the pledge was rarely specified,[13] usually only that redemption could terminate the pledge period.

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[8] The inhabitants of the market town Szepsi (Abaúj County) complained to the ruler in 1391 because their pledgee did not protect them, see: Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, Elemér Mályusz, Tibor Neumann, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 1387–1424, I–XI* [Cartulary of the Sigismund period 1387–1424, I–XI] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2009), (hereafter ZsO), I. 2069.

[9] A warranty was not a special case of a royal pledge, but a general requirement from the pledgor; a clause of warranty was included in the charter of donation and sale as well. Lederer, *Középkori pénzüzletek,* 25,

[10] … *absque aliquali contradictione, renitencia et recusa nobis remittere*… Fejér, X/V, XXII.

[11] Ferenc Eckhart, *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet* [Hungarian constitutional and legal history] (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 313. This work was first published in 1946, see also: Gábor Béli, *Magyar jogtörténet. A tradicionális jog* [Hungarian legal history. The traditional law] (Budapest: Dialóg Campus, 1999), 110.

[12] In a charter issued in 1390 King Sigismund warned Friedrich of Scharfeneck that it was prohibited to alienate royal domains which the king had donated to him from the kingdom's body by pledging, ZsO. I. 1463.

[13] In non-royal pledgings there are examples when the period of pledging was determined, see: Lederer, *Középkori pénzüzletek*, 17. In rare cases, Sigismund pledged something until a condition was satisfied, for example, Sigismund pledged Buda's income from gold minting in 1402 and the pledgee held Buda's income in pledge until the ruler's debt of 8000 florins

Through the act of pledging the pledgee was entitled to enjoy the usufructs and revenues of the pledge until the redemption of the pledged property.[14] These revenues were in fact the interest rate in the pledging. This was a hidden interest charge, a practice developed to circumvent the prohibitions of the Catholic Church.[15] This extra financial gain explains the willingness of the pledgees to accept royal domains as pledges in order to receive the incomes for the duration of the pledge. In fact, the pledgee's interest was to hold something in pledge as long as possible and to control the incomes of the pledged possessions for an extended period of time.[16]

The Pledge Transaction and the Pledgees

Bártfa was one of the most important cities in the Kingdom of Hungary despite its small size; it had an estimated population of 2000, and was one of the few free royal towns.[17] Situated on the northeastern border of the kingdom, the town owed its riches to the flourishing commerce between Hungary and Poland. Bártfa was important for the kingdom not only from the economic perspective, but also because of its strategic position; the town played an important military role in the

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was repaid. …*vncz das sie der obgenant Sume geltes genczlichen werdent ausgericht vnd bezalt*… Fejér, X/4, LIV. In 1417 Sigismund pledged domains to Stibor of Stiboricz until the revenues of the pledged domains covered the payment of mercenaries, ZsO. VI. 711. As these cases show, in these transactions the period of the pledge was not determined in terms of years, but until the terms of the contract were satisfied**.**

[14] Béli, *Magyar jogtörténet*, 110.

[15] In this period usury and interest were not strictly separated, which meant that any kind of interest-taking related to any type of loan was prohibited, see: István Orosz, "Kamat és uzsora a 15–16. századi Európában" [The money rate and usury in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] in: *Pénztörténet – Gazdaságtörténet: Tanulmányok Buza János 70. születésnapjára* [Monetary History – Economic History: An anniversary volume in honor of János Buza's seventieth birthday], ed. József Bessenyei and István Draskóczy (Budapest: Mirio kulturális Bt., 2009), 239; Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York: MIT Press, 1988); John H. Munro, "The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, Rentes, and Negotiablity," *The International History Review* 25, no. 3 (2003).

[16] Landwehr, *Die Verpfändung,* 378–379.

[17] About the medieval history of the town, see: Ján Lukačka and Martin Štefánik, ed., *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku* [Lexicon of medieval towns in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Prodama, 2010) and Stanisław A. Sroka, *Sredniowieczny Bardiow i jego kontakty z Małopolska* [The relations between Bardejov and Little Poland in the Middle Ages] (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2010). Here I want to thank Wojciech Kozlowski and Martin Pjecha for their help in translating Polish and Slovak texts.

kingdom's defense. On 29 August 1412, Sigismund pledged the town to a Polish nobleman, Andrzej Balicki. The transaction included the castle of Szklabonya (Sklabiňa, Slovakia)[18] with the so-called *lucrum camerae* tax[19] on its pertaining lands and Turóc County besides the town.[20] This pledge transaction was a continuation of a previous pledge; in 1410 the ruler had initially pledged the same castle and county along with the town of Debrecen to the same Polish nobleman for 13 000 florins that he loaned the king. In addition to the castle, Balicki also gained Turóc County where the castle was situated.[21] Exchanging Debrecen for Bártfa had political reasons. Probably Sigismund initiated the exchange; he wanted to redeem Debrecen and donate it to the Serbian despot, Stefan Lazarević (1374–1427).[22] Balicki used the opportunity to ask for Bártfa in Sáros County in exchange for Debrecen.

The Balickis were foreigners who started to get involved in Hungarian internal affairs only a few decades before the pledging. They were a Polish noble family from the Topór kindred,[23] which had estates near Ossolin (in Little Poland, Małopolska). With this move, the family, known in Poland as Ossolińscy and in

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[18] The castle of Szklabonya was probably built at King Charles I's command to extend his power by building new fortresses where the crown lacked them, see: Erik Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary* (1000–1437) (Budapest: Akadémia, 1986), 113.

[19] *Lucrum camerae* or "profit of the Chamber" was a direct tax, paid by each household. For further details see: Gyöngyössy Márton, "A kamara haszna a késő középkorban." [The *lucrum camerae* in the late Middle Ages] in *Pénztörténet – Gazdaságtörténet*, ed. József Bessenyei, 141–152.

[20] …*castrum nostrum Sklabonya in comittatu de Turoch existens cum dicto comitatu item lucro camere nostre regie in pertinentiis dicti castri dumtaxat dicari et exigi consueto* … DF 212 748 (Hungarian National Archives, Collection of Diplomatic Photographs, hereafter: DF, document number).

[21] It exceeds the goal of this essay to discuss the phenomena of pledging counties in detail. Surely it is not a misreading of the charters; the same formula appears in the documents of pledge from both 1410 and 1412: *cum dicto comitatu*, DF 212 742, DF. 212 748. This is not a unique case; there is data about other counties that Sigismund pledged, but what kind of rights the pledgees were meant to have over the counties is still unknown. For instance, the ruler pledged the Croatian county of Busán *comitatus Busaan*, ZsO. II. 996. Probably the office of the county's *comes* was pledged, because members of the Balicki family held this office for Turóc County from 1411 until 1470, see: Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Lay archontology of Hungary 1301–1457] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1996), vol.1, 216. (hereafter: Archontológia).

[22] King Sigismund donated various domains in Hungary to Lazarević; he probably wanted to win the Serbian despot's loyalty, see: Mályusz, *Zsigmond király*, 112.

[23] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Lexicon], ed. Roman Grodecki (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935) vol. 1, 232.

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Hungary as Balicki (a branch of the Ossolin kindred), laid the foundation for later success in the age of Sigismund of Luxemburg.[24] Andrzej Balicki was a knight at Sigismund's royal court;[25] in 1412 he participated in a joust during the royal summit in Buda.[26] He served the Polish ruler, too; in 1418, he was an envoy of King Władysław II Jagiełło when he came to Hungary.[27] Although Andrzej earned a reputation in Hungary, not he, but his cousin, Prokop, was the first member of the family who came to the kingdom and acquired properties from Sigismund. Prokop (in payment of his salary) received in pledge the domain of Újvár (Hanigovce, Slovakia) in Sáros County with its castle and several domains in Zemplén County in 1398.[28] After Prokop's death, the ruler pledged these domains to his cousins: Andrzej (the protagonist here), Jan, and Mikołaj,[29] for 12 000 florins altogether, in 1404.[30] The Balicki brothers held the domain of Újvár for only six years because the ruler wanted to grant the domain to someone else.[31] The new transaction was not unprofitable for them at all; instead of Újvár, they got Szklabonya Castle, Debrecen, and Turóc County. Although the charter issued in 1410 states that the ruler pledged all of these for 13 000 florins borrowed by Andrzej Balicki,[32] it is almost certain that this was in fact a domain exchange.[33]

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[24] The Ossolińsky family later became an influential and famous Polish aristocratic family. For more detail see: Andrzej Przybyszewski, *Ossolińscy herbu Topór* [Ossolińsky of the "Topór" Kindred] (Radomyśl Wielki: Wydawnictwo Historyczna, 2009).

[25] ZsO. II. 2602.

[26] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 232.

[27] Ibid.

[28] … *fideli nostro nobili viro Procopio Balyczky pro sex milia florenis auri quibus sibi ratione fidelium serviciorum suorum maiestati nostre exhibitorum obligabamus pignoris titulo assignaveramus…* DL 8 944 (Hungarian National Archives, Archives of Diplomatics, hereafter: DL, document number), see: Daniela Dvořáková, "Lengyelek Luxemburgi Zsigmond udvarában," [Poles in Sigismund of Luxemburg's court] *Századok* 136 (2002): 404; Engel, *Archontológia*, 453.

[29] …*dilecti Andree similiter Baliczky appellati fratris dilectis patruelis dicti condam Procopii…*, DL 8 944; Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 405.

[30] … *pro quibus sibi et per ipsam Jan et Nicolao fratribus suis uterinis etiam in sex millibus floreni auri puri…pro duodecim millibus florenis auris puris obligandam…*, DL 8944; Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 405; ZsO. II. 3034;

[31] As early as 1408 Sigismund had already donated Újvár with its *universis pertinentiis* to the secret chancellor, Imre Perényi, but he only came into possession of the domain in 1410, ZsO. II. 6078; Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 405;

[32] … *fidelis noster dilectus Andreas de Baliczky, veluti accepti beneficii memor, ad nostri specialem requisitionem nobis tredecim millia florenorum puri auri in promptis dedit, mutuavit et effectualiter assignavit…*, Fejér X/5, XXII.

[33] Sigismund donated Újvár Castle as early as 1408, but in fact he was only able to redeem it from the Balickis two years later, 22 June 1410. Twenty days earlier he had pledged

Andrzej Balicki lived in two countries and served two lords, but his rising career seems to have ended at the siege of Vyšehrad in 1420.[34] Following Andrzej's death, his widow, Rachna, was the pledgee of Bártfa until her death.[35] Andrzej was followed in the office of *comes* of Turóc County by Mikołaj Balicki, who was either his brother or his nephew.[36] After Rachna's death he became the pledgee of Bártfa, or the *capetaneus* of Bártfa, as he called himself in a document.

Bártfa during the Pledge Period

Andrzej Balicki, as one of the pledgees of the Újvár domain, knew the town of Bártfa; it is possible that he visited the town several times before taking the town's taxes in pledge. As *Figure 1* shows, the domain of Újvár was in the vicinity of Bártfa and its pertaining lands. Moreover, both were close to the border of Poland, the location of the Balickis' family holdings; therefore, Andrzej probably made a conscious choice to take the town's tax in pledge.

The pledge transaction resulted in constant contact between the town and the pledgees, starting from 29 August 1412 (the date of pledging) until at least

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Szklabonya, Debrecen, and Turóc County. The connection between the two events is clear; probably the condition for redeeming Újvár was to pledge the other domains, ZsO. II. 7713, 7655. Pál Engel and Daniela Dvořáková had the same opinion, see: Engel, *Archontológia*, 453; Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 405.

[34] The date of his death is disputed; the first mention of his widow is from 1423. She is mentioned in Bártfa's account book as early as 1421, but without noting whether she was a widow or not. Because she was collecting the town's tax at this time, it can be assumed that her husband was dead. *Item dedimus domino Andreae capellano dominae Rachne mitram pro 8 fl. Cassoviensibus*, László Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei* [Old account books of Hungarian towns] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1885), 188. For more detail, see: Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 406. Sroka supported 1420 as the year of Andrzej's death, see: Sroka, *Sredniowieczny Bardiow*, 38.

[35] The date of her death is uncertain; Daniela Dvořáková puts it before 1431, see: Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 406. One can be more precise in stating that she died in or before 1430, because by 1430 Mikołaj Balicki was already the pledgee of the settlement and tried to collect its tax, see: Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára 1319–1526* [The town archives of the free royal town of Bártfa 1319–1526] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1910), 222 (regesta). She was mentioned by name for the last time in the town's account book in 1429: *Item familiares dominae Rachne exposuerunt den. 624 pro expensis aput Johannem Bütner in ebdomada post corporis Christi*, see: Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok,* 290.

[36] For lack of sources this problem cannot be solved, see: Dvořáková, *Lengyelek*, 406.
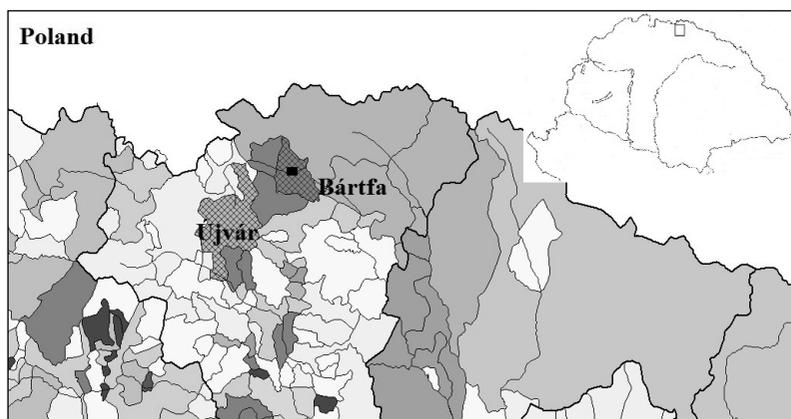
Fig. 1. The domain of Újvár (cross-hatched) and Bártfa with its pertaining lands (cross-hatched) near the northern border of medieval Hungary.[37]

1500.[38] The town was pledged with its yearly tax (500 florins) and the so-called New Year's gift (12 marks of silver).[39] According to the charter, Balicki did not get any authority in the town;[40] the members of the family were not entitled to intervene in the town's self-government and internal affairs. The contract of pledge entitled Andrzej and his descendants only to collect the yearly tax and the gift. In theory, each free royal town paid its yearly tax in one sum, but as Bártfa's example shows, this only worked in theory; for instance, on 4 June 1433, the

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[37] The image was made with the Mindmap software. Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről* [Hungary in the late Middle Ages: Digital map and database], (Budapest: Térinfo – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2001), CD-ROM.

[38] In the town archives the Balicki family is last mentioned in 1500. The very last data referring to the Balicki family in this context is also about the town paying the family, see: Iványi, *Bártfa*, 3494.

[39] *…civitatem nostram Barthffa vocatam cum collectis consuetis quiengentos florenos auri facientibus necnon duodecim marcis argenti ratione encenneorum more solito…* DF 212 748.

[40] It should be emphasized that only the town's tax and New Year's gift were pledged, not the entire settlement. The erroneous information in the secondary literature claiming anything else should be corrected, even if it was mentioned in a regesta. In Béla Iványi's regesta (*Bártfa*, 68), one reads that Bártfa was pledged, without any further information, which can easily lead to misunderstanding. Daniela Dvořáková (*Lengyelek*, 405) follows Iványi's example and writes about pledging Bártfa *with* its yearly tax and New Year's gift. These misunderstandings are probably the result of limited knowledge about pledged medieval towns in scholarship.

town paid 300 florins to the pledgee;[41] ten days later they paid 112 florins more.[42] Not only was the tax not paid in one sum, but sometimes it was not even paid in money. In the account book of the town there are data about smaller payments to the Balickis in various objects. In these cases the value of the items is always indicated. Supposedly, the smaller payments in money and the items handed over to the pledgee were summed up and had been calculated into the yearly tax. For example, in 1430 Mikołaj Balicki asked for two geldings or, if the citizens of the town did not have them, then two foals.[43] The pledgee assured the representatives of the town that the value of the horses (or the foals) would be included in the sum of the yearly tax. The New Year's gift, called in the sources as *munera strennalia* or *encenia*,[44] was the other financial contribution which the burghers had to pay annually. It generated conflicts between the town and the pledgees; the burghers often had to seek justice from the ruler. The conflict started when Sigismund exempted the citizens from the obligation of paying the New Year's gift to the Balickis. The background of the exemption is unclear, as is the date when he made this royal decision. The first information about the dispute is from 1426, when the ruler prohibited Andrzej's widow from collecting anything under the pretext of the New Year's gift. The burghers were not obliged to pay the New Year's gift at that time,[45] but the pledgee still demanded it. The ruler's intervention did not have a lasting effect; four years later the burghers of Bártfa were complaining to him again of the pledgee's abuses.[46] Mikołaj, the actual pledgee, even started to threaten the citizens that if they did not pay the twelve silver marks he demanded, plus the yearly *census*,[47] he would take hostages and arrest any citizen in Hungary

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[41] Iványi, *Bártfa*, 256.

[42] Ibid., 257.

[43] …*ad se festu sancte Georgii martiris et nos promittimus vobis mediante presenti littera in censu predicto defalcare id quodqumque pro ipso spadone dabitis si vos non potest spadonem… vel duos poledres…*, DF 212 914.

[44] …*ipsos munera seu encenia diei strennarum seu anni novi exigere et extorquere niteremini et velletis…*, DF 212 940; Iványi, *Bártfa*, 253. About the *munera strennalia* see: Béla Iványi, "*Munera strennalia*," *Südost-Forschungen* 4 (1939):173–176.

[45] …*pro totalis censu eorum anuali et non prescriptorum encenneorum seu munerum strenalium solucionem facienda obligare debere agnoveritis…*, DF 212 836.

[46] Iványi, *Bártfa*, 222.

[47] …*presentibus admonemus ita ut personaliter locuti sumus vobis et monuimus quatenus censum cum encionalibus videlicet argento quod serenissimus princeps rex noster et dominus gratiosus mandavit nobis dare et persoluere quatenus dictum censum cum argento nobis dare et solvere non negligatis…*, DF 212 911.

and on the roads leading to Poland.[48] He went further; he called the burghers his subjects, expressing his wish to treat them so.[49] Even if it was irrelevant for the town who was collecting the yearly tax, they certainly wanted to avoid any kind of abuse by the collector; being in pledge to the Balickis meant that this could not always be avoided.

The tax and the gift were the basis of the interaction between the two sides. Either the representative of the town visited the pledgees or the pledgees sent their own servants. When the envoys of the Balickis went to the town, their expenses (food, drink, accommodation) were covered by the town. There is also information about the pledgee paying the expenses of the town's envoy;[50] Longus Georgius is the most frequently mentioned envoy in the account book. He was the representative of the town, sent regularly to the pledgees.[51] Sometimes the pledgees visited Bártfa. Rachna came in 1426,[52] and there is information about another member of the family being present in the settlement in 1435.[53]

For the Balickis, having the tax of a Hungarian free royal town had major significance. First, they had a stable source of income which was independent of the yearly harvest, weather conditions or any other circumstances. Because the yearly tax was not paid in one sum, the town's irregular tax payment served to cover the pledgees' expenses and to satisfy their actual needs. That is why the Balickis often demanded various goods which they needed instead of money from the citizens. Secondly, the taxes served as a tool for developing and maintaining the standard of living of the nobility. As the data in the Bártfa account book shows, there were cases when the pledgees asked for bridles,[54] greaves,[55] lutenists,[56]

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[48] *…quod si non feceritis firmiter scitote quod volumus vos et quemlibet vestrum ubi poterimus in regno Hungarie et Polonie in viis civitatibus in Cracovia vei ubicunque potuerimus recipere et arestare captivare tamdiu donec praedictus census et cum argento nobis plenarie non fuerit persolutus…*, Ibid.

[49] *Paratam conplacencie voluntatem subditum nostrorum…*, DF 212 911.

[50] *Item Lang Jorgen als her verczert hat das ym Baliczky hat geschankt vor 200 den. item fl. 2 Summa huius 400 den*, see: Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok*, 301.

[51] Probably his name was Lang Jorg, as this entry of the account book suggests: *Item Lang Jorg exposuit den. 300 ad dominam sabbato ante Prothei et Jacincti martyrum*, ibid., 212.

[52] Ibid., 226.

[53] *Item quod Baliczky exposuit quando hic fuit, quod prius non est scriptum fl. 14*, ibid., 360.

[54] *Item pro 2 frenis pro equis solvimus den. 100 eadem feria sexta superiore*, ibid., 212.

[55] *Item Longus Georgius exposuit ad dominam Rachnam den. 300 et 28 den. solvimus pro subsoleatione ocrearum feria sexta proxima post visitationis Mariae*, ibid.

[56] *Item lautenistis qui hofisarunt ante dominam den. 100 eadem feria sexta ante Viti et Modesti*, ibid., 226.

a head-band,[57] and so on. These examples show that the pledgees used the town's commercial connections for purchasing goods which they considered necessary or which were difficult to purchase through their own resources.

After King Sigismund's death the town continued to pay the yearly tax to the pledgees.[58] The contract of pledge for the year 1412 included no temporal restriction; that is why the death of the pledgor did not cause any change in the pledged status of Bártfa. A major change in the contract pledging Bártfa occurred as late as 1470, when King Matthias (1458–1490) reformulated the terms. He wanted to regain the pledged properties, at least some of them. First, Andrzej (another Andrzej, not the first pledgee) wrote off 3 000 florins of the debt (from the initial sum of 13 000 florins of the pledge), then Matthias redeemed Szklabonya Castle for 5 000 florins, and finally, Bártfa was pledged again under new terms.[59] Matthias pledged the town with its yearly tax *census* for 5 000 florins, but with a major change. The town was expected to pay 500 florins of tax until the payment added up to 5 000 florins, which was the sum of the new pledge transaction, and then the town would be redeemed. In other words, this time the pledging of the town had a temporal restriction; the community of Bártfa got a chance to redeem themselves in ten years.[60] Pledging royal properties under such conditions was unknown in Sigismund's practices of pledging. The two rulers clearly had different approaches to pledging. Matthias was an entirely different party to the pledge contract than Sigismund was. Due to his desire to regain the properties or due to the fact that he had money at his disposal, Matthias achieved concrete results in redeeming pledged properties. As this single example suggests, King Matthias had a different pledging policy than Sigismund. It also shows that if he had the desire and the funds, the ruler was able to regain his pledged properties. Matthias' attempt to regain the town, however, was unsuccessful in the end for unknown reasons. Bártfa remained in pledge for decades longer. In

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[57] *Item dedimus domino Andreae capellano dominae Rachne mitram pro 8 fl. Cassoviensibus*, ibid., 188.

[58] A charter from 1446 tells about a conflict between the pledgee and the town because of the unpaid yearly tax census, see: Iványi, *Bártfa*, 444. In 1450 Mikołaj bought two horses from a citizen of the town; he paid from the yearly tax, ibid., 550.

[59] *…ipse Andreas ad nostram regiam peticionem de predictis tredecim milibus florenis auri tria milia florenos auri nobis relaxavit, nos dictum castrum Sklabyna cum suis pertinenciis ab eodem pro quinque milibus florenis auri redemimus…*, DF 214 490.

[60] *…civitatem Bartpham predictam quam idem Andreas Balicky civitatem per ius tenuit ac de facto tenet, in illis quinque milibus florenis auri, qui sibi adhuc solvendi restabunt, eidem denuo inscripsimus et impignoravimus omni eo iure quo prius tenuit, … pro eorum solitis censibus…tamdiu donec de prescriptis quinque milibus florenis auri eidem satisfactum fuerit…*, ibid.

1498 Wladislas II (1490–1516) tried to redeem the town with a contract of pledge similar to that of Matthias in 1470. This time the whole yearly *census* was not pledged, but only 300 florins from it until the citizens had paid a total of 2000 florins.[61] When the payment of the yearly *census* reached 2000 florins, the settlement would be redeemed. Whether King Wladislas II's attempt was more successful than Matthias' remains a mystery because the Balicki family is mentioned in the town archives for the last time in 1500.[62]

By pledging Bártfa's taxes, King Sigismund lost this important source of income until his death and his successors also were unable to collect it for a long time. In 1412 King Sigismund had easily acquired 6000 florins, but he and his later successors on the Hungarian throne lost much more. If the Balicki family succeeded in collecting the town's tax yearly, at least until 1500, they could have earned 44 000 florins (88 years of pledging at 500 florins of tax per year) with only 6000 florins invested,[63] which meant at least a 38 000 florin loss for the royal treasury (not including the sum of the New Year's gift). Moreover, for decades the pledgees also benefited from the New Year's gift besides the tax, not to speak of the symbolic capital that they gained by being in control of a royal town's taxes. Through the pledging transaction of the year 1412, the Balicki family also received the title of *comes* of Turóc County, which helped them acquire even more power and new lands in the region. In a short-term perspective Sigismund raised money easily and quickly, which probably satisfied his needs, but the consequences of pledging lasted much longer. As this example shows, temporary interests could take precedence over conscious long-term planning in King Sigismund's financial policy. Whether this was a general trend or only an exception remains to be answered by further research.

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[61] …*dictorum duorum milium floreni de censu ordinario dicte civitatis nostre Barthffa trecenti floreni singulis festivitatibus beati Georgii martiris… prescipta summa duodecim milium floreni integraliter complebatur nostram ad rationem de censu ordinario nobis debito persolvere* …, DF 216 199; Iványi, *Bártfa*, 3407.

[62] See footnote 37.

[63] It is difficult to estimate how profitable it was for them to take Szklabonya Castle in pledge.

OCKHAM'S SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE: A REINTERPRETATION[1]

Ida Becskereki 📥

Introduction

During the last fifty years the problem of divine foreknowledge and the so-called Ockhamist answers to it have re-engaged philosophical interest. Although these modern arguments are based more or less on Ockham's fourteenth-century solution, the adjective "Ockhamist" remains rather obscure.

Some scholars have tried to give a precise description of what "Ockhamist" means in this context. For example Linda Trinkaus Zagzebski settled three points that she suggests must be present to classify a solution as Ockhamist. These points are: The solution must (a) accept the Law of the Necessity of the Past (henceforward: LNP),[2] (b) consider God's[3] eternity as temporal, and (c) deny that God's foreknowledge has accidental necessity.[4] Although these characteristics fit Ockham's argument, nevertheless it is not a full description of his solution, and thus it does not make it possible to decide whether a modern account of divine foreknowledge can be counted as Ockhamist or not.

From another point of view, John Martin Fischer considers a foreknowledge argument as Ockhamist if it distinguishes between necessary and non-necessary

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[2] According to the LNP if an event occurred in the past its occurrence is necessary now in the sense that no one can bring about it not having happened in the past. Compare: "Nothing that is past is an object of choice, e.g., no one chooses to have sacked Troy; for no one deliberates about the past, but about what is future and contingent, while what is past is not capable of not having taken place; hence Agathon is right in saying: For this alone is lacking even to God, to make undone things that have once been done" (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1139b6–11. All the citations from Aristotle are from *The Complete Works of Aristotle I–II*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
[3] In this paper I follow the modern tradition of writing the word "God" with a capital; however, I am aware that this tradition is philosophically questionable.
[4] Linda Trinkaus Zagzebski, *The Dilemma of Freedom and Foreknowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 66.

propositions about the past.[5] Ockham speaks about these two types of past-tensed propositions as past-tensed *formaliter* and past-tensed *vocaliter*.[6]

The distinction between these two types of propositions was introduced into the modern analysis of the foreknowledge problem by Nelson Pike[7] in answer to Saunders' critique of his work.[8] Instead of the old Latin names, Pike differentiates between these two propositions based on whether they refer to "hard facts" or "soft facts." Pike claims that those facts about the past are "hard" which were "fully accomplished," which do not change whatever happens after the relative past to which they refer, and those are "soft" which have not been fully accomplished and can change.[9]

The "hard fact"/"soft fact" distinction, however, came into the centre of the modern discussion after Marilyn McCord Adams. Adams argues that, on the one hand, both types of propositions are about the past, and thus they have truth-value; but, on the other hand, while propositions referring to hard facts are necessary, those referring to soft facts are non-necessary.[10] The vast majority of modern accounts take it at face-value that this distinction fits Ockham's solution and both pro- and contra-Ockhamists try to operate with it.

Contrary to this, I think that Ockham's distinction between *formaliter* (formally) and *vocaliter* (linguistically) past tensed propositions is nothing more than a necessary logical pre-clarification of which propositions are really about

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[5] John Martin Fischer, "Freedom and Foreknowledge," in *The Philosophical Review* 42, no. 1 (1983): 67–79.

[6] *Aliquae sunt propositiones de praesenti secundum vocem et secundum rem, et in talibus est universaliter verum quod omnis propositio de praesenti vera habet aliquam de praeterito necessariam … Alique sunt propositiones de praesenti tantum secundum vocem et sunt aequivalenter de futuro, quia earum veritas dependet ex veritate peropositionum de futuro*, William Ockham, "*Tractatus de praedestinatione et de praescientia Dei respectu futurorum contingentium*," in *Opera Philosophica II* (St. Bonaventure, NY: St Bonaventure University, 1978), 505–539. (Henceforward: Tract), q.1. 208–214.

[7] Nelson Pike, "Of God and Freedom: A Rejoinder," *The Philosophical Review* 75, no. 3 (1966): 369–379.

[8] John Turk Saunders, "Of God and Freedom*,*" *The Philosophical Review* 75, no.2 (1966): 219–225.

[9] See: Nelson Pike, "Of God and Freedom: A Rejoinder," 370. This distinction is more or less acceptable as one which fits Ockham's, but from an Ockhamist point of view I must make it clear that so-called "soft" facts about the past (i.e., facts about which there are merely vocally past-tensed propositions) are not facts about the past at all, but rather future contingents.

[10] Marilyn McCord Adams, "Is the Existence of God a 'Hard' Fact?" *The Philosophical Review* 76, no. 4 (1967): 492–503.

the past and which ones are not.[11] This distinction, however, is not a part of his argument for divine foreknowledge; the distinction in Ockham is not between past-tensed propositions referring to hard facts and past-tensed propositions referring to soft facts but between past-tensed propositions and *seemingly* past-tensed propositions. All that Ockham wants to do is to call attention to the fact that the grammatical form of a sentence may not necessarily coincide with its logical content. Although according to their linguistic forms some future-tensed propositions look as if they were past-tensed, this feature should not disturb an analysis, since these propositions are nothing more than disguised future contingents. If my claim is right, then modern argumentations are not equivalent with that of Ockham and thus many of the criticisms against them do not touch the original idea of the Venerable Inceptor.[12]

In this paper (i I shall set forth a moderate version of the foreknowledge-problem and Ockham's answer to it. In the second step (ii based on this interpretation I shall make some critical remarks about previous modern interpretations, arguing that they lack textual reference and thus are historically incorrect.

The Problem of Foreknowledge and Ockham's Solution

In this paper I do not intend to give a detailed analysis of either the foreknowledge problem or Ockham's solution to it. It is necessary, however, to give a quick overview of the main issue:

1) God is omniscient.
2) Omniscience means that God knows all past, present, and future events.[13]

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[11] My claim seems to be supported by the fact that Ockham does not intend to attribute the invention of this idea to himself, but he assigns it to the Philosopher. (See: *Non tantum in illis de futuro in voce aliquando neutra pars est vera secundum intentionem Philosophi, immo etiam aliquando in illis de praesenti et de praeterito neutra pars est determinate vera. Et hoc verum est quando ista de praeterito vel de praesenti aequivalet illi de futuro, sicut istae duae propositiones videntur aequivalere 'a erit,' 'a est futurum;' et sic de multis. Verumtamen utrum tales propositiones aequivalent de virtute sermonis vel non, non curo ad praesens.* William Ockham, "Expositio in librum Perihermenias Aristotelis," in *Opera Philsophica II.* (St. Bonaventure, NY: St. Bonaventure University, 1978), 341–504. (Henceforth: Exp.), here: I. c.6. 15.

[12] A similar opinion is set forth by William Lane Craig, "'Nice Soft Facts': Fischer on Foreknowledge," *Religious Studies* 25, no. 2 (1989): 235–246. About Craig's opinion see below.

[13] See: *<Divina cognitio> est notitia qua scitur quid est falsum et quid est verum, quid fuit falsum et quid fuit verum, quid erit falsum et quid erit verum,* William Ockham, "Scriptum in librum primum

3) Only the truth is knowable.[14]

4) Truth is an *adaequatio* between a proposition and a state of affairs (or facts, or events).[15]

Adaequatio means that if a proposition is true then the state of affairs is as the proposition states and a proposition is false if the state of affairs is otherwise than described by the proposition. The *causal* relation between events and the truth-value of the propositions is not symmetric, thus:

5) A proposition cannot change its truth-value unless the event it signifies changes.[16]

6) Only a proposition can be true.[17] (From **4)**.)

7) A proposition is either true or false (LEM – the Law of the Excluded Middle).[18]

8) Only propositions can be known. (From **3)** and **6)**.)

9) To know what the state of affairs is to know true proposition(s) referring to it. (From **8)** and **4)**.)

10) If a proposition is about the future then it receives its truth-value from a future event. (From **4)** and **5)**.)

Sententiarum, Distinctiones XIX.–XLVIII." in *Opera Theologica IV* (St. Bonaventure, NY: St. Bonaventure University, 1979), (Henceforth: Sent) d.38. 585, 18–20.

[14] See: Ockham, Tract q.2. 66–67 and Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics,* 70b 25.

[15] Although there is no direct explication of the adequatio theory in his works, Aristotle is traditionally considered its first propagator. One of the most relevant passages contributing to the correspondence theory of truth can be found in the *Metaphysics*: "To say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that is, is false, while to say of what is that it is, and of what is not that it is not, is true" (Met 1011b 25–26).

[16] "Statements and beliefs, on the other hand, themselves remain completely unchangeable in every way; it is because the *actual thing* changes that the contrary comes to belong to them," Aristotle, *Categories* 4b1–2.

[17] "Like Aristotle I hold that truth and falsity are not really distinct from the true or false proposition. Thus, if the abstract terms 'truth' and 'falsity' do not incorporate any syncategorematic terms and expressions equivalent to such, one must grant the following propositions: 'Truth is a true proposition' and 'Falsity is a false proposition.'" William Ockham, "Ockham's Theory of Terms," *Summa logicae,* Part 1, trans. Michael J. Loux (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1974) (*Dico quod Aristoteles diceret quod veritas et falsitas non sunt res distinctae realiter a propositione vera el falsa. Et ideo nisi ista abstracta 'veritas' et 'falsitas' includant aliqua syncategoremata vel aliquas dictiones aequivalentes, haec est concedenda 'veritas est propositio vera et falsitas est propositio falsa,'* Ockham, "*Summa logicae,*" Part 1, 43, 241–244, in *Opera Philsophica I* (St. Bonaventure, NY: St. Bonaventure University, 1974).)

[18] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, VII. 1011b 23–24.

At this point there are two options: one can claim that a proposition about a future event is true or false according to the future event to which it refers. This option, however, entails fatalism; if future events are able to determine the (present) truth-value of propositions referring to the future, then future events exist *now*, and future "contingents" are subject to the LNP.[19]

The other possible strategy – which is Ockham's option – avoids fatalism by arguing that a future contingent receives its truth-value only when its present-tensed case will have been true or false (at a time *t*, when the future becomes the present), and from this time on it will necessarily be true or necessarily false. Therefore:

11) Since future events do not exist by definition, thus a future contingent is neither true nor false until the event to which it refers actually happens.

Ockham, like medieval philosophers in general, reconstructed Aristotle's argument in this way, claiming that the Philosopher wanted to say that the LEM can only be applied to future contingents indeterminately, i.e., it is necessary that one part of the contradictory pair is true and the other is false, but which is false and which is true is not determined now.[20] Until the time when one of the present-tensed cases of a contradictory pair becomes true, the LEM only holds for the contradictory pair indeterminately. This claim does not discredit the LEM (**7)**), it is just a different interpretation. Applied to future contingents, the LEM remains true if it is understood in this way:

12) Whenever a proposition has truth-value it is either true or false.

The claim that future contingents are neither true nor false, or in other words, that they are true or false indeterminately means, I think, that:

13) Future contingents do not have truth-value.[21]

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[19] The LNP is directly tied to future contingency since it is possible to make a past tensed proposition about each future contingent in the past relative to the future contingent. If a future event is or is not going to happen, then it was true in the past that it would or would not happen. However, past truth can not be changed, and therefore it is necessary; consequently it was necessary in the past that the future would or would not happen.

[20] See: *Futurum esse vel non esse est necessarium, hoc est, disiunctiva composita ex duabus partibus contradictionis de futuro est necessaria. Et tamen dividendo non est necessarium, hoc est, neutra pars istius disiunctivae est necessaria*, Ockham, Exp I. c.6. 13. And: *Tota intentio Philosophi quod in futuris contingentibus neutra pars est vera neque falsa*, Exp I. c.6. 14.

[21] Here I am identifying being indefinitely true (or false) with being without truth-value. Richard Gaskin gives an elaborate analysis of the same idea. He argues that the distinction between definite and indefinite truth comes from Boëthius, who himself tried to express with them that a proposition is true (or false) in itself (i.e., definitely true) or that a proposition divides truth and falsity with its negation; therefore it is not the case that "there are two varieties of truth – definite and indefinite – which would imply

From **13)** and **3)**; however, it follows evidently that:

14)   It is impossible to know whether a future contingent is true or false.[22]

Ockham accepts **14)** and that it holds for God, too. But, in order to justify the Christian doctrine of divine foreknowledge, Ockham denies that **2)** implies:

15)   God knows which part of the contradictory pair of a future contingent *is* true and which one *is* false.

Instead of **15)**, Ockham argues that:

16)   God knows each future contingent in such a way that he knows which part of a contradictory pair *will be* true and which *will be* false.[23]

That is, God does not know the present truth-value of a future contingent (simply because it has no truth-value), but knows *now* what the truth-value of the present-tensed case of a future contingent *will be* when it will have truth-value.[24]

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that *modalities* of truth are in question," see: Richard Gaskin, *The Sea Battle and the Master Argument,* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 154–155. Gaskin emphasizes that Ockham does not follow the Boëthian terminology consistently and uses the expressions "true or false" and "indefinitely true or false" in such a fashion that it is impossible to detect any philosophical distinction between them. However, according to Gaskin, it is not a fault but a consequence of Ockham's deeper insight that he realizes that there is no logical difference between saying that future contingents are neither true nor false, or to say that they are either true or false but not determinately: Ibidem. 338. Therefore, for Ockham the fact that a future contingent is indeterminately true means nothing, but that it is neither true nor false; i.e., it lacks truth-value.

[22] *Sed numquam est ista consequentia bona:* 'a *erit, igitur Deus scit* a *fore'. Et diceret forte Philosophus quod consequentia non valet, quia* a *non est verum neque falsum; igitur consequentia non valet,* Ockham, Exp I. c.6. 13.

[23] *Quod indubitanter est tenendum quod Deus certitudinaliter scit omnia futura contingentia, ita quod certitudinaliter scit quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae falsa,* Ockham, Tract q.1. 239–241. See also Tract q.2. 21–23. Although **16)** is not a common solution in medieval philosophy, to interpret Ockham in this way would not be historically specific because his Oxford fellow, Walter Chatton (c. 1290–1343), held the same view on this particular question: *istae sunt distinctae propositiones "haec est vera 'Sortes sedebit'" et 'haec erit vera 'Sortes sedet'." Et de prima dicerem quod non, quia tunc, ex quo iam vera est, non eset necessarium consiliari nec negotari circa hoc quod foret. Secundam concedo, ubi demonstratur propositio de praesenti "haec erit vera 'Sortes sedet,'"* see: Chatton, *Reportatio*, d.38. q.1., quoted by: Hester G. Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise, Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology in Oxford, 1300–1350* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 233.

[24] Taking p as a proposition referring to a contingent event happening at t_1; let g = refer to God; K (x,p) = "x know(s) p"; p = well formed sentence, f = temporal indexical ranging over propositions, which renders a proposition logically future tensed (referring to something future relative to the actual 'now.' n = temporal indexical ranging over propositions; it renders a proposition logically present tensed. Then: $\forall$ (t). ~K (g, $p^f_{tn<t1}$)

All this means that for Ockham foreknowledge is *fore*knowledge in a very strict sense; to speak about *fore*knowledge in the strictest sense a special temporal relation is required: the act of knowledge must precede the thing known in time; that is, the act of knowledge must be *actually* past or present with respect to the subject of the knowledge, while in turn the subject of knowledge must be *actually* future in respect of the act of knowledge. Ockham's concept of foreknowledge meets this requirement, first because, according to him, God knows future things in advance; that is, he knows them now, secondly, because what is known by his foreknowledge is the real future, not something in the present. By his foreknowledge God does not know the present truth-value of a future contingent, since in this case it would be improper to speak about knowing the future, but knows something ontologically different, something which *actually* lies in the future. Ockham emphasizes that God not only knows something contingent about the present, but He also knows what will be true and what will be false in the future.[25]

Since knowledge about the future in the sense of **16)** pertains only to God, Ockham therefore warns that God's knowledge about the future is determinate, but:

17) Every proposition about God's knowledge of contingent future events is itself a future contingent.[26]

Thus, it is without truth-value. *In statu viatoris,* our propositions about God's foreknowledge are true only *ex suppositione,* but not absolutely. Therefore, such propositions as: "God knows that S will be P," or: "God knows from eternity that S will be P," or: "God knew that S will be P," do not differ from the proposition: "S will be P," and therefore they are equivalent to a future contingent.[27] Here is the point where Ockham applies the *vocaliter/formaliter* distinction; although the proposition: "God knew that S will be P" is past tensed according to its

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but $\forall$(t). K (g, $p^n_{tm>t1}$). Thus, God knows even before the event happens what is the truth-value of p^n at t_1, but he never knows, not even after the event happened, what the truth-value of p^f at $_{tn<t1}$ is/was, since it has no truth-value.

[25] *Ipsa divina essentia est quaedam cognitio et notitia qua non tantum scitur verum, necessarium et contingens de praesenti, sed etiam scitur quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae erit falsa*, Ockham, Sent d.38. q.1. 585. 7–10.

[26] *Omnes tales sunt contingentes 'Deus ab aeterno voluit hanc partem esse veram', 'Deus ab aeterno determinavit hoc' et huiusmodi... et possunt per consequens esse verae et falsae* Ockham, Tract q.1. 273–275. See also Tract q.1. 149–162, and 242–243.

[27] See: Tract q.1. 149–162. Indeed, if humans had knowledge about the content of God's foreknowledge, the relation would be transitive and therefore man also would have foreknowledge, which is denied as impossible.

grammatical form (i.e., vocally); however, according to its logical form (i.e., in reality) it is a future contingent *for us.*

Ockham does not discuss it explicitly, but it is clear from many of his arguments that the truth-value gap in propositions about God's foreknowledge holds not only for these propositions. Whenever a proposition with a truth-value gap enters a demonstration its truth-value gap is hereditary, so it affects the whole argument including the conclusion.[28]

Since future contingents have no truth-value, Ockham is obliged to conclude that although based on the authorities it is sure that God has foreknowledge, it is not possible to say *how* God has knowledge about future contingents.[29] However, in my view, with his argument Ockham does not intend to prove the existence of divine foreknowledge (a thesis he adheres to), but to prove the *possibility* of divine foreknowledge; i.e., that it is not logically impossible or contradictory to maintain a compatibilist view about foreknowledge and human freedom. At the same time, he maintains that the lack of ultimate proof for the mode of how God knows future contingents is not due to philosophical weakness or error in the argumentation, but is a consequence of an ontological fact; it is *impossible* for humans to know about it.[30]

This theory, however, has some consequences; e.g., since proposition **16)** means that God has access to something which is future, therefore – as Zagzebski has already noted – this solution presupposes a special kind of temporal eternity, and even with this amendment the theory is still open to some criticism. Nevertheless, now I will neither discuss Ockham's theory in its all details, nor evaluate it. For my intention to show the illegitimacy of the modern interpretations the previous basic reconstruction of the argument seems to be sufficient.

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[28] Ockham uses this logical rule to avoid possible contra-arguments. For example, he argues that the argument: a) God knows that I will sit tomorrow, b) it is possible that I will not sit tomorrow, c) therefore it is possible that God errs is not valid (see: Ockham, Tract q.2. a.2. 47–49), because the validity of this argument needs that a) might be a simple assertoric proposition. Proposition a), however, is not assertoric, but contingent without truth-value; therefore c) does not follow. See: *Secunda* <consequentia> *non valet, quia ad hoc talis mixtio valeret, oporteret quod maior esset de inesse simpliciter, ita quod semper esset necessrio vera quantumcumque illa de possibili poneretur in esse. ... Igitur ad hoc quod prima mixtio valeat, oportet quod maior sit de inesse simpliciter. Sed patet quod non est, quia est mere contingens, quia potest esse vera et potest esse falsa et numquam fuisse vera.* Ockham, Tract q.2. a.2. 68–80.

[29] *Ideo dico quod impossibile est clare exprimere modum quo Deus scit futura contingentia*, Tract q.1. 277–278.

[30] *Et ideo dico ad quaestionem quod indubitanter est tenendum quod Deus certitudinaliter et evidenter scit omnia futura contingentia. Sed hoc evidenter declarare et modum quo scit omnia futura contingentia exprimere est impossibile omni intellectui pro statu isto*, Ockham, Sent I. d.38. q.1. 583/21–584/2.

What is Wrong with Adams' Analysis?

The reconstruction of Ockham's argument given in the previous section is a simplified version; it shows, however, the main structure of the argument. I am aware that this interpretation differs basically from other contemporary ones on two main points:

A)   According to the modern interpretations, Ockham takes the concept of divine foreknowledge in the sense of **15)**.

B)   Modern interpreters deny **13)** and argue for the claim that in Ockham future contingents have truth-value.

Below I shall argue that these three claims generate three basic problems regarding Ockham's argument:

α)   In Ockham there is no textual evidence for **15)**.

β)   **A)** necessarily entails **B)**; that is, one can argue for **15)** only by the presupposition that Ockham ascribes truth-value to future contingents; this presupposition, however, seems to be fictitious.

γ)   Arguing for **A)** and **B)**, and at the same time denying fatalism makes it necessary *to deny* the traditionally accepted idea that the condition of being known (i.e., having truth-value in the present) and the condition of being subjected to the LNP (i.e., causally dependent on a present or past fact) are inseparable. In Ockham, however, there is no reference to such a denial.

As for **α)**, it is hard to answer the question why scholars adopt **15)** instead of **16)**, because in their writings there are no reflections about this choice. Actually, since they do not argue against **16)** explicitly, it does not seem to be a real choice, but rather it shows an unawareness of identifying an alternative interpretation. It might be a consequence of a loose reading of the text or a reading based on the English translation, which is the only place where I found a remark connected to this issue.

A relevant sentence in this context is:

indubitanter est tenendum quod Deus certitudinaliter scit omnia futura contingentia, ita quod certitudinaliter scit quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae falsa.[31]

This proposition is translated by Marilyn McCord Adams not according to its grammatical form, but according to her explanatory claim as: "… he knows

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[31] Ockham, Tract q.1. 239–241.

with certainty which part of the contradiction *is* true and which false."[32] Adams tries to justify her translation in a footnote:

> Reading *est* for *erit*. Suppose that the contradiction in question is that between the future contingents 'Peter will be saved' and 'Peter will not be saved'. One or the other of these is true *now* and hence is known by God to be true now. This reading is confirmed by the wording of the example in the next sentence: '*Deus scit hanc partem contradictionis esse* [rather than *fore*] *veram vel illam*.'[33]

I cannot adopt this translation since it contradicts the text which is simply in the future tense. No edition or variant in the manuscript of Ockham's text is known which is worded in present tense. Whenever Ockham intends to express his idea on this issue he always uses the future tense,[34] and what is surprising, Adams also translates them in the future tense except in the quotation above.[35]

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[32] Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham: Predestination, God's Foreknowledge and Future Contingents,* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 48 (henceforward: Predestination 1st ed, 48). In his German translation Dominik Perler kept the original verb and translated the sentence as: "Man muß unanzweifelbar daran festhalten, daß Gott alles zukünftig Kontingente mit Gewißheit weiß, so daß er mit Gewißheit weiß, welcher Teil des Widerspruchs wahr und welcher falsch sein wird" (Dominik Perlel, *Prädestination, Zeit und Kontingenz, Philosophisch-historische Untersuchungen zu Wilhelm von Ockhams Tractatus de praedestinatione et de praescientia Dei respectu futurorum contingentium* (Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1988), 27.

[33] Adams*, Predestination 1st ed.* 48. Emphasis in the original.

[34] I would like to stress here that perhaps the most serious element of Ockham's whole theological and philosophical enterprise is his recognition that by correct grammatical and logical use of terms and propositions it is possible to avoid many theological misunderstandings. (Compare: "In Ockham's view, Scripture informs us what must be believed about the divine, and the analysis of language enables us to discourse about God and to draw the correct conclusions about the divine," see: André Goddu, "William of Ockham," in *The History of Franciscan Theology,* ed. K. B. Osborne (St. Bonaventure, NY: University of St. Bonaventure, 1994), 246.) According to his program the wording of his writings is rather clear, accurate, and precise. Therefore, even if he himself emphasizes the possible difference between a sentence's grammatical and logical structure, I suggest taking him seriously and granting that he wrote what he intended, especially in this case where grammatical tenses seem to be crucial to understanding the argument.

[35] See Tract q.2. 21–23: *Deus habet notitiam determinatam respectu futurorum contingentium, quia determinate scit quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae falsa.* According to Adams' translation: "God has determinate cognition in respect of future contingents since He knows determinately which part of the contradiction *will be* true and which false." (Adams, *Predestination*, 1st ed., 55.), while *Deus determinate scit quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae falsa* (Ord dist. 38.) is translated as God "knows determinately which part of the contradiction

Adams' translation is philosophically problematic, too. The justification for her translation is questionable. She supposes that Ockham's next sentences in the text support a reading of *est* for *erit*; but it is not clear at all. In order to show this, I quote the whole paragraph (in my translation):

> It must be held unquestionably that God knows with certainty all future contingents in such a way that he knows with certainty which part of a contradictory pair *will be* true and which <*will be*> false; in such a way, however, that all such propositions like 'God knows that this part – or that part – of a contradiction is true' are contingents and non-necessary, as has been said previously. It is difficult, however, to see how he knows it, since one part is not more determined to be true than the other.[36]

In order to support Adams' translation, the second part of the paragraph should mean that: Although propositions like "God knows that this part of a contradiction is true" are true, they remain contingent or non-necessary. This reading of the text, however, is problematic, since in the very next sentence Ockham explicitly states that neither of these contradictory pairs is more determined to truth than the other; thus, I think, neither of them can be true. Ockham's text, in reality, seems to say that although God knows with certainty whether *p* or non-*p* will be true, propositions like "God knows that *p* is true" or "God knows that non-*p* is true" are neither true nor false, and *consequently* they are contingent.

β) While Adams thinks that it "can be reconstructed from his <Ockham's> many remarks (in the *Treatise* and elsewhere)"[37] that future contingents are determinately true and determinately known by God, but unfortunately, Adams does not reveal which texts she has in mind.[38] I find it problematic to credit Ockham

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will be true and which false," see: Adams, *Predestination*, 1st ed., 91. The italics in the English are my emphases.

[36] *Indubitanter est tenendum quod Deus certitudinaliter scit omnia futura contingentia, ita quod certitudinaliter scit quae pars contradictionis erit vera et quae falsa, ita tamen quod omnes propositiones 'Deus scit hanc partem contradictionis esse veram' vel 'illam' sunt contingentes et non necessariae, sicut prius dictum est. Sed difficile est videre quomodo haec scit, cum una pars non plus determinetur ad veritatem quam alia.* Ockham, Tract q.1. 239–245.

[37] Marilyn McCord Adams, "Introduction," in *William Ockham: Predestination, God's Foreknowledge and Future Contingents*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1983): henceforward: *Predestination*, 2nd ed. 10.

[38] Adams did not always opt for this interpretation. In the first edition of the "Introduction" to her translation of *Tractatus* she thinks that Ockham does not ascribe future contingents as having definite truth-value and she talks about a certain type of "gap". In this book

with the idea that future contingents have truth-value. Even if there are passages in Ockham which speak of a kind of truth-value regarding future contingents, I think that one should reconstruct Ockham's standpoint in the following way: As I have already mentioned, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Hermeneutics* Ockham reports that according to the Philosopher neither part of a future contingent pair is true.[39] In the *Tractatus* and *Sentence Commentary,* where he sets out his own ideas, Ockham avoids the expression: neither part is true. The reason for this avoidance seems to be that Ockham supposes if one says that neither of them is true it is possible to argue that neither part is known by God.[40] Ockham, therefore, avoids this expression, but I think he keeps the idea; however, in the absence of the concept of "truth-value," he has to fight his way to expressing the claim that future contingents are truth-valueless: He says that future contingents "can be true and can be false; however, not successively; not in such a way as if they were true after they had been false or vice versa;"[41] that is, future contingents are open to their opposites and are not determined as true or false.[42] In one place he writes that a future contingent: "might be true or might have been true by supposition, nevertheless, it is possible that in the absolute sense it is neither true nor ever has

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she argues that the "gap" does not destroy either the LEM or the PB; on the contrary; according to Ockham – writes Adams – "to deny both that a singular future contingent proposition … is determinately true or that it is determinately false is not to deny that it is either-true-or-false" (Adams, "Introduction," *Predestination*, 1st ed. 9.) that is, the LEM – and therefore the Principle of bivalence PB – holds for it. Later, however, she claims that with a certain modification of an Aristotelian concept Ockham closes this gap and restores the LEM (Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham II* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1987), 1141) or the PB (Adams, "Introduction," in *Predestination* 2nd, 10). (In her earlier book Adams speaks about the restoration of the LEM, while in the later one about the restoration of PB. It is not clear, however, whether she changed her mind on this question or she identifies LEM with PB and thus simply mentions one and the same logical principle by two different names.)

[39] See footnotes 20 and 22.

[40] See: *In talibus contingentibus futuris neutra pars contradictionis est vera vel falsa, sicut res non magis determinatur ad fore quam non fore. Et ideo diceret Philosophus quod etiam Deus non plus scit unam partem contradictionis quam aliam: immo neutra scitur a Deo, quia ex quo neutra pars est vera … sequitur quod neutra pars est scita,* Ockham, Exp I.c.6. 15 8–14. See also Tract q.1. 234–238.

[41] <*Futura contingentia*> *possunt esse verae et possunt esse falsae, non tamen succesive ita quod sint verae postquam fuerunt falsae, vel e converso,* Ockham, Tract q.1. 155–156.

[42] See also: Tract q.1. 132–134.; q.2. a.1. 79–80; and q.2. a.3. 144–146. or William Ockham, "Quodlibeta Septem," in *Opera Theologica IX*. (St. Bonaventure, NY: St Bonaventure University, 1980), IV.4. 55–58.

been true,"[43] which means that whenever it enters a syllogism it can only be used with the modal operator: "possible." In other cases, Ockham is not so clear and states that future contingents are true, but just contingently, in the sense that they are not false but are able to be false,[44] which again, I think, is nothing else but saying that they are indeterminately true; i.e., neither true, nor false.

The most problematic paragraph is that where Ockham writes that one part of a future-contingent pair is determinately true now. This affirmation, however, cannot be interpreted as endowing future contingents with truth-value, since, again, Ockham himself states that this only means that the proposition is not false because, so to speak, God *wants* to apply the LEM to future contingents.[45] In light of these claims, I cannot see any textual evidence supporting Adams' interpretation that future contingents have (definite)[46] truth-value.

γ) Even if one is willing to accept the preconception that future contingents have truth-value, how future contingents can be contingent remains a problem. According to the general Aristotelian tradition, a proposition is determined if the LNP holds for it. Because of **5)**, at the level of the propositions the LNP implies that every proposition about the present and about the past will be necessary in the sense that its truth-value cannot change.[47] Thus, the LNP means that it is always possible to form a dated tensed proposition about a past fact which will

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[43] <Futurum contingens> *sit vera vel fuerit vera ex suppositione, tamen possibile est quod non sit vera et quod numquam fuerit vera absolute,* Ockham, Tract q.1. 122–123.

[44] *Dico quod* <futurum contingens> *est vera, ita quod non falsa, tamen est contingenter vera, quia potest esse falsa* Tract q.1. 289–290. I just would like to remark that this line explicitly makes it impossible to interpret Ockham's argument following Arthur Prior, according to whom every future contingent has truth-value in the present and each of them is false, see: Arthur N. Prior, *Past, Present and, Future* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) see especially 129.) Prior argues that – according to the LNP – if one would say that it is true now that 'x will be *A* tomorrow,' then tomorrow x will necessarily be *A*, but on the other hand, if one would say that it is true now that 'x will be *non-A* tomorrow,' then tomorrow x will necessarily be *non-A*. Therefore we can rightly assert that 'it is false now that "x will be *A* tomorrow"' and that 'it is false now that "x will be *non-A* tomorrow."'

[45] See: *Una pars nunc determinate est vera, ita quod non falsa, quia Deus vult unam partem esse veram et aliam esse falsam. Tamen contingenter vult, et ideo potest non velle illam partem , et partem aliam potest velle, sicut pars alia potest evenire,* Tract q.1. 295–296.

[46] Adams talks constantly about *definite* truth-value, however, this does not mean more than truth-value. The source of this distinction is a double usage in Ockham. See: footnote 21.

[47] *Omnis propositio de praesenti semel vera habet aliquam de praeterito necessariam, sicut haec 'Sortes sedet' si est vera, haec semper postea erit necessaria 'Sortes sedit,'* Ockham, Tract q.1. 50–52.

be either necessarily true or necessarily false.[48] In Adams' words this Aristotelian principle is the following:

18) "x's being A at t_m is determinate at t_n <which is past relative to t_m>, if and only if there is no potency in things at t_n for x's not being (having been, being going to be) A at t_m."[49]

In order to get a coherent argument, however, Adams claims that Ockham does not accept this definition, but during the development of his own solution to the problem of God's foreknowledge Ockham changed it to this:

19) "x's being A at t_m is determinate at t_n, if and only if *at some time or other* there is (was, will be) no potency in things for x's not being (having been, being going to be) A at t_m."[50]

From principle **18)** it follows that future contingents are not determined and Adams reckons that to provide divine foreknowledge Ockham must transform **18)** to **19)**. The main difference between these two is that according to **18)** a proposition is determinately true (or false) if, at the time of its being definite, there is no possibility for it being false (or true). Contrary to this, **19)** broadens the opportunities and lets a proposition have definite truth-value if it is definitely true or false not at the same time, but at any other, say, at a future instance. With this change Adams seems to create hybrid propositions which, although determinately true or false, are not casually dependent on a past or present event (just on a future one) and therefore they are contingent.

There are several further objections to Adams' theory. The first is that principle **19)** cannot be found explicitly anywhere in Ockham's texts and I was not able to discover even a single paragraph in Ockham where he maintains that he wants to change the Aristotelian principle. Moreover, Adams gives no concrete reference; she writes quite simply that "Ockham's solution is, in effect, to replace **18)** with **19)**,"[51] but for me, Adams' attempt to preserve the coherence of her interpretation seems to be the cause of promoting this alleged replacement. But the strongest objection is that the transformation of this Aristotelian principle is needed only if one wants to assign truth-value to future contingents. Ockham, however, does not seem to intend to do this; he argues for divine foreknowledge

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[48] In this way the LNP turns significantly tensed propositions into dated tensed ones, e.g., although the proposition that 'It was cloudy yesterday' can be true and false at different times, it will always be necessarily true that: "It was true on 17 December 2011 that: 'It was cloudy yesterday.'"

[49] Adams, *William Ockham* II. 1138.

[50] Adams, *William Ockham* II. 1140–41. For the whole argument see: pages 1138–1142.

[51] Adams, *William Ockham* II. 1140

together with the truth-valuelessness of future contingents. This claim precisely is what makes the greatest trouble for him.[52]

Based on her presuppositions, Adams thinks that that proposition expresses a "hard" fact about a time t which is absolutely not about any future time relative to t.[53] "Soft facts," however, are about something future relative to themselves and thus they are not under the effect of the LNP. Besides lacking textual evidence, the most serious problem with Adams' solution is that it releases an uncontrollable philosophical avalanche which seems to swamp Ockham. This interpretation has been the source of many misunderstandings and pseudo-problems with Ockham's view.

One of the problems with Adams' argument – as others have already shown – is that it proves too much; if one takes Adams' definition seriously it turns out that every fact is a soft fact.[54] Despite the harsh critiques, many philosophers have tried to follow Adams and make the soft fact/hard fact distinction appropriate by reformulating Adams' definition. One of them is John Martin Fischer, whose definition, I think, is in greater accord with Ockham's. Fischer writes that "a soft fact is a fact *in virtue* of events which occur in the future."[55] Fischer adopts this definition correctly for some cases[56] and tries to prove that divine foreknowledge is impossible (at least in the Ockhamian way). Fischer argues that "Adams' formulation of Ockhamism is inadequate"[57] and writes that one of the main challenges to the Ockhamist is formulating a precise hard fact/soft fact distinction.[58] His objections, however, are not against Ockhamism in general, but against only Adams' Ockhamism. Thus, I think, William Lane Craig is right in accusing Fischer of attacking many notions which: "only remotely resemble

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[52] See: Tract q.1. 244–245, and 272–278.

[53] Cf. Marilyn McCord Adams, "Is the Existence of God a 'Hard' Fact?" 494.

[54] Paul Helm argues that since every completed action entails that it is not completed any time later relative to the time of its completion therefore each completed action is a soft fact, see: Paul Helm, "Divine Foreknowledge and Facts," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 4, no. 2 (1974): 305–315. Here: 312. Fischer has the same idea: "Adams claims that her account shows why 'Caesar died 2009 years before Saunders wrote his paper' does not express a hard fact about 44 B.C. But her account does not explain this unless it is interpreted to imply that no sentence expresses a hard fact," see: "Freedom and Foreknowledge," 73.

[55] John Martin Fischer, "Freedom and Foreknowledge," 76.

[56] For example, for the proposition that: "Caesar died 2009 years before Saunders wrote his paper" (see: ibid.).

[57] Ibid., 79.

[58] Ibid., 79.

Ockham's view, thereby promoting misunderstanding of Ockham's important insights on this question."[59]

The basic problem with the definition of softness seems to be that it treats temporal relations in terms of the *relative* temporal sequence of events to each other. As noted above, according to Pike, Adams, and other philosophers in their vein, a proposition is soft <u>if</u> it is about something *future relative to itself*. Contrary to this, Ockham treats temporality in terms of the relation of events to the actual "now;" that is, a proposition is indeterminate, unfixed (soft, if you like) <u>if</u> it is about something *future relative to the actual 'now'*. Therefore, I agree with Freddoso that the main reason why modern interpretations of Ockham have failed is that "they have not articulated precisely the central Ockhamistic thesis of the primacy of the pure present."[60]

The primacy of the pure present is an immediate consequence of the Aristotelian concept of time. According to it, time has two parts, past and future, bound together by the "now."[61] The "now" itself is not part of time, but the contact point, the only "thing" which makes it possible to distinguish between the past and the future; they "exist" only in relation to the "now." Therefore, in the strict sense, it is not possible to speak about past or future relative to another event, only as relative to the actual "now."[62]

A consequence of this consideration is that it is impossible to classify soft (unfixed) and hard (fixed) facts forever because their softness/hardness depends on their temporal relation to the actual "now." Therefore, each proposition changes its softness to hardness when the present-tensed case of the proposition becomes true (or false); that is, as Professorm Kvanvig writes, "there is a certain time at which they 'hardened'. Soft facts are facts which have not, so to speak, become hard yet."[63] For example, the famous proposition: "Caesar was assassinated 2009 years before Saunders wrote his paper" expresses a fact about Caesar's death in temporal relation to a *later* event (that is, which is future relative to it). The

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[59] William Lane Craig, "'Nice Soft Facts': Fischer on Foreknowledge," 235.

[60] Alfred J. Freddoso, "Accidental Necessity and Logical Determinism," *The Journal of Philosophy* 80, no. 5 (1983): 257–278. Here: 258.

[61] See: Aristotle, *Physics* IV. 10.

[62] According to the relation between two "nows" (i.e., between two events), it is possible to talk about the "relative past" or "relative future," however, in this case they only signify "past" or "future" figuratively; their proper signification is "earlier" or "later".

[63] Jonathan L. Kvanvig, *The Possibility of an All-Knowing God* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 102. Although this interpretation of softness can solve many problems raised by scholars during the debate about the definition of soft facts, I do not know any philosopher except Kvanvig who would take this possibility into account at all.

determinateness of the proposition, however, does not depend on the single fact that Saunders' writing his paper is a later event than Caesar's death. The key issue is whether the two events are past, present or future relative to the actual "now." Thus, the proposition: "Caesar was assassinated 2009 years before Saunders wrote his paper" was a soft fact until 1965, but from that time on it expresses a hard fact.

Based on the above analysis, I suggest that, contrary to other reconstructions, the interpretation proposed here: a) has textual evidence; b) has fewer problematic consequences, and, thus, c) it requires fewer auxiliary hypotheses. Therefore my interpretation is preferable, based on both the principle of charity and the principle of economy.

ASTROLOGY IN JANUS PANNONIUS'S POEMS OF PRAISE

Áron Orbán 📥

How frequently the stars appear in an astrological[1] context is conspicuous in the poetry of Janus Pannonius (1434–72), the most renowned humanist of Hungary.[2] This aspect of Janus's oeuvre has been recognized by previous scholars (József Huszti, Lajos Bartha, Éva Kocziszky, János Bollók) and to a certain extent discussed in their studies,[3] but there is still much to be clarified by careful analyses. Since Janus was in many respects a typical representative of fifteenth-century humanism, these investigations may pertain not only to one particular person's thought or rhetorical habits, but also some important aspects of Latin humanist poetry, or analogical thinking in the Renaissance in general.

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[1] Henceforth I will use the term "astrology" basically in its modern sense. The medieval mind considered the science of the heavenly bodies as one discipline. One could differentiate between two complementary aspects of this discipline, which can be called astronomy and astrology. Based upon the authorative texts of Ptolemy (whose *Almagest* and *Tetrabiblos* can be considered as works on astronomy and astrology, respectively) or that of Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, III, 27), the difference can be summarized as: Astronomy investigates the motions and positions of the heavenly bodies, while astrology deals with their effects on the sublunar world. However, the two notions were often used interchangeably in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and one always has to keep in mind that the sharp differentiation only exists in our modern minds.

[2] This article is based on a section of my MA thesis: "The Role of Astrology in the Poetry of Janus Pannonius" (Central European University, 2012).

[3] József Huszti was the first to realize the importance of astrology in Janus' poetry; he wrote a short study in 1927 ("Janus Pannonius asztrológiai álláspontja" [Janus Pannonius's attitude toward astrology], *Minerva* 6 [1927]: 43–58), which in fact did not go beyond a superficial overview of the relevant poems, although he made the first important observations which undermined an earlier image of the "enlightened" Janus. In later generations of scholars only two short studies analyzed certain poems with astrological references (Lajos Bartha, Jr., "Janus Pannonius két csillagászati verse" [Two astronomical poems by Janus Pannonius], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 82 (1978): 340–345; Éva Kocziszky, "A csillaghit Janus költészetében. (Előtanulmány)." [Astral belief in the poetry of Janus (Preliminary Study)] *Collectanea Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* [Collectanea Tiburtiana. Studies in honor of Tibor Klaniczay], ed. Géza Galavics et al. (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990). The only general analysis of the issue has been provided by János Bollók, *Asztrális misztika és asztrológia Janus Pannonius költészetében* [Astral mysticism and astrology in the poetry of Janus Pannonius] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2003).

Among Janus's works containing astrological references, the poems in which the author most willingly goes into technical horoscope details are some of his praise poems: each addresses a man who is of high rank and is important for Janus. This study will explore the nature of astrological ideas in these works and the possible reasons and motives behind the use of these ideas.

The very presence of astrological expressions in Janus' poetry is not surprising at all. The period when Janus worked can be considered the beginning of the heyday of European astrology:[4] Ideas about the effects of the stars appeared in various aspects of culture – science, philosophy, the arts, literature, and daily life – and humanists took part in the spread of these ideas in many ways.[5] Astrology was "a completely international spiritual fluid"[6] in the Renaissance, but even beyond the general fashion, the places where Janus stayed for most of his life (Ferrara, Padua, later Matthias Corvinus' Buda court) were among the main centers of European astrology in that period. In Ferrara, where Janus was educated, astronomy-astrology was supported continuously by the Este rulers;[7] Matthias Corvinus (king of Hungary 1459–90), in whose Buda court Janus spent most of his time in Hungary, had a great predilection for horoscopes (see below).

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[4] The golden age of European astrology can be dated between about 1450 and 1650, see: W. Knappich, *Geschichte der Astrologie* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1988), ch. 7.

[5] Italian humanists propagated, rediscovered, and translated into Latin literary, philosophical, and hermetic texts which had a world view based on analogical thinking. Astrology could be combined with Neoplatonism, magic or any other set of ideas which were based on the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm, a commonplace in the Renaissance. Astrological texts were also translated, primarily the *Tetrabiblos*; ancient works were rediscovered, like the *Astronomicon*, a long didactic poem by Manilius (first century AD), which was found in 1417 by Poggio Bracciolini and became a model for astrological poetry in the Renaissance.

[6] Franz Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung: Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie* (Leipzig: Teubner 1926), 41.

[7] The successive Ferrarese princes collected more and more "celestial" books in their library (works by Pietro d'Abano, Bonincontri, Lunardi, and so on; the most famous is the *Sphaera* of De Predis). Giovanni Bianchini, the renowned mathematician-astronomer-astrologer of the University of Ferrara, was made Principal under Niccolò III (1393–1441). The color of the clothes in which Leonello (1441–1450) appeared in public reportedly harmonized with the color of the planet that ruled that day of the week (Janus also visited banquets organized by him.) The range of interests of the next princes – Borso (1450–1471) and Ercole I (1471–1505) – also included astrology. For more details see, e.g., Stefano Caroti, *L'astrologia in Italia* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1983) or Cesare Vasoli, "L'astrologia a Ferrara tra la metà del Quattrocento e la metà del Cinquecento," in *Il Rinascimento nelle corti padane,* ed. Paolo Rossi et al. (Bari: De Donato, 1977).

Áron Orbán

The idea of triumph, central for humanist praise poems, was one of the basic ideas of the Renaissance and it could be made manifest in various – political, moral, philosophical – frameworks. Guarino himself (Janus' teacher) spread the frequently appearing thought of the humanists that humans are able to become *quasi in terris deus* (like a god on earth) through artistic creation, for example.[8] It is perhaps natural that triumph came to be associated with the celestial sphere and the stars; there were at least two sets of ideas which could have provided frameworks for this association: astral mysticism and astrology.[9] The planets themselves often appeared triumphantly, as on the walls of Johannes de Zredna's *Studio*.[10] The patronage system in Europe resulted in the emergence of panegyrics and other genres of praise and the idea of triumph was quite suitable for these poems. Consequently, astral and astrological ideas can also be expected to occur in Renaissance eulogies.

The presence of astrology in some of Janus's panegyrics is mentioned by scholars, but they usually confine themselves to stating the purely rhetorical usage of astrology in the poems of praise.[11] This seems to be true, but the poems deserve a deeper analysis. Janus goes into technical details in them and important conclusions may be drawn about his knowledge and views on astrology. Particular horoscopes may have been related to the poems; in general, the motives for applying astrological terms have to be clarified as well as their possible relation to other conceptual frameworks.

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[8] István János, "Neoplatonista motívumok Janus Pannonius itáliai költeményeiben" [Neoplatonic motifs in the Italian poems of Janus Pannonius], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84, no. 1 (1980)," 2.

[9] Zoltán Nagy suggests implicitly that the appearance of the Renaissance idea of triumph, expressed through astral symbols, might have been disadvantageous to Christianity: "In line with the Renaissance idea of triumph… the use of *sidera, polus* and other words related to astronomy instead of *coelum* is dominant." Zoltán Nagy, "Vitéz János művészeti alkotásai Janus Pannonius műveiben" [The artworks of János Vitéz in the works of Janus Pannonius], in *Janus Pannonius. Tanulmányok* [Janus Pannonius. Studies], ed. Tibor Kardos, Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1975), 267.

[10] The planet-*trionfi* on the walls of the *Studio* of Johannes de Zredna (János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom, the uncle of Janus) followed Italian patterns. For instance, the *trionfi*-series in the Cappella di Zodiaco (Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini), the Ferrarese-Venetian *Tarocchi del Mantegna* and the Florentine *Pianeti* series show similar features, see: Nagy, "Vitéz," 273.

[11] Huszti, "Asztrológiai," 58; Kocziszky, "Csillaghit," 58; Bollók, *Asztrális,* 65.

a.) Italian Poems of Praise

Janus composed the *Carmen ad Ludovicum Gonzagam*[12] in 1450 or 1451[13] and gave it to Lodovico II Gonzaga himself, who visited Ferrara; it is improbable that Guarino ordered Janus to do this.[14] The style of the panegyric reminds one of Claudian[15] (who had also applied astrology[16]), however, in shaping the structure Janus "followed the precepts of the rhetoricians."[17] The explicit appearance of astrology near the end of the poem has some preliminaries not perceived before by scholars of Janus. Within the traditional praise of the father's *prudentia*, the ability to predict the future is highlighted,[18] and later the poet praises the same ability in the son.[19] In the transition to the battle, the war gods which helped Lodovico are associated with the stars.[20] In the end astrology appears explicitly. This part is well integrated in the rhetorical structure of the panegyric; it is among the final comparisons and the poet applies the figure of *rogatio*:[21]

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[12] *Iani Pannonii Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia*, ed. Sámuel Teleki, Sándor Kovásznai (Utrecht: Wild, 1784) (henceforth: JP-Tel.), vol. 1, 238.

[13] Pekka Tuomisto, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Janus Pannonius' Carmen ad Ludovicum Gonzagam," in *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában* [Humanist culture in Pannonia], ed. István Bartók, László Jankovits, Gábor Kecskeméti (Pécs: Művészetek háza, 2000), 47.

[14] Ibid., 48.

[15] József Huszti, *Janus Pannonius* (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Társaság, 1931)*, 80.

[16] Tuomisto, "Rhetorical," 56.

[17] Ibid., 58.

[18] *Carmen ad Ludovicum* 34–36: *Mirandum innotuit divinae mentis acumen / In genitore tuo; saepe ut ventura videre / Posset, et innumeris praediceret ante diebus…*

[19] Ibid., 185–8: *Quin de venturis aliquid praedicere rebus, / et secreta soles longe praenoscere fata, / An cladem, an laetam portendant Numina palmam. / Vera cano…*

[20] Ibid., 139–140: *At cum pugna vocat, pro te vel sidera certant, / et tua descendens ad classica militat aether.* (Observed by Bollók, *Asztrális*, 65.)

[21] Tuomisto, "Rhetorical," 50.

Ergo ego dum tacitus mecum tua fata retracto,
Sum dubitus, quo te genitum sub sidere dicam,
Marsne ferox, mitisne Venus, facundus an Hermes,
Phoebeumne tuis natalibus arserit astrum?
Hoc iubet eximiae splendor me credere formae,
Hoc solers animi vigor, et doctrina, sagacis,
Hoc lepor, hoc studium Mavortis et ignea virtus.
Scorpion incurva minitantem praelia cauda,
Te roseus nascente dies, rapidumve leonem,
Clara vel Astraeae possedit Virginis ora;
Iustitiam quod amas, duris quod es acer in armis,
Iupiter ipse tuos per cetera vindicat ortus.[22]

So, as I silently think over your deeds, I wonder which star I should say you were born under? Was it the fierce Mars, the mild Venus, the eloquent Hermes, or the star of Phoebus which shone upon your birth? The one is strongly suggested by your pleasant and excellent form, the other by your soul's vivid ingenuity, another by your charm, still another by the ambition and the fiery strength of Mars. When you were born, was the rosy day in the Scorpio that threatens war with its curly tail, or in the seizing Leo, or in Virgo Astraea with a bright face? But since you love justice and are valiant in the battle, and in all other respects, it is Jupiter himself who vindicates your birth.[23]

At the end the poet opted for Jupiter, certainly because it gives royal virtues (and because it is the *fortuna maior* in astrology). Presenting the options, he enumerated four planets and three signs, and the signs are the domiciles of the planets, as Bollók observes[24] (Mars – Scorpio, Mercury – Virgo, Sun – Leo, only the domicile of Venus is missing). Bollók is not correct in saying that in defining the birth ruler Janus took into account the sign where the Sun is.[25] *Roseus dies* rather signifies the dawn, referring to the reddish Sun appearing on the horizon: this is the Ascendant of the horoscope, and, indeed, this was the basic method of defining the birth ruler in the Renaissance.

The rhetorical use of astrology is clear, but what could have motivated the poet to use such expressions so abundantly? The passage reveals the humanist's basic astrological knowledge, however, the Italian epigrams mocking astrology, which he wrote around the same time,[26] make it improbable that Janus' knowledge came from an enthusiasm for horoscopes. Furthermore, Janus does not seem to

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[22] *Carmen ad Ludovicum*, 207–218.
[23] The English translations of the primary sources of this article are mine.
[24] Bollók, *Asztrális,* 65.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *Iani Pannonii Opera Quae Manserunt Omnia. Vol. I. Epigrammata.*, ed. Gyula Mayer et al. (Budapest: Balassi, 2006) (henceforth: JP-Mayer), Ep. 22, 194, 269.

have followed any poetic pattern in this passage. Such astrological enumerations are foreign to Classical poetry and I have not found parallels in contemporary Neo-Latin poetry either. It was a literary commonplace that the Classical gods gave all the good properties to the eulogized person at his birth and the gods sometimes fused with the planets (see Landini[27] or Corsini[28]). Sometimes the birth of the ruler is accompanied by celestial signs,[29] but such an explicit description as that of Janus is peculiar in this genre. Was it motivated by the Gonzaga ruler's well-known predilection for the stars?[30]

Tuomisto assumes that "Janus may exactly have known Ludovico's sign, the Lion."[31] The marquis' Ascendant is known: "Your birth was on the day [for which] you had Leo as Ascendant and the sun was your signifier…,"[32] an astrologer, Giovanni Cattani, said to Lodovico. He was reportedly born on 5 June 1412, 13 hours and 13 minutes after sunset (around 8:45 in the morning), which date indeed gives a horoscope with Leo as the Ascendant.[33] A number of data support that Lodovico always kept Leo in mind and also used it for representative purposes.[34] If Janus had known about Leo Ascendant, he would certainly have highlighted it in his poem. In contrast, among the descriptions of the signs, that of Leo is the shortest (*rapidumve leonem*). He rather seems to have drawn on Manilius in finding poetic expressions for the signs.[35] It is understandable that

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[27] Carm. 8. 61–68 (*Christophori Landini carmina omnia*, ed. A. Perosa (Florence: Olschki, 1939)

[28] Amerigo Corsini, *Compendium in vitam Cosmi Medicis*, I, 39–69 (*Compendium in vitam Cosmi Medicis ad Laurentium Medicem*, ed. László Juhász [Leipzig: Teubner, 1934]).

[29] Tito Strozzi, *Borsias*, III. 202–4.

[30] For the Mantuan rulers' predilection for the stars, see: Ernesto Milano, "The Success of Astrology in Northern Italy," in *Astrologia: arte e cultura in età rinascimentale, Art and Culture in the Renaissance*, ed. D. Bini et al [Modena: Il bulino, 1996]. As Milano puts it, "the Ambassadors of the Gonzagas collected and sent off to Mantua as many prognostications and horoscopes as they could find." (p. 38)

[31] Tuomisto, "Rhetorical," 56.

[32] Quoted by Joanna Woods-Marsden, *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 45, note 86.

[33] Checked with the computer program called "ZET 8 Astrology."

[34] In 1461 Bartolomeo Manfredi sent him "a little gold lion to wear 'next to his skin' at dawn on the nineteenth of July, when 'the sun is ascending in Leo on the eastern horizon…'" (Woods-Marsden, *Gonzaga*, 46). Leo appears in some frescoes, like in Pisanello's painting from the 1440s. Lodovico also used the sun (the Lion's ruler) as his symbol, for instance, on a medal made by Pisanello in 1447, cited in Tuomisto, "Rhetorical," 56.

[35] In line 214, *Scorpion… cauda* is in the same metrical position as in Manilius' *Astronomicon* IV. 218, and in Manilius' description of Leo (IV. 176–189) expressions deriving from *rapio* (to seize and carry off) are frequent, which probably explain Janus' adjective, *rapidus*.

Janus did not know about Lodovico's favorite sign, since the Mantuan ruler had only come to Ferrara just before Janus gave him the panegyric. However, Janus could have known about Lodovico's predilection for astrology in general, since the content of the panegyric reveals that he was informed about Lodovico's basic biographical circumstances. Among all the addressees of Janus' panegyrics, the Gonzaga marquis was the most renowned for his predilection for the stars; it is certainly not by chance that the most detailed horoscope-astrological passage in Janus' oeuvre can be found in the *Carmen ad Gonzagam*. The planet symbolism in the epigram on Matthias and Frederick III (see below) was certainly motivated by similar reasons.

Two other poems with astrological passages survive from the Ferrarese period; these passages are more peripheral than those in the Gonzaga panegyric. It seems that astrology was on the way to being incorporated into Janus' poetic arsenal and that there was no special external reason for its use in these two poems. In January 1453, Janus composed an *epithalamium* on the occasion of the marriage of Paula Barbaro and Giacomo Balbi.[36] The *epithalamium* was a favored genre in the fifteenth century and traditionally contained praise of the bride's or bridegroom's father, but in this particular poem, Janus' praise of the father is so dominant that in fact the work becomes a panegyric. Janus wanted to introduce himself and find favor with Francesco Barbaro, the famous humanist patrician of Venice.[37] The astrological passage again appears in the figure of a *rogatio*:

Non ego Franciscum caelesti e semine cretum
mentiar, hoc unum dubito, quod in axe superno
affirmem regnasse iubar, quae sidera dicam
concordes iunxisse globos, qua venit in auras.
Ille die miro caelum properasse rotatu
certa fides, ac signa novum servasse tenorem.[38]

I won't lie that Franciscus is a divine offspring, I am just wondering which light I should declare to have ruled in the uppermost sky,[39] which globes should I mention as harmoniously joining the stars, when he came forth to the world? It is sure that the sky moved forward in a miraculous rotation on that day [?], and the signs kept this new course.

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[36] *Adalékok a humanismus történetéhez Magyarországon – Analecta ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, ed. Jenő Ábel (Budapest-Leipzig: Akadémiai-Brockhaus, 1880) (henceforth: AH-Ábel), 108–119, *Epithalamium ad Francescum Barbarum*.
[37] Huszti, *Janus*, 98.
[38] AH-Ábel, Epithal. ad Franc. Barb. 185–190.
[39] *Axis* can refer both to the sky itself and the axis of *medium caeli* in a horoscope.

The waves of praise ran high here, and this resulted in a series of strange ideas, some of them with dubious meanings (moreover, the last lines seem to have been corrupted).[40] According to the most probable interpretation of the text, the poet takes into account the MC axis (*axe superno*) in defining the birth ruler[41] (a rare method in the Renaissance), perhaps because a constellation in the highest heavens is more spectacular than the Ascendant. *Concordes iunxisse globos* can mean at least two things: the planets are in their domiciles or have a favorable aspect with each other; both signify fortune in general in astrology. The last sentence of the passage, which clearly presents an absurdity,[42] shows most definitively how far Janus was from taking astrology seriously. A "believer" poet would have praised the patron with more real expressions, even in a highly rhetorical genre, see Cortesi's or Naldi's panegyrics to Matthias Corvinus.[43]

The Guarino panegyric,[44] an often interpreted Janus poem, finished probably in 1454,[45] does contain an astrological idea, though it is so peripheral that the previous scholarship has not detected it. The ideas and images which show a Renaissance Neoplatonic influence – for example, the sun as spiritual symbol[46] or the stars providing a home for the soul – do not mix with astrology; the signs appear best in playful images: "Scorpio draws back its tail" when the soul approaches the celestial spheres.[47] However, the poet's propensity for exaggerating and magnifying the mythical figures into cosmic dimensions had the result that astral mysticism changed over to astrology for a moment:

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[40] The sentence would make sense if *illo* or *illa* stood for *ille*; *illa/illo die* would mean "on that day." (Although the ablatives *illa/illo* were pronounced with a long *a* and *o* in Classical Latin, which would not fit the metric pattern.)

[41] Bollók, *Asztrális*, 65.

[42] Ibid.

[43] A. Cortesi, *Laudes Bellicae Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis*, lines 198–200, in *Olaszországi XV. századbeli íróknak Mátyás királyt dicsőítő művei* [Fifteenth-century Italian literary works praising Matthias Corvinus], ed. Jenő Ábel (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1890), 307 (henceforth: Olaszországi-Ábel); Naldo Naldi: *De Laudibus Augustae Bibliothecae libri quatuor ad Matthiam Corvinum Pannoniae Regem Serenissimum*, ll. 105–118, in Olaszországi-Ábel, p. 273.

[44] I used the latest edition, Ian Thomson, *Humanist Pietas. The Panegyric of Janus Pannonius on Guarinus Veronensis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

[45] Thomson, *Guarino*, 57.

[46] István János, "Neoplatonista motívumok Janus Pannonius itáliai költeményeiben" [Neoplatonic Motifs in the Italian Poems of Janus Pannonius], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84, no. 1(1980), 7.

[47] Thomson, *Guarino*, praef. 31–2: *alta manet meriti te regia caeli / Contrahit et caudam Scorpios ecce tibi.*

Nonne vides eadem totus portendat ut aether, *Uraniae numeris sibi respondentia faustis?* *Quam bene fatorum concordant sidera pensis!*[48]	Can't you see that the whole ether is predicting the same events, which correspond to the favorable numbers of Urania? How well the stars harmonize with the decision of the fates!

The "theme of restoration after a period of ruin"[49] was a basic idea of panegyrics in general; here it is Guarino's birth, supported by the heavens, which will bring a new golden age for the world. In a type of general astrology, great historical events were often linked to peculiar planetary positions, *coniunctiones*, and Janus seems to have drawn on this type of astrology in order to express the celestial justification of the new golden age. The rhetorical usage is the same as in the previous examples; what makes the passage interesting is how different ideas – the divine support of Urania, the descent of the soul from the stars, and the restoration of the golden age, which all have different conceptual frameworks – Greek mythology, Neoplatonic astral mysticism, and history – meet in astrological synthesis, in an idea which shares the common conceptual framework of astrology.

Other works by Janus may have been colored by astrological features among the lost poems of praise. Janus composed, for instance, a long *epithalamium* praising Leonello,[50] which may have contained such ideas, taking into account Leonello's enthusiasm for the stars. In Hungary, Janus turned away from the panegyric-like genres, nevertheless, praise of Matthias Corvinus – and mockery of his enemies – could also be expressed in epigrams; one of these applied astrological symbolism. This epigram deserves a deeper analysis. While the above passages seem to be based on Janus' own thoughts, the Hungarian epigram arose organically from the astrological culture at Matthias' court.

b. An Epigram on Frederick III (and Matthias Corvinus)

The court of Matthias Corvinus was one of the European political centers where the science of the stars played a prominent role. Poetic and prose narrative sources, material sources, surviving documents of astrological practice (horoscopes, *judicia*) all attest the great significance of astrology, mainly natal and catarchic[51] astrology,

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[48] Ibid., lines 1033–5.
[49] Ibid., 54
[50] Huszti, *Janus,* 95.
[51] Catarchic astrology (*electiones*) meant that the astrologer helped choose the date of an important undertaking (operation, battle, city foundation, etc.) by defining the moment when the positions of the stars were the most favorable.

and among the members of the court the king himself seems to have had the greatest predilection for the stars.[52] It is not at all surprising that Janus, too, wrote astrology-related poems at the royal court.

The political context of the epigram in question[53] seems to have been the debate between Frederick III (Holy Roman Emperor 1452–1493) and Matthias Corvinus over the Hungarian crown.[54] When Matthias acceded to the Hungarian throne in 1458, he could not be crowned until 1463, because Frederick had previously seized the royal crown itself. Matthias greatly needed to legitimize his power with a traditional crowning ceremony, but he asked Frederick for the crown in vain and had to wait until the Wiener Neustadt contract about the conditions of the returning of the crown was signed[55] (this may be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the epigram). Janus, as a poet at Matthias' side, gave voice to the royal claim in a witty epigram:

Romula res olim Fabio cunctante revixit,	Long ago, the Roman state survived by
nunc, cunctante eadem te, Friderice, perit.	the tardiness of Fabius; now the same
Nam tu continue consultas, nec facis umquam,	[state] perishes by the tardiness of
mallem aliquid faceres vel sine consilio	yours, Frederick. For you are consulting
Quid tibi cum gelido Saturni sidere inertis?	all the time, not doing anything; I would
Caesaribus mores Martis inesse decet.	rather you did something without any
	advice. What have you got to do with
	the icy star of the sluggish (or: cowardly)
	Saturn? For an emperor, it comes to
	have a Martial character.

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[52] Cf. the relevant section of my MA thesis (see note 2), "Judicial astrology at the court of Matthias Corvinus."

[53] JP-Mayer, Ep. 384

[54] The notes of the 1972 jubilee edition (*Janus Pannonius összes munkái* [Complete works of Janus Pannonius], ed. Sándor V. Kovács, [Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1987], 683) put the epigram in this context and the new critical edition reinforces this by placing the poem chronologically just after the one which is undoubtedly about the crown issue (JP-Mayer, Ep. 383).

[55] The delegation of János Vitéz was unsuccessful in 1458; the pressure of the prince electors on the emperor was also in vain in 1461. In the next year, prompted by the request of Landus, the papal legate, he agreed to sell the crown for no less than eighty thousand gulden, but it was not until July, 1463, that the Wiener Neustadt contract was signed: Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich* (Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1975), 14–18.

The expression with Saturn makes it clear that the epigram has an astrological meaning. To be more precise, it must be natal astrology, the branch of star beliefs according to which the character (*mores*), the permanent, substantial properties of a person are defined by the position of the stars at his birth. Why does Janus express himself through astrology? One of the reasons must have been Matthias' predilection for astrology. In addition, Frederick, the central figure of the poem, had a similar interest in astrology;[56] as Heinig says, Frederick III "subjected important decisions to the constellations of the stars and the advice of his astrologers."[57] Since astrology played a significant role in the courts of both rulers alluded to in the epigram, one can suspect that Janus's words on planetary influences may refer to particular astrological beliefs or opinions about the births of these rulers. Thus, the concrete astrological context of the epigram encourages further investigation.

János Bollók, after a thorough analysis of the epigram, arrives at the conclusion that the astrological references are based on "chronocrator-astrology."[58] He argues that while the day and month of Matthias' birth is certain, the exact year is debated in secondary literature, the two possibilities being 1440 and 1443, and the year 1440 has "more support" from the sources. The date 23 February 1443 falls on a Thursday, the day of Jupiter, while 23 February 1440 falls on a

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[56] This fact was noted by some of the court historians of the Habsburgs (for example, Joseph Grünpeck, *Die Gescichte Friedrichs III. und Maximilians I.*, ed. and trans. Theodor Ilgen [Leipzig: Dyk, 1891], 20) and reinforced by modern scholars; the results have been been summarized recently by D. C. Pangerl, "Sterndeutung als naturwissenschaftliche Methode und Politikberatung. Astronomie und Astrologie am Hof Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493)," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 92 (2010): 309–327.

[57] Paul-Joachim Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III (1440–1493), Hof, Regierung und Politik,* vol.1 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997), 747, quoted in Pangerl, 311.

[58] Bollók, *Asztrális,* 56–59. This "chronocrator" must not be mistaken for the chronocrator in the more widespread meaning of "ruler of lifetime," as used by Ptolemy, Firmicus Maternus, and their followers. Instead, Bollók refers to the simplest branch of astrology, in which the planets (or the antique gods with the same names), were associated with the hours of the day as "rulers of time," and the planet of the hour of birth was supposed to have a definitive influence on the personality. Later, the planet (god) of the first hour of the day came to be associated with the day itself, and this system left its mark on the names of the days of the week in a number of European languages (in English: Saturday, Sunday, Monday). Furthermore, the first day of a month came to define the astrological nature of the whole month. Bonfini's *Decades* has a sentence which associates both the birth and death of Matthias with Mars, based on chronocrator-astrology: *Et, quemadmodum mense Martio natus erat, ita die et hora Martis vita decessit*, see: Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. László Juhász et al. [Leipzig: Teubner, 1936–1976], vol. 4, ch. 8, line 200)

Tuesday, the day of Mars. The date of Frederick's birth is certain: 21 September 1415, which falls on a Saturday, the day of Saturn. According to Bollók, Janus knew 1440 as the birth year of Matthias and also knew Frederick's birthday, so he could make use of the different planetary influences (Mars and Saturn) in his poem.

Bollók's argument can be refuted by the fact that the debate around Matthias's birth has now been settled. Indeed, as early as 1943 Kálmán Guoth proved that Matthias was born in 1443,[59] and this has generally been accepted by later scholars.[60] Janus must have known the right birth year of his king, at least indirectly from János Vitéz, who had a close relationship to both the king and Janus, his nephew. Anyway, Frederick could still have been associated with "Saturday" in Matthias's court, but it is hardly possible that Janus mixed two different astrological systems while creating a clear opposition between the two figures of the epigram, chronocrator-astrology in the case of Frederick and some other system in the case of Matthias. Bollók's thoughts on the related horoscopes seem to have more utility. Although in the end he did not see much sense in using these horoscopes to interpret the poem, it now seems fruitful to rethink this issue.

While two codices give exactly the same nativity for Matthias (*Fig. 1*),[61] a nativity for Frederick appears in a sixteenth-century printed book, Johannes Schöner's *Opera mathematica* (*Fig. 2*; the maker of the horoscope is unknown). From what point of view could Saturn be the birth ruler (the most important planet) in Frederick's horoscope and Mars the birth ruler in Matthias's chart? Bollók, after trying all the possibilities (the Ascendant, the Sun, the astrologically strongest planet, and the Medium Coelum as signifiers of the birth ruler) arrives at the correct conclusion that the only imaginable possibility for making Mars and Saturn respectively the dominant planets is by taking the Medium Coelum (MC) into consideration.[62] The MC of Matthias's nativity is in Scorpio, ruled by Mars; Frederick's MC is in Aquarius, ruled by Saturn. The MC – explicitly identified by the maker of Frederick's nativity – and its adjacent house, the tenth house, was generally considered the house of honors, career, acts; this would also fit

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[59] Kálmán Guoth, *Mikor született Mátyás király?* [When was King Matthias born?] (Kolozsvár: Nagy Jenő és fia, 1943).
[60] Guoth's argument can be summarized briefly: the year 1440 was only weakly supported by few foreign sources (Thomas, a Venetian legate; Enea Silvio Piccolomini), while a host of other primary sources – narrative ones, horoscopes and other documents – gave the year as 1443.
[61] Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, cod. 3225; Cod. Vat. lat. 1208.
[62] Bollók, *Asztrális,* 54–55.
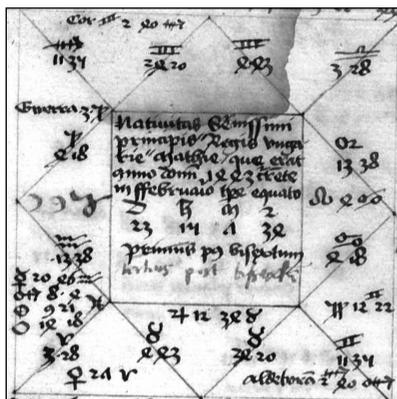
Fig. 1. The nativity of Matthias Corvinus (Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, cod. 3225)
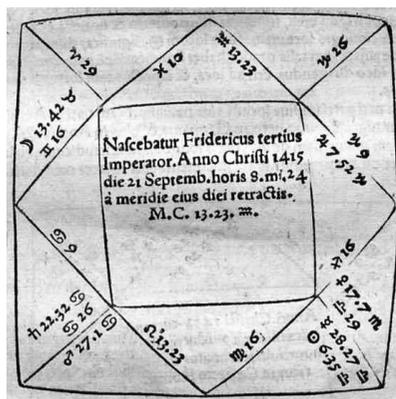
Fig. 2. The nativity of Frederick III (Johannes Schöner, Opera mathematica, Nürnberg 1561, LXVI/a. Library of Congress Digital Collection, http://lcweb2.loc. gov/cgi-bin/ampage).

the content of the epigram. However, Bollók was still not convinced that Janus had the MC and the birth rulers of the horoscopes in mind, and I do not think it probable either, though for other reasons.[63] First of all, when the birth ruler was defined indirectly in Renaissance astrology, it was not the MC but the Ascendant which was generally taken into consideration.[64] Furthermore, it is not at all certain that the nativity in Schöner's book was really in use in Frederick's time. In addition, while Janus could easily have found the details of Matthias's nativity, this was not the case with Frederick's birth charts, at least those made in Vienna.

There is one more version of Frederick's nativity: his "more true" (*verior*) geniture (*Fig. 3*); found among horoscopes of the Corvinus family, it must have been cast in Matthias's court.

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[63] Bollók's counter-argument (Bollók, *Asztrális,* 55.) seems problematic to me: "Though Saturn in Cancer is in exile – so his harmful effects are increased – but Mars, situated in Aquarius, between the confines of Saturn, is not able to exert his positive effect because of its position." Mars is not in Aquarius in Matthias's horoscope, but in Pisces; furthermore, the investigation of confines (*termini*) was rather peripheral among the methods of interpreting horoscopes in the Renaissance.

[64] See, for example, the case of Lodovico Gonzaga discussed above, or the case of Cosimo Medici, who also had representations of his Ascendant (Scorpio) and its ruler (Mars) (Enikő Békés, *Galeotto Marzio* De doctrina promiscua *című művének eszmetörténeti vizsgálata* [An intellectual historical analysis of *De doctrina promiscua* by Galeotto Marzio], PhD dissertation, University of Szeged, 2012), 75.

Fig. 3. The verior *nativity of Frederick III (Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, cod. 3225)*

This *verior* nativity was made for a date two hours later than the Schöner version. Judging from a note under the horoscope, it was made after 1483, so Janus could not have known this exemplar, at best an earlier, preliminary version of it. Nor does the horoscope itself help in the interpretation of the epigram. Here the MC is not in Aquarius but in Pisces; and though Saturn "jumped" from the second to the first, most important, house, a parallel situation is not known for Matthias's nativity. Still, this horoscope provides some important information. One of the reasons for "deferring" Frederick's birth date may have been to find a more spectacular place for his Saturn in order to satisfy those in Matthias' court who wanted to see Frederick as a Saturnine figure.

Thus, there are no firm grounds for explaining that Janus, who was otherwise skeptical about the practice of astrology, would have looked into the nativities of the rulers himself (though this possibility cannot be excluded). Still, the current ideas in Matthias's court about the two rulers certainly lurk in the background of the astrological interest of the epigram. To apply such astrological terms, it was enough for Janus to know two things: first, Matthias was held to be a Martial personality in a positive sense, and Frederick a Saturnine personality, with the darker side of Saturn; second, these characterizations were based on concrete astrological facts, so the characteristics were – allegedly – defined by superior heavenly laws. There are strong reasons to think that this was the case at Matthias's court.

The association of Mars, the god (and planet) of war, with Matthias, part of Corvinian propaganda, is well known.[65] Janus himself, in a late epigram,[66] represents Mars as both a pagan god and a planet standing for Matthias, according to Birnbaum[67] and Pajorin.[68] It is natural that any astrological calculations which could connect Matthias to a favorable Mars would have been welcome at court. Bonfini referred to Mars as the royal chronocrator[69] and the conjunction of Mars and the Sun, the royal planet, in Matthias's nativity was probably exploited as well.

In contrast to Matthias's case, tendencies to connect Frederick to Saturn as a negative planet must also have been present at the Hungarian court. It was not difficult to create the association itself. If one tries to outline the character of Frederick based on different (not only "Corvinian") primary sources, one must conclude that the emperor really had several basic properties which were considered Saturnine qualities in astrology: misanthropy, avarice, slowness, indecisiveness.[70] The negative side of Frederick's character could be overtly expressed in Matthias's environment; the best example perhaps is provided by Bonfini's detailed comparison of the two rulers. I enumerate here the properties which are expressed by the statements of the comparison: Frederick is petty-minded, thrifty, greedy, a lover of peace and rest, negligent, sluggish, envious, a deviser of plots, inconsistent, self-restrained, solitary, misanthropic, headstrong,

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[65] I just refer here to the study of Klára Pajorin, "Janus Pannonius és Mars Hungaricus" [Janus Pannonius and Mars Hungaricus], in *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor emlékezetére* [Klaniczay Festschrift. Studies in Memory of Tibor Klaniczay], ed. József Jankovics (Budapest: Balassi, 1994), 57–72. "Mars Hungaricus" was one of the current "epithets" of Matthias, used, for example, by Ugolino Verino in a poem which exhorts the Hungarian king against the Turks: *Hungarus Mavortius*, see: *Triumphus...* l. 79 in Ábel-Olaszországi.

[66] Mayer-Ep. 426

[67] Marianna Birnbaum, "Matthias, 'the Flagellum Dei' of the Renaissance," in M. Birnbaum, *The Orb and the Pen* (Budapest: Balassi, 1996), 125–6.

[68] Pajorin, "Janus," 67–69.

[69] *Decades* IV. 8. 200: *Et, quemadmodum mense Martio natus erat, ita die et hora Martis vita decessit.*

[70] For example, according to a contemporary document, *Dominus imperator tardus est admodum in [de]liberationibus suis et in eis presertim, in quibus pecuniam effundere oportet*: quoted in Huszti, Janus, 374, note 37. Even those in the service of the emperor sometimes referred to these qualities, like Enea in these lines of his exhortatory poem, *Ad Fridericum Caesarem: Otia te ignorent, convivia, balnea, somni / Et stimulus rapide si quis avaricie est. … Cur tantum differs perituro consulere orbi / Et te principibus associare tuis?* see: *Enee Silvii Piccolominei ... Carmina*, ed. Adrianus Van Heck (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), Ep. 38., v. 29–30, 37–38.

rigid, playing for time.[71] Matthias represents just the opposite qualities.[72] Bonfini's summary of Frederick's character reminds one of Saturn. One can compare it, for example, with the negative mental qualities given by Saturn, as enumerated by no less an authority than Ptolemy:

> dictatorial, ready to punish, lovers of property, avaricious, violent, amassing treasures, and jealous... sordid, petty, mean-spirited, indifferent, mean-minded, malignant, cowardly, diffident, evil-speaker, solitary, tearful, shameless, superstitious, fond of toil, unfeeling, devisers of plots against their friends, gloomy, taking no care of the body.[73]

It was not by chance that even Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Frederick's chancellor, selected Saturn to express the emperor's tardiness metaphorically:

Quid facis in patria Saturni tardior astro,
Dum ruit imperium, dum ruit ecclesia?[74]

What are you doing in your homeland, slower than the star of Saturn, while the empire, while the Church perishes?

Frederick was certainly held to be a Saturnine personality, at least in Matthias's court, which is corroborated by Janus's epigram itself. It is also probable that, as in the case of Matthias, any astrological fact that supported such a characterization of the king's rival was demanded at court. Frederick's birth on a Saturday, his MC

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[71] See Decades IV, 4, 104ff.: …*contra Fridericus imperator non modo parcus et frugi, sed avarus: et plus pecuniarum, quam honoris appetens… hic otii et quietis amator, quin et plus aequo negligens, desidiosus et tardus…hic invidus quandoque habitus, noblia alinorum facinora intercepit, in pace bellum, in bello pacem optare solitus fuit, et nullam in utroque constantiam retinere… huic arte, consilio, calliditate, et pro iudicio cuncta suo genere placuit, et nihil consiliis amicorum tribuere, demum ad utrumque difficilis… huius cultus modicus, continentissimus fuit animus, inimicus crapularum, quin et semper abstemius, hydropotesque perpetuus, solitudinis et contemplationis amator… hunc vita recondita, severus, tristis, et a suorum consuetudine admodum aliena… Imperator pertinacia omnia perpeti, et iacturam parui facere, adversarium obstinatione defatigare, malle omnia perdere quam nummum ex arca promere, pecumiis potius quam sociis parcere, sperare cunctando instaurari omnia, et a rigiditate sollitudineque sua non recedere.*

[72] Interestingly, one of Matthias' good habits is *Mars apertus*, the meaning of which is clear from the context: "open, unconcealed military strategy," see: Decades IV, 4, 107: *hic invidus quandoque habitus, nobilia aliorum facinora intercepit, in pace bellum, in bello pacem optare solitus fuit, et nullam in utroque constantiam retinere… illi liberum ingenium, Mars apertus, animus ad pacem bellumque perfacilis…*

[73] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* (In Greek and English), ed. G. P. Goold, trans. F. E. Robbin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), book 3. ch. 13, line 158.

[74] *Carmina*, Ep. 38, (the poem quoted above), ll. 5–6.

in Aquarius or his Saturn in the first house, the detrimental position of the planet in Cancer (in both nativities): any of these could have been taken into account.

Janus does not seem to have applied any of these astrological elements directly and systematically in contrasting the Martial and the Saturnine rulers, however. His opposition must have been based on a common courtly opinion (one could also say common prejudice or element of propaganda); Matthias's Martial and Frederick's Saturnine characters were (also) defined by heavenly constellations. It was enough for Janus to know that there were horoscopes which supported these characterizations. As Bollók already observed,[75] it is just the astrological interpretation of the poem which makes the punchline of the epigram powerful and Janus' irony devastating for the emperor. He calls upon Frederick to behave in a way he is not able to because he cannot change his personality defined by the stars.

Janus's oeuvre has many more astrological passages than the four texts quoted above, but these already demonstrate how many different factors could have contributed to the frequent application of astrological ideas in Janus' humanist poetry. Beyond the general fashion of astrology in the parts of Europe where Janus lived and worked, one should reckon with particular biographical, political, literary or cultural historical reasons behind the mentioning of planets, signs or other horoscope elements in an astrological context. Sometimes the addressee had a particular interest in the effect of the stars; the presence of "celestial" ideas – human triumph, astral mysticism – were natural in Renaissance panegyric-like genres; the rhetorical character of panegyrics supported the method of magnifying the topic into cosmic astral dimensions; astrological symbolism could easily be adjusted to various conceptual frameworks like Graeco-Roman mythology or Neoplatonism; all these factors facilitated the use of astrological ideas.

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[75] Bollók, *Asztrális,* 58.

SOKOLLU MEHMED PASHA AND HIS CLAN:
POLITICAL VISION AND ARTISTIC PATRONAGE

Uroš Dakić

With the rise of interest in social network theory in all branches of the social sciences, it is important to test the relevance of this theory for the study of the Ottoman Empire.[1] Recent literature increasingly views the Ottoman Empire as a complex system of patronage networks that, depending on the period of Ottoman history, managed to rival even that of the supreme patron in the system, the Ottoman sultan.[2] In the field of Ottoman studies, interest has long thrived in patronage networks in research on households, both the sultan's and those of various elites, including the *ulemâ* and the viziers.[3] What these studies have revealed is that the mapping out of social networks along kinship or patronage lines reveals alternative workings of power within the society that challenges an image of Ottoman society that emerges from focusing solely on "classical" institutions.

The sultans' attempts to suppress alternative *loci* of power by appointing palace-school graduates, for example in the provinces, actually resulted in the creation of alternative *loci* of power. These palace-school graduates formed their own groups of protégés to whom, using their own powerful offices, they distributed lesser positions. In the middle of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, with the synchronization of *sharî'a* and *kânûn* the authority of

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[1] This article is a part of my MA thesis, entitled "The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," (Central European University, 2012).

[2] See, for instance, Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 10. Also, although more implicitly, Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[3] The literature is abundant, but see especially Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Political Government, 1550–1560* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of Qazdağlı*s (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Baki Tezcan, "The Ottoman Mevali as 'Lords of the Law'," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 20, no. 3 (2009): 383–407; Rifaat Ali Abou-el-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683–1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, no. 4 (1974): 438–447.

the Ottoman sultans was gradually depersonalized and a bureaucratic apparatus based on the concept of the delegation of power was created. While Süleyman's authority was seemingly still strong enough to leave little space for different elite factions to act independently, after his death different factions, especially vizieral households with huge networks that they had created around them, grasped the opportunity and rose in power. A telling example is Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was called the "virtual sultan" by his contemporaries.

Although he towers as a larger-than-life figure in Ottoman history, surprisingly little interest has been devoted to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the secondary scholarship until recently.[4] Born in Banja Luka (now in Republika Srpska/Bosnia-Hercegovina), he was taken to Istanbul as a child of *devşirme* and educated at the sultan's court, where he rose to hold immense power as grand vizier. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was in a position to appoint (or influence the appointments of) members of his family and persons whom he found appropriate to high offices such as that of district governors (*sancakbeyi*s) and provincial governors (*beylerbeyi*s). All these persons, only a few of whom will be mentioned in this paper, were protégés of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha; in one way or another they supported the authority of the grand vizier.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the household of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha became an important locus of power beyond the imperial court. Partly due to his merits and wisdom, and partly due to Selim II's disinterest in state affairs, this grand vizier managed to secure for himself a significant level of independence in pursuing state policy. A notable chronicler of the sixteenth century, Mustafa Ali, writes that Sokollu dominated the government by giving different posts to his relatives and protégés. Namely, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, using his high position, pursued his own, say, private *devşirme*, meaning that he brought his relatives from Bosnia, supervised their education at the imperial court, and after training them for a career, appointed them to high state offices. The most prominent members of the Sokollu family held the offices of *sancakbeyi* and *beylerbeyi* – the most important offices for a military-administrative career.

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[4] Only two monographs have been written about him, both factually rich but methodologically outdated: Radovan Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolović* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1971) and Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Sokollu* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2001). Recent scholarship has shed important light on certain aspects of his patronage in the domains of architecture (Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 331–368), illustrated manuscripts (Emine Fetvacı, "The Production of the *Şehnâme-i Selîm Hân*," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 236–315), and maritime exploration for strategic purposes (Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010]).

These offices provided Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's relatives with relatively high revenues, which in turn enabled them to have large households themselves, and, subsequently, greater influence and political power.[5] With grants sometimes exceeding a thousand *akçe*s per year, an enormous sum of money, provincial governors were among the wealthiest man in the empire[6] and thus among the most powerful.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's importance for Ottoman history in general and the Ottoman political scene in the 1560s and 1570s in particular cannot be explained only by the fact that he established an extensive family network, members of which were dispersed all around the empire, that he married an Ottoman princess, or that he basically ran the Ottoman government thanks to Selim II's disinterest in state affairs. All these factors must be taken into consideration along with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's and his family's political roles, and the patronage of architectural, artistic, and maritime exploration that reflect a particular political vision of the Ottoman Empire's role in the world and the Sokollu family's place in it. This political vision was pan-Islamic and global, reaching well beyond the empire's borders. As I will try to show here, it was no coincidence that the major projects of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his family members were building canals and bridges, mosques and charitable institutions, as well as financing exploratory expeditions into the Indian Ocean. Their vision of the Ottoman mission and their own role in it was further supported through their sponsorship of history writing.

The very outset of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's tenure marked a shift in Ottoman foreign policy. Although Sokollu represented the last relic of the Süleymanic era in that he promoted Süleyman's vision of a universal world empire, at the same time his vizierate represented a break with Süleyman's martial policy against the Habsburgs and Safavids by turning to and favoring diplomacy. Known for his preference for non-military solutions to imperial problems from the very beginning of his political career, as grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha built an intricate network of spies, informants, and explorers that made it possible for him to pursue alternative strategies to extend Ottoman power. In addition to diplomacy in the broadest sense, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha used trade routes to spread Islamic propaganda and Ottoman influence. All of Sokollu's missions were interconnected and aimed to enhance the Ottoman Empire's prestige through

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[5] Metin Kunt, "Royal and Other Households," *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (New York: Routledge, 2012): 103–115, 105.
[6] Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*, 27.

"soft power," namely, political, cultural, religious, and commercial influence over some region or community that had not been achieved through military conquest.[7]

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's predecessors did not show an interest in establishing connections with Muslim communities beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Although Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha commissioned the maritime travelogue *Mir'âtü'l-Memâlik* (Mirror of Countries), written by the famous Ottoman sailor Seydi Ali Reis, neither he nor his successor, Semiz Ali Pasha, tried to establish Ottoman suzerainty over Indian Muslims.[8] Inspired precisely by *Mir'âtü'l-Memâlik*, in which the author noted that the Muslims living on the coasts of the Indian Ocean were willing to subjugate themselves to the Ottoman sultan, Sokollu was the first to intensify Ottoman contacts with these communities and send expeditions to this part of the world.[9] One of his diplomacy's greatest successes was bringing Muslims of the vast area stretching from Spain to southeastern Asia to recognize the Ottoman sultan as their supreme sovereign, thus projecting Ottoman religious leadership and political power into territories not conquered by the Ottoman armies. Although the military expeditions sent to the Indian Ocean to help the Muslims living there resist the Portuguese failed either due to the distance of the region or rebellions within the empire's borders, the results of Sokollu's Ottoman-Islamic propaganda became quite clear – the name of the Ottoman sultan was being mentioned in the Friday Prayers from Morocco in the West to eastern Africa including the Maldives and, further, to Sumatra in the east.[10] One can see how far Sokollu's efforts to protect various Muslim communities went from his opposition to launching an invasion against Cyprus. Namely, he found that an Ottoman intervention in North Africa and Spain to protect Moriscos living there was more necessary at the moment.[11]

Sokollu's pan-Islamic policy was not directed only to the East and West. Upon the intensified complaints of Muslim pilgrims and merchants living in Samarkand, Bukhara, and Khwarazm that their way to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina was being obstructed by the Safavids in Iran and Ivan IV of Russia, Sokollu decided to initiate a project of digging a canal between the Don and

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[7] Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 117–151.

[8] Ibid., 118, 120.

[9] Ibid., 122–123.

[10] Ibid., 149; Giancarlo Casale, "Global Politics in the1580s: One Canal, Twenty Thousand Cannibals, and an Ottoman Plot to Rule the World," *Journal of the World History* 18, no. 3 (2007): 267– 296, 278.

[11] Andrew Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (1968): 1–25, 12.

Volga rivers in 1569.[12] Realizing that the pilgrims' way would be facilitated even more if there were a maritime route from Istanbul to the holy cities, Sokollu also developed a project of digging another canal at Suez.[13] These two canals were meant to have a double aim. Besides their role in religious traffic they were to facilitate trade between the eastern and western parts of the empire. Although both of these projects ultimately failed to be realized due to technical difficulties, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's persistent "eastern policy" placed the Ottoman Empire in the center of the spice trade (the by-product of which was his own enrichment) in the 1560s and made it an active participant in the "age of exploration" with numerous expeditions into the Red Sea.[14] In order to promote geographic exploration and the science that could facilitate it, Sokollu also supported the astronomer Takiyyuddin Effendi in opening the famous observatory in Istanbul.[15]

The objects of Sokollu's religious policy were not only distant Muslim communities beyond the Ottoman borders. He was deeply involved in internal religious projects targeting all the religious entities of the empire. His most active agents employed for these purposes were renegades of European origin, as Gerlach clearly testifies in his diary from the sixteenth century. Sokollu granted stipends to these renegades for their translation and diplomatic services and gradually shaped them into a vast spy network since they possessed knowledge of European languages. Gerlach portrays Sokollu as the center of a vast network consisting of German, Hungarian, and Transylvanian renegades who infiltrated the Ottoman administration through their conversion to Islam.[16] Some of them played significant roles in religious interactions in the religiously diverse borderlands of Transylvania and Hungary, where their main task was to stimulate Ottoman non-Muslim subjects to convert to Islam and where Sokollu's nephew, Mustafa Pasha, was the provincial governor.[17] Special efforts were put into encouraging the Protestants to convert to Islam due to numerous similarities between Protestantism and Islam. However, Sokollu's religious engagement in the Ottoman-Habsburg borderlands did not include imposing conversion by force, since the Ottomans were careful not to encourage the populace's dissatisfaction

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[12] İbrahim Peçevi, *Ta'rîh-i Peçevî* [Peçevi's History], 2 vols., ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), vol. 1, 329–331; Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 135–137.
[13] Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 135–137.
[14] Ibid., 142–143.
[15] Ibid., 120.
[16] Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573–1576, 1. Cilt* [Turkish diary 1573–1576, vol. 1], trans. Türkis Noyan, ed. Kemal Beydilli (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 101–103, 239.
[17] Ibid., 239.

with the government. Furthermore, the territory of Hungary at the time was basically a region "under three crowns" without strong Ottoman, Hungarian or Habsburg authority. All these factors turned the region into fertile ground for different religious communities. This is one reason why the Reformation spread far more easily in Hungary under Ottoman rule than under the Habsburg Catholic Kingdom.[18]

Although Sokollu did not write history as some of his predecessors in the position of grand vizier had (for instance, Lütfi Pasha, the grand vizier (1539-1541) of Süleyman the Magnificent), he was in many respects a personality with a sophisticated sense of art and quite aware of its political implications. He sponsored both writing and translations of historiographical and geographical works into the Ottoman language, commissioned paintings by Veronese artists, and ordered paintings of Ottoman sultans from Venice. Namely, Sokollu used his diplomatic contacts, in this case friendship with the Venetian *bailo*, Niccolò Barbarigo, whom he sent to Venice several times to bring portraits of the Ottoman sultans for the purposes of producing new illuminated manuscripts which would contribute to the visual and artistic program of establishing the sultans' images in the Ottoman visual canon.[19] Sokollu's engagement in this shows the global nature of his vision and the extent to which Ottoman imperial self-fashioning was in close dialogue with that of the Ottomans' contemporary political rivals during his tenure. However, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's building and artistic patronage had the unmistakable goal of depicting the grand vizier as the central political figure of the era.[20]

The canons in Ottoman art became firmly established during the reign of Sultan Süleyman in the mid-sixteenth century, together with the process of bureaucratization of the state. In and after the 1550s a distinctive Ottoman visual vocabulary developed in the artistic expression concerning the arts of both writing and architecture.[21] The salaried artisans of the imperial court were accessible both to the dynastic family and the ruling elites, who used artistic

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[18] Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 103.

[19] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," in *Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Ayşe Orbay (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000): 22-61, 37-40.

[20] See Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* and Emine Fetvacı's studies: "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transition in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage (1566-1617)," PhD Dissertation (Harvard University, 2005), and "The Production of *Şehnâme-i Selîm Hân*."

[21] Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing a Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le magnifique et son*

patronage to distinguish themselves from other layers of Ottoman society. However, distinction was present among the ruling elite itself, with different dignitaries being obliged to follow different patterns of visual expression. For instance, if a commissioner of a mosque was a grand vizier, his mosque should not surpass a mosque of a sultan in height. Similarly, an admiral's mosque was not allowed to rival a vizier's.[22] This rule also applied to the production of illuminated manuscripts – the hierarchy of the ruling elite was mirrored in the positions of dignitaries in a painting and in the dimensions of figures depicted. In both their building and manuscript commissions, these officials were supposed to show an awareness of their *devşirme* origin, which was still predominant in the Ottoman government, and not overshadow the sultan.

Although the office of the imperial historian (*şehnâmeci*) was introduced in 1555 during the reign of Sultan Süleyman,[23] royal calligraphers and illuminators employed in this office surpassed their colleagues – the architects – only in the reign of the bibliophile Sultan Murad III, when architectural patronage declined due to economic and political circumstances.[24] In this period (the last quarter of the sixteenth century) the visual content of illustrated manuscripts reflected change in the social hierarchies at the Ottoman court. Namely, the main task of calligraphers and illuminators, besides writing on contemporary events, was to depict the sultan and current dignitaries as highly virtuous persons.[25] These manuscripts were thus an instrument of self-promotion for their commissioners. The audience of such manuscripts was restricted to the residents of the imperial palace, the members of the royal family, and court pages, who would later man the highest strata of the Ottoman administration inspired by the virtues of the high state dignitaries depicted in these manuscripts.[26]

Imperial court historians owed their positions primarily to the viziers of the imperial council who were their chief commissioners.[27] These viziers, under

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temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris. 7-10 mars 1990, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 1992): 195–216, 195.

[22] Ibid., 207-209.

[23] Christine Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnâmeci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555–1605," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983), 157.

[24] Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State…" 212.

[25] Emine Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond: The Freely Papers*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archeology, 2007), vol. 2: 7–21, 7.

[26] Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State…" 212.

[27] Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," 15.

the guise of glorifying the sultan, sponsored the production of illuminated manuscripts in order to promote their own deeds and personalities, thus putting the *şehnâmeci*s in an uncomfortable situation by forcing them to balance among various power-wielders in the Ottoman government and look for patronage from the following vizier upon the death of the current one. The influence of the grand viziers on the production of these manuscripts is discernible from their content, which paid more attention to those around the sultan than the sultan himself.[28]

Production of the *şehnâme* genre flourished during the 1570s and 1580s through thepatronage of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who had a monopoly over the writing and illuminating of dynastic histories almost until the end of his life in 1579.[29] Sokollu was depicted as a key political figure of the era in almost all the illuminated manuscripts produced during his tenure: *Fütûhât-ı Cemîle* (Admirable Conquests), *Nüzhetü'l-ahbâr der Sefer-i Sîgetvâr* (The Joyful Chronicle of the Szigetvár Campaign), *Zafernâme* (The Book of Victory), and *Şehnâme-i Selîm Hân* (The Book of Kings of Sultan Selim).[30]

The most prolific among the *şehnâmeci*s and the occupant of this office from 1569 until 1596/97, meaning for much of its existence, was Seyyid Lokman, who composed ten of the fifteen works produced by all of the *şehnâmeci*s.[31] Among the manuscripts he produced, the *Süleymânnâme* (History of Sultan Süleyman) and chronicles on the reigns of Selim II and Murad III – *Şehname-i Selim Han* and *Şehinşehnâme* – are outstanding.[32] He was responsible for all aspects of the production, bringing his own creative responsibility into every manuscript, even those not composed by him but by his assistants.[33] Lokman was both a member of the *müteferrika* corps (the elite corps of imperial servants) and in complete control of his office. He was in a position to appoint his assistants and influence their careers.[34] This implies that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Lokman's main patron, had a large team consisting of Lokman and his assistant calligraphers and illuminators

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[28] Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," 15–16. In the *Şehname-i Selîm Hân*, Selim II's commanders and vizier appear in twenty-six illustrations, but he himself only appears in six, see: Fetvacı, "The Production of *Şehnâme-i Selîm Hân*," 266.

[29] Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transition in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage," *1566–1617*, 83

[30] Ibid., 92–93.

[31] Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography," 161, 164; Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," 8.

[32] Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," 15.

[33] Ibid., 8–9.

[34] Ibid., 9, 12.

employed to profile him as an illustrious grand vizier and a devoted Muslim. On the other hand, the writing and illumination of court histories was often a battlefield for the opposing factions of the ruling elite. Mustafa Ali, the scribe of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's rival, Lala Mustafa Pasha, was sent to the office of the Ottoman court historian to supervise the production of the illustrated version of his own narrative on his master's Georgian campaign.[35]

The major parts of Lokman's first two illuminated manuscripts – the *Süleymânnâme* and *Şehnâme-i Selîm Hân* – were produced with the aim of promoting the virtues of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his scribe, Feridun Bey.[36] Almost two thirds of the *Süleymânnâme* is dedicated to the key year of Sokollu's tenure – 1566 – the year of the battle of Szigetvar, when the grand vizier enabled a smooth transition of the throne from Süleyman to Prince Selim II. The second manuscript, the *Şehname-i Selim Han*, begins with Sokollu's merits and virtues, but the second part is dedicated to the viziers Sinan Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha, powerful courtiers of Selim II and Murad III. The manuscript was in production from 1571 until 1581,[37] covering the reigns of sultans Selim II and Murad III and extending to two years after the death of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. This period, which witnessed a redistribution of power among the elites, is well reflected in this manuscript. The two extant versions of *Şehname-i Selim Han* differ significantly when it comes to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. In the editions undertaken by Sokollu's political opponents some episodes dominated by the grand vizier were removed. For instance, the scenes of Sokollu playing the key role in the battle of Szigetvár and the accession of Selim II (present in both the *History of Sultan Süleyman* and *Şehname-i Selim*) were edited out.[38]

Other manuscripts produced during the reign of Sultan Murad III clearly show the changed structure of power in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The *Surname* (The Book of Festivities) that depicts scenes from the imperial circumcision festival of 1582, features the chief black eunuch, Mehmed Aga, prominently; he was one of the most powerful persons at the court of Murad III, who assumed the power of the marginalized office of grand vizier.[39]

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[35] Ibid., 10.
[36] Fetvacı, "The Production of *Şehname-i Selîm Hân*," 265.
[37] Ibid., 264, 289.
[38] Ibid., 275.
[39] Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," 19. On rise of the office of the chief black eunuch during the reign of Murad III, see Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 100–104.

Besides *şehnâmeci*s, there were individuals who wrote chronicles or other kinds of historical pieces, some of whom were connected to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha during his life, or later, as younger members of his family and clients of his descendants. Feridun Bey was Sokollu's secretary and one of his most reliable confidants. In 1570 Sokollu appointed Feridun *re'îsü'l-küttâb* (chief government secretary) and in 1574 *nişâncı* (chancellor of the imperial council) (the same year in which other Sokollu family members were promoted to higher positions). The ultimate glorification of Mehmed Pasha's accomplishments in 1566 is seen in Feridun Bey's illuminated work entitled *Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr der Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar* (Chronicle of the Szigetvár Campaign).[40] In his work, entitled *Münşeâtü's-Selâtîn* (The Writings of the Sultans), Feridun Bey compiled royal letters, imperial decrees, victory missives, and other documents preserved in the imperial chancery from the time of Osman I under more than 250 headings. Sokollu presented this work to Murad III in 1575 in order to please the new sultan.[41]

Two other historians/chroniclers who were part of the Sokollu family patronage network were İbrahim Peçevi and Mustafa Selaniki. Selaniki (d. 1600) participated in the battle of Szigetvár and authored an Ottoman history covering the period between 1563 and 1600. Together with Feridun Bey, he was Sokollu's agent and played an important role in concealing the sultan's death in 1566. Selaniki wrote favorably about all the members of the Sokollu family in his history. İbrahim Peçevi (1572–1650) was himself a part of the Sokollu family. In his history of the Ottoman Empire, covering the period between 1520 and 1640, he often emphasizes his blood kinship with the Sokollus. He occupied different administrative offices in different parts of the empire and served for many years as a confidant of Lala Mehmed Pasha. Feridun Bey, Mustafa Selaniki, and İbrahim Peçevi were "responsible" for the image of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha that is known today – a person larger than life.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was not only a prolific patron of expeditions, illuminated manuscripts, and science. Together with his family members he commissioned a number of building projects all over the Ottoman Empire – from Buda to Hejaz. Before enumerating the Sokollu family clan's architectural imprint on the Ottoman Empire and discussing their significance and symbolic meaning, one question deserves attention: What was the aim of the building projects of Ottoman dignitaries?

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[40] Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs," *1566–1617*, 97–106.
[41] Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617) and His Immediate Predecessors," PhD Dissertation (Ohio State University, 2010), 167–168.

Self-promotion through erecting edifices for different purposes pervaded Ottoman society from the sultan on the top to merchant representatives and followed the pattern established by the sultan himself, especially Sultan Süleyman, who saw himself as a great builder – the Second Solomon.[42] However, as mentioned above, whoever the commissioner was, he or she was obliged to follow a pattern which expressed his or her social status and position in the Ottoman hierarchy. With the growing importance of religious orthodoxy and consciousness in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century, building mosques and other sacred edifices became a hallmark of the ruling elite more than before. Almost every grand vizier of this period marked even the most distant provinces of the empire with mosques and other religious buildings (such as *mescid*s–sanctuaries), both as a sign of his piety and for self-promotion as a powerful and just official. The importance of the building activities pursued by the dynasty and elites is well reflected in the fact the imperial palace had a separate office for architects, who would often follow the ruler during military campaigns with the task of building bridges for the army, repairing conquered fortresses, and immortalizing Ottoman victories over the infidels by converting churches into mosques or designing new mosques in the name of the sultan in the areas conquered. The most prolific occupant of this office was the famous Mimar Sinan, who served under three sultans: Süleyman the Magnificent, Selim II, and Murad III, from 1539–1588.

The wealth of the grand viziers of Sultan Süleyman and their wives, royal princesses, enabled them to commission monumental mosques. The imperial couples of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha and Süleyman's daughter, Mihrimah, and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Ismihan, daughter of Selim II were especially famous for their commissions. Their architectural projects can be seen from their *vakfiye*s (endowment charters, lists of immovable property). However, according to the most authoritative historians on the issue, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was the foremost architectural patron of the time,[43] which is apparent from his *vakfiye*. Most of Sokollu's architectural memorials were commissioned when he was at the apex of power, during the reign of Selim II.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was the most distinguished architectural commissioner of the Sokollu family clan. He left traces from Szigetvár in Hungary to the holy city of Hejaz. Besides the four palaces that the grand vizier owned,[44]

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[42] Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State," 212.

[43] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 331–368.

[44] On Sokollu's palaces, see: Tülay Artan, "The Kadırga Palace: An Architectural Reconstruction," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 201–211, and Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 333.

according to his *vakfiye*s, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha built seven Friday mosques, seven *mescid*s, two *medrese*s, one school for Koranic recitation, eight elementary schools, five caravanserais, three dervish monasteries, three hospices, a hospital in Mecca, numerous fountains, a paved road (*Lüleburgaz*), and at least five bridges.[45] Out of the total number of Sokollu's edifices, two mosques, two *medrese*s, a school for Koranic recitation, one dervish convent, two caravanserais, and six fountains were or are at present in Istanbul. As in his patronage of illustrated histories, in architectural patronage Sokollu employed the most notable artist, Mimar Sinan, who built most of the structures commissioned by the grand vizier.[46]

The sites of Sokollu's architectural structures reveal much about the special place of this grand vizier among the Ottoman elite. Some time around 1574,[47] Sokollu Mehmed Pasha abandoned his old palace overlooking the port of Kadırgalimani[48] and, together with his wife, İsmihan, moved to a new palace built on the site of the former Byzantine Hippodrome, revived during the reign of Suleyman.[49] This was the second vizierial palace built at the Hippodrome – the first was that of Süleyman's favorite, İbrahim Pasha. Simultaneously with building the new palace, a funerary medrese was constructed in the holy acropolis of Ayyub.[50] It was a matter of prestige and honor for every Muslim to give some kind of contribution to the complex of the holy acropolis of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, one of the followers of the Prophet, whose tomb under the walls of Istanbul was discovered during the siege in 1453.[51] Along with the *medrese*, a funerary site was built for enshrining Sokollu's infants who died in childhood.[52] Burying their children in this prestigious sacred site was quite indicative of the Sokollu couple's reputation and status. Sokollu himself was buried at this site in a *türbe* within his complex, next to the tomb of Ebu's-Suʿûd Effendi (d. 1574), the celebrated *şeyhü'l-İslam* who was his friend and contemporary.

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[45] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 331–368.

[46] Ibid., 345.

[47] Ibid., 332.

[48] On Sokollu's Kadırga Palace, see: Artan, "The Kadırga Palace."

[49] On the Atmeydanı, its importance and the festivities held there, see: Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84–100, and Özdemir Nutku, "Festivities at Atmeydanı," in *Hippodrom/Atmeydanı – A Stage for Istanbul's History* (bilingual publication), ed. B. Pitarakis (Istanbul: Pera Muzesi Yayinari, 2010), 74–75.

[50] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 335.

[51] Kaya Şahin, "Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 317–354, 327.

[52] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 332.

Sokollu's mosques in Istanbul are also worth noting. His first mosque was built next to his Kadırga Palace; it is one of Sinan's most distinguished mosque complexes.[53] This mosque was built in a style between the imperial and vizierial forms, showing Sokollu's connection with the royal family through his wife.[54] Sokollu commissioned a second mosque in Istanbul at Azapkapı. It is located near the shore of the Bosphorous, outside of the walls of Galata, facing Rustem Pasha's mosque on the other side of the Golden Horn. The mosque was clearly visible from the city side as a continuation of the Kasim Pasha arsenal. Sokollu built this mosque towards the end of his life, possibly with the intention of reminding the people of Istanbul of his merits during his tenure as grand admiral (*kapudân-ı deryâ*), when he had refitted the Ottoman fleet in 1572 and 1574 after the battle of Lepanto.[55]

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha maintained a relationship with Bosnia not only through his family members but also through building mosques, *mescid*s, bridges, and caravanserais in or in the immediate proximity of his birthplace. The famous bridge on the Drina River was designed by Mimar Sinan[56] and eternalized in the novel of the Yugoslav Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić. This bridge not only symbolizes Sokollu's visible attachment to Bosnia, but it may (also) have been built to connect this border province of strategic importance to the center. It can also be said that bridges were a hallmark of the Sokollu family's patronage; almost all the members of this family, even those who did not occupy a high post, built at least one bridge. Besides the one on the Drina River, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha himself commissioned at least four more bridges in Rumeli: the Bridge of the Vizier (*Vezirov most*) in Podgorica; the bridge on the Trebišnjica River mistakenly called the Bridge of Arslanagić (*Arslanagića most*); the bridge on the Žepa River; and the one over the Miljacka in Sarajevo called *Kozja ćuprija*.[57]

Other members of the Sokollu family clan backed the position of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha with their good government in various provinces of the empire. Like their patron, they undertook extensive building activities, especially those who were provincial and district governors in Bosnia and Hungary. They all thus contributed to the image of the Sokollus as a powerful family of prolific patrons and devoted Muslims.

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[53] Ibid., 331.
[54] Ibid., 339.
[55] Ibid., 362.
[56] Džemal Čelić and Mehmed Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u BiH* [Old bridges in BiH] (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1998), 178.
[57] Ibid., 178.

Mustafa Pasha left architectural traces all over Bosnia and Hungary. In 1558, the sultan gave Mustafa Pasha a *mülkname* which entitled him to a piece of land called Rudo in Bosnia. There he started building the town of Rudo, raising one by one a mosque, *mekteb*, large *han*, a bridge on the Lim River, baths, a mill, and numerous shops.[58] Besides the bridge over the Lim River, Mustafa also built the one in Goražde.[59] While holding the governorship in Buda, Mustafa Pasha spent a fortune on mosques, *mescid*s, *medrese*s, caravanserais, and baths (*hamam*) endowments in Buda, Pest, Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia/Stuhlweißenburg), Esztergom, Güssing (Németújvár/Novigrad), Szécsény, Hatvan, Szeged, Simontornya, Koppány, Osijek (Eszék)*,* Filakovo (Fülek), Srem, Vác, Földvár, Tolna, Szigetvár, Mohács, Vukovar, and Tovarnik.[60] Another significant aspect of Mustafa Pasha's patronage was commissioning a manuscript called the *Cevâhir'ül-Menâkıb*.[61] This panegyric was composed with the aim of extolling the deeds and personality of Mustafa Pasha (Sokullu's nephew) and the entire Sokollu family along with that of its supreme patron, the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The manuscript is written in Persianized Ottoman and it is worth examining as an example of provincial patronage that probably was modeled on imperial *şehnâme*s. Ending with the episode of Mustafa Pasha's assassination,[62] the manuscript was composed during the reign of Sultan Murad III.[63] This makes it possible to date the years when the composition started and ended – 1574 and 1578. The author

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[58] Leyla Gazić, ed., *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine* [*Vakufname* from Bosnia and Hercegovina] (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 1985), 105–110.

[59] Čelić and Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u BiH*, 25.

[60] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Budin Beylerbeyi Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578)," *Belletin* 54 (1990): 649–663; Győző Gerő, "Balkan Influences on the Mosque Architecture in Hungary," in *Archeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, papers of the conference held at the Hungarian National Museum, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 184; Adrienn Papp, "Archeological research at the Rudas and Rác baths," in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*; *Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 207–220.

[61] For the scanned copy of this manuscript (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Esad Efendi, 2583) I thank my mentor, Tijana Krstić.

[62] Hasan Dündar, "Rahîmîzâde İbrahim (Harîmî) Çavuş'un Gence Fetihnâmesi Adlı Eserinin Transkripsiyonu ve Kritizasyonu" [Transcription and critique of Envoy Rahimizade Ibrahim's (*Harîmî*) declaration of the conquest of Ganja] MA Thesis (Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006), 22–24. In this MA thesis, the author mentions this manuscript in the list of works of the same kind penned during the reign of Murad III.

[63] *Cevâhir'ül-Menâkıb*, folio 187.

is a certain Şefik Effendi, about whom nothing is known except that he was a contemporary of Sokollu Mehmed and Mustafa Pasha and that he was probably an official of lower rank.[64] Unfortunately, the *Cevâhir'ül-Menâkıb* has not attracted the attention of modern scholars so far.

Ferhad Pasha was meritorious for developing Banja Luka into an important administrative center of Bosnia while he was the district and provincial governor there. He built the famous Ferhadiyye mosque, a fortress, a bridge, and many other public buildings in this city.[65] Sinan Bey Boljanić built two bridges: one in Priboj over the Lim River and another over the Janjina River.[66] Even one woman from Sokollu family is remembered for her bridge in Banja Luka – Šemsa, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's sister.[67]

What emerges from all of this is that the Sokollu family had a vision that was shared and promoted by all its members, but its aim was more than self-promotion. This is clear from Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's efforts to create an empire with either direct or "soft" power over the entire Muslim population of the world and trade routes, respecting meanwhile all the religious denominations within its borders. This soft power was supposed to be realized through a well-organized communications network with different communities beyond as well as among those within the empire itself. Keeping this in mind makes it clear why canals and bridges were among the major projects of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his family members. Exactly therein lies the uniqueness of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his clan.

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[64] Abdurrahman Şeref, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nin Evail Ahvâli ve Ailesi hakkinda Bazı Malumat – *Cevahirü'l-Menakıb*," [Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's early years and some information on his family – The Essences of Virtues] *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 29 (1902): 257.

[65] Alija Bejtić, "Banja Luka pod turskom vladavinom: arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku" [Banja Luka under Turkish rule: Architure and the territorial development of the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], *Naše starine* 1 (1953): 91–119; Čelić and Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u BiH*, 163–164.

[66] Čelić and Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u BiH*, 25.

[67] Ibid., 165–166.

New Wiews on Queens and Queenship
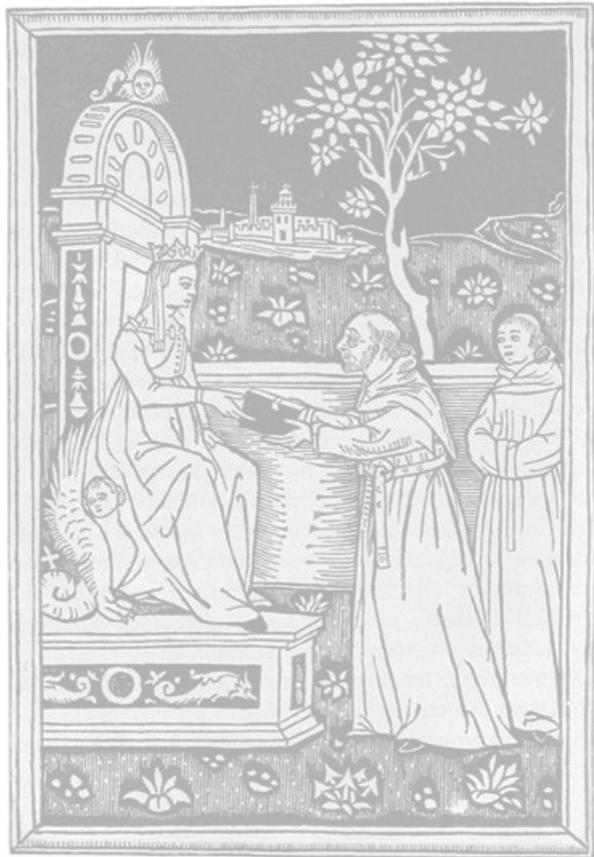
MIGHT, MONEY, MEMORY:
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON CENTRAL EUROPEAN QUEENSHIP

Marianne Sághy 🔅

Queens in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance were the kings' "other bodies," living highly visible, richly complex, often tragic lives. Responsible for the survival of the dynasty, queens were not supposed to produce offspring alone, but also be "mothers" of the Church, sponsors of the arts, guarantors of peace. The queen's dowry, property, and income were vital elements in the smooth running of the realm. Yet, as Theresa Earenfight accurately reminds us:

> Until the 1980s, professional scholars did not consider queens worthy of serious study. The study of queens was something intelligent and often well-educated gentlewomen did, but they most often wrote biographies for female readers that were rarely, if ever, read by a university student, who was most likely male. Even the most well educated people could name only a few queens – Isabel of Castile (r. 1451–1504), Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), Marie Antoinette (d. 1793), and Victoria (r. 1837–1901).[1]

A glance at our queenship thematic block suffices to prove the change this field has experienced in the past thirty years in more than one respect; not only did the set of problems expand, but also the constituency of students: two male scholars of queens vs. one female, who is only tangentially a queenship researcher. The issues Attila Bárány, Christopher Mielke, and Valery Rees study in this volume demonstrate not only the transformation of a rapidly growing and swiftly changing field, but also the modification of perspectives concerning women and power in Central Europe in the past twenty years.

In 1993, the first international research project launched by János M. Bak and Marianne Sághy at CEU's newly established Medieval Studies Department, *Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe* received proposals that mostly focused on problems of reginal power and its representation. As the published proceedings of our conference series show, we were, back then, particularly interested in the reality and representation of queenly power and examined the theories and practices of queenship in the context of gender, authority, and power.[2]

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[1] http://theresaearenfight.com/author/tearenfight/ (last accessed: 18 May 2013)
[2] *Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe*, *East Central Europe - L'Europe du Centre Est* Special Issue, vol. 20-23, part I, 1993–1996.

This year's thematic block stems from an international conference organized by Orsolya Réthelyi and Attila Bárány on *Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage*, held on 14-16 October 2004 at CEU. This conference was a continuation, in more than one respect, of the *Women and Power* research project, while it also radically modified the approach to queenship. Its enlarged chronological scope, from the early Middle Ages to the Early Modern period, allowed perceiving queenship in the *longue durée*; its focus on wealth, income, and patronage invited scholars to scrutinize queens in a much more active role.[3]

In connection with her doctoral dissertation on "Mary of Hungary in Court Context, 1521–1531," defended at the Department of Medieval Studies in 2010, Orsolya Réthelyi curated a highly successful exhibition at the Budapest Historical Museum and in Bratislava at the Pozsony Slovenská Národná Galéria to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the birth of Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), accompanied with a Hungarian and English-language catalogue and exhibition guide.[4]

Attila Bárány's (Associate Professor, University of Debrecen, MA '95) bibliographical essay in our volume is a useful companion to the new study of queens and queenship, commenting on an astonishing number of new works. Christopher Mielke (PhD student at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU) completes this picture by introducing pivotal archaeological sources in queenship studies and innovative theoretical approaches, such as memory studies, in Central European research on queens. Valery Ree, an eminent researcher of Renaissance humanism, puts memory studies in action when she presents Queen Beatrix of Este's reginal activities and the ways her memory was preserved in Hungarian historiography.

For a long time, queens had been relegated to oblivion by mainstream historiography. In the past three decades, queens have been moved up to the center stage of the *nouvelle histoire*. Historians made significant efforts to reconstruct the queens' spheres of action and the ways they were remembered by various communities, from ecclesiastical to national. From might to memory, we have come a long way and we keep opening new vistas.

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[3] http://medstud.ceu.hu/index?id=10&cikk=43 A number of contributions to this conference were published in a special issue pf *Maiestas* 13 (2005).

[4] *Mary of Hungary;The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Enikő Spekner, and András Végh, 41–47. Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005. For the program, see: http://www.btm.hu/old/--ARCHIV--/maria/maria1.htm .

MEDIEVAL QUEENS AND QUEENSHIP:
A RETROSPECTIVE ON INCOME AND POWER

Attila Bárány 📥

This paper presents some thoughts and conclusions on the state of a multidisciplinary field of Medieval Studies, queens and queenship, concentrating mainly on issues of income and power.[1] I give an outline of knowledge on medieval queens' wealth, income and finances, household structure and personnel, as well as their role in political patronage and the question of queens' monetary situations. I put forward observations and draw conclusions about the emphases and foci of recent investigations into medieval queens and queenship. This paper also contemplates the most significant directions where current research in queenship studies is going or will hopefully go. I start from the problems Hungarian researchers have to face and most of my recommendations will be shown through Hungarian examples, initiated by the hardships of regional research. This article was originally prompted by the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage" held at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest in 2004.[2]

Income is clearly linked to power, and to medieval queens' wealth, income, and finances, household structure, and personnel as well as their role in patronage;[3] queens' monetary situations varied greatly. Money was a considerable "missing link" between personal and political motifs, affecting both political power and artistic patronage. Queens' were patrons of the arts, learning, and ecclesiastical foundations. Reginal wealth and finances,[4] sources on queens' status and reginal possessions, e.g., marriage contracts, wills, reginal treasure and jewel accounts, provide information.

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[1] Because of the complex references in this article, a separate bibliography is appended and only short references are used in the footnotes.

[2] Workshop on "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 14–16 October 2004. [http://medstud.ceu.hu/index?id=10&cikk=43].

[3] I summarized the results of the conference in a paper at the IMC Leeds in 2005: "Income and Patronage of Medieval Queens: The Harvest of a Workshop at CEU in October 2004."

[4] A. Fößel, "The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages," 2005; Karl-Heinz Spiess, "European Royal Marriages," 2005.

Queenship research is often presented first as a conference paper, sometimes at conferences dedicated to queens and/or rulership, but often at one of the important annual international conferences: The International Medieval Congress (hereafter: IMC, Leeds) held at the University of Leeds or the Congress on Medieval Studies held at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo (hereafter: CMS, Kalamazoo). Many breakthroughs have been presented first as conference papers, later refined or amplified for publication. The collected papers from symposia often find their way into print as themed volumes.

Historiography of Queenship

To give a short summary of the emphases of queenship studies in recent years, one has to mention a few major enterprises. Interest in a comprehensive treatment of queenship saw a number of ventures in the 1990s, and, as a result, queens and queenship ceased to be merely the outgrowth of feminist historical studies that they had been since the 1960s.

The first approaches towards medieval queens were mainly biographical and personal, attempting to write the history of the lives of individual queens. For a long time, "distaste for administrative and institutional history" prevailed on the part of scholars of gender studies.[5] Up to the 1980s research on medieval queens was restricted largely to individual *Bildungs*-sketches and positivistic data collection.[6] Apart from a number of unique studies that endeavored to give a comprehensive picture of queens over a longer period, extending the chronological spectrum, research on queens still remained within the sphere of biographical history. An early milestone was marked in 1910 by Max Kirchner's study on the German empresses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[7] although it was not followed by similar works until the late 1960s; German and French continental, and even Anglo-Saxon, research was restricted to individual monographs. Historical scholarship was mainly concerned with the personalities of individual queens – Emma and Edith, Margaret of Provence, Matilda of Scotland, Eleanor of Aquitaine and *Kaiserinnen* Adelheid, Mathilde, Agnes of Poitou, Anna von Schweidnitz, Beatrix, Kunigunde von Luxemburg, and others – as seen in the works of the 1970s and 1980s and with somewhat decreasing frequency in the 1990s (in works by J. C.

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[5] J. C. Parsons, "Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 1–11.
[6] See, e.g., E. L. Miron, *The Queens of Aragon: Their Lives and Times* (1972).
[7] M. Kirchner, *Die deutschen Kaiserinnen in der Zeit von Konrad I. bis zum Tode Lothars von Supplinburg*, (Berlin, 1910).

Parsons, Pauline Stafford, Lois L. Huneycutt, Gérard Sivéry, Heinrich Appelt, Pierre Hamer, Joseph Gottschalk, and Eduard Hlawitschka).[8]

The Maiestas organization, which specializes in rulership, sponsored sessions specifically on queens and queenship at both the IMC, Leeds, and the CMS, Kalamazoo, in 2004 and at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2005.[9] The journal *Maiestas* also dedicated a special edition to the papers of the 2004 Budapest conference in 2005.[10]

Queenship and Gender Studies

Due to the activities and acceleration of feminist history writing, women's studies, and the recognition of women in history, the 1960s and 1970s saw renewed interest in female historical figures, above all producing accounts of prominent women, first, naturally, queens of popular repute. The first works were restricted in scope, source background, and methods and mostly depicted queens as consorts, attached to their husbands and without separate political identities.[11] Later, in the late 1970s and 1980s, publications indicate an awakening concern not only for the personalities and lives of queens, but for the workings of queenship, also formulating a broad *terminus technicus* to arrive at a comprehensive way to treat all aspects of the roles, functions, legal and administrative institutions attached to the medieval queen.[12]

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[8] J. C. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile* (1991); P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (1991); Gérard Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence* (1987); L. L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (2003); H. Appelt, "Kaiserin Beatrix und das Erbe der Grafen von Burgund," in *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum*, ed. H. Mordek (1983), 275–83; P. Hamer, *Kunigunde von Luxemburg. Die Rettung des Reiches* (1985); J. Gottschalk, "Anna von Schweidnitz, die einzige Schlesierin mit der Kaiserinnenkrone (1335–1362)," *Jahrbuch der Schlesien Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 17 (1972): 25–42; E. Hlawitschka's articles on Kaiserin Adelheid, Kunigunde, and Mathilde in *Frauen des Mittelalters in Lebensbildern*, ed. K. Schnith (1997).

[9] At the CMS, Kalamazoo: "Queens and their Courts;" at Leeds: "Queens and their Courts, I: Rights and Duties of Medieval Queens;" "Queens and their Courts, II: Queens' Income and Patronage."

[10] *Maiestas* 13 (2005).

[11] N. Z. Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European case," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976), 83–103; *Women in Medieval History and Historiography*, ed. S. M. Stuard (1987).

[12] P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers* (1983); M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (1998).

Winds of change came with the works of Françoise Barry and Marion Facinger in 1964 and 1968, respectively, who gave the first systematic treatments of French queens and, in a way, contextualized queenship as a field of academic research.[13] In English scholarship at the beginning of the 1990s Marjorie Chibnall investigated the historical heritage of Matilda, *Lady of the English*, an English imperial consort and queen-ruler of England, and her political role beyond social and family position.[14] Another pioneering enterprise was the collection of papers on *Medieval Women* edited by Derek Baker in 1978, which included some crucial studies on queens and queenship.[15]

From the late 1980s on a number of scholars tried to formulate what they thought of queenship as a field of historical scholarship. Rachel Gibbons and Lois L. Hunyecutt gave a short outline of the results of this special sub-section of medieval women's studies.[16] Comprehensive analyses of the field of queenship in the light of recent research were made by Janet L. Nelson in the volume *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, edited by Linda E. Mitchell,[17] and by Louise Olga Fradenburg on the "theory and practice of Western medieval and early modern queenship" in the volume *Women and Sovereignty*.[18]

The real breakthrough came with the first comprehensive volume ever specifically devoted to medieval queens and queenship, edited by John Carmi Parsons. The volume originated in conference sessions on medieval queenship at two meetings of the CMS, Kalamazoo, in 1989 and 1991, sessions sponsored by Maiestas, which was also a good mark of the increased interest in queenship among traditional legal historians and researchers of administrative-political history. The anthology reflected excellently the increased interest in queens in medieval Europe.[19] Parsons' achievement was to gather the most important

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[13] F. Barry, *La reine de France* (1964); M. F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 5–48.

[14] M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda. Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (1991).

[15] See, for example, the reassessment of the negative depiction of queens in narrative sources by J. L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunehild and Balthild in Merovingian History," in *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M. T. Hill on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. D. Baker (1978), 31–77.

[16] L. L. Huneycutt, "Medieval Queenship," *History Today* 39 (1989): 413–30; R. Gibbons, "Medieval Queenship: An Overview," *Reading Medieval Studies* 21 (1995): 97–107.

[17] J. L. Nelson, "Medieval Queenship," in *Women in Medieval Western European culture*, ed. Linda E. Mitchell (1999), 179–208.

[18] L. O. Fradenburg, "Introduction: Rethinking Queenship," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (1992), 1–13.

[19] Parsons, "Introduction," *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 1.

scholars in this specific field and initiate a systematic treatment and specific scholarly discourse on queenship. Parsons succeeded in securing contributions from such distinguished scholars as Janet L. Nelson, János M. Bak, and André Poulet, and Nanna Damsholt as well as introducing a number of researchers of a younger generation, who brought a new voice and completely unique, gender- and women's studies-based methodology into the traditionally positivistic research into medieval queenship (Lois L. Huneycutt, Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, Elizabeth McCartney, Pauline Stafford, and others). One of the greatest assets was that the authors did not offer biographical sketches of individual queens, but "instead sought to dissect the ways in which queens pursued and exploited means to power," echoing the results of other "Women and Power" enterprises.[20] It also aimed to examine queenship from a broad geographical and chronological perspective, from medieval Hungary through Denmark to León and Navarre and from the age of Charlemagne to early sixteenth-century France. Armin Wolf[21] gave an overall systematic overview of medieval queenship and Nanna Damsholt and Inge Skovgaard-Petersen[22] presented a complex field-study on Danish queenship. Parsons himself examined the relationship of family, gender, and power in a comprehensive European perspective. As far as female political power is concerned, Elizabeth McCartney examined the specific issue of the relationships of the queen and the use of the royal prerogative.[23] Lois L. Huneycutt's investigation of the position of "reigning queen" led her to question of whether the position of women in the feudal aristocratic family was indeed as peripheral, as had been argued before.[24] She also proposed that a more nuanced view should be taken of women's positions in royal houses. Beyond political power, János M. Bak discussed the spheres of the social and ritual roles and functions queens had in medieval Hungary.[25] Parsons' article helped a great deal to reveal royal marriage as more than merely supporting a king's diplomatic

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[20] See the paper of André Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 93–116.

[21] Armin Wolf, "Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: When, Where and Why," in *Medieval Queenship*, (1993), 169–88.

[22] N. Damsholt and I. Skovgaard-Petersen, "Queenship in Medieval Denmark," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 25–42.

[23] E. McCartney, "The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early Sixteenth-Century France," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 117–142.

[24] L. L. Huneycutt, "Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993),189–202.

[25] J. M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpádian and Angevin Hungary (1000–1386 A.D.)," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 13–24.

alignments.[26] Janet L. Nelson discussed aspects of royal women's relations with their birth families, seeking by to indicate that women retained an important presence in kingly sensibilities.[27] The major achievement of the volume was that it aimed to identify some basic themes of queenship over a geographically and culturally disparate area, from Eastern Europe to medieval Iberian kingdoms, which could help unify the subject.

The Parsons volume was soon followed by a gathering of historians researching queenship at a conference organized by Anne J. Duggan at King's College, London, in 1995, the papers of which were published in 1997.[28] The image, status, and function of queens and empresses, regnant and consort, were scrutinized.[29] The studies addressed many of the central issues relating to women's authority and power in medieval societies and raised questions about the perception of women rulers in contemporary records as well as tried to give an overview of the relationship between gender and queenship in modern historical writing. Some studies proposed a re-interpretation of the conventional images and a re-evaluation of the status and function of female consorts.[30] The authors debated whether the queens had exercised real or counterfeit power. Pauline Stafford explored extensively the general aspects of the powers of the queen in eleventh-century England.[31] The geographical range of research was also enlarged since Scandinavian, Central and Eastern European queens and Byzantine empresses as well as consorts of the Latin East were also discussed.[32] Steinar Imsen provided a comprehensive and comparative analysis of later

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[26] J. C. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 63–78.

[27] J. L. Nelson, "Women at the Court of Charlemagne: A Case of Monstrous Regiment?" in *Medieval Queenship*, (1993), 43–62.

[28] *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe. Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. A. J. Duggan (1997).

[29] See the "Introduction" by Anne J. Duggan, ibid., xv–xxii.

[30] See the study of Liz James, "Goddess, Whore, Wife of Slave? Will the Real Byzantine Empress Please Stand Up?," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997),123–140; See also James' recent work (with co-author Barbara Hill), "Women and Politics in the Byzantine Empire," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (1999), 157–178.

[31] P. Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 3–26.

[32] See the paper of V. Honemann, "A Medieval Queen and Her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 109–122; S. Lambert, "Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East 1118–1228," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 153–172.

medieval Scandinavian queenship[33] and Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke gave a systematic treatment of German empresses.[34] Dion D. Smythe investigated the relationship of the ideology of *imperium* and the Byzantine empresses in Middle Byzantine times.[35] The spectrum of papers also covered topics like coronation *ordines* and burial rituals.[36] The volume includes important papers on French, English, and Scottish queens, supplying new insights into their political positions as well.[37] The proceedings clearly indicated that: "a reassessment of 'women's work' and of the role of women in the world of medieval dynastic politics were under way."[38]

Queens and Political Power. Political Activity

One of the most fruitful areas in queenship research has been the queen's political activity and role in government and administration. Politician consorts and independent female rulers have been richly investigated up to the present day.[39] A special sub-field of women's studies, a fresh approach to the relationship of gender and power in medieval times, i.e., "Women and Power" supplied another sphere for researching queens and queenship independently as a separate area within women's history. A comprehensive outline of the political role of royal women in courtly literature was given by Petra Kellermann-Haaf, who also explored the relationship between the political ideology of power and women

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[33] S. Imsen, "Late Medieval Scandinavian Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe (1995)*, 53–74.

[34] K.-U. Jäschke, "From Famous Empresses to Unspectacular Queens: the Romano-German Empire to Margaret of Brabant, Countess of Luxemburg and Queen of the Romans (d. 1311)," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 75–108.

[35] D. D. Smythe, "Behind the Mask: Empresses and Empire in Middle Byzantium," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 141–153.

[36] J. C. Parsons, "'Never Was a Body Buried in England with Such Solemnity and Honour:' The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 317–38; Idem, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500," in *Women and Sovereignty* (1992), 60–77; J. L. Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 301–16.

[37] V. Wall, "Queen Margaret of Scotland (1070–1093): Burying the Past, Enshrining the Future," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 27–38; G. Conklin, "Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France (1193–1223)," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 39–52.

[38] Duggan, "Introduction," *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997).

[39] See, e.g., E. Goez, "Beatrix von Hohenstaufen. Eine politische Kaiserin?" in *Frauen bei Hof* (1998), 28–40 and 240–45.

and its literary representation as early as 1986.[40] In Copenhagen in 1986, at the Second St. Gertrud Symposium, *Female Power in the Middle Ages,* a special gathering of women's studies' historians discussed aspects of female power in medieval times.[41] In the Women and Power" field a number of enterprises were begun, mainly the volume edited by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowalevski,[42] which also republished the milestone work of Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne F. Wemple from 1973 on female power in the Middle Ages. Another volume, *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, edited by Theresa M. Vann, grew out of a conference session at the CMS, Kalamazoo.[43]

In the 1990s there were a number of conferences like "Women and Power" at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, and "Women and Sovereignty" at St. Andrews, Scotland. These workshops argued that aspects of the consort's role should not be "written off as historically insignificant varieties of women's work," but were "dynastically and politically important."[44] Pauline Stafford showed how queens could become "lightning rods for thoughts" on gender and power.[45] Due to the awakening interest in female power it was shown that royal women played a crucial role in dynastic politics and diplomacy as well as contributing to the development of dynasticism towards the later Middle Ages.[46] The dynastic family should not be narrowed to the domestic sphere, it has to be re-evaluated and the place of women correspondingly enhanced – as has been argued in the case of Eleanor of Aquitaine.[47] Royal consorts played a key political role in the creation and protection of legitimacy as well as in the

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[40] P. Kellermann-Haaf, *Frau und Politik im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur politischen Rolle der Frau in den höfischen Romanen des 12., 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1986).

[41] The papers were published by K. Glente and L. Winther-Jensen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1989).

[42] J. A. McNamara and S. Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe. 500–1100," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (1988), 83–101. McNamara also published a revised version of her findings on female power in 2003 in the volume on *Women and Power: Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (2003).

[43] *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (Denton, TX: Academia Press, 1993).

[44] Duggan, "Introduction," *Queens and Queenship* (1997), xvii.

[45] P. Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship* (1992), 143–68.

[46] Also see the volume: *Principes. Dynastien und Höfe im späten Mittelalter,* ed. C. Nolte, R. G. Werlich (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002).

[47] C. T. Wood, "Fontevraud, Dynasticism, and Eleanor of Aquitaine," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. B. Wheeler and J. C. Parsons (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

continuity of a dynasty and the transmission of family policies.[48] Queens like St. Margaret of Scotland, Queen Emma of England, and Queen Margaret of Denmark-Sweden-Norway were taken as the founts of dynastic legitimacy[49] (see the sub-section on dowagers below).

Nevertheless, the major question that many scholars have been discussing throughout Women and Power conferences is whether queens exercised any real power.[50] Queens did play an important role in the maintenance of dynastic rule and did not merely bear royal children. Some were able rulers, actively involved in state administration. Queens consort and regnant could exercise remarkable powers, but the position of queen regnant presented conceptual and legal difficulties.

The political power of queens has been discussed in a number of works since the 1990s. J. C. Parsons examined the political power of English queens in the thirteenth century.[51] Recently Barbara Weissberger examined the construct of queenship and reginal power.[52] Helen A. Maurer's monograph is unique since it deliberately sought to examine the relationship between queenship and power through the case study of Margaret of Anjou.[53] Diana Dunn gave a gendered reassessment of Queen Margaret.[54] Even the title of the collection of papers on Eleanor of Aquitaine, *Lord and Lady*, edited by Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler

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[48] See K.-U. Jäschke, "From Famous Empresses to Unspectacular Queens" (1997).

[49] E. Haug, *Margrete, den siste dronning i Sverreætten: Nordens fullmektige frue og rette husbonde* [Margrete, the last queen in Sverre's family: Almighty woman and righteous head of the Nordic countries] (Oslo: Cappelen, 2000). *Husbonde* means "household head," but in Margrete's case it was a special honorary title that she received in Denmark that was significant in the inheritance of the throne.

[50] See, for example, the 1995 volume: *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women,* ed. J. Carpenter and S. B. MacLean (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995). See the conference paper of Liz James, "Courting Triumph: Do Empresses Have Power," at the IMC, Leeds, 1998, in the session "Women, Courts and Power, I;" J. L. Chamberlayne, also explored the ways queens exercised power and constructed their policies in later medieval England: "Within the Queen's Chambers: The Construction and Exercise of Queenship at the English Court (1445–1503)" at the IMC Leeds, 1999.

[51] J. C. Parsons, "Piety, Power and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (1993), 107–24.

[52] B. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

[53] H. E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2003).

[54] D. Dunn, "Margaret of Anjou, Queen Consort of Henry VI: A Reassessment of Her Role, 1445–53," in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. E. Archer (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 107–43.

suggests that they would present a new perspective on her.[55] The studies included examining the queen's government,[56] a reconsideration of the queen's political role in the mirror of gender and feminist historiography,[57] and a detailed discussion of the office and customs of the queen through the case of Queen Matilda of England.[58] The queen's office and reginal privileges in later medieval France were also explored.[59] Kubinyi and Pálffy each discussed politics in Hungary in the context of Queen Mary's rule in 2005.[60]

As far as the results of continental historiography are concerned, a good number of studies have aimed to give new insight into the political role and function of certain empresses, largely centering around the figures of personalities of great renown like Empress Theophanu. The research on Theophanu, which was previously mostly based on old-fashioned positivistic patterns, has now been renewed in certain respects, exploring the aspects of the empress' political role, diplomatic activity, her income and finances as well as her political promotion and ecclesiastical patronage.[61] A few years ago Josef Fleckenstein gave an overview of the *Kaiserin*'s political rule and the imperial institutions – the major decision-making body, the court chapel and the chancery – of her reign.[62] Franz-Reiner Erkens investigated Theophanu as a ruler minutely and drew a profound picture of her reign.[63] New results were shown by German historiography in the volume

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[55] *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (2003).

[56] R.V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Governments of her Sons Richard and John," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (2003), 77–96.

[57] E. A. R. Brown, "Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered: the Woman and Her Seasons," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (2003), 1–54.

[58] H. J. Tanner, "Queenship: Office, Custom or Ad Hoc? The Case of Queen Matilda of England (1135–1152)," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (2003), 133–58.

[59] E. McCartney, "Ceremonies and Privileges of Office: Queenship in Later Medieval France," in *Power of the Weak* (1995), 178–220.

[60] András Kubinyi, "The Court of Queen Mary of Hungary and Politics between 1521 and 1526" and Géza Pálffy, "New Dynasty, New Court, New Political Decision-Making: A Decisive Era in Hungary. The Decades Following the Battle of Mohács 1526," in *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* (2005), 13–26 and 27–39, respectively.

[61] E. Eickhoff, *Theophanu und der König. Otto III. und seine Welt* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996); *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[62] J. Fleckenstein, "Hofkapelle und Kanzlei unter der Kaiserin Theophanu," in *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, ed. A. von Euw and P. Schreiner (Cologne: Stadt Köln: 1991), vol. 2, 305–310.

[63] F-R. Erkens, "Die Frau als Herrscherin in ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit," in *Kaiserin Theophanu* (1991), 245–259.

Fürstinnen und Städterinnen. Frauen im Mittelalter, which aimed to give a comprehensive treatment of medieval female rule and female political power.[64] Eberhard Holtz provided insight into the political position of Emperor Frederick III's consort, Eleonore of Portugal.[65] A gendered perspective was also applied to the courts and family structure of imperial princely dynasties.[66] More recently, Catherine Keene connected the East and West in a study of Queen Margaret of Scotland.[67]

As regards the research of Byzantine *basilissas*, Rudolf Hiestand examined the relation of empresses and politics throughout the Byzantine world.[68] A special edition was devoted to the study of *Women and Power in Byzantium* by Lynda Garland,[69] and Judith Herrin has devoted a comprehensive monograph to Byzantine women rulers.[70] Dean A. Miller published a paper on women's positions and functions in the system of Byzantine sovereignty arising from the "Women and Sovereignty" workshop.[71]

Conference sessions continue to spark new interests, for example, at the 2003 IMC, Leeds, a session was organized to face the problems of queenship research and raise new responses ("Power in Practice, IV: New Responses to Old Problems in Kingship and Queenship in the Later Middle Ages") as well as to discuss queenship and authority ("Female Power and Authority in Action: Late Medieval Queenship"). New approaches and gender-based or – using Margaret Howell's expression, "gendered" – perspectives were applied to research on individual queens as well, see, for example, the works of Laura Wertheimer;[72]

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[64] See: *Fürstinnen und Städterinnen. Frauen im Mittelalte* (1993).

[65] E. Holtz, "Eine Portugies in Österreich – Eleonore, Gemahlin Kaiser Freidrichs III," in *Fürstinnen und Städterinnen. Frauen im Mittelalter* (1993), 255–82.

[66] C. Nolte, "Gendering Princely Dynasties: Some Notes on Family Structure, Social Networks, and Communication at the Courts of the Margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach around 1500," *Gender & History* 12, no. 3 (special issue: "Gendering the Middle Ages," ed. P. Stafford and A. B. Mulder-Bakker) (2000): 704–721.

[67] Catherine Keene. "Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots." PhD dissertation, Central European University, 2011.

[68] R. Hiestand, "Eirene Basileus – die Frau als Herrscherin im Mittelalter," in *Der Herrscher. Leitbild und Abbild im Mittelalter und Renaissance* (1990), 253–83.

[69] L. Garland, *Byzantine Empresses. Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204* (London: Routledge, 1999).

[70] Judith Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson).

[71] D. A. Miller, "Byzantine Sovereignty and Feminine Potencies," in *Women and Sovereignty* (1992), 250–263.

[72] L. Wertheimer, "Adeliza of Louvain and Anglo-Norman Queenship," *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1995):101–15.

C. T. Wood;[73] J. L. Laynesmith;[74] and Margaret Howell.[75] A gender approach and methodology were applied to the relationship of queenship and power by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts for the royal women of the Plantagenet and Capetian dynasties.[76] Retha M. Warnicke made a comprehensive examination of gender and politics in Tudor England.[77] In the field of art history a comprehensive overview of the gender issue in the artistic representation of queens and queenship was introduced by Joan A. Holladay.[78] Huneycutt and Danbury also dealt with the images of English queens.[79] One should also mention the recent Routledge Encyclopedia, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Margaret Schaus, with a list of entries connected to the field of queens and queenship.[80]

These efforts also resulted in reinterpreting conventional images like the foreign queen as scapegoat, a convenient target for narrow-minded local nobility, traduced by chauvinist historians or the "adulterous queen," seen as sparking civil war and succession crises. A re-evaluation of status and function has destroyed a great deal of the bias of predominantly male commentators that mostly depicted queens as "inspiring distrust and suspicion."[81] The figure of the "wicked queen" is a recurrent motif in a number of narrative traditions all over Europe, from Hungary to Portugal.[82]

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[73] C. T. Wood, "The First Two Queens Elizabeth, 1464–1502," in *Women and Sovereignty* (1992), 121–31.

[74] J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[75] M. Howell, "Royal Women of England and France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century: A Gendered Perspective," in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216–1272* (2002).

[76] Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, "Les femmes dans le royaume Plantagenêt: gendre, politique et nature," in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: conforntations et heritages*, ed. Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 95–112.

[77] Retha M. Warnicke, "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England," *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–227.

[78] J. A. Holladay, "Medieval Queens and Modern Women: Feminism and Art History Twenty Years Later," in *The Landscape of Brilliance, Lecture Series Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Pannell Art Gallery, Sweet Briar College* (Sweet Briar, VA, 2005).

[79] L. L. Huneycutt, "Images of Queenship in the High Middle Ages," *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 61–71; E. Danbury, "Images of English Queens in the Later Middle Ages," *The Historian* 46 (1995): 3–9.

[80] (London, 2006).

[81] J. M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, (1997), 223–35; G. Bührer-Thierry, "La reine adultère," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 35 (1992): 299–312.

[82] Scholars from the Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal, presented papers in a session especially devoted to "Queens and Queenship in Portuguese Chronicles" at the IMC,

Queenship and Sainthood

Another separate subfield of queenship research is, or has become, sainthood and queenship, saintly queens. Hagiographic scholarship has long investigated female sanctity and aspects of female sainthood, in the framework of which queens have for a long time been studied as a separate, independent field. The research into saintly queens has been integrated into the spectrum of gender and women's studies since the late 1980s and early 1990s.[83] The relationship of female sainthood and female identity through the medium of queens has been examined in a number of works. Robert Folz published a comprehensive monograph on the female sanctity of queens in 1993.[84] Patrick Corbet explored the role of female dynastic sainthood and feminine sanctity in the Ottonian dynasty around the year 1000.[85] The relationship between the ideology of holiness and gender has also been studied by several scholars, including the collection of articles by S. Sarah and S. J. E. Riches;[86] and the works of J. Kitchen on Merovingian female sainthood, also dealing with queens.[87] Female monasticism, especially through the mirror of queen-nuns, has been studied by a great number of scholars (Suzanne F. Wemple, Michel Parisse, and others).[88] Dick Harrison has examined gender

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Leeds in 2007: Isabel Maria de Pina Baleiras Campos, "The Wicked Queen in Portuguese Chronicles" and Pedro Mellado Beirão, "Distinguishing the Good Queen from the Evil Queen: The Examples of the 15th-Century Portuguese Queen-Consorts."

[83] See, for example, J. T. Schulenburg, "Female Sanctity: Public and Private Roles, ca. 500–1100," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (1988), 102–125.

[84] R. Folz, *Les saintes reines de moyen âge en Occident (VIe – XIIIe) siècles* (Brussels: Society des Bollandistes, 1992).

[85] P. Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens : sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'An Mil* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1986).

[86] *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. S. J. E. Riches and S. Sarah (London: Routledge, 2002).

[87] J. Kitchen, *Saint's Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender. Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[88] S. Wemple, "Female Monasticism in Italy and its Comparison with France and Germany from the Ninth through the Eleventh Century," in *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Lebensbedingungen, Lebens-normen, Lebensformen. Beiträge zu einer internationalen Tagung am Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin, 18. bis 21. Februar 1987*, ed. W. Affeldt (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), 291–310; M. Parisse, *Les nonnes au Moyen Age* (Paris: Le Puy, 1983); Idem, "Les femmes au monastère dans le Nord de l'Allemagne du IXe au XIe siècle. Conditions sociales et religieuses," in *Frauen in der Geschichte VII; Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Frauen im Frühen Mittelalter,* ed. W. Affeldt and A. Kühn (Düsseldorf, 1986), 311–324.

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and political culture over an enormous spectrum of early medieval Germanic abbesses and queens.[89]

Sources and Authenticity

In 1995, Anne J. Duggan raised the question of gender and the authenticity of historical sources; she asked whether the portrayal of holy queens and empresses was historically valid and whether the positive images of royal women were didactic programs, not authentic portrayals of real women.[90] The core idea behind the volume she edited was the objectivity of the sources, especially the accounts of female power, specifically constructed to channel and confine the feminine according to male-centered ideas of what was right and proper conduct for a woman. The objectivity and authenticity of sources, especially in women's studies and female history, was examined in *Women, Texts and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*.[91] The question of authenticity within a male discourse of medieval history writing is a recurrent topic in the field. The debate is not over yet about whether it is possible to extract a true history of royal women from the stereotypes. A special volume was devoted to stereotypes in women's studies in the early 1990s: *Stereotypes of Women in Power*.[92] Recent years have fortunately seen a growing number of source publications related to the field of medieval queenship, that is, charters, correspondence, testaments, and so on, which definitely make it easier to place historical scholarship on a more stable documentary basis. As early as the late 1950s Richardson published an article on the letters and charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine.[93] In the 1980s German scholars published a number of works on reginal charters and chanceries.[94] Anne Crawford edited a collection of the correspondence of medieval English queens;[95] Katherine Walsh worked

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[89] D. Harrison, *The Age of Abbesses and Queens: Gender and Political Culture in Early Medieval Europe* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 1998).

[90] Anne J. Duggan, "Introduction," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe Introduction* (1997), xv–xxii.

[91] *Women, Texts and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, ed. M. V. Vicente and L. R. Corteguera (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

[92] *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, ed. B. Garlick, S. Dixon, and P. Allen (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

[93] H. G. Richardson, "The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine," *English Historical Review* 74 (1959): 193–213.

[94] T. Kölzer, *Urkunden und Kanzlei der Kaiserin Konstanze, Königin von Sizilien (1195–1198)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983).

[95] *Letters of the Queens of England, 1100–1547, 1100–1547* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994).

on the correspondence of Empress Eleonore of Portugal;[96] and aspects of queenship were investigated in Anglo-Norman charters,[97] while the *ordines* of reginal coronations were examined as a special field.[98] An interesting field of research would be to investigate the system or customs of reginal coronation, e.g., the types of reginal coronation *ordo*s or the whole institution, asking whether there were traditional coronation cities or whether queens were crowned by a customary member of the clergy, as in Hungary by the bishop of Veszprém, *civitas reginae*. A special sourcebook on medieval women's lives was published by Emilie Amt.[99] At the 1998 IMC, Leeds, conference, Cristina La Rocca looked at reginal testaments.[100] The relationship of women and power on reginal seals was seen in an interdisciplinary study on sigillography by Brigitte Bedos Rezak.[101] An interesting subfield of queens' political activity, connected with the charters and diplomas they issued, is the reginal itinerary. Recently a number of reginal itineraries and case studies have been published, from Hungary to Germany.[102]

Queenship in Central and Eastern Europe

Most of the studies of queenship thus far have touched mainly Western European themes and studies of queens in medieval Central and Eastern Europe have usually been pioneering enterprises. Although the volumes edited by Anne Duggan and

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[96] *Deutschsprachige Korrespondenz der Kaiserin Leonora von Portugal. Bausteine zu einem geistigen Profil der Gemahlin Kaiser Friedrichs III. und zur Erziehung des jungen Maximilian*, in *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493) in seiner Zeit. Studien anläßlich des 500. Todestags am 19. April 1493/1993*, ed. P.-J. Heinig (Cologne, 1993), 399–445.

[97] D. Bates, "The Representation of Queenship in Anglo-Norman Charters," in *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

[98] *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, vol. 1, *Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.A. Jackson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

[99] *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe. A Sourcebook*, ed. E. Amt (London: Routledge, 1993).

[100] "The Testament of the Queen," paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, 1998.

[101] Brigitte Bedos Rezak, "Women, Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150–1350," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (1988), 61–82.

[102] D. Göbel, "Reisewege und Aufenthalte der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1002–1024)" in *Kunigunde – eine Kaiserin an der Jahrtausendwende*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner (Kassel: Furore, 1997); *Itineraria regum et reginarum. Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382–1438)*, ed. P. Engel and N. C. Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2005); Václav Bůžek, "Strangers in Their Own Country. King Louis II (Jagiello) and Mary of Hungary's Stay in Bohemia at the Turn of 1522–1523," in *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* (2005), 63–67.

J. C. Parsons tried to include medieval Hungary, neither of them looked further to the east. The Budapest conference in 2004 on "Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," emphasized studies on medieval Central Europe, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland thus broadening the geographical perspective on queenship, which is difficult to examine without the queens of the Luxemburgs and the Jagiellos or the Habsburgs. The show "Mary of Hungary, The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531," shared between Budapest and Bratislava in 2005, went beyond texts to display a range of items associated with a queen, supported by a scholarly catalog.[103] As regards Eastern and Central European kingdoms, Polish queenship was first given systematic insight in 1993 by Maria Bogucka on Queen Elizabeth.[104] Bogucka examined the legal status of women in Poland compared to those in the West and in Central and Eastern Europe in her volume of selected studies,[105] and has also published a case study on Queen Bona Sforza of Poland.[106] Queens and queenship in the Bohemian kingdom have also been studied in recent years by Thomas Krzenck and Gisela Wilbertz.[107]

A Queen as a Legal Entity

Women's rights and powers to make legal transactions and have ownership rights were subject to obligations which need to be discussed further from a comparative perspective.[108] What was the legal perception of queens? What was the legal status of a queen? Were there regional differences? Differences from West to the East? Was she entitled to give away her property, and, if yes, what kind? Was the queen

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[103] *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Enikő Spekner, and András Végh (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005).

[104] M. Bogucka, "Eine Königin, um die niemand trauerte. Elisabeth, die dritte Ehefrau König Jagiellos," in *Fürstinnen und Städterinnen* (1993), 212–23.

[105] *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, Against the European Background*, ed. Maria Bogucka (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[106] Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1998).

[107] T. Krzenck, "Sophie von Wittelsbach – eine Böhmenkönigin im Spätmittelalter," in *Fürstinnen und Städterinnen* (1993), 65–87; G. Wilbertz, "Elisabeth von Pommern – Eine Kaiserin im späten Mittelalter," *Bohemia* 28 (1987): 45–68.

[108] See the paper by Joanna Chodor, "Poland: Legal Status of Women in Medieval Poland with Special Reference to Ownership Rights and Inheritance Law," presented at the IMC, Leeds. See also the recent study by L. E. Mitchell, "Women and Medieval Canon Law," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. L. E. Mitchell (New York: Garland, 1999), 143–55, where a special section is dedicated to "Women and Law in the Middle Ages."

entitled to issue charters by her own right, issue grants or privileges, e.g., to cities and citizens? Where did she have jurisdiction? Was she entitled to impose taxes and collect dues? What institutional system was attached to the office of the queen? Did she have her own chancery, a separate chamber or treasury? Did she have rights of ecclesiastical patronage, *ius patronatus* over her estates? What did the ownership rights of the queen mean in practice?

A similarly untouched or little-discussed sub-field is inheritance and succession.[109] Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke reviewed questions of succession and inheritance in for eleventh-century imperial heiresses.[110] It was shown that in Poland there was a special form of guardianship of women, even for queen consorts (*mundium*, *cura sexus*), which a male relative (a father, a husband) exercised over them. Their right of succession was restricted; they could only inherit movables, but after the thirteenth century women from noble families could also inherit real property, in a way parallel with the situation in Hungary, where the *quarta puellaris* was codified. In most countries, similarly to the king, the queen could also donate the possessions in her property, but in the case of those attached to the reginal dignity (dignitarian ones) she could only do that with the consent of the king and the barons of the country. Several papers explored examples from a number of kingdoms, but there should be an overall analysis into this subfield in the future.

Economic Relations

Economic relations and finances have been a relatively neglected field. The issues of the revenues of the queen, reginal wealth, reginal estates and household, the financial aspects of marriage treaties, the system of dowry and dower, the morning gift and marriage portion have not been clarified, let alone treated in a comparative analysis. Studies have been made on households, although not especially on the financial aspects of the management, beginning with William Christensen's pioneering work on *Dronning Christines Hofholdningsregnskaber*, the reginal household accounts in Denmark in 1905.[111] In 1968, F. D. Blackley and

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[109] See the paper of L. L. Huneycutt on female succession in the works of clerics: "Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 189–202.

[110] K.-U. *Jäschke, Notwendige Gefährtinnen. Königinnen der Salierzeit als Herrscherinnen und Ehefrauen im römisch-deutschen Reich des 11. und beginnenden 12. Jahrhunderts* (Saarbrücken, 1991).

[111] William Christensen, *Dronning Christines* [Queen Christina's court accounts] (Copenhagen, 1904).

G. Hermansen edited a household book of Queen Isabella of England[112] and J. C. Parsons did the same for Eleanor of Castile in 1977.[113] Scholars' attention has fortunately turned towards these problems; Paul Mikat initiated research on medieval "donated marriages" (*dotierten Ehe*);[114] and several historians have followed his path researching marriage as a financial institution. In her monograph, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich*, Amalie Fössel also discussed the *dos* system in the Holy Roman Empire;[115] and Margaret Howell devoted an entire study to the resources of Eleanor of Provence in England in 1987.[116]

Starting with the issues of sources of court, household, and finances at the Budapest conference, J. Kerkhoff introduced a fine source database on the court of Empress Anne, consort of Ferdinand of Habsburg, and her sister-in-law, Mary of Hungary-Bohemia, consort of Louis II Jagiello. Archival materials, *Hofordnungen* und *Hofstaate*, were investigated in Vienna and Innsbruck (Tyrol) which made it possible to establish the structure of the early sixteenth century Habsburg reginal courts. The paper's findings on the female members, the *Hofdamen* and *Hoffräulein* of the *Frauenzimmer* and the results of the research on the *Hofhaltung* (Household Regulations) of the joint court of the queens are a useful addition to the literature, which she extended later in further research.[117] Another excellent database was based on details of the accounts of court and household expenditure from the court of Empress Anna of Jagiello.[118] Research

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[112] F. D. Blackley and G. Hermansen, "A Household Book of Queen Isabella of England, 1311–12," *Historical Paper / Communications historiques* 3 (1968): 140–51.

[113] J. C. Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: An Edition of B.L. Add. MS 35294*. Toronto, Institute of Pontifical Studies, 1977.

[114] P. Mikat, *Dotierte Ehe – rechte Ehe. Zur Emntwicklunk des Eheschliessungrechts in fränkischer Zeit* (Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1978).

[115] A. Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2000).

[116] M. Howell, "The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort," *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 372–93.

[117] Jacqueline Kerkhoff, "Das Frauenzimmer (1516–1521) Kaiserin Anna und Königin Maria in Wien und Innsbruck," paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, and Idem, "The Court of Mary of Hungary, 1531–1558" in *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* (2005), 137–151.

[118] Jaroslava Hausenblasova, "Anna von Jagiello und ihr Hof 1521–1547. Ein Weg von der Erzherzogin von Österreich zur Römischen Königin," paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004.

into reginal households has provided useful sources;[119] the work of Otto Borst also covers the field of the women at court.[120] The queen's finances and the legal grounds of her wealth in medieval Castile were examined by Theresa Earenfight at the IMC, Leeds, 2003.[121]

Deeper insight into the financial position of queens has come from discussions of reginal treasuries and jewels. Pauline Stafford wrote a study of noteworthy significance on reginal treasuries,[122] which now needs to be followed up on in continental research to attain a comparative perspective. Rethelyi and Ludikova have extended this field in studies of treasuries during the reign of Queen Mary of Hungary.[123]

Pacta matrimonialia, marriage contracts, established the basic source of a queen's income, but were rather divergent, various in character, and unsystematized throughout Europe.[124] The carefully negotiated marriage treaties aiming to ensure that the queen would be properly maintained also give insight into the workings

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[119] For example, research on incomes and households dates back to the late 1960s: A. R. Myers, "The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466–7," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 50 (1967): 207–235. *Das Frauenzimmer: Die Fraue bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000); see the papers: A. Kircher-Kannemann, "Organisation der Frauen-zimmer im Vergleich zu männlichen Höfen;" A.-M. Münster, "Funktionen der dames et damoiselles d'honneur im Gefolge französischer Königinnen und Herzoginnen (14.–15. Jahrhundert), 339–354;" B. Bastl, "Das Österreichische Frauen-zimmer. Zum Beruf der Hofdame in der Frühen Neuzeit," 355–375; M. Bojcov, "Das Frauenzimmer « oder » die Frau bei Hofe?, 327–337;" E. Bousmar and M. Sommé, "Femmes et espaces féminins à la cour de Bourgogne au temps d'Isabelle de Portugal (1430– 1471), 47–78;" M. Chatenet, "Les logis des femmes à la cour des derniers Valois," 175–192; J. Heinig, "Umb merer zucht und ordnung willen. Ein Ordnungsentwurf für das Frauen-zimmer des Innsbrucker Hofs aus den ersten Tagen Kaiser Karls V. (1519);" B. Streich, "Frauenhof und Frauenzimmer."

[120] *Frauen bei Hof*, ed. Otto Borst (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 1998).

[121] Theresa Earenfight, "Absent Kings and Ruling Queens in the Crown of Aragon: Law and Finance and Queen Maria of Castile, 1440–58," paper presented in the session "Absent Kings and Ruling Queens in the Crown of Aragon: Law and Finance and Queen Maria of Castile, 1440–58," at the IMC, Leeds, 2003.

[122] P. Stafford, "Queens and Treasure in the Early Middle Ages," in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. E. M. Tyler (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), 61–82.

[123] Orsolya Réthelyi, "…*Maria regina… nuda venerat ad Hungariam*… The Queen's Treasures." In *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–153*1 (2005), 107–114, and Zuzanna Ludiková, "The Fate of Buda's Ecclesiastical Treasuries." In *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* (2005), 129–135.

[124] Orsolya Réthelyi, "Marriage Contracts and Possessions of Late Medieval Hungarian Queens," paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004.

of medieval diplomacy. A marriage contract, however, provides only a basic indication of the financial circumstances of the queen and cannot be used as a source for establishing her actual income. Details of the marital contracts of the Polish and Hungarian dynasties have been used to set the place of these kingdoms within the models of European *pacta matrimonialia*.[125] Further comparative research of this kind would be worthwhile.

Normally, reginal properties could be divided into three parts, first, those going with the dignity, *eidem domine regine omnes redditus*, *proventus, utilitates, raciones et iura, que et quas ullo tempore hinc retro habuerunt seu habere consueverunt*; those *pro dote et pro rebus parafernalibus maritis* by virtue of marriage portion. Second came the dowry properties, and third, the privately owned properties that were donations, mainly from the king, that the queen was fully authorized to use and bequeath.[126] A task needing further analysis is whether this three-fold structure was characteristic of European monarchies or whether there were differences. It is not possible to draw strict boundaries between them; in many cases they overlapped as a number of researchers have shown. In several countries the queen's possessions and income were rather various and were not formalized. Different customs existed for endowing queens; for German dowry systems, see the works of Jörg Rogge;[127] for the French structure, see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz and Régine Le Jan-Hennebicque.[128] In certain locations and eras successive queens were assigned different estates, in others the estates donated to the queens as dowry formed a

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[125] See the papers presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by Attila Bárány, "The Finances of Queen Yolantha of Aragon, Daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary; György Szabados, "Hungary: Constance of Aragon – Queen of the First Hungarian Marriage Contract," and Urszula Borkowska, "Marital Contracts of the House of Jagiellon," *Maiestas* 13 (2005): 75–94. Also see her study on Queen Jadwiga of Poland: "Królewna Jadwiga i jej ksiazeczka do spowiedzi [Princess Jadwiga and her Book of Confession]," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 35, no. 2 (1987), 85–101.

[126] See the papers presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Martina Kalábová, "Das Witwengut der Ungarischen Koeniginen in der Mittelslowakei" and Szilárd Süttő, "Als die Königin König hätte sein sollen. Die possessio reginalis in einer königslosen Zeit Ungarns."

[127] Conference paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, 2001, by Jörg Rogge on medieval German customary law: "Provision and Financial Endowment of Princesses in the Late Medieval Empire."

[128] C. Lauranson-Rosaz, "Douaire et sponsalicium durant le haut; R. Le Jan-Hennebicque, Aux origines du douaire médiéval (VIᵉ – Xᵉ siècles)," in *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. M. Parisse (Paris: Picard, 1993), 99–105; 107–22.

constant body of property. The queens' estates in England were developed to have a much more constant form and framework than those in Central European kingdoms. From the mid-twelfth century, English queens were given specific estates.[129] This kind of territorially-specified landed estates, a fixed or at least a stable corpus of lands, was, however, never formally laid down or codified. From the early fifteenth century in certain Central European kingdoms a continuity of the lands and incomes was granted, sometimes called queens' estates or reginal demesne,[130] similarly to the institution characteristic of medieval Scandinavian kingdoms. In medieval Scandinavia a territorial endowment, *queendom*, borrowing Steinar Imsen's terminology, was constructed not merely to provide an income for the queen, but as a political means to safeguard stability and to support the position of the monarchy, which is why it was beyond the system of reginal revenues and estates. It was a sort of a dynastic demesne, a political guarantee for a royal house under queenly rule, even after the death of the king.[131] In Scotland some demesne lands and certain revenues were endowed on the queens.[132] In Portugal it was common to reserve part of the crown's estate to embody the queen's patrimony. This patrimony formed the *Terras da(s) Rainha(s)* – Lands of the Queen(s) – and was composed mainly of seigniorial tributes, rights, and jurisdictional rents.[133] It was not until the fifteenth century that there was a compact and stable group of lands that was structured and institutional permanently in the possession of the queens.[134] In Portugal each queen received different additional

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[129] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: L. L. Huneycutt, "The Households of England's Anglo-Norman Queens."

[130] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: István Draskóczy, "Reginale Haushalte im Ungarns 15. Jahrhundert, " published as: "Besitztümer der ungarischen Königinnen im 15. Jahrhundert und Diósgyőr," *Maiestas* 13 2005): 65–74.

[131] Imsen, "Late Medieval Scandinavian Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (1997), 68.

[132] L. L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (London: Boydell Press, 2003).

[133] See the conference paper presented at the CMS, Kalamazoo in 2005 by Miriam Shadis, "Casa de Rainhas or Convent? Queens and Their Courts in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Portugal."

[134] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço, "Early Modern Portuguese Queens: Dynastic Politics and Household." See also a later work: "The Household of Portuguese Queens in Modern Times: Patronage and Powers," *Mediterranean Studies* 14 (2005): 17–26.

donations from her husband. Apart from these donations, the queens were also the proprietors of other estates and goods and were endowed with rents, rights and dues of several kinds. In Portugal the kings did even more for their newly-wedded wives; they assigned annual amounts in the royal treasury for the queen's maintenance and donated a certain number of towns and lands to them where they could exercise seignorial power and receive rents.[135] At the IMC in Leedsin 2005, in the session: "Queens and their Courts, I: Rights and Duties of Medieval Queens," Ana Maria Rodriguez gave a detailed study on the properties of queens in medieval Portugal,[136] while Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço gave a comprehensive report on the system of Portuguese queenship in early modern times. In 2007, Maria Lúcia de Oliveira Gonçalves summarized further recent findings on early medieval queens of Portugal.[137]

Whether the reginal demesne was made up of contiguous estates or not is also of interest. In Hungary, there were whole lordships (complexes of landed holdings: Segesd; Diósgyőr) and adjoining counties (Pilis, Pozsega és Verőce), and sheriff's offices (Vizsoly) in the queen's possession.[138] In Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex the lands of the queen were controlled by the royal family. Queens were provided for from a common stock of royal estates and reginal estates were similar to those in the hands of royal sons (*æthelings*) and daughters were treated as belonging absolutely to the corpus of royal holdings. Few particular "booklands" were held exclusively by successive queens.[139]

In Hungary, queens normally received additional revenues (dues, customs, tributes, duties; e.g., the *tricesima* was traditionally bound for the reginal household even though it was not part of the dowry possessions). In England, additional incomes, queen-gold and different grants from the kings secured the queens'

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[135] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Maria Manuela Santos Silva, "Private properties, Seigniorial Tributes and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Middle Ages."

[136] Conference session at the IMC, Leeds, 2005: "Dowers and Dowries of Medieval Portuguese Queens."

[137] Conference session at the IMC, Leeds, 2005: "Infants, Queens, and Queenship in Early Modern Portugal;" conference session at the IMC, Leeds, 2007: "Early Medieval Queens of Portugal: The Unknown Queens!"

[138] Paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, 2004, by: Attila Bárány, "The Finances of Queen Yolantha of Aragon, Daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary."

[139] P. Stafford, *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power: England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

finances, but this combination of privilege and resources was never formally laid down in that country either. It will be the task of future research to explore whether additional revenues were attached to the queen's normal wealth and, if so, what kind.

In certain fortunate cases, separate reginal chambers or treasuries existed, also having independent source material, i.e., their own fiscal accounts.[140] There is a source basis that particularly registers the queen's lands and revenues in later medieval Aragon, known as the *Cambra de la Reyna*, which consisted of money which she controlled as queen consort, specifically rents and income from monasteries, convents, hospitals, and manors, making it distinct from monies that she could possess and control personally, such as natal family wealth (inheritance, rents, miscellaneous incomes), dower and dowry (cash or property).[141] In a way similarly, queens in Hungary maintained an economically independent queen's court. Was this phenomenon characteristic of most European kingdoms?

Historical scholarship needs to disclose all the existing dowry traditions and patterns of dower assignment throughout Europe. The workings of the system of dowry and dower have been seen in a comparative perspective to some extent, which would be worth following up in the future.[142] There are differences in the interpretations of the dowry in medieval Western and Central Eastern Europe which need to be clarified. To reach a better understanding, I include here a short summary and introduction to Central European reginal wealth through the example of Hungary.

In Hungary the dowry – *dos et res parafernalia,* or revenues *pro dote et pro rebus parafernalibus maritis* – as a morning gift (*Morgengabe*), originally paid after a

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[140] Papers presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, 2004, by: T. Earenfight, "The Queen's Treasury in the Crown of Aragon in the Later Middle Ages;" Z. Czövek, "A Source on the History of Hungarian Royal Treasure from 1521," later published in *Maiestas* 13 (2005): 96–105; G. Jaritz, CEU Budapest, Hungary, "The Queen and her Jewels."

[141] T. Earenfight, "Absent Kings: Queens as Political Partners in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World*, ed. T. Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 33–54; J. F. O'Callaghan, "The Many Roles of the Medieval Queen: Some Examples from Castile," ibidem, 21–32; N. Silleras-Fernández, "Spirit and Force. Court and Conscience in the Reign of Maria de Luna (1396–1406)," ibidem, 78–90.

[142] Paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, 2004, by: Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "At the Economic Foundations of Queenship: The Dowers and Dowries of Portuguese Medieval Queens."

matrimonium consummatum, given for *propter deflorarationem et concubitum* was always taken as going together with the Roman law *donum v. munum nuptiale* or *donatio propter nuptias* (i.e., an engagement gift), *in quibus nomine donationis propter nuptias*. In certain areas there was rather a wedding-gift, *Wiederlage*, made, no matter whether the marriage was consummated or not, also given at the time an engagement was made, e.g., *per procurationem* marriages, those between young royal couples not yet of age. Scholarship has to answer the question of whether in European kingdoms the dowry was a real *Morgengabe* or preliminary revenue was given to the family of the bride in order to secure the would-be marriage. Or, did the princess receive her maternal dowry at the time of the wedding? Was there some kind of a more or less constant maternal dowry in practice? In European comparative research it should also be clarified whether the dowry was a real landed property or made up of revenues of diverse kinds.

According to marriage contract of Yolande of Hungary and James I of Aragon (1213–76) in 1233, the princess inherited dowry properties from her mother, the queen consort. This shows that some of the reginal properties – four counties – formed a somewhat constant corpus of a reginal dowry and were passed on as *dotalitia* to a princess of the dynasty at her marriage, not onto her consort. In exchange for the *dotalitia*, King Andrew bound the revenues of the *tricesima* customs of Hungary and undertook to pay an annual instalment until this amount was paid off. However, in medieval Hungary the marriage portion, dotal gift, and wedding dowry did not exist. At the wedding it was the husband who gave the dowry, the wife's family was only to provide a modest gift, most often movables, clothes and jewels, etc. 1233 was the first time that a new system of the *dotalitia* was applied in Hungary to address the concerns of a Western dynasty. The reginal dowry could not be inherited in Hungary, it was out of the question that part of the dowry of the queen mother would pass on to her daughter and become part of her reginal wealth in her new home when she married. It is also a question for further study whether the *dotalitia* was ever applied in Central and Eastern Europe and whether part of the maternal *dos* could be included in the princess's *dotalitia*. Movables and chattels (*ioias*), however, could have been bequeathed. While in certain regions the *dotalitia* was unknown and the *pacta matrimonialia* stated only the marriage-portion dowry given by the husband, in medieval Portugal brides usually brought the *dotalitia* type of dowries to their future husbands.[143] It is also an interesting question for the future whether the so-called traditional pieces of

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[143] Ibid.

the reginal wardrobe, movables, jewellery, dresses, and so on, or some parts of them, were meant to remain at the court as coronation insignia.

One of the major questions in this sub-field is whether the dowry was in fact inalienable by the husband or whether there were regional differences. Were there cases when the dowry properties were alienated, pledged and donated away during the marriage? What proportion of the reginal estates could in fact have been used by the queen? In Hungary there were cases in which the king gave away some of the queen's private properties to nobles as royal donations! In some cases the documents mention that these transactions occurred with the consent of the queen; but one feels that the kings saw these territories as belonging to the royal patrimony. Was that the situation in other European countries? Were the property rights of a queen so vulnerable and easily encroached upon by the king? Was this possible elsewhere? Although the Aragonian *Cambra de la Reyna* was intended for the sole use of the queen, to be governed by her as direct lordship, its "institutional parameters were ambiguous making it a handy target for cash-strapped kings."[144] The dowers of Aragonese queens were also used by the monarchy for extraordinary expenses. Unlike English queens, who had a specific budget set aside for their use which endowed them with considerable political power, queens in the crown of Aragon were easily disempowered financially.[145]

Court, Power and Political Activity

Most scholars agree that the queen's financial-economic position and her political power were interdependent, thus, reginal power should not be treated separately from revenues. Through her lands and revenues the queen had the opportunity to gain significant economic and political weight. She could formulate her own distinct policy, develop her own political patronage, and even shape her circle of followers. The issue would welcome further discussion about whether this was grounded only in financial means or on personal qualities and political relationships. In Anglo-Norman England, queens participated in royal government

[144] On the system in Aragon, see also: T. Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 1–21 and N. Silleras-Fernández, "Money Isn't Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377–87)," in *Women and Wealth in Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[145] Studies on Aragonian queens: W. C. Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronila of Aragón," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (1993), 49–61; P. Humphrey, "Ermessenda of Barcelona: The Status of Her Authority," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, (1993), 15–36.

as full partners of their spouses, mainly because of their talents and inclinations, but particularly because they had independent incomes, control of substantial resources, their own staffs, and access to the machinery of royal government.[146] In the Holy Roman Empire political power and actual economic status were not always interdependent as the exercise of political power rested on other factors. Not even every empress who exercised power and influence controlled large estates, as shown by Amalie Fössel in her recent comprehensive study on imperial *Königinnen* und *Kaiserinnen*.[147] Her reputation, descent, family relationships, and her own family's relations with the princes were important. The queen's political power was seen in the framework of a socio-political network of patronage and landed properties in medieval Scandinavia.[148]

The queen's court as a base for individual politics and the means to build up a personal retinue on political grounds were shown in a conference paper by Karl-Heinz Spiess, at the CMS, Kalamazoo, at the session on "Queens and their Courts" in 2005.[149] In the same session Eldbjørg Haug examined the political structure of the court and retinue of Queen Margaret of Norway.[150] Joshua Birk investigated the queen's political patronage through the queen's advisers, "the queen's men," in Norman Sicily at the IMC in 2006, delving into the relationships between queen-regents and an increasingly Muslim administration in the twelfth century.[151] The interpretations of the court in certain kingdoms were partly discussed, but it also invites further investigations: apart from the political-administrative apparatus, one should concentrate on the cultural, ritual, and pious aspects of the queen's court as well as its relationship to the royal court. Whether the structure of the court, its offices and apparatus, followed the same pattern in Europe or whether there were significant differences between, e.g., the officeholders, could also be

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[146] Paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, 2004, by: L. Huneycutt, "The Households of England's Anglo-Norman Queens."

[147] A. Fössel, "*Imperatrix augusta et imperii consors*. Die Königin als Mitherrscherin im hochmittelalterlichen Reich, " in *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806. Von Otto dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Essays* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2006), 87–97.

[148] Paper presented at the conference: "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage, Budapest, 2004, by: Dick Harrison, "Household, Network and Land. The Bases of Power of Early Medieval Queens."

[149] Karl-Heinz Spiess, "Retinue and Trousseau of Late Medieval Queens."

[150] Eldbjørg Haug, "Margaret, Dowager Queen of Norway 1380–1412." Paper presented at the CMS, Kalamazoo, in the session: "Queens and their Courts," 2005.

[151] Paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, in 2006: "All the Queen's Men: Queen Regents, their Advisors, and the Eastern Mediterranean World in Norman Sicily."

investigated. Who had the authority to appoint dignitaries? Did this reflect the queen's own political patronage at all? Or it was entirely within the king's authority to donate to favourites and push them into the reginal court?[152]

Other questions arise about the political network around the queen and her court; these men exerted considerable social influence both over the nobility and the clergy (see the information on priests at the court of Mary of Hungary)[153] especially in early medieval Western kingdoms. In the royal household a female political culture developed; queens recruited clients attached to the household. In the event of the king's death, such networks often proved instrumental in securing the queen a strong position as guardian of the realm. A skilled queen could maintain her influence over royal politics for decades.[154] A task for further research is to see to what extent a foreign queen could assign offices of her court to the foreigners in her retinue and what positions they played in political life. Karl-Heinz Spiess discussed ways of integrating foreign queens in a European comparison at the 2001 IMC conference.[155]

A paper at the 2004 Budapest conference on the relationship of Queen Matilda of Boulogne and London, the capital, demonstrated how the queen herself supported the political development of the city as part of her independent policy, consciously granting commercial, customs privileges, and so on.[156] Examining the relationship of queens, the town populations of their centres, and reginal seats would be a good idea, especially in the cases where there was a permanently fixed reginal city, like Veszprém in Hungary. What were the links between the city and the queen, the citizens and the reginal court? What was the relationship of the queens with town citizens and municipal governments?

The political role of dowagers can be seen as a particular sub-field. As many queens died in childbirth, and thus had only short periods to develop their own personages, their own courts and patronage policies; the queen mothers who survived several deliveries and lived quite a long life could exert their influence

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[152] On the authority of Castilian queens see the IMC, Leeds, 2003, conference paper by Bethany Aram, "Authority and Maternity in Late Medieval Castile."
[153] Zoltán Csepregi, "Court Priests in the Entourage of Queen Mary of Hungary," in *Mary of Hungary; The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531* (2005), 61.
[154] Harrison, "Household, Network and Land. The Bases of Power of Early Medieval Queens."
[155] Paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, conference, 2001: "European Marriages: Problems of Integrating Foreign Queens and Princesses at their Husbands' Courts."
[156] P. Dark, "*Tota regionis reginam metropolim:* Sources and Uses of Queen Matilda of Boulogne's London Patronage." "The Career of Matilda of Boulogne as Countess and Queen in England, 1135–1152," PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 2005.

over the policy-makers, and have their sons manage the country to their liking.[157] Elisabeth Kotromanić, born of an aristocratic family of Bosnia, consort of King Louis I the Great of Hungary (1342–82), had a whole period signified by her political strength.[158] The powers of the queens regnant had disparate characters in different kingdoms. In the cases of dowers, dowager properties in certain areas in Europe – i.e., most commonly in the Holy Roman Empire – there was a difference between jointure (*Wittum*, *Leibgedinge*) and dower, the latter being mere usufruct by the widow, irrespective of its origin as morning-gift.[159] However, in Hungary one cannot be sure at all that a dowager queen had usufruct rights at all in the dower lands in practice. In the case of the consort of the last Árpádian ruler, Andrew III, Queen Agnes's dower rights had to be safeguarded by Duke Rudolf of Habsburg in 1304.[160] In Anglo-Saxon Wessex the dowager queen played an important role as queen mother and held estates of the royal stock as a dowager's wealth.[161]

A fundamental issue is the date up to which the queen was entitled to enjoy the revenues of the reginal estates or which of them she could use after the death of her consort. Or, was she allowed possible usufruct at all? The question is, also a point for further analysis, whether the reginal properties were given to her for lifetime, *pro vita sua* or up to her remarriage. Western scholarship has made progress in recent years in research on dowagers,[162] but as yet there has been no overall European comparison. According to the marriage contract between King Emery of Hungary (1196–1204) and Constance of Aragon, the king was to give his wife a dowry after the king's death, too, as long as she stayed in Hungary; if she left the country, she was to be paid 12,000 marks. Not a word was mentioned about remarriage, although leaving the country might have meant that as well. She

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[157] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Matthew J. Clear, "Sancia of Majorca (1286–1345) Queen of Sicily, Provence and Jerusalem: A Shining Example of Financial and Administrative Acumen."

[158] On her reginal policy-making see the paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," 2004, by: Szilárd Süttő, "Als die Königin König hätte sein sollen. Die *possessio reginalis* in einer königslosen Zeit Ungarns."

[159] Jäschke, "From Famous Empresses to Unspectacular Queens," 85.

[160] Honemann, "A Medieval Queen and Her Stepdaughter," 111.

[161] Ryan Lavelle, "The King's Wife and Family Property Strategies: The Case of Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex, 871–1066," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 29 (2007): 84–99.

[162] R. Collins, "Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth Century León and Navarra," in *Medieval Queenship* (1993), 79–92; Jean Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France aux Xe et XIe siècles," in *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut moyen âge* (Picard, 1993).

could hold the estates of the corpus of the reginal wealth, a dower part, which was inalienable as long as the dowager was alive.[163] Was this kind of dower normal all over Europe or was an even smaller amount of reginal wealth retained as dowager lands? The financial position of widowed or dowager queens as well as princesses need to be discussed in detail as a part of a European comparative study. Were the dowager queens awarded money after the death of their consorts by the following monarch? Or did they retain the usufruct of their reginal properties? Or, did it occur at all that the dowager was simply deprived of her estates? In Hungary, Barbara of Cilli, queen consort of King Sigismund of Luxemburg, was captured a few days before the death of her husband, and the majority of her estates were alienated from her.[164] A completely different example is the dowager rights of Mary of Hungary, widow of Louis Jagiello II (1516–26), for all the reginal possessions were acknowledged by the subsequent king, her brother, Ferdinand Habsburg (1526–64). Mary held on to her rights to the queen's estates and covered a part of the costs of her court with her income from Hungary for over 20 years. The reginal wealth was used by the dowager queen, no matter that a new king had been crowned with a new consort and no dowager estates were allotted to the dowager queen, but she maintained a hold on the traditional reginal wealth and the new consort had to be content with newer dowry estates.[165] A task for further study is also whether the dowager rights were as strong anywhere else in Europe as in sixteenth- century Hungary.

The queens regnant in medieval Denmark have been examined in Nanna Damsholt's work.[166] The position of the queens regnant in the medieval Iberian kingdoms was discussed by Eileen P. McKiernan Gonzalez, at the 2001 IMC conference, Leeds,[167] and a comprehensive paper was given on Portuguese queen-

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[163] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: György Szabados, "Constance of Aragon."

[164] "Barbara von Cilli. Ihre frühen Jahre als Gemahlin Sigismunds und ungarische Königin, " in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8.–10 Juni 2005*, ed. M. Pauly and F. Reinert (Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern 2006), 95–112.

[165] Orsolya Réthelyi, "Marriage Contracts and Possessions of Late Medieval Hungarian Queens."

[166] Nanna Damsholt, *Indefra. Europæiske kvinders historie belyst ved kildetekster* [From inside. The history of European women in the light of source texts] (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2000).

[167] "*Regina et Dominatrix:* Twelfth-Century Spanish Queens and their Monastic Domus." Paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, 2001.

consorts at the 2003 IMC conference by Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues.[168] Castilian queens and queenship have been studied from the point of view of power and politics by Roger Collins, Miriam Shadis, and Theresa M. Vann.[169] Further research should develop a comparative and comprehensive analysis of the office of the queen regnant in medieval Europe from Hungary to Portugal.

Queens could be powerful female politicians, formidable ruler-queens; Urraca, the governor queen of León-Castile, ruled independently for seventeen years, managed diplomacy, and, as a master of politics, was able to prevent any attempt to overthrow her.[170] A specific piece of evidence of the political role of a queen comes from France, where Louis VI added the date of the regnal year of Adelaide, his consort, to his charters. The authority of Queen Blanche of Castile, who "carried the heart of a man in a woman's body" although she was not an anointed ruler, secured the power and the continuity of the Capetian royal line. Her funeral was celebrated with pomp which was unusual in its scale, a queen regnant buried as a king. Her heart was the first to be buried of all the French rulers, preceding any of the kings of France. She founded two monasteries, financed from her own funds, and due to her influential political personage, relied partly on the royal treasury and additionally on the royal patrimony.[171] Blanche was surpassed by María de Luna, queen of the Crown Aragon, consort of King Martín I the Human, who had an official dignity as *locum tenens* of her husband.[172] Some queens in thirteenth-century Hungary played significant roles in government, ruling territories such as the dukedom of the senior member of the

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[168] "The Queen-Consort in Late Medieval Portugal." Paper presented at the IMC, Leeds, 2003.

[169] T. M. Vann, "The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship," in *Queens, Regents, and Potentates* (1993), 125–47; M. Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and Her Daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (1996), 202–227.

[170] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Mary Stroll, "Three Queens and Calixtus II."

[171] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Alexandra Gajewski, "Queenship and the Power of Death: Blanche of Castile and the Twin Foundations of Maubuisson and Le Lys."

[172] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Núria Silleras-Fernández, "The Economy of Reputation: Patronage, Piety and Liberality in Late Medieval Spanish Queenship;" Idem., *Power, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship. Maria de Luna* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

dynasty, mostly Slavonia and Bosnia, under the title of *ducissa*. Queen Margaret of Durazzo also assumed an important role in her dynasty's struggle to maintain their rights to the Regno, and was the major factor in her house's diplomacy. In her case, political strength, talent, and prowess were intertwined and influenced her quite remarkable artistic patronage. Her pious foundation, the centre of the Durazzos' dynastic representation, provided the link between political power and patronage.[173]

It is worth examining further what political weight these co-sovereigns or typical powerful co-regent queens or empresses played, such as the issue of co-rule in the case study of Queen Elizabeth Łokietek, consort of Charles I of Hungary (1301–42). Was she a *Mitherrscherin oder Königinmutter*?[174] A study entitled "Diplomatic Devotions" examined the diplomatic role the Dowager Queen Elizabeth played, whose several pilgrimages were designed to be "political pilgrimages" which were part of her active role in the Angevin court as foreign-policy maker.[175] An exciting program of further research in queenship studies would be to explore queens as pilgrims and compare the financial backgrounds of these travels: What revenues and fiscal sources were used to finance them? Was it also part of the political representation of a dynasty that queens or other female members of the court were to go on pilgrimages in a similar way as men went on crusade?

How the administration of reginal wealth and patronage were linked was shown through investigating Sancia of Majorca, queen of Sicily, whose extraordinary prowess in financial, diplomatic, and religious affairs gave her the liberty to fund extensive religious patronage, in her own right, which also furthered the political purposes through which she was developing an independent political power.[176] A similar hypothesis was raised by Amalie Fössel; the personality of

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[173] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Aislinn Loconte, "*Collegium Disciplinatorum Sanctae Marthae:*Queen Margherita di Durazzo and the church and confraternity of Santa Marta in Naples;" see also her PhD dissertation: "Royal Women's Patronage of Art and Architecture in the Kingdom of Naples 1300–1450: From Maria of Hungary to Maria D'Enghien," University of Oxford, 2003.

[174] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfache Königinmutter. Elisabeth von Łokietek in Ungarn (1320–1380), " published: *Maiestas* 13 (2005): 47–63.

[175] Paper presented at the conference "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage," Budapest, 2004, by: Marianne Sághy, "Diplomatic Devotions: The Pilgrimages of Elizabeth Łokietek the Dowager Queen."

[176] Matthew J Clear, "Maria of Hungary as Queen, Patron and Exemplar," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, Art, Iconography, and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed.

the queen, mainly in the empire, her interest in worldly affairs and business was also part of building a queen's wealth. The queen's wealth also depended on her cleverness.[177] Political patronage also involved ecclesiastical and religious goals.[178] In most cases the foundation of a convent as a dynastic centre was a conscious political act. The queens founded convents and gave them unusual status within their religious orders, endowed them extravagantly, and gave their abbesses extraordinary powers in order to establish them as royal necropolises.[179] The queens represented strong political striving to have dynastic religious establishments firmly linked to the royal family and to have their prestige and power consolidated to build up the *memoria* of their family.

Conclusion: Tasks for the Future: Identity and Intercultural Transfer

Research in recent years on queens and queenship has concentrated on issues of rule and governance, images and portrayal of queens, cultural patronage, saints, mothers and regents, family and sex, court relationships, dynastic legitimacy and queens as framers of family policy. The fields where scholarship is still lacking and where further research should be done are the almost completely *terra incognita* of intercultural transfer through the persons of queens and the transmission of cultural and artistic trends in the sphere of intellectual history. Comprehensive comparative research into the queens' role as bearers of culture across Europe would be of great interest. One of the most interesting trends I have noted about queenship studies is the question of identity and integration. Is queen consort a foreigner? Does she identify more closely with her natal family or her conjugal family? How does she integrate into a new culture?

J. Elliott and C. Warr (London: Ashgate, 2004), 45–60. See also his paper presented at the IMC Leeds, 2006: "Sancia of Majorca, Queen of Sicily and Angevin Patronage of Art."

[177] A. Fößel, "Die Kaiserin im Mittelalter und ihr göttlicher Herrschaftsauftrag," in *Gottesmacht. Religion zwischen Herrschaftsbegründung und Herrschaftskritik*, ed. W. H. Ritter and J. Kügler (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 75–87.

[178] On the relationship between power and religious patronage see the studies: S. Kelly, "Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples. Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, 27–44; E. L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[179] Paper presented at the "Medieval and Early Modern Queens and Queenship: Questions of Income and Patronage" conference in 2004 by: Eileen Mckiernan Gonzales, "The Building Power of Iberian Queens: Monastic Patronage and Burial Practice at the end of the Twelfth Century in Aragón and Castile."

Let me finish with a personal note from Hungarian history to reflect how research into cultural transfer can help queenship studies. The cult of Saint Elizabeth, one of the greatest female saints of the House of Árpád in Hungary, was transferred through queens throughout Europe; e.g., through the person of Queen Yolande, Elizabeth's sister, to Aragon and the Iberian peninsula. Yolande, queen consort of King James I of Aragon, nurtured the cult of Elizabeth as early as the 1240s and the crusading spirit of Elisabeth's father, King Andrew II, was also transferred in a way to Aragon and the relationship with the *miles Christi* Árpádian king benefited the king of Aragon in his lifelong struggle of the *reconquista*. Through Queen Yolande, the cult of Saint, Elizabeth, was also transmitted to Portugal; King James and Queen Yolanda had their grand-daughter, daughter of King Peter of Aragon, named after her great-aunt, St. Elizabeth, and the Princess Elizabeth became the queen of Portugal, consort of King Denis. Up to her death in 1336 she did a great deal to spread the cult of and have the popular saint of the House of Árpád worshipped in Portugal.

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Note: Collected works are listed by title rather than by editor.

Abbreviations:

ICMS – International Congress on Medieval Studies, held at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI

IMC – International Medieval Congress, held at the University of Leeds, UK

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"OUT FLIES THE WEB AND FLOATS WIDE:" MULTI-DISCIPLINARY POSSIBILITIES IN QUEENSHIP STUDIES[1]

Christopher Mielke 📧

The web of literature on the oft-neglected topic of medieval queens appears to be floating wide, as in Tennyson's poem "The Lady of Shalott;"[2] great strides have been made recently. This paper will not recount the excellent works that have gone before, but rather suggest new directions, building on previous scholarly work. Attila Bárány's piece in this volume covers historiographic points related to the studies of queenship, so there is no need for repetetion here. A plethora of untapped resources for the study of medieval queenship still remain, however. In order to gain a better picture of these medieval women, it is necessary to ask new questions and to examine new material. The aims of this paper are to explore several methodological avenues wherein one can truly make a multi-disciplinary contribution to understanding the nature of medieval queenship. Although it is difficult to cross boundaries among the fields of history, art history, archaeology, and literature, when done properly the results show that a surprising degree of power and agency informed the actions of most medieval queens.

Lifecourse

Most of the older literature has focused on particular biographies of certain queens of great renown. Many of these make for great case studies and since there is an abundance of data it is surprising that there has yet to be a proper study on the different parts of a queen's life, i.e., comparative studies on queens before marriage, as wives, as mothers, and as widows. This is a necessity for several reasons. Many of the primary source documents directly related to queens deal with household expenses, accounts of their income, and in a few select cases, wills and inventories of the objects they owned. This is important because part of the negotiations over the dower and dowry were contingent on being able to provide for the queen in the event of her husband's death. Money was an essential

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[2] Alfred Lord Tennyson, "The Lady Of Shalott." in Poetry X 17 Nov 2003, <http://poetry.poetryx.com/poems/1839/> (03 March 2013).

concern, yet Amalie Fößel has shown in many instances that for the medieval queen wealth did not always equal power, and vice versa.[3] A better understanding of the different segments in the life of the queen could answer many questions. Little is known of the education of most queens before marriage, but the few studies produced so far seem to indicate that their education was not ignored.[4]

It is also important when studying the actions of a queen to consider at which stage in her career these actions took place, i.e., when she was a queen consort, a queen mother, a dowager queen with no children, a queen before the birth of a male heir, and so on. In Capetian France, for instance, Kathleen Nolan is right to point out that Bertrade de Montfort and Adelaide of Maurienne used their seals on documents only in their widowhood and then only pertaining to the administration of their dower lands. Particularly in the case of Bertrade, this was meant to give additional weight to documents they issued at a time when their power and wealth were reduced due to external circumstances.[5]

Likewise, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, scholars have noted an overall decline in the power of the empress at the Byzantine court. For the most part, this has been attributed to the foreign origins of the Comnenian empresses, with notes that, unlike their predecessors, these women had no local aristocratic ties and thus the wives of the emperors in the twelfth century had very little say in state affairs.[6] Regarding the wife of Isaac I Comnenos (r. 1057–1059), Barbara Hill states "But it must be remembered that Catherine was a Hungarian [sic] (Catherine was actually the daughter of John Vladislav of Bulgaria) and therefore removed from her network of relatives, who would have protected her."[7] Yet there are other views that challenge this perception. A recent work on Mary of Alania shows that she was a pivotal figure in negotiating the transition of power from her first husband to her second, as well as from her second husband to the

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[3] Amalie Fößel, "The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages," *Majestas* 13 (2005): 31–34.

[4] János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpádian and Angevin Hungary (100–1386 A.D.)," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John C. Parsons (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1997), 17.

[5] Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 21–34, 64–72.

[6] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527–1204* (London: Routledge, 1999), 199; Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204: Power, Patronage, and Ideology* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1999), 213.

[7] Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204*, 61; Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses*, 168.

incoming Comnenus dynasty.[8] There is also the idea that since they were denied political power, the empresses chose religious rather than political activities. The founding of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople by John II Comnenos (r. 1118–1143) and his wife Eirene (born Piroska of Hungary, d. 1134) was understood to be important in its day – it was one of only three massive imperial monastic foundations from state property in the Comnenian period.[9] While little remains of the structure and it is difficult to see either her hand or that of her husband, the great size of the institution and the cutting-edge hospital attached to it show that it was a prestigious foundation.[10] Likewise, Bertha of Sulzbach, known as Empress Eirene, the first wife of Manuel I Comnenos (r. 1143–1180), commissioned a work from John Tzetzes to explain Homer to Western audiences.[11] These two foreign women were not completely helpless, as secondary sources might have one believe, and they have one other important point in common: They both died before their husbands. A good deal of the power and influence of Byzantine women came not only from local noblewomen such as Anna Dalassena and Eirene Doukaina, but also through women who survived their husbands and were mothers of the reigning emperors. Rather than resorting to generalizations that foreign women were powerless at the Byzantine court, it seems that in the twelfth century there were a series of women whose husbands predeceased them and who expressed their power in more traditional, less overt, ways; this is power represented in a different way. The example of Eirene-Piroska also touches on two other subjects: the need for new studies on the relations between queens and monasteries and a better understanding of queens and material culture.

Relationships with Monastic Houses

Several aspects of the relationship medieval queens had with monasticism would benefit from further scrutiny. So far, the connection between the two has been

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[8] Lynda Garland and Stephen Rapp, "'Mary of Alania:' Woman and Empress Between Two Worlds," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience AD 800–1200*, ed. Lynda Garland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 96–97.

[9] The other two were the Mother of God Petritzonitissa at Bachovo, founded in 1083 by *Sebastos* Gregory Pacourianus, and the Mother of God Cosmosotira at Pherae, founded by *Sebastokrator* Isaac Comnenos in 1152, see: Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450*, 1st ed. 1985 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 89–90.

[10] Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des Études Byzantine,* 32 (1974), 1–145.

[11] Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204*, 171.

made in a rather offhand way. Casual mentions occur here and there of certain queens giving land or spending time in monasteries, but a more systematic historical approach could show that studying the relationship between queens and monasteries could yield successful research for historians, art and architectural historians, as well as archaeologists. More systematic study has the potential to show medieval women in a different light, with an agency of their own. In a recent contribution, Loveday Lewes Gee gives several tables on English women in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who founded, co-founded, or re-founded religious houses, on religious manuscripts associated with laywomen, and an extensive table on women who used seals in this particular period.[12] This information shows that women (mostly from the nobility) had different choices in terms of monastic patronage, with queens in this period actively patronizing the Mendicant orders while other noblewomen were more inclined to favor the Augustinians.

Where the data is less plentiful it is useful to move to particular case studies. To take a Hungarian example, Euphrosyne of Kiev (c. 1130–1193), the wife of Géza II (r. 1141–1161), co-founded one of the earliest Hospitaller settlements in Hungary with Archbishop Martirius of Esztergom in the royal city of Székesfehérvár. By itself, this is a simple statement of fact with little information to accompany it. Yet there are a number of important things to point out about the initial phases of this foundation. The first is that Martirius was archbishop from 1151 until his death in 1157 – the walls were already being built at the time of his death – and the settlement was completed by Queen Euphrosyne herself.[13] Euphrosyne became powerful as dowager queen during the reign of her first son, Stephen III (r. 1161–1173), even negotiating a marriage alliance between her daughter, Elizabeth, and Frederick of Bohemia.[14] Yet this foundation occurred when her husband was still alive. The Hospitaller Order was still new at the time and its character had not been completely militarized, hence Zsolt Hunyadi's opinion that: "The charitable intentions of Queen Euphrosyne… were therefore probably more important in the introduction of the Order than the military

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[12] Loveday Lewes Gee, "Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), Appendices A, B, & C, 605–629.

[13] Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150–1387* (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2010), 24–26, 104.

[14] Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1989), 89.

concerns of her husband, King Géza II."[15] Furthermore, it is possible that the queen was instrumental in popularizing patronage of the order at court, as her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth, as well as her son Béla III (r. 1173–1196), all gave extensively to the Hospitallers.[16] Indeed, after the queen was exiled, she made her way from Braničevo to Byzantium and finally took the veil at a convent of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. She died at the St. Sava monastery, was originally buried in St. Theodosius Lavra, and her body was finally brought back to Hungary and interred in the church of the Székesfehérvár preceptory that she had founded.[17] Even though the secondary literature on Euphrosyne is limited, this one example shows a queen consort as an active patron of a new monastic order. Like her English counterparts, Euphrosyne helped establish a tradition of royal support for the Hospitallers that had not existed in Hungary previously.

The death of a queen is another important aspect. For royal women in Kievan Rus' whose burial place is unknown, Martin Dimnik has been able to offer some clues as to possible places for interment based on both their immediate familial relationships and also based on what is known of the monastic institutions they favored during their lifetimes.[18] The question of family grouping is important. For instance, it has become clear in recent literature that Eleanor of Aquitaine was behind the burial of her family at Fontevrault Abbey, including herself, her husband Henry II, her son Richard I, and her daughter Joanna. The connection of this family with this place was so important that decades after the death of Queen Eleanor, her daughter-in-law, Isabella of Angoulême (d. 1241), wife of King John, and her grandson, Raymond VII of Toulouse, also chose to be buried at Fountevrault.[19]

Others have taken a more anthropological approach. Estella Weiss-Krejci has noted some important patterns in her studies on burials of the Babenbergs and Habsburgs over nearly 900 years. She has found that circumstances of burials

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[15] Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 24.

[16] Ibid., 26.

[17] Ibid., 25.

[18] He postulates that Irina-Ingegerd of Sweden, the wife of Yaroslav of Kiev was buried in her monastery of St. Irene in Kiev, while others, like Gertrude of Poland, wife of Izyaslav, would be buried near their close male relatives, see: Dimnik, Martin. "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240," *Ruthenica* 7 (2008): 76, 79.

[19] Although unfortunately Raymond's tomb and effigy were placed on the south side of the northwest pillar of the crossing rather than in the choir with his family; the reasons for this are unknown, see: Charles T. Wood "Fountevraud, Dynasticism, and Eleanor of Aquitaine," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 416–418.

often mirrored circumstances in life, especially in terms of so-called "deviant burials," and 257 of the 868 burials in her study are described as deviant. Included in this category are 27 women who died during or shortly after childbirth; she notes no link between the death and terms of burial other than the fact that if the child died along with the mother the two usually shared the same coffin.[20] Physical anthropology is also useful when examining skeletons of burials which may be royal. For instance, the nineteenth-century excavations of the basilica in Székesfehérvár were extensive, but the site itself was poorly documented. As a result, later biological anthropologists dedicated a good deal of time to studying the twelve skeletons found in the crypts. Studying the skeletons of a woman and a girl, they were able to date them to the fourteenth century and placed their ages between 41–49 years and 9–13 years, respectively. The tentative identification of these skeletons is thus with the two wives of Louis I the Great of Hungary (r. 1342–1382), Margaret of Luxemburg, who died when she was 14, and Elizabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, who died when she was about 45–47.[21] While the identity of these skeletons as well as many others may still be debated, looking at new material has nonetheless produced interesting results at a site where much of the original context has been destroyed.

Those interested in the studies of queenship may also benefit from raising spatial questions. Archaeological excavations of churches have shown that certain areas are more coveted than others and often intramural burials tend to be crowded around such prestigious spaces, usually in proximity to the high altar, transept chapels, doorways, and other sacred foci. Often times, burials took place in proximity to places where parts of the Mass were celebrated, the location of certain relics, or near images of particular saints.[22] Christopher Daniell refers to these spatial choices as a hierarchy of concentric rings radiating from the high altar at the east end of the main church.[23] Some monasteries, like the Franciscan house at Carmarthen, even designed the steps to the altar in order to accommodate

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[20] Estella Weiss-Krejci, "Unusual Life, Unusual Death and the Fate of the Corpse: A Case Study from Dynastic Europe," In *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record*, ed. Eileen M. Murphy (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), 173–179.

[21] Kinga Éry, Antónia Márcsik, János Nemeskéri, Ferenc Szalai, "Az épített sírok csontvázleletei (I. csoport)" [Skeletons found in the Crypt (Group I)], in *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika embertani leletei* [Anthropological findings from the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár], ed. Kinga Éry (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 100–102.

[22] Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeological Service, 2005), 56–60.

[23] Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), 95.

rows of burials.[24] A brief examination of this spatial question reveals interesting trends. In the mid-twelfth century, Adelaide of Maurienne (d. 1154), wife of Louis VI of France, founded a women's abbey at Montmartre, where she retired in her widowhood; she commissioned her own effigy and in 1901 her tomb effigy was uncovered between the choir and the altar.[25] This suggests a visible spot for the founder of the monastery. The murdered Queen Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213), wife of Andrew II of Hungary, was buried in an elaborate sarcophagus at the western end of the transept in the monastery of Pilisszentkereszt.[26] Even though there is another burial closer to the high altar, the sarcophagus of the queen would have been the monument most visible to the congregation. When her husband was thinking of being buried elsewhere, the Cistercian monks at Pilis demanded that he be buried there next to his first wife, and it seems the body of the queen (who was the mother of Saint Elizabeth) might have been a coveted prize for the monks.[27] In the case of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), wife of Charles I Robert of Hungary (r. 1308–1342), it seems that not only did she plan her burial at a Clarisse foundation of her own in Óbuda while her husband was still alive, it seems she picked Óbuda as the site because it was not only in a central part of the kingdom, but her foundation there would have been the most visible church with no competition from other cathedrals.[28] Other queens might have chosen a particular burial site based on their devotion to a particular saint. In Hungary, many royal burials took place in the cathedrals of famous national saints, for instance, in the twelfth century most royal burials took place in the basilica of Székesfehérvár, where St. Stephen (r. 1000–1038) was buried, and in the fourteenth century, a number of the kings and queens were buried in the cathedral at Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania), the burial place of the popular chivalric saint, Ladislas I (r. 1077–1095).[29] The spatial question could be raised for other issues as well, such as the residence of the queen at certain monastic

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[24] Roberta Gilchrist & Barney Sloane, *Requiem*, 56–60.

[25] Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 51, 57.

[26] László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey of Pilis] (Szentendre: Közép-Dunavidéki Intéző Bizottság, 1984), 9.

[27] Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: Eastern European Monographs, 1996), 116.

[28] Brian McEntee, "The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen: Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares' Church," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006), 81.

[29] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 326, 343, 390.

institutions, although without proper evidence in the written record such a task would be difficult to accomplish well.

Material Culture – Liturgical Objects

Studies on the relationship between queens and objects have so far revolved mostly around particular case studies. In some cases, an object with feminine connotations was discovered, and looking back at the patronage of the institution, it was ascribed to a certain queen. This is the case with a green dress currently at the Hungarian National Museum. Initially, it was found in the Abbey of Mariazell and ascribed to Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387), the wife of Hungarian king Louis the Great (d. 1382). Upon closer examination, it was discovered that the fashion of the dress was much later than the fourteenth century and it was then ascribed to the Habsburg Princess Mary, queen of Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary (r. 1516–1526). Even this is debated, as further research into the written record shows that Mary did in fact own the dress at one point, but the fashion is more similar to the time of her grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, so it is doubtful whether she even wore the dress at all.[30] While this is one example, museums all over the world have objects with some ephemeral connection to a medieval queen. These objects are often personal, such as the example of the dress above, crowns, rings, or seals, and they can also be religious in nature, including items like reliquaries, chasubles, bells, chalices, and so on.

The experiences of two Hungarian queens from the eleventh century show how the study of liturgical objects can illuminate new aspects of a queen's public persona. On the one hand, there is Gisela of Bavaria (c. 985–1060/1065), the first queen of Hungary and the wife of the founding saint, King St. Stephen (r. 997–1038), and on the other hand, there is Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090), the wife of Hungary's chivalric warrior, King St. Ladislas I (r. 1077–1095). Gisela of Bavaria is a famous figure, even when cast as a villainess in nineteenth-century literature, and she was noted by contemporaries for her active donations to the church and for her powerful role as the wife of Hungary's first king. At least three liturgical objects are connected with her name: the Hungarian coronation mantle, a chasuble (now destroyed) that she and Stephen donated to Pope John XVIII,

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[30] Lilla Tompos, II-7. a-b, Woman's Dress and Chemise, Donation of Louis II and Queen Mary of Hungary, in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, Beatrix Romhányi, Enikő Spekner, and András Végh (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 177–179.

and the Gisela Cross.[31] Like the queen herself, there have been a few studies on these objects due to their connection with a famous patroness and her role in the early years of the kingdom. Adelaide of Rheinfelden, in contrast, is a complete nonentity in the historical record, and several scholars have commented on the fact that although her husband is one of Hungary's most popular kings, she remains virtually an unknown figure and is hardly mentioned in many of the hagiographic sources about St. Ladislas. Nevertheless, a few objects are connected to her that show she pursued her own agenda and had agency of her own, which has been completely obscured in the written record. One of them is an item known as the Adelaide Cross. It is a reliquary cross she donated as a memorial to her mother, much in the same way the Gisela Cross was donated, and it is the largest of the eleventh-century reliquaries commissioned as such. This impressive monument, unfinished during the lifetime of the queen, nonetheless has one interesting feature: roughly one-third of the gems on it are reused Roman intaglios, quite a high proportion. As her father was the rival German anti-king to Henry IV, this could well be a statement of her own family's heritage, their imperial identity, and high status.[32] For a mostly forgotten queen, this shows an awareness of her own family's status, knowledge of the activity of earlier Hungarian queens, and an agency all her own.

The comparisons between the two women are even more striking if viewed in the mindset of later medieval centuries, as the wives of the two saint kings were often treated together, especially in the agenda of the bishopric of Veszprém, which from the thirteenth century onward claimed several important entitlements through the office of the queen and Gisela's foundation, such as the right to crown queens, and later the right to serve as the queen's chancellor.[33] The culmination of these two women being compared to each other is a mostly forgotten stone at Makranc which was reputedly erected in the sixteenth century, yet was probably not finished due to the Ottoman invasions. The text of the

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[31] Work on these three objects can be found in János Géczi, ed., *Gizella királyné (985 k. – 1060)* [Queen Gisela, (c. 985–1060)] (Veszprém: Vár Ucca Tizenhét, 2000).

[32] Christopher Mielke, "Lifestyles of the Rich and the (In?)Animate: Object Biography and the Reliquary Cross of Queen Adelaide of Hungary," in *Queenship, Reputation, and Gendered Power*, ed. Rachel Gibbons and Carole Levin (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, forthcoming 2013).

[33] János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpádian and Angevin Hungary," 19. For a full list of the known officers of Árpádian queens, see Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their wives: The office of the queen in the Árpádian age] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 97–100.

stone reads "Dedicated to the best and greatest God. To the founder of this holy church, Gisela and Adelaide, blessed wives of Stephen and Ladislaus, the kings of Pannonia, the excellent father, Lord Peter, titular bishop of St. Cyriacus, cardinal priest of the Roman Church, Riegynus, bishop of Veszprém. AP for the sake of memory and veneration."[34] For the commissioner of the stone, the two queens were inextricably linked, even before the modern period when it was later thought that Gisela was buried in the cathedral she had founded at Veszprém. It was not until an archaeological discovery in the early twentieth century that it was revealed once and for all that Gisela had died and was most likely buried at Niedermünster Abbey in Passau, where historical sources indicate she retired after leaving Hungary in 1045.[35] Meanwhile, it appears that Adelaide is the most likely candidate for a queen who was buried in the cathedral of Veszprém, for Antonius Bonfinius, the fifteenth-century court historian of King Matthias (r. 1458–1490), recorded a gravestone in the cathedral that seems to indicate that she was buried there.[36] The result of comparing these two queens through the material culture they used reveals that in spite of different circumstances in their lives, in the eleventh century there was a clear and deliberate understanding of the potential for using objects to represent themselves to the public. In some cases, these objects reflected the real power and influence a queen like Gisela had during the lifetime of her husband. In other cases, these objects were carefully constructed symbols recalling earlier, similar, works with a variety of meanings that might display power that may not have existed in reality, such as in the case of Adelaide. By ignoring these objects or writing them off as irrelevant museum paraphernalia, scholars of queenship are limiting themselves to only a partial data set. A more integrated and multidisciplinary approach has the potential to perceive agency on the part of the queens that underscores their importance in the Middle Ages in arenas previously understudied.

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[34] *D(eo) OP(timo) MAX(imo S(anctificatus est) HVIVS SACRI TEMPLI CONDIT RICI GESLAE STEFANI ET OLAYTHI LADISLAI SANCTOR(um) PANNONIAE REGVM DIVIS CONIVGIBVS AMPLISS(imus) PATER D(omi)N(u)S PETRVS T(i)T(ularis) SAN(c)TI CYRIACI S(anctae) R(omanae) E(cclesiae) P(res)B(ite)R CAR(dinalis) (R) IEGYNVS EP(iscopu)S VESPRIMIEN(sis) AP MEMORIAE VENER(ationi)*, András Uzsoki, "Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau," in *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. Ekkehard Völkl (Regensburg: Lassleben, 1988), 14–15.

[35] András Uzsoki, "Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau," 17.

[36] *Ladislai regis consortum hic ossa quiescunt*, Antonius de Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1936), Decas II, Liber IV, 91.

Christopher Mielke

Queens' Building Projects

In addition to founding monasteries and donating money for building and renovating churches, queens were also active in constructing buildings with more practical purposes. Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), queen of Hungary, was a veritable real-estate tycoon in her widowhood and in her long life she managed to be involved in the building or reconstruction of at least thirty known buildings, an active patron of monasteries, as well as a builder of palaces.[37] Aside from two studies on individuals, in the two-volume work *Women as Builders*, Annie Renoux has written a chapter on Carolingian and early Capetian queens and their relationships with certain castles as builders, renovators, and residents. Indeed, disputes often arose over the ownership of castles and two queens, Emma and Susannah, refused to hand over castles they felt were under their own personal ownership.[38] The involvement of queens and buildings needs to be studied on a more systematic basis. Therese Martin has shown that even queens regnant shared this interest; her work on Queen Uracca of Leon (r. 1109–1126) argues convincingly that the royal monastery at San Isidoro in León was largely her program, and that for many reasons posterity has largely forgotten the contributions she made to the structure.[39]

In addition, queens often took part in the construction of buildings related to the health and wellbeing of their subjects. One of the most famous examples of this is Matilda of Scotland (d. 1118), wife of Henry I of England (r. 1100–1135), who founded hospitals for lepers at St. Giles and Chichester.[40] The following century, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) became greatly renowned for her active care of the sick, even turning wings of Wartburg castle into a hostel and hospital during the drought of 1226.[41] Shortly thereafter many queens began to found hospitals on this new wave of piety. While St. Elizabeth was still alive, her maternal aunt, St. Hedwig of Silesia, founded a leper's hospital for women in Neumarkt in the year 1230. Shortly after St. Elizabeth's death in 1231, Agnes

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[37] Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "The Architectural Patronage of Queen Elisabeth of Hungary," *Acta Historiae Artium*, 20 (1974): 29.

[38] Annie Renoux, "Elite Women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France (ca. 850–1100)," In *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. Therese Martin, 753–754.

[39] Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth Century Spain," *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (2005): 1136.

[40] Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 105–106.

[41] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesse*, 250.

of Bohemia dedicated a hospital in Prague to St. Francis (in 1233), and later St. Hedwig's daughter-in-law founded a hospital in Wrocław dedicated to St. Elizabeth.[42] It should be noted here that medieval hospitals were more houses of prayer rather than medical institutions and the concern was for the poor rather than the sick. When Blanca of Naples, queen of James II of Aragon, ordered the founding of a hospital in Perelló in her will, the instruction was that both the healthy and sick be admitted; the main concern was that they were poor.[43] Isabel of Aragon (1270–1336), namesake and great-niece of St. Elizabeth of Hungary and wife of Denis of Portugal (r. 1279–1325), built a hospital near her palace and nunnery at Santa Clara, and though medical care was not provided, food and shelter were available for the poor.[44] At the hospital founded at Notre Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre by Margaret of Burgundy, Queen of Sicily (1249–1308), an altar was dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Hungary, showing that Queen Margaret was following in the popular saint's footsteps.[45]

Queens were also involved in building practical structures as well. Matilda of Scotland, the queen of England who built leprosaria, also built several bridges linking London with its hinterlands. One of them, the primary artery between London and Essex, was known as the Bow Bridge due to its shape; it was in use until the early nineteenth century. She built another bridge in Cobham (Surrey), on the road between London and Portsmouth, supposedly after one of her ladies drowned while trying to cross the river.[46] In Bohemia, the second oldest stone bridge in medieval Europe was built in Prague around 1172; this Romanesque construction was known as the Judith Bridge, after Judith of Thuringia, the wife of Vladislav II.[47] The bridge, 500 meters long, crossed the Vltava with 22 vaulted arches and a through-span of between 4.5 and 5.2 meters. Construction began in 1135, continued for roughly the next ten years, and was finally completed during

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[42] Ibid., 238–241.

[43] Michael McVaugh, *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 228, n. 145.

[44] Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor. The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture,* ed. Therese Martin, 927.

[45] Lynn Courtenay, "The Hospital of Notre-Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as Misericordia," in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 85.

[46] Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship,* 114–115.

[47] Jaroslav Pánek, Oldřich Tůma et alii, *A History of the Czech Lands* (Prague: Karolinium Press, 2011), 92.

the reign of Vladislav II and Judith.[48] Not much of the original bridge remained after it was swept away in a flood, and the Judith Bridge is usually only mentioned in the context of the fourteenth century Charles Bridge, the Gothic masterpiece that replaced it. A fragmentary relief of an enthroned ruler with a kneeling figure has been dated to the twelfth century, although it is unclear whether the seated figure is Vladislav II or Frederick I Barbarossa and whether the kneeling figure is Vladislav II, the bridge builder, or his successor.[49] It would be worth studying the few fragments that have survived and probing deeper into the question of why the bridge was named after her. It was built while she was alive and named in her honor, but it is not clear whether this was a gesture on the part of another and her role was largely passive or whether it reflects the queen's interest in Prague's infrastructure.

Gendered space in medieval buildings is a topic still in need of further research. In England, Roberta Gilchrist has made excellent strides in showing how the spaces of nuns differed from those of their male counterparts. Her research has shown that nunneries tended to be founded by local gentry and as such had less disposable wealth than male monasteries and rarely altered their landscape or started an industry of their own. This gendered perspective also shows that later nunneries tended to have more in common with elite manor houses and that separation of male and female space was of utmost importance.[50] For queens, Amanda Richardson has undertaken an access analysis[51] and an image analysis of the residences of the queens among the English royal residences in various periods. Even in situations where there was meant to be symmetry and equality in planning, it seems that there was still a need for female areas, such as the queens' apartments, to be less accessible. As the hierarchy of the court began to be more elaborate, the apartments of the queen became increasingly removed from public space.[52]

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[48] Jan Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 390.

[49] Klára Benešovská, "Architectonic Sculpture of the Stone Bell House in the Period Context," in *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg, 1310*, ed. Klára Benešovská (Prague: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011), 82, 87 n. 4.

[50] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), 188–191.

[51] Access analysis entails using boundaries and means of ingress to understand how difficult or easy it is to navigate a certain structure. It usually takes into account the presence of gates, doors, staircases, and so on.

[52] Amanda Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160–1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery," *Medieval Archaeology* (2003): 131–132; 163–164.

New technologies, such as 3-d modeling, have also been applied. The remains of the fourteenth-century queen's castle at Óbuda have been covered up, and historian László Gerevich has concluded that the queen's residence was less significant than the Pauline monastery in Buda and the Clarisse cloister in Óbuda.[53] Yet three-dimensional reconstructions done within the past three years show that the palace was an impressive building and a visible part of Óbuda's landscape in the medieval period.[54] Admittedly, such reconstructions must be taken with a grain of salt, especially since the upper floors often do not survive in ruined castles and palaces. Nonetheless, these models can be helpful in visualizing the impact that palaces and residences of the queen would have had on the urban landscape.

Books

In the Middle Ages, the very fact of owning a book or reading could be considered an act of religious devotion.[55] Yet, as with other categories of religious involvement, the interaction between queens and books is a much more complex than one might expect. Kathleen Nolan identifies two points of involvement regarding Blanche of Castile and manuscripts: Blanche's active role in the creation of books, and the imagery of queenship that appears in these books.[56] Queens could be owners of books, creators, patrons, recipients of dedications, and have their images in books, though many studies only focus on one aspect (usually the one that is most evident in the surviving material). All of these aspects taken together usually reveal a more personal side of the queen that may be missing from written chronicles.

When the books themselves do not survive, there are sometimes surviving inventories or records of donations that give an indication of the literary tastes of the queen. Written records attest to the interest in mysticism of Agnes of Austria (1281–1364), wife of Andrew III of Hungary (r. 1290–1301), as there are two works dedicated to her, the *Life of Saint Walburg* by Philipp of Ratsamhausen, and the *Book of Divine Consolation* by Master Eckhart. In addition, Agnes also owned

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[53] László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 62.

[54] Gergely Buzás, "Erzsébet királyné óbudai építkezései" [The constructions of Queen Elizabeth in Óbuda] *Várak, kastélyok, templomok* 6, no. 5 (2010): 4–7.

[55] Richard Gameson, "The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen, in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997), 149.

[56] Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 129.

the *Prayers and Benedictions of Muri*, a collection of spiritual texts with magical overtones in Latin and German, as well as a German Bible.[57] This small tidbit of information nonetheless shows that Agnes had a keen interest in the literary world, as a patron, book-owner, and reader. When a book does survive, it has the potential to impart some information about the queen, although in the case of the Gospel Book of St. Margaret of Scotland it seems to say more about her spiritual tastes rather than her literary ones.[58] The *Eufemiavisor*, a translation of three courtly romances into Old Swedish by Norwegian Queen Eufemia of Rügen (d. 1312) is more informative. These translations have often been assumed to be related to her daughter's engagement to a Swedish prince, but recent work has argued that it had more to do with Eufemia's interest and her position as queen of Norway than her daughter's impending marriage.[59]

There is also the question of the genealogy of book owners. For instance, the Queen Mary Psalter in the British Library was identified as the property of Queen Mary I Tudor (r. 1553–1558) due to the Tudor badges on the metal fastenings as well as the embroidered appliqué of the pomegranate of Aragon, in honor of her mother.[60] Although the original heraldry and inscriptions that would reveal the identity of the psalter's first owner are missing, the iconography of the Queen Mary Psalter indicates that the original owner was Isabella of France, wife of Edward II of England (r. 1307–1327), one of England's most notorious queens.[61]

Concerning the image of the queen in many of these manuscripts, Jaroslav Folda has found that depictions of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem vary considerably; in most Western manuscripts, she is depicted in a prominent manner and usually crowned, whereas in manuscripts from the Holy Land her image appears less often in illuminations and usually only in the background. In some of the illuminated manuscripts, Melisende is not crowned at all, but just a well-dressed noblewoman, and her presence at the scene of her son's coronation as king of Jerusalem varies considerably (i.e., whether she is crowned or her is head

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[57] Volker Honnemann, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter; Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, *Proceedings of a Conference at Kings College London, April 199,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 115.

[58] Richard Gameson, "The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland," 164.

[59] William Layher, *Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 89–90; 107–109.

[60] Anne Rudolff Stanton, "Queen Mary and her Psalter: A Gothic Manuscript in Tudor England," in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet T. Harquardt and Alyce A Jordan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publications, 2009), 19.

[61] Ibid., 32–33.

bare, how prominent is she in the image, and so on).[62] Each of these key criteria can offer valuable information on a queen's tastes, perception, and influence, and taking this holistic approach to the relationship between queens and literature is still a fertile field in need of more exploration.

Conclusions

A queen was important for the prestige of a dynasty. In many ways, queens were responsible for creating memories of their family in subtle ways that were usually only mentioned obliquely in the written chronicles. Many queens were unable to attain strong political power, and being seen to be powerful during the lifetime of her husband could result in her reputation being dragged through the mud, like Isabeau of Bavaria or Margaret of Anjou. Nonetheless, this multi-disciplinary approach demonstrates a couple of important general notions about medieval queens. For one, individual case studies have demonstrated that queens were able to express their agency in a variety of different ways. While certain queens have captured popular imagination for their active lifestyles, it seems that for many queens it was acceptable to act of their own accord, but almost always within the strict gender guidelines prescribed for them. At the end of the day, it is becoming more and more clear that powerful queens who engaged in strong programs of building, literature or monastic patronage were not isolated examples, but rather the norm. Thus, it behooves us to be systematic in constructing a more accurate picture of how truly powerful and influential queens were in the Middle Ages.

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[62] Jaroslav Folda, "Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*: 1250–1300," *Gesta* 32, no. 2 (1993): 101–105.

TOWARDS A REAPPRAISAL OF BEATRIX OF ARAGON
IN THE HUNGARIAN COURT[*]

Valery Rees 📥

In the delicate matter of choosing a royal wife few kings could follow their hearts, since marriage was an alliance of two families, undertaken for dynastic reasons. Calculating the relative merits of various candidates must have been the subject of much discussion, though it generally goes unrecorded in state papers and archives. Even harder to assess is the apparent breakdown of a marriage when all the information that comes down to us is partisan in nature. But in the aftermath of so much new research on the life and times of King Matthias, it is time to begin a reassessment of the presence of Beatrix of Aragon in the Hungarian court, and one approach towards doing so may be to consider her own aspirations in their proper context.

Matthias's first wife, Catherina Podiebrad, died in 1464. Eleven years passed before his betrothal to Beatrix was announced in Naples in May, 1475. The dowry was agreed in the spring of 1476,[1] a proxy marriage took place in September of that year, following which she travelled to Hungary, arriving in December.

Beatrix was by no means the first candidate to be considered,[2] nor was Matthias the only suitor for her hand.[3] We know that Matthias had a serious liaison from 1470 to 1476 with Barbara Edelpöck, by whom he had a son, Janus Corvinus, and might by choice have married her had he not been advised otherwise, on account of her non-noble status.[4]

But besides questions of rank, diplomacy, dowry, and, of course, the avoidance of consanguinity, what personal criteria were applied in considering candidates for marriage?[5] Certainly norms of beauty had to be met, as is attested

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[*] This article is an abbreviated version of a paper given at the International Conference, May 20–25, 2008, Budapest, *Matthias Rex 1458–1490. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance.*

[1] Albert de Berzeviczy, *Béatrice, Reine de Hongrie,* 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911), vol. 1, 93–6 and 108.

[2] Ibid., vol. 1, 91; Orsolya Réthelyi, "King Matthias on the Marriage Market," in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, ed. P. Farbaky, E. Spekner, K. Szende, A. Végh (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 248. Hereafter: *MCK.*

[3] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 1, 89–90.

[4] András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex,* tr. Andrew T. Gane (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 134.

[5] Réthelyi in "King Matthias on the Marriage Market" stresses only the dynastic considerations.

by the frequent exchange of portraits or busts.[6] By contrast, on judgements of character, we have far less evidence. Excessive praise and formulaic comparisons were the norm in diplomatic and literary exchanges, while records of confidential assessments do not survive.

There are, however, some literary sources that may have shaped expectations of womanly virtues. Among these are saints' lives, an abundant genre, and collections of women's lives modelled closely on them. But first in importance is the biblical Book of Proverbs, ascribed to the wise King Solomon. This presents the classic formulation of womanly virtues, deeply ingrained in peoples' thinking.[7] It describes a *mulierem fortem*, a "woman of valour," that is, a woman of almost manly worth. Such a woman is trustworthy, prudent, benevolent, and loyal. She is industrious and resourceful, energetic and generous. She is practically minded, and can engage both in trade and skilled manufacture. She takes care of a large household, providing for all, but especially for her husband, who has a different part to play on a wider stage. Eloquence comes within her compass but she lives by the law of kindness. In one line, her clothing is "fine linen and purple" but in another "strength and dignity are her clothing, and she laughs at the time to come." The passage concludes by warning that grace is deceitful and beauty vain; fear of the Lord is the basis of real valour, and a person is known by their deeds.[8]

Measuring how far Beatrix conformed to this model is not an easy matter. Nevertheless examples spring readily to mind: her ability to deliver a public oration,[9] her readiness to accompany Matthias on early military campaigns,[10] her involvement in the beautification of the royal palaces and library,[11] her care

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[6] For one of her busts by Francesco Laurana, see *MCK*, 246.

[7] For some examples of its use in sermons on female saints, see: *Sermones compilati in studio Generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Hungariae*, ed. E. Petrovich and P. L. Timkovics (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 186, 196, 293, 296, 297.

[8] Proverbs 31:10–31.

[9] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 1, 134–5; Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricum Decades*, 4 vols., ed. J. Fógel, B. Ivány, L. Juhász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1936–41), vol. 4, 4, 36–38.

[10] In 1477, Matthias established her in the former university buildings in Pozsony, from which she had access to his military camp, see: Tibor Klaniczay, "Egyetem Magyarországon Mátyás korában" [University in Hungary in Matthias' time], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 94, no. 5–6 (1990): 575–613 at 600.

[11] Árpád Mikó, "Queen Beatrice of Aragon," in *MCK*, 251–253; József Laszlovszky, *Medieval Visegrád: Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary*, Dissertationes Pannonicae, ser. 3, vol. 4 (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1995), 19–25.

over the cultivation of salad stuffs for the royal table.[12] She dealt with financial matters,[13] hired leading musicians from abroad,[14] and so on. But when it came to being known by her deeds, there was no one to vouch for these, and as we shall see, even her former eulogist, Antonio Bonfini, became her detractor.

A second type of text is the private communication, such as the advice given to Beatrix on her departure from Naples by Diomede Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*.[15] As a senior nobleman in the court of Naples and her lifelong tutor, Carafa had no need to flatter her. He reminds her of the conduct appropriate to a queen, principles that he says she already knows and practises. He starts from reverence for God, stressing both its private aspects and its public expression. Privately it includes compassion, prayer, and mindfulness of Christ's passion. Worldly affairs, though they press in on life, are the "vanity of vanities" compared with salvation. While heaven is the place of eternity and glory; the punishments of hell are specifically for those who fail to fulfil the purpose for which they were created.

Public aspects of reverence include her presence at the celebration of the Mass, receiving pardon, taking pleasure in holy things, and opposing the enemies of religion. Through her example she will be responsible for the well-being of her subjects' souls.[16] Detailed instructions on the protocol of departure follow, including advice that she should give a public oration in the cathedral before leaving, and how she should handle a variety of practical problems both on the journey and in her new land. Kindness and careful supervision are paramount. Finally, she should keep up a frequent and affectionate correspondence with her

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[12] Salads of fresh or cooked greens and herbs with oil, vinegar, and salt had been introduced in Italy. See Platina, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, ed. E. Milham (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Text Series, 1998), vol. 4, 1–15.

[13] Bonfini, *Decades*: I, 1, 77 and IV, 5, 162; Mihály Hatvani, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból* [Hungarian historical documents from the National Archives in Brussels and the Burgundian Library] (Pest: Monumenta Hungariae Historica, 1857), vol. 1, 10–13; Berzeviczy, *Béatrice,* vol. 2, 160–165; Berzeviczy, *Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok* [Documents related to the life of Queen Beatrix] (Budapest: Monumenta Hungariae historica, Diplomataria 39, 1914), 152, 281; Valery Rees, "Devotional Matters in the Life of Beatrix of Aragon, Queen of Hungary," *Colloquia* 12, no. 1–2 (2005): 7–8.

[14] Mikó, *Queen Beatrice of Aragon*: 252–3. For her musical training, see: Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[15] Diomede Caraffa [sic], *Memoriale a Beatrice d'Aragona*, ed. B. Croce (Naples, 1894); Carafa, *Memoriali*, ed. F. P. Nardelli (Rome: Bonacci, 1988). See also: Mikó, *Queen Beatrice of Aragon*, 252 and 258–9.

[16] Caraffa, *Memoriale*, 30.

family and with the pope – not, we may note, because he is the highest authority in Christendom, but because it will boost her reputation among a nation who hold the apostolic seat in higher esteem than do other Christian nations.[17] Apart from this cynical remark, his advice is solidly based in religious precept, suggesting that, whatever the excesses of court life in Naples, biblical ideals had been upheld in the princess's education. Furthermore, in an impartial account of the royal wedding there is no hint of any behaviour that would disappoint the high expectations Carafa had laid upon her.[18]

A third source on virtues is the semi-private text of Antonio Bonfini's *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali*, composed in 1484–5.[19] This was a text designed to impress and to be read aloud before members of the court.[20] Bonfini presents an idealized view of the royal marriage, with Beatrix a model of feminine intelligence and virtue. She is represented as bright of intellect and gracious of speech. In the section describing her youth (*Symposion*, III, 752ff.), we are given a picture of days divided between religious training, education with her brothers, and womanly work, all carried out in the constant contemplation of God, to inculcate a spiritual concentration and intensity of love that was naturally transferred to her husband on their marriage.[21]

This idyllic picture, however, changed as time passed. In his *Rerum Ungaricum Decades*, written at the Hungarian court, Bonfini is at first still complimentary. He refers as before to her auspicious loveliness, her incomparable modesty, and her nobility, and he praises again her ability to speak in public (*Decades*, IV, iv, 37).[22] By IV, vii, his tone is more critical; the superlatives of virtue are reserved for King Matthias, while the queen is castigated for extravagance and "insane" expense.[23]

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[17] Caraffa, *Memoriale*, 47.

[18] Report of the Imperial Count Palatine's envoy, in Johann Georg von Schwandtner, S*criptores Rerum Hungaricum veteres ac genuini*, 3 vols. (Vienna: 1746), vol. 1, 519–27.

[19] Antonio Bonfini, *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali,* ed. S. Apró (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943). Bonfini claimed that his view of her character was formed from enquiries among those who knew her. When he traveled to Vienna to present this work in January, 1487, it won for him the post of Queen's reader.

[20] In a recent article, László Szörényi stresses the breakdown of the marriage as the context for this work. Péter Kulcsár saw Matthias as the real patron, interpreting the work as endorsing Matthias's right to put Beatrix aside, while Klára Pajorin emphasizes how the work enhances Beatrix's prestige. See "References to Hungarian history in Bonfini's *Symposion*," in *Created for Harmony. Studies and Essays on King Matthias* (Budapest: Lucius Kiadó, 2012), 121.

[21] Bonfini, *Symposion*, 182–3. See also Rees, "Devotional Matters:" 9.

[22] He also refers the reader to his earlier *Symposion* for further details.

[23] The word "insane" is used three times between IV, vii, 85 and IV, vii, 113.

A little further on, he claims that access to the king, and hence the king's own popularity, was greatly reduced by her influence (*Decades*, IV, viii, 258). But this comment is made as an aside. It interrupts the flow of the argument in such a way that it may be an interpolation added later to please Vladislaus II. This is the last comment of substance on her character, although as the narrative unfolds unseemly motives are routinely assigned to her actions. Thus her alleged overtures of marriage to the emperor Maximilian in 1490 are reported as ambition (*uti Augusta foret*, at *Decades*, IV, ix, 137), and her desire to marry Vladislaus later the same year is presented as clinging to power (*ut in pristine dignitate maneret*, at *Decades*, V, i, 4). To Beatrix such steps may have seemed her sole chances of survival in a hostile world, but Bonfini trims his tale to suit his new patron, King Vladislaus.[24] Yet he was not so brazen as to deny that Vladislaus had defrauded the queen; he simply says that considerations of national security had made it necessary, and asserts that he had given her no sign of affection to support her belief that he really intended to marry her. So Bonfini's apparent change of view about Beatrix may have more to do with his own circumstance than with hers.[25]

The kind of data that would help us to answer questions about her character more objectively are in short supply. We know relatively little about the tenor of her daily life in Hungary or of her companions, who included her brother Giovanni, who made one short visit to Hungary, and her younger brother Francesco who lived with her from 1476 to 1484.[26] Amongst her confessors were the Franciscan Gabriel Rangoni of Verona, Bishop of Eger (d. 1486), Antonio of Jadra (Zara), a Dominican from Dalmatia, and an unidentified Italian from Altavilla, replaced in 1489 by one Jacobo (=Giacomo of Parma?) and in 1490, Lodovico of Verona.[27] Further study of these churchmen and of the ladies of her circle would be of great value.

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[24] Bonfini presented the four *Decades* to Vladislaus in July, 1492, was crowned poet laureate, and granted a patent of nobility. He was thus hardly free to censure Vladislaus or defend Beatrix.

[25] Bonfini may have quarreled with the queen during his brief period in her employ. By 1488 he was in service to Matthias as historian. Even if there was no quarrel, by 1492 the queen's distress might well have provoked outbursts unpleasant enough to alienate a former friend.

[26] Though archbishop of Esztergom from 1479 until his early death in 1485, Giovanni resided mostly in Rome or Naples. Francesco lived with her from the age of fifteen, dying only two years after his return to Naples.

[27] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, 72.

In 1480, Beatrix decided to reward Antonio of Jadra with the bishopric of Modrus, a benefice she might reasonably consider to be within the royal gift.[28] However the pope appointed Christopher of Ragusa to that see. Though clearly thwarted, Beatrix nevertheless became great friends with the Ragusan – which suggests her willful tendencies were not beyond control.

Yet opportunities for conflict and clash of wills began to proliferate from the mid-1480s. In the continued absence of any child from their marriage, Matthias became intent upon arranging the succession upon his illegitimate son, Janus Corvinus. By 1488 he was negotiating a suitable marriage for him as heir to the throne. Beatrix opposed every move that favoured him as one that undermined her. Whether she still clung to the hope that she might bear a child or whether she simply nurtured ideas of being herself the heir to the throne, she seems to have been convinced of her own ability to rule after the death of her husband, despite opposition from leading members of the court. Aragonese daughters were educated to rule in their husbands' stead during temporary absences.[29]

Certainly conflict over the succession led to fierce arguments and strained relations between Matthias and Beatrix in these years and when Matthias died in 1490 the unresolved question intensified strife at court, making it hard to find reliable witnesses of the qualities with which Beatrix now faced the adversities that came upon her. Her reputation was further worsened by her loyal devotion to the unpopular Ippolito, her sister's child, whom she had adopted and for whom she had secured the Archbishopric of Esztergom.[30]

In fact, hatred of the queen was rampant even before the king died. It is reported by the Hungarian ambassador to Naples in 1489.[31] In 1490, according to the Croatian historian Tubero, writing within living memory of events, Johannes Filipecz, bishop of Nagyvárad, told the new king, Vladislaus, at their first meeting on 31 July of that year, to beware of Beatrix and to avoid marrying her. This speech is certainly of Tubero's own devising, but is probably not pure invention. He warns of a coterie at court already planning to take advantage of her "in

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[28] Petrus Ransanus, Antonio's compatriot, describes him as *vir pontificii iuris peritus et imprimis humanus, ideoque divae Beatrici Hungarorum reginae incredibiliter charus*, see: Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*, ed. P. Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 63.

[29] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 1, 50. The close relations between Beatrix and her elder sister, preserved in correspondence, allowed Beatrix insight into the duties of a trusted consort.

[30] Appointed in 1486 at the age of eight, Ippolito received a cardinate in 1493 and papal confirmation of the archbishopric in 1497. The callous way in which Ippolito later treated Beatrix suggests the relationship was complex and unsatisfying and therefore perhaps widely misinterpreted by contemporaries.

[31] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 2 , 109–113.

Italian fashion."[32] He reminds the new king of her sterility and adds – either maliciously or salaciously – that there are other reasons he should keep away from her which he cannot mention for reasons of "shame."[33] What these horrendous vices or physical defects are is left unclear. But Vladislaus himself was no paragon of virtue; he was already bound to Barbara of Brandenburg at the time of his duplicitous feigned marriage to Beatrix.[34] Tubero also admits that Beatrix could not have a fair hearing in Hungary on account of anti-Italian feelings stemming from resentment of rapacious Italian clerics.[35]

Outside Hungary, Beatrix was regarded in a better light. In Venice, her career inspired the young Cassandra Fedele. Writing to Beatrix in 1487, Cassandra exclaims, "Do not all men of letters praise, exalt and glorify you as pure, just and an emblem of every virtue?"[36] In January 1488, Cassandra praises "the magnitude of a mind so schooled in prudence, wisdom and experience."[37] By 1497, just as Beatrice's reputation in Hungary has plummeted to its lowest point, Cassandra is still venerating her as a deity.[38]

In Naples, in 1489, Giovanni Marco Cinico, in the dedication of Robert of Lecce's *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum*, recalls her "bright and heroic virtues" which will win for her a certain place among the demi-gods.[39]

Cinico's associate, Christopher Moravus, sent her a copy of a treatise by her own former teacher Johannes Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musicae*, together with

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[32] *Italica sane arte, ut Hungari impudenter praedicabant adversus Italam usi. Hungari enim Italicae genti fraudem maxime obiicere solent.* Ludovicus Tubero, *Commentariorum de rebus quæ temporibus eius in illa Europæ parte: quam Pannonii & Turcæ eorumque finitimi incolunt gestæ sunt, libri undecim* (Frankfurt, 1603), fol. 23; repr. in Schwandtner, S*criptores* (1746), vol. 1, 128.

[33] Tubero, in Schwandtner, S*criptores*, vol. 1, 140–143; Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 2 , 148.

[34] This unconsummated marriage later had to be dissolved by the pope to free Vladislaus to marry Bianca Maria Sforza. Thus, it was still binding.

[35] Tubero, *Commentariorum,* fol. 22.

[36] Diana Robin, "Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558)," in *Women Writing Latin*, vol. 3, ed. L. R. Churchill, P. R. Brown and J. E. Jeffrey (New York: Routledge, 2002), 76–77.

[37] Ibid., 77.

[38] Ibid., 78–79.

[39] Printed in 1489, in association with Pietro Molino. Cinico (1430–1503), a native of Parma, had worked as a scribe for the royal court in Naples since before Beatrix's marriage. He wrote a fine copy of Carafa's *De instituione vivendi* for Beatrix, the work later published as the *Memoriale* mentioned above. (See *MCK*, 258–259). Setting up a printing press in Naples with Matthias of Olomouc, he also dedicated Diomede Carafa's *Dello optimo cortesano* to Beatrix in 1487 or 1489.

a letter of recommendation for Johannes Stockem.[40] In Ferrara, a popular book appeared in 1497 in which extravagant praise for Beatrix dominates a lengthy preface.

Fig. 1. De claris scelestisque mulieribus *(Ferrara: Laurentinus de Rubeis, 1497).*
Foresti presents his work to Queen Beatrix. Centre of frontispiece.

Like Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* of a century earlier, Jacopo Filippo Foresti's *De [plurimis] claris scelestisque mulieribus* includes notorious women as well as virtuous ones.[41] Although the work bears a fine woodcut frontispiece showing Jacopo presenting his work to the queen in person (*Fig. 1*), it is doubtful whether he ever went to Hungary. He did visit her sister Eleonora's court in Ferrara in 1491 and 1492, and Eleanor herself is among the 182 women whose lives are presented. His knowledge of Beatrix rests partly on the word of Duke

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[40] Philippe Vendrix of CESR, Tours, has been investigating Stockem's activities in Hungary. See also Mikó, *MCK*, 252.
[41] Foresti of Bergamo (1434–1520) was an Augustinian monk whose chronicles enjoyed great authority throughout Italy and beyond.

Ercole d'Este, but also on accounts Foresti heard from three clerics recently returned from Buda: Niccolo Maria d'Este, bishop of Adria, Thomas, bishop of Cervia and Pietro of Trani, co-adjutant bishop of Telese. Foresti was consequently acquainted with the realities of Beatrix's situation, and offers his "lives," good and bad, in a spirit of consolation. "I have no doubt, most worshipful Queen, that if you read the lives of these women with due consideration, you will lift up your broken spirits, sunk so low through your manifold troubles."[42]

Besides receiving book dedications, Beatrix was involved in the patronage of important projects. Bonfini speaks of her influence over the rebuilding of the palaces,[43] and it is generally accepted that a refinement in decorative style dates from her arrival.[44] Confirming her involvement in commissions, Árpád Mikó has recently drawn attention to large shipments of red marble made in her name in 1487 and 1489 which seem to have been for use in the palace at Buda.[45] Tradition also associates with her the gardens of that palace.

There is little evidence so far of any educational patronage. In England, her contemporaries Elizabeth Woodville, Anne Neville, and Margaret Beaufort endowed institutions that have enjoyed unbroken existence to the present day.[46] But we cannot know how far Beatrix involved herself in the lives of schools or churches where neither buildings nor records survive.[47]

One aspect of patronage that does crop up in her letters is music, at least to the extent of bringing from afar musicians of the highest caliber for the royal chapel and court. We know little about the individuals beyond a few names (such as Johannes Stockem and the lutenist Pietro Bono) but an atmosphere of reverence

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[42] *Indubitato etenim credo sacratissma regina si hasce mulierum vitas diligenti examine perlegeris. Quae iacentem tuum animum variisque molestiis deiectum parumper attoles.* See: Jacopo Filippo Foresti, *De claris scelestisque mulieribus* (Ferrara: Laurentinus de Rubeis, 1497), Prologue.

[43] E.g., *Decades*, vol. 4, vii. 83–114.

[44] See, for example, Farbaky, *"Chimenti Camicia, a Florentine woodworker-architect, and the early Renaissance reconstruction of the Royal Palace in Buda during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (cca 1470–1490),"Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 50 (2006): 215–256.

[45] Mikó, "Queen Beatrice of Aragon," 253. It is not easy to be sure of her role where joint coats of arms are displayed, but some joint involvement is generally assumed. After the king's death, Beatrix was obliged to focus her resources on more urgent matters than palaces.

[46] Queens', Christ's and St John's colleges at Cambridge each owe their existence to one of these royal wives; as well as the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity and Wimborne School, Dorset.

[47] It should however be noted that activities that are near at hand may not be covered by written letters.

and beauty created through music in the royal chapel would have formed a regular and important part of daily life that should not be underestimated.

Other areas of expenditure for which Beatrix was later criticized include costly clothing and household linens, and refinements in the culinary arts. All these too leave little trace, yet may not be wholly out of line with the biblical injunctions for a "woman of valor," and undoubtedly transformed the experience of life at court.

Returning to her patronage of Ippolito, this was more than the bestowal of a benefice. After the untimely death of her brother Giovanni it probably seemed to her quite reasonable to keep the archbishopric as a family possession, and she did, after all, regard Ippolito as an adopted son. Her letters reveal a charming naivety; in her delight at obtaining at last a longed-for child Beatrix seems genuinely to have hoped that she could reform her wayward nephew and secure a family future.[48]

The strength of her continuing bonds with family members also confirms the importance of dynastic aspects of marriage. We might question why Matthias, in his years of secure and glorious rule, should have undertaken a marriage alliance with the notorious upstart king of Naples. For if Beatrix has suffered from hostile historians, so too has her father. But re-evaluation of his rule in Naples has already begun, and may help to resolve some of the underlying questions relating to such an alliance.[49]

Taken as a whole, the events of Beatrix's life indicate a mixture of strength and vulnerability. Having lost her mother at the age of eight, she grew up in an unstable kingdom, with a father of capricious disposition. Granted an unusual degree of education and independence prior to marriage, she sacrificed that independence upon marriage. She moved from her familiar surroundings to a far larger kingdom, where she was on constant display before an unwelcoming court. She faced the desperate disappointment of childlessness, accompanied by fears that poison might be the cause. Furthermore, besides being constantly on display, she was required from time to time to play an active part in diplomacy for high stakes, both in person and by letter.[50] Yet her future was threatened by

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[48] See letters to Eleonora on 25 April and 8 November 1486, see: Berzeviczy, *Aragoniai Beatrix életére vonatkozó okiratok*, 100 and 102–103.

[49] See, for example, David Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy under Ferrante I of Naples (1485–94)," in *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy,* ed. T. Dean and C. Wickham (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 125–46. Abulafia's analysis of his economic policies reveals a more enlightened side of his character than the views that have prevailed since Burckhardt.

[50] Bonfini, *Decades*, IV, v, 257–262; Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 1, 182–3.

the presence of another heir, giving grounds for terrible rows with her one loyal supporter, her husband, though, unlike his English counterpart, Henry VIII, there is no record that he ever considered divorce.[51]

After the death of Matthias, Beatrix was ruthlessly exploited by his successor, Vladislaus. Tubero scarcely refers to Thomas Bakócz's role in this charade, but he was probably the prime mover, acting on behalf of a weak king. It must have been particularly hard for Beatrix to be obliged to live not just away from the court but in close proximity to Bakócz's quarters in Esztergom. The treatment meted out to her obliged her to fight for justice in the papal courts over many years, yet ultimately without satisfaction. In 1493 she suffered further loss on the death of her sister, and in 1494 that of her father, followed shortly by her elder brother and his son.

Reliable reflections of her inner life are very scant; her correspondence reveals little of a personal nature and representations by artists and illuminators are no real guide. What we do know is that in 1491 her father sent an adviser to calm her, while his ambassadors worked for her cause in Rome.[52] In 1494, the pope sent Orso Orsini to try and help her,[53] but after much wrangling, the so-called marriage to Vladislaus was finally annulled in April 1500.[54] By the end of the year Beatrix left Hungary to spend her final years on Ischia in the company of other dispossessed ladies.[55] When Beatrix in 1502 adopts the title *infelicissima* in her letters, we can have some understanding of its significance.[56] When she died in 1508, at the age of 51, her passing was noted kindly by Castiglione,[57] and by the poet Celio Calcagnini, who said she met good and bad fortune with an equal heart; he also records that she brought to Hungary wisdom and clemency, gentleness and generosity.[58] Her tombstone, in the church of Church of St. Peter

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[51] Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon forms an instructive comparison.

[52] Francesco de' Monti, an experienced warrior and diplomat, was sent to Rome. For the constant flow of support from Naples during this period see Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 2, 169–190.

[53] Ibid., vol. 2, 207.

[54] Ibid., vol. 2, 234–243. This was to widespread surprise and not without suspicions of bribery.

[55] Ibid., vol. 2, 260–267.

[56] Berzeviczy, *Aragoniai Beatrix életére vonatkozó okiratok*, 413 ff. Ironically, it was Foresti who gave to her late husband the opposite epithet *felicissimus*. *Supplementum Chronicarum* (Venice: Bernardum Rizum de Novaria, 1490), fol. 261r.

[57] Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, vol. 2 , 288.

[58] Ibid., vol. 2, 289–290.

Martyr in Naples bears the epitaph: *Haec religione et munificentia se ipsam vicit.*[59] *Religio* and *munificentia* to refer to dutiful observance and generosity; more unusual, I think, is *se ipsam vicit* (she conquered herself), suggesting that she finally came to terms with the great disappointments of her life. If she had managed to conquer the anger and frustration, and focus on the needs of others, then she surely had tried to apply in earnest those words of her psalter: "Let my words come to your ears, my Lady, and do not turn the beauty of your countenance from me. Turn our grief into joy, and our tribulation into rejoicing."[60]

It has been a hundred years since the last serious biography of Beatrix. While the tradition of prejudice still has a voice in popular books such as Marcus Tanner's *The Raven King* (2008), recent scholarly work has been directed towards the recovery of the details of her life. [61] Through this perhaps a more balanced reappraisal will emerge.

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[59] Ibid, vol. 2, 294.

[60] *Psalterium Beatae Mariae Virginis* facsimile edition (Budapest: Helikon Publishing House, 1991), fol. 7v.

[61] See especially Anikó Zsemlye, "Beatrix von Aragon (1457–1508), Königin von Ungarn: Politische, höfisch-kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Aspekte ihres Wirkens in Ungarn," PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1999; Réthelyi, "King Matthias on the Marriage Market;" Mikó, *Queen Beatrice of Aragon* and forthcoming work. For useful comparative studies, see Natalie R. Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (Ashgate: Aldershot & Burlington VT, 2003); Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 2nd edition (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, tr. E. Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, repr. 2007); Judith Bryce, "Between friends? Two Letters of Ippolita Sforza to Lorenzo de' Medici," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 3 (2007): 340–365.

Conference of the International Association of Armenian Studies
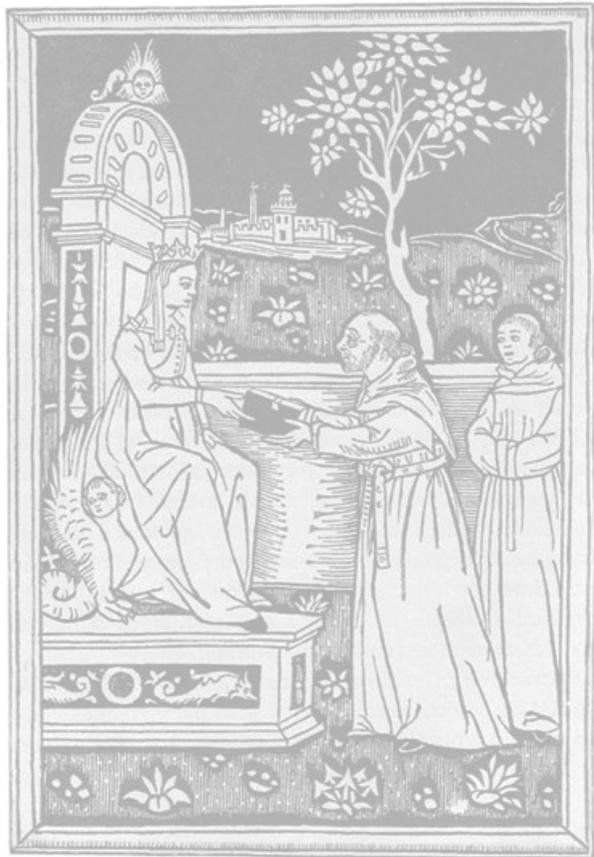
THE ROAD TO THE AIEA CONFERENCE
IN BUDAPEST AND BEYOND

The AIEA conference organised in Budapest was a milestone in the Caucasian engagement of CEU, its Department of Medieval Studies and its Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. I feel it appropriate to recall the long road that led to this event. In other words, I shall briefly recall how Caucasian studies were introduced to our institution, how they grew, and how we have become, almost coincidentally, a hub for such studies. Also, I will evoke their importance and outline their possible future at our university.

The challenge

The first "missionaries" of Caucasian studies at our department were students coming from Georgia and Armenia and working on topics that were familiar to them: medieval texts and histories from their home countries. At the time, I was the only Byzantine and Eastern Christian scholar at the department, so the task of supervising these students more often than not fell to me as the faculty member representing the "closest" discipline. This began as early as 1993, when I first joined the department as an academic tutor. Needless to say, this was a challenge for me, who had never done any such studies before. It was equally a challenge for the department. I still remember the intense debates: Shall we venture into this? Can we bridge the cultural differences? How do we deal with our own lack of linguistic competency? How can we check, eventually eliminate, the influence of national historiographies and set the case studies proposed by our Caucasian students in a general "medievalist" framework? The questions were justified and the doubts comprehensible, but there was a major argument against all this incertitude: the high quality of – at least some – of our applicants and the paramount interest of their topics. Thus, the Georgian and Armenian students having won the battle, the department produced one interesting and successful thesis after the other: Levan Gigineishvili did ground-breaking research on the Georgian Neoplatonist philosopher Ioanne Petritsi and his model, Proclus, which become a joint project for the two of us, accompanying all our scholarly life ever since; Zourabi Aloiane wrote on Sheikh Adi, the divine hero and saint of the Yezidi Kurds; Irma Karaulashvili took on the Armenian version of the *Doctrina Addai* and the diverse traditions (Greek, Georgian, Slavic, etc. with Armenian comparative material) of the apocryphon entitled *Epistula Abgari*; Zaroui Pogossian wrote on the medieval Tondrakite heresy in Armenia and the *Letter of*

Love and Concord, subsequently publishing her translation and commentary; and Nikoloz Alexidze used seventh-century Georgian and Armenian sources to write on the Emperor Heraclius' times and doctrinal controversies. I am not mentioning here the Caucasian students who worked on non-Caucasian topics, although their contribution was also essential.

A turning point

When, in the winter of 1994, I visited Georgia just one year after the end of the civil war, I was frightened by seeing the conditions that the war had left, but impressed by the dedication of the scholars who were continuing their work in cold offices and homes without heating as well as by the vitality of this long-suffering nation. I asked my hosts how we at CEU could help them, what they wished for. The reply was unanimous: "Organise a conference on Caucasian studies where we could once again meet our colleagues, given that such meetings have stopped since the collapse of the Soviet Union." So I started to organise such a conference, helped by our able student Zourabi Aloiane, a Yezidi Kurd born in Tbilisi, who had studied in St. Petersburg and, by the way, is a linguistic genius. The time set for the conference was the summer of 1996. We received good funding from CEU's Summer University Programme and got many applications from all over the Caucasian region, both the northern and the southern parts.

However, when all had been organised, I received a phone call from someone I had not known before. He introduced himself: "I am Edmund Schütz, Armenian scholar. I heard about your planned Caucasus conference and would ask you to postpone it by one year as I am organising the Armenian section of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies that will take place in Budapest. Rather than organising two events, let us join forces." As Edmund Schütz was a great legendary scholar, it was impossible to refuse. So the whole conference planned for 1996 was cancelled and, instead, Edmund Schütz and myself co-organised what was going to be the Caucasus section of the ICANAS at CEU in 1997. We got 73 participants and it was a timely event. We could not know, but it was a hard fact that this was the last moment when an all-Caucasus meeting could be held anywhere in the world not only with Armenian and Georgian but also Kabar-Balkarian, Ossetian, Abkhazian, Chechen, and Ingush participants, with the participation of the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg and, what was most wonderful, a large part of the Armenian scholarly network of Edmund Schütz. So I got to know Robert Thomson, Jean-Pierre Mahé, the late Jos Weitenberg, Dickran Kouymjian, Fr. Boghos Levon Zekiyan, Giusto Traina and many others. The only country whose representative

was painfully missing was Azerbaijan. In fact, the person whom we had chosen, upon Zourabi's advice, Zourabi being a perfect judge of the scholarly qualities of the applicants, was refused a passport by the Azeri authorities, so he could not participate. The whole conference was conducted in an atmosphere of great festivity, illustrating the simple fact that we all know, namely, that there is no natural enmity among the Caucasian nations and peoples – it is all a political construct used by the powers-that-be to pursue their own interests. One event has remained particularly memorable to me: after a paper presented on Imam Shamil (1834–1859), a hero of the anti-Russian resistance in the Caucasus wars, one of our Chechen participants stood up and declared that he was a direct descendent of Shamil; in the ensuing debate several people objected to the probability of such a claim. This was just two years before the start of the Second Chechen War (August 1999), which has made any such meeting virtually impossible ever since.

Among the most memorable events of the conference were the talks given by Edmund Schütz to an enthusiastic and cheering audience, after which all the participants wanted to be photographed together with the great scholar. This event also founded my short friendship with Edmund Schütz, which lasted until his death in 1999, and a lasting friendship with his pupils, Kornél Nagy and Benedek Zsigmond. Kornél also defended an MA thesis on the Sewordik people in Armenia at CEU.

The present

A new chapter in our Caucasian engagement was opened when, in 2006, our centre, then called Center for Hellenic Traditions, together with the Institute of Philosophy of the Department of the Humanities at Tbilisi's Ivane Javakhishvili State University, organized a new MA program in philosophy in Tbilisi. The coordinators of the program were Lela Aleksidze and myself. This was the first time that CEU faculty began regular teaching and supervision at a Caucasian university. This was also the beginning of a new experience for us. It was not the same thing to speak about Plotinus, Porphyry, and Dionysius the Areopagite in a classroom in Budapest with a few Georgian and Armenian students as to go and lecture on the same subject in a classroom in Tbilisi packed with young interested people with fresh minds and then to go and eat *hatchapuri* with them in a restaurant and discuss their written assignments. It was not the same as reading and correcting English papers and theses written by our Caucasian students in Budapest who had gone through CEU's admission process. This experience set the model for a much more comprehensive Caucasus educational project that started in 2010.

Learning from the joint MA experiment and also from the ICANAS conference of 1997, in 2010 we started a major three-year educational project entitled "The Caucasus, 300–1600". The plan was elaborated by my colleague Niels Gaul, who was kind enough to invite me to co-direct the project. For this endeavor we received generous funding (altogether USD 410,000) from the Higher Education Support Program of the Open Society Foundations. The project is administered by Cristian-Nicolae Daniel, who is an extraordinary person capable of removing all burdens from the shoulders of the directors and to whom we also owe the success of the AIEA conference.

The aim of the project is threefold. First, it intends to present the importance of the Caucasus not as the subject of any national historiography but as an integral part of the world's cultural as well as political history. Second, recognising the relative isolation of Caucasian institutions from Western academia, it intends to build bridges and help these institutions to become more organically involved in the blood circulation of international scholarship. Third, it intends to catalyse the meeting and confrontation of representatives of national historiographies, not only Georgians and Armenians but also Azeris, who are normally left out of the picture. To achieve these goals it uses the following instruments. 1) *Mobility:* linking South Caucasian institutions to Western academia and Turkey, bringing international scholars to the Caucasus to teach and establishing Caucasian studies at CEU; to date the project has established contacts with three Armenian, four Georgian, two Azeri and three Turkish institutions, has involved 44 Caucasian and Turkish scholars, brought 15 visiting professors from the West and Turkey to Caucasian institutions and 19 Caucasian visiting fellows to Budapest; it has involved international advisers representing twelve Western institutions from eight countries and has organized four international workshops in Budapest, Tbilisi, Yerevan and Istanbul with an average of 28 participants. 2) *Curriculum:* the project is creating a universal curriculum on the Caucasus in English, which will be available through the internet and will be usable at any English-speaking college or university that wants to enrich its teaching with Caucasian studies.

As a result of this project, Caucasian studies are among the best represented and richest at CEU; the public lectures and colloquia of our fellows are introducing our scholarly community to diverse arcane subjects and we were able to secure, at least for the three years of this project, that Classical Armenian and Georgian are being taught at CEU. Not only our students attend these classes, but also some members of our faculty.

This was the context in which we were given the honour of organising the twelfth General Conference of the AIEA, celebrating the 30th anniversary of

the organisation. For three days in October, 2011, Armenian history and culture were the air that we breathed. I was astounded, once again, by the wealth of this culture and its importance for universal cultural and intellectual history, especially philosophy, theology, and art, three subjects that I find especially intriguing. However, once again, I had the impression that Armenian studies are like a closed box hiding sweet fragrances. As long as the box is not opened, people cannot enjoy the perfumes. As long as Armenian scholars are speaking mostly to each other, they are, in a way, hiding the treasures that they intend to reveal and that only they are capable of revealing to those of us who are not specialists in any of their fields.

The future

I think that if there is a reason and a future for our work on Caucasian, especially Armenian and Georgian, studies at CEU, these consist of our efforts to help open these boxes of sweet fragrances transmitted, but also hindered, by the existing specialisations and legacies of national historiographies. At CEU, Armenian, Georgian, hopefully also Azeri and North Caucasian, studies should be pursued for their universal relevance. Also, we should consciously persevere in our mission of bringing together separate, or loosely connected, scholarly communities. For me, personally, the pursuit of Caucasian studies is also part of a more general program of decolonialising knowledge. In order to do this we have to rewrite Eurasian history, in Volkhard Krech's words, by rearranging unities, structures, distinctions, and relations. The Caucasus would emerge from such a rearrangement as a central area of Eurasian history rather than a European periphery.

István Perczel
Department of Medieval Studies/
Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies
CEU

INTRODUCTION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE AIEA
ON OCTOBER 6, 2011

Madam Academic Pro-Rector Katalin Farkas:
Dear Colleagues:
Dear Friends:
Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great honor and a great personal pleasure for me to welcome you here today in Budapest for the XIIth General Conference of the AIEA. This General Conference has particular importance because this year we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Association.

The "annals" of AIEA preserve the memory of a foundational moment: in 1981, during a meeting at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in Wassenaar, Michael Stone and Jos Weitenberg, very early on accompanied by Chris Burchard, took the initiative to create an association for the promotion and the coordination of Armenian studies, a field of research that they knew was promising. This decision was taken over a cup of coffee, and being Italian, I find that such a context can only be particularly propitious for any felicitous initiative.

I have had the honor and the pleasure of collaborating in the Committee of AIEA for years now with this founding "triumvirate," which one should praise for their spirit of initiative and well-advised intuition. As they have reminded us on various occasions, at the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s Armenian studies had received a new impulse, thanks among other things to the creation of new chairs. The fields of research engaged with were diverse, but there was little contact between the various scholars who laboured in them. This sparked the desire to create an association with the aim to coordinate the various activities in the domain of Armenian studies, to favor exchange and collaboration, and so to contribute to the promotion of this branch of studies and research.

The first invitation to participate in the creation of this Association in *statu nascendi* went out to colleagues in Europe and the Middle East, and straightaway received forty positive responses, a fact revealing that this initiative responded if not to a need, then at least to an expectation in the wider world of Armenian studies. Relations with colleagues in the United States were not neglected. The Society for Armenian Studies existed already, and it was decided that the two Associations would be independent sister-organisations. Since then good relations have developed and many members of one are now also members of the other, but the areas of activity of the AIEA and SAS remain, geographically speaking,

independent. Relations with scholars and academic institutions in Armenia such as the Matenadaran and the Academy of Sciences have always been at the heart of the priorities of AIEA, in particular since 1987.

Shortly after its foundation, AIEA had forty members; today it has more than two-hundred- seventy members worldwide, which is clear testimony to the success of its formula and shows, if need be, that the intuition of the founders was well-advised indeed.

AIEA's ties with scholars and centers of Armenian Studies in Western Europe have always been very close, also because the opportunities to meet continue to be more numerous. The AIEA Committee wishes to develop further the contacts with scholars and institutions in Eastern Europe as well, who, still too often, remain outside of the main orbit of international scholarship. We have therefore invited the Hungarian colleagues at the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies of the Central European University in Budapest to organise the present General Conference. They have done us the honor and the kindness of accommodating us and taking upon themselves the heavy task of organizing such an event. In accepting to organise this General Conference they have joined with us and on the occasion of this Anniversary Conference they wish to render homage together with us to the memory of a renowned Hungarian Armenologist, Professor Edmund Schütz, member of the Academy of Sciences, who was an eminent scholar and a loyal supporter of AIEA events.

The responsible scholar at the Central European University is Professor István Perczel, specialist in Syriac studies and the history of Eastern Christianity, who, together with Professor Niels Gaul leads an important three-year project on the Caucasus and Byzantium in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, in collaboration with institutions in Tbilisi, Erevan, and Istanbul, as well as with various European specialists. Already in 1995 Professor Perczel organised a Conference on the Ancient Caucasus in the framework of the meetings of the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies. On this occasion he is assisted by Dr. Zaroui Pogossian, alumna of CEU and member of the AIEA. As the Conference's secretary she has most ably discharged the difficult task of coordinating this General Conference, while leading the life of a scholar-*vagante*, constantly traveling between Italy and Germany. I would like to mention also the cooperation of Cristian Daniel, who has played a key role in all matters of administration and practical organisation. Thanks are due also to Benedek Zsigmond, member of the Association, Gohar Sargsyan, Sona Grigoryan, and Askhen Davtyan. I would like to thank all most cordially for their efficient and friendly collaboration. Among the members of the Committee of the AIEA,

Professor Theo van Lint and I have collaborated with the organization of the Conference. I would like to thank another Hungarian member of the Association, a former student of Prof. Schütz, Dr. Kornél Nagy, who made it possible for us, two years ago, to enter into contact with relevant Hungarian institutions. And, naturally, in the name of the Committee of the AIEA I express here once again to Madam Academic Pro-Rector our honor and delight at being hosted by your prestigious institution.

The idea to direct our gaze towards Eastern Europe has proved right: the present Conference unites a large number of participants from Poland, Ukraine, Russia, Belorus, Romania, Latvia, and Hungary. I express here my ardent wish that this Conference will not prove an isolated occasion, but that the co-operation will be continued in future as well.

In 1988 scholars from Armenia, then still a part of the Soviet Union, participated in a Conference of the AIEA for the first time. Professors Jahukyan and Jrbashyan, directors of the Institute of Linguistics and of the Institute of Literature, respectively, both of the Armenian Academy of Sciences had been invited to the Conference organised in Fribourg, Switzerland, by Professor Dirk van Damme. I remember taking part in that memorable General Conference while I was still a young student. Since then, the participation of scholars from Armenia has been favored and solicited on a regular basis.

Numerous colleagues from Armenia have joined us today. Hrachya Tamrazyan, director of the Matenadaran, Olga Vardazaryan, Aram Topchyan, Gohar Muradyan, Edda Vardanyan, as well as Professor Azat Yeghiazaryan from the Armenian-Russian (Slavonic) University in Erevan. For various reasons, several others are unable to be present: Babgen Haroutiunyan, Armen Petrosyan, and Mikayel Arakelyan. An invitation was sent to Paruyr Muradyan, eminent specialist from the Matenadaran. For reasons of health, he was obliged to decline, albeit with regret. We could not have imagined that he would leave us so soon after, news of which reached us in the course of the summer and which came as a shock to all of us. We were equally shocked, in recent days, by the news of the death of Jean-Michel Thierry, patron member of AIEA and a remarkable personality in the field of Armenian art. I propose to honour their memory with a minute of silence.

As is customary, there are keynote addresses on the programme. These have enabled us to renew the contact with several colleagues who we have not seen at our meetings for several years. Four keynote speakers have done us the honor of accepting our invitation. We will have the pleasure of hearing Professors James R. Russell, Zaza Aleksidze, Tom Mathews and Marc Nichanian, in this order.

I would like to thank them most warmly already for their friendly and erudite participation.

By today's count the General Conference has registered seventy participants coming from Central and Eastern Europe, and also from Italy, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States.

I would like to recall that the organisation of this conference would not have been possible without the generous support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon), the Fondation des Frères Ghoukassiantz (Geneva), the Fondation Armenia (Geneva), and the Central European University itself. May they be thanked here most warmly for their precious support.

As a concluding remark, I would very much like to emphasize the vitality of our Association. The General Meeting will offer the opportunity to present to you the projects currently being undertaken. I cannot but express the wish that the AIEA will continue to be a place of encounter, of intellectual stimulus, and of occasions for fertile collaboration. I wish you all fruitful days.

Prof. Valentina Calzolari
University of Geneva
President, AIEA

English translation of the French opening text by Theo M. van Lint.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARMENIAN STUDIES
12TH GENERAL CONFERENCE
30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AIEA

**Central European University
Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies
6–8 October 2011
Budapest – Hungary**

See the program with abstracts at: http://cems.ceu.hu/aiea

Organizing Committee: Valentina Calzolari, Theo Van Lint, Zaroui Pogossian, Benedek Zsigmond, István Perczel, Cristian-Nicolae Daniel, Gohar Sargsyan, Sona Grigoryan, Ashkhen Davtyan

October 6, 2011
OPENING PLENARY SESSION, Chair: Valentina Calzolari
Welcome address: Katalin Farkas (CEU Provost / Academic Pro-Rector)
Introduction: Valentina Calzolari (AIEA President) and István Perczel – CEU / CEMS

Distinguished lecture: The Ancient Period
James R. Russell, "Shvods and Shoving: Two Case Studies in Research on Ancient Armenia"

Morning Sessions:
Ancient Historiography, Chair: Robert W. Thomson
Yeghiazaryan, Azat. "History of Vardan and the Armenian War," by Elishe as a Literary Work
Calzolari, Valentina. Le miroir de l'autre : l'affrontement entre Grégoire et Trdat près du temple d'Anahit à Erez
Perczel, István, A New Manuscript from India of the Syriac Agathangelos

Armenians and Central Europe, Chair: Varvara Basmadjan
Marciniak, Tomasz. The Symbolic World of Armenian Identificatins. Diaspora and the Polish Case
Sargsyan, Tatevik T. The Armenian Monastery Surb Khach in Crimea.

Ganjalyan, Tamara. Motives and Opportunities of a Two-Sided Relationship. The Armenian Diaspora's Oriental Trade with Russia.

Linguistics, Chair: Agnès Ouzounian
Viredaz, Rémy. Indo-European Final *-Ts and Accent Placement in Armenian
Scala, Andrea. Differential Object Marking in Classical Armenian.
Schirru, Giancarlo. Observations on the Armenian reflexes of PIE Voiceless Palatal.

PLENARY SESSION, Chair: István Perczel
Distinguished lecture: Caucasian History
Zaza Aleksidze, "Some Lessons from Caucasian History"

Afternoon Sessions
Byzantine and Medieval History, Chair: Zaroui Pogossian
Shahinyan, Arsen. Territory and the Boundaries of the Autonomous Armenian Principality in the Seventh Century.
Dadoyan, Seta. Rethinking Armenian History through Paradigms of Interaction: The Armenian Experience with Islam as a Case Study.
Mutafian, Claude. L'ascendance de Nersès Chnorhali: inceste chez les Pahlavouni?

Armenians and Central Europe, Chair: Boghos L. Zekiyan
Hayuk, Iryna. Armenians in a Context of Historical Ukrainian-Hungarian.
Kovacs Bálint. Armenian Literary Values in the Carpathian Basin in the Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries.
Zsigmond, Benedek. How Many Ashkharabars? A Forgotten Language in Transylvania.

Linguistics and Philology, Chair: Andrea Scala
Ouzounian, Agnès. Les textes arménien et géorgien du martyre de Chouchanik: quelques faits de langues.
Chétanian, Bati. De quelques noms d'oiseaux.
Salmina, Valda. The Rendering of Armenian Proper Nouns into European Languages (into Latvian): Theoretical and Practical Aspects.

Medieval History and Cartography, Chair: Peter Cowe
Pogossian, Zaroui, From Apocalyptic Beasts to Beautiful and Just Rulers: Some Reflections on the Attitudes to Mongols in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century Armenian Sources.
Atoyan, Ruben. Location of Eden in Armenia in Accordance with Mapping in the Middle Ages.

Kouymjian, Dickran. An Assessment of the Current State of Armenian Codicology.

Armenians and Central Europe, Chair: Richard Hovannisian

Nagy, Kornél. The Problem of the Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Episcopacy in Transylvania in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century.

Siekiersky, Konrad. Armenians in Romania Today. A Report on Research Project "Religion, Politics and Diaspora: The Case Study of the Armenian Community in Modern Romania."

Pál, Judit. Changing Identities: the Transylvanian Armenians and the Revolution of 1848.

The Bible and Apocrypha, Chair: Abraham Terian

Lucca Paolo. The Armenian Rendering of the Hebraisms in the Septuagint of Leviticus and Numbers.

ten Kate, Albert. The Textual Affiliation of the Old-Armenian Version of the Gospel of John.

Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor. Eve's Destiny in the Light of Armenian Apocrypha

October 7, 2011
Morning Sessions:
Medieval Literature, Chair: Claude Mutafian

Muradyan, Gohar. Greek Authors and Subject-Matters in the Letters of Grigor Magistros.

Van Lint, Theo. The Letters of Grigor Magistros to Catholicos Petros I Getadarj.

Bardakjian, Kevork. Who Bestows Poetic Grace and How? Konstantin Erznkac'i's Vision-Poem.

Manuscripts and Paleography, Chair: Bati Chetanian

Mouravieff, Serge. La place de l'alphabet géorgien dans l'oeuvre de Machtots.

Uluhogian, Gabriella. Le ms. S. Marco 790 de la Bibliothèque Medicea-Laurenziana de Florence, écrit en 1369 à Buda.

Greenwood, Tim. Early Medieval Armenian Charters: Texts and Contexts.

Translations, Chair: Olga Vardazaryan

Contin, Benedetta. Quelques remarques sur les rapports entre les Prolégomènes de David et les prolégomènes des commentateurs néoplatoniciens de l'Ecole alexandrine.

Tinti, Irene. Linguistic Notes on the Old Armenian Timaeus

Topchyan, Aram. The Old Armenian Translation of Ps.-Methodius' Apocalypse: Complete or Fragmentary?

PLENARY SESSION / GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

PLENARY SESSION, Chair: Theo M. van Lint
Distinguished Lecture: Medieval Period
Tom Matthews. "The Secrets of the Gospel of Gagik-Abas (J2556)"

Theology and History of Christianity, Chair: Sergio La Porta

Afternoon Sessions
Art, Chair: Edda Vardanyan
Laporte-Eftekharian, Sarah. Le peintre Minas Nor Julayec'i entre tradition et modernité
Basmadjian, Varvara. Leon Tutundjian, artiste déraciné de la scène parisienne du XXème siècle.
Arakelyan, Mikayel. Armenian Manuscript Treatise Recipes of Pigments for Arts and Crafts (Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries).

Theology and the History of Christianity, Chair, Sergio La Porta
Pane, Riccardo. Il Dio con-crocifisso: la Trinità e la Croce in Elišē.
Terian, Abraham. Another Look at the Fifth Century Sources on Monasticism in Armenia.
Thomson, Robert. Nerses of Lambron's *Commentary on the Death of John.*

Ancient Translations, Chair: Gabriella Uluhogian
Vardazaryan, Olga. On the Scholia to the "Armenian Philo."
Sailors, Timothy. Die Werke des Irenäus von Lyon in armenischer Übersetzung. Zum Status Quaestionis.
Bonfiglio, Emilio. John Chrysostom's *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* [CPG 4397]: The Assessment of an Old Armenian Translation for the Establishment of the Greek Text.

October 8, 2011
Morning Sessions
Art, Chair, Tom Matthews
Vardanyan, Edda. L'Évangile de Lemberg (1198) est-il l'Évangile du couronnement?
Redgate, Anne Elizabeth. The Amatuni Hunting Scenes at the Seventh-Century Church of Ptghni: Patron and "Propaganda."
Maranci, Christina. Manuel, Daniel, Samson and the South Façade of Ptghni.

Modern History, Chair, Rubina Peroomian

Cowe, Peter. The Evolution of the Discourse of Modernity in the Armenian Printing of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Osipian, Alexander. Georgius Dousa's *Epistola* as a New Source on the Polish Armenians' Trade in the Ottoman Empire in the Late Sixteenth Century.

Troebst, Stefan. Sweden, Russia, and the Safavid Empire: A Mercantile Perspective.

Dionysiana – Narekiana. Chair: James R. Russell

La Porta, Sergio. The Armenian Version of the Scholia of John of Scythopolis on the Dionysian Corpus.

Tamrazyan, Hrachya. Issues of Creative Personality and Theory of Art in the Frequent Discourses/*Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ* of Mesrop Maštocʻ.

Utidjian, Haig. The Musician as Biblical Exegete: Theological and Musical Observations on the Example of St. Gregory of Narek's Hawun-hawun.

PLENARY SESSION, Chair: Raymond H. Kévorkian
Distinguished Lecture: Modern Period.

Marc Nichanian, "Բանասիրութիւն եւ վկայագրութիւն Philology as Witness"

Afternoon Sessions
Modern literature, Chair, Bardakjian, Kevork.

Cankara, Murat. The Appropriation of European Romanticism in Early Turkish Novels in Arabic and Armenian Alphabets.

Haroutyunian, Sona. Vittoria Aganoor and Mekhitarist Fathers.

Modern History, Chair, Aldo Ferrari

Hovannisian, Richard. Neo-Denialism of the Armenian Genocide.

Peroomian, Rubina. Truth is Not Only Violated by Falsehood; it May be Equally Outraged by Silence or The Suppression of the Memory of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey.

Osiecki, Jakub. Invigilation of Armenian Clergy 1920–1928. Written Correspondence between the GPU/Cheka and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Agadjanian, Alexander. Armenian Post-secularity. Forms of Current Religious Life.

Ancient History, Chair, Gohar Muradyan

Bobokhyan, Arsen. The Armenians in Front of the Trojan Gates: Reflections on Early Connections between Mainland Greece, Western Anatolia and the Armenian Highland.

Nitecki, Damian. Maris: *exercitor equitum et equorum.*
Dulgarian, Robert. Armenian Tigers: The Poetic Construction of Armenia at the Frontier of Augustan Imperial Ideology

PLENARY SESSION: Conclusions

PART 2

Report on the Year
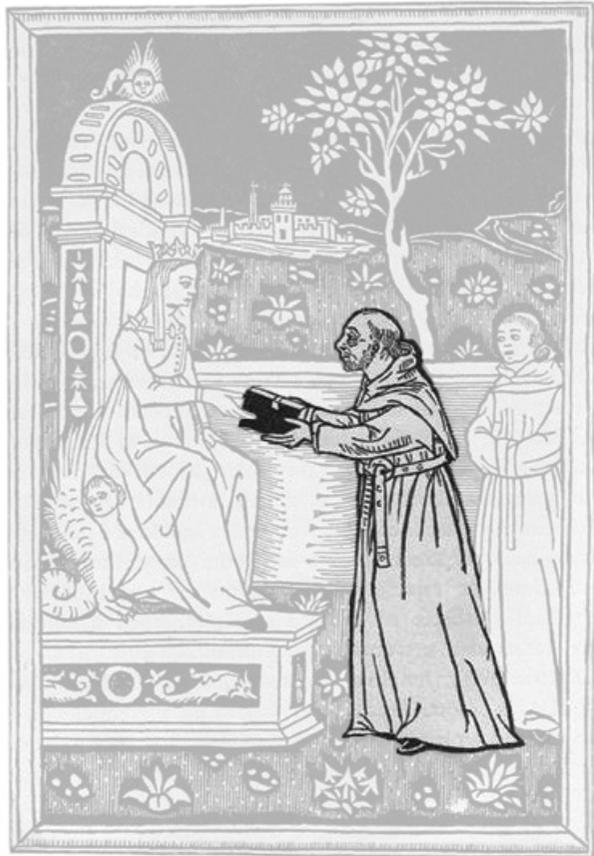
REPORT FOR ACADEMIC YEAR 2011–12

Katalin Szende

The 2011-2012 Academic Year, the nineteenth in the Department's existence, brought both continuity and change: continuation of our well-established degree programs, the start of several interesting projects, and intense discussions carried on in different frameworks about the future strategy of the Department. During the two decades of its existence, the Department has developed a distinct profile and a brand name. At the same time, it has been constantly broadening its scope and rethinking its mission, its teaching and research agenda, as well as its organizational framework, adapting to new inspirations and challenges, frequently assisted by international reviews. This process has gone on this year, too, while we successfully worked with our students, accommodated new initiatives, and hosted an impressive number of guests and visitors.

Teaching Programs

When welcoming the group of new students and those returning from their summer research, we could see that the trend of a global expansion of admissions was not only a feature of last year, but is becoming the general trend. Besides a traditionally strong East Central European concentration (students from Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia being the most numerous) we welcomed four new students from the US, one from Canada, and also one, for the first time, from Mexico. The efforts of our colleagues to attract students from Turkey and the countries of the Caucasus also bore fruit. The proposed MA research topics, which, as usual, developed even more during the year, ranged across the time-span of the Middle Ages in a very broad sense, from the third to the sixteenth century AD, and in geographical terms from Syrian monasteries to the financial policy of German emperors. The incoming group consisted this time of eleven students each in the one-year and the two-year MA programs, and we admitted nine new doctoral candidates as well. They started their studies following the new regulations of the program, substantially revised by Niels Gaul. We have experienced increasing interest among exchange students and hosted ERASMUS

students from Bulgaria, Croatia, and Greece. Both students and faculty have been able to capitalize on the possibilities of ERASMUS exchanges under Volker Menze's attentive leadership.

Our traditional Fall field trip, organized together with the History Department, took us this time to the region in the northeastern vicinity of the Hungarian capital. Following the Danube northwards to Vác, we then turned to the Börzsöny hills and Nógrád County with its castles (Salgó, Somoskő), monasteries, and parish churches (Szécsény, Tar), and varied landscape. We also got acquainted with the former industrial and mining capital of the region, Salgótarján, and had the opportunity to stay overnight in one of the most authentically preserved early twentieth-century mining colonies in the hills nearby. We got a very personal insight into the recent past of this town from our coordinator, Annabella, who grew up here. After ending the trip with an introduction to Hungarian wine culture in the cellar of the recently refurbished Prónay mansion at Alsópetény, we could rightly feel that the initial ties of friendship and collegiality among the newcomers had been established, which were further strengthened during the introductory weeks of the pre-session.

The courses throughout the year were, for the first time, fully served by CEU's expanding e-learning site, providing a useful interface between faculty and students, and a reliable repository of course materials. The thematic range of the courses covered, as in the previous years, traditional themes in our curriculum such as "Daily Life;" "The Eastern Mediterranean: from Justinian to Muhammad;" "The Renaissance: Culture, Institutions, Representations;" "Medieval Codicology;" "Angevin Europe and the Crusades;" "Art and Liturgy," and so on. A number of faculty members made conscious efforts to combine approaches to the same historical phenomenon in Central and Western Europe and in the Eastern world: "Monasticism: East and West," co-taught by István Perczel and József Laszlovszky and "Faith and Reason in the Middle Ages, East and West" by György Geréby are perhaps the best examples. We also benefited from the presence of distinguished guest professors: Yossef Schwarz (Cohn Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Ideas, Tel Aviv), Etele Kiss (Hungarian National Museum); in the framework of the ERASMUS program we hosted Rubina Raja (University of Aarhus, Denmark) and Stefan Pfeiffer (Technical University, Chemnitz). Victor Lagutov from CEU's Department of Environmental Science kindly agreed to teach a course on GIS and spatial data visualization, which was deservedly popular among MA and PhD students alike.

A strong emphasis on the presentation of different research methodologies and the acquisition of the pertinent practical skills characterized other aspects

of the curriculum, too; Latin palaeography and codicology as well as advanced source-reading courses in Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Ottoman Turkish were available; furthermore, interdisciplinary source analysis (combining texts, images, and objects) and historical anthropology. The teaching of source languages continued along the paths laid down last year under the competent direction of our colleague, Tijana Krstić, with extending the offer of Persian (Ferenc Csirkés), a language of great importance for our growing group of Ottomanist students, and a Russian reading course introduced at the request of students working on East European topics.

The spring field trip, instructive and engaging as well as relaxing for the students since it started after the thesis submission deadline, took us this time northwestwards, to western Bohemia and eastern Saxony. The choice was justified, besides the relevance of the region for the research interests of several students and faculty members, by the strong contacts cultivated by our colleagues with researchers in the region, especially with Professor Gert Melville, the director of the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte (Research Station for Comparative Monastic History, Dresden). The monastic aspect of the tour was especially strong, with visits to the Cistercian monasteries of Osek in Bohemia and Altzella on the other side of the border; the Premonstratensian houses at Teplá and Milevsko, and finally, Zwettl in Austria. We also successfully combined visits to two major temporary exhibitions in the itinerary, "Europa Jagellonica: Art and Culture in Central Europe under the Reign of the Jagiellonian Dynasty, 1386–1572" in the Gallery of the Central Bohemian Region in Kutná Hora, and the exhibition "Das goldene Byzanz und der Orient" on show in the Renaissance castle of Schallaburg. In fact, the former exhibition opened on the very afternoon of our arrival to this beautiful mining town, so we were not only among the first to see the exhibition (still partly in the making), but were also kindly invited by the organizers to a lavish reception. Among many other highlights of the tour, including the castle and town of Meißen and the miners' church at Annaberg, the most memorable site was perhaps the late Gothic parish church of Most (Brüx) in the Czech Republic. This peculiar example of heritage management confronted us with a building that had been moved on rails and wheels about 100 m from its original location, where otherwise the rest of the historic town was ordered destroyed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the 1970s so as to open up the area for large-scale surface coal mining.

After the field trip, in the Spring Session, students benefited from the lectures and seminars of Paul Magdalino (University of St. Andrews and Koç University, Istanbul), Stephen C. Jaeger (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Ralph

Cleminson (Independent Scholar) and Oliver Rackham (University of Cambridge), offering our students their expertise in a wide range of fields from literary studies to ancient woodland management. During the thesis-defense period twelve MA students convincingly defended their scholarly output, chaired in the usual strict but supportive manner by our quality controllers, Marianna Birnbaum, Patrick Geary, and Nancy van Deusen. Six doctoral students also completed their degrees throughout the year. The abstracts of all these works can be read on the pages following this report.

As we all know, good academic results depend greatly on appropriate funding. This comes, for the great majority of our students, from the generous financial aid and research grant opportunities provided by CEU. In cases of special need, Medieval Studies students can also rely on the Tănasă Fund, established by Medieval Studies resident and visiting faculty in memory of our late student, Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă. Furthermore, this year was marked by renewed distribution from the Henrik Birnbaum Memorial Scholarship Fund, an opportunity for doctoral students established by our recurrent visiting professor Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA) in memory of her late husband, a prominent professor of Slavonic Studies. Both of these funds, as well as all other ordinary and extraordinary financial needs, are administered with great efficiency by Csilla Dobos, Departmental Coordinator.

Research projects and plans for a new degree program

Last year I had the opportunity to report on our successful application entitled "Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and Diasporic Experience in Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras" in the framework of the co-operation of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Hungarian Scholarship Board (MÖB). CEU faculty and students headed by Tijana Krstić, Katalin Szende, and Carsten Wilke teamed up with the Transcultural Studies program of the University of Heidelberg and launched the project with the first collaborative workshop in early May in Heidelberg. It was an uplifting experience to follow the footsteps of thousands of students from the past centuries who had this renowned university as the goal of their *peregrinatio academica*. The workshop entitled "Migration of Knowledge through Traveler, Diplomatic and Scholarly Diasporas" started by reviewing the usefulness of the concept "diaspora" for research on ethnic and religious communities the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period by the leader of the Heidelberg team, Dr. Georg Christ, and Prof. Johannes Heil, the vice-rector of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg. It then continued with many

specific examples from the perception of fauna by pilgrims and other travelers to the Franciscans in Hungary, from the Hospitallers on Rhodes to cabbalistic fraternities and Anti-Trinitarians in Transylvania. Two of our doctoral students, Veronika Csikós and Tamás Kiss, also participated, and a number of other students had the opportunity to spend one or two weeks in Heidelberg and its wonderful libraries later during the year in the framework of this project. We were also introduced to the unique collection of the Institute of Papyrology by our local host, Professor Andrea Jördens, and her colleagues. We are looking forward to continuing our common work until December 2014.

Another, even wider-ranging collaborative enterprise, uniting the work of professors, alumni and current students, is the OTKA (Hungarian Academic Research Fund)-funded project "Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East Central Europe," which is part of the broader project "Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities" (http://cultsymbols.net/). The "Communicating Sainthood" group project, led by Gábor Klaniczay, is making a comparative overview of the Central European region, including specific research on cults of saints in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia. In line with the larger project, it treats the cults of medieval saints and their modern appropriations as a vehicle for studying changing cultural values related to social cohesion and identity, to the interactions between center and periphery, between medieval Latin culture and regional interests, political and cultural agendas. To examine all this, the research concentrates upon the reflection of these cults in different media (texts, images, relics, devotional objects, liturgy, music). One of the main outputs of the project is a new volume in the Central European Medieval Texts series entitled *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe*, translated and annotated by our colleague Cristian Gaşpar and Marina Miladinov (MA '96, PhD '03). The group's work is also regularly presented in the "OTKA Saints Colloquia" series. Speakers this year included Cristian Gaşpar, Robert Wiśniewski (Warsaw), József Laszlovszky, Marianne Sághy and Csilla Gábor (Kolozsvár/Cluj).

As reported in our previous issue, the Department, in collaboration with CEU's Center for Ethics and Law in Biomedicine (CELAB) directed by Judit Sándor, won a post-doctoral fellowship project on the occasion of CEU's 20th Anniversary Year entitled "To Make Dead Bodies Talk: Bio-archaeological Heritage – Historical Human Remains and their Academic, Social and Religious Context." The project, led by archaeologist and physical anthropologist Irene Barbiera (PhD '04), looks at how human bodies were treated during life and after death and

considers them as source material for physical anthropology as well as a challenge for scholars and the societies where they operate. It points out that physical anthropological research and policies toward the bio-archaeological heritage themselves have a variety of social and religious implications. After a kickoff meeting in early October, the project offered the CEU community a seminar cycle "Caring for Dead Bodies from Medieval to Contemporary Societies" in which two speakers at each meeting took up an issue (legal and ethical regulations, religious constraints, etc.) from medieval and modern perspectives.

Our stop at Most on the field trip was also the place where József Laszlovszky and a group of students joined us after having participated in a workshop on ancient glass production nearby. They presented results of one of the most recent research projects with intensive departmental participation: Prof. Laszlovszky's excavation of a village parish church later turned into a monastic industrial grange at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi. The site, which has been (mis)interpreted in various ways in the past century, has turned out to be a glass production centre of the nearby Cistercian abbey of Pilisszentkereszt, with a large number of broken crucibles, a thick layer of waste glass products – and a kiln yet to be found. This material provides a valuable contribution to the ongoing doctoral research work of László Ferenczi (Hungary) and the MA thesis of Tiffany May (USA). We nicely followed the progress of the excavations through a series of guided visits connected to courses in the Fall term and Prof. Oliver Rackham's visit in early June.

Many of the research projects listed above, as well as a good number of previous educational and research activities, are closely linked to the concept of cultural heritage. This has been a developing field of interest for many faculty members of the Department, who have become increasingly aware that the world's cultural heritage faces significant challenges and, in many cases, growing dangers. Experience with different archaeological, architectural, an archival projects has made it clear on institutional and personal levels that international consensus and co-operation are needed in order to effectively promote the idea of cultural heritage as one of the most precious and, at the same time precariously situated, treasures of humanity. Taking part in and advancing such discourse by research and training activities are in accordance with the mission of CEU. Therefore the idea of offering a new degree program in Cultural Heritage Studies that surfaced already several years ago came to a conclusive stage this year.

The new program, proposed by József Laszlovszky, will be innovative in its dual emphasis on thorough academic research and on the practical aspects of policy and management. Approaches and methodologies applied in this program follow global demands in the field of heritage business with the intent to offer

a degree program geared to the widest possible audience, recruiting students worldwide. The idea of creating such a degree program was strongly inspired by the contents of many applications to the existing Medieval Studies MA and PhD programs and by the fact that many alumnae/i of these programs have found employment at various cultural heritage-related institutions (museums, archives, ministries, NGOs, etc.). Throughout the year negotiations went on with other CEU units: the Departments of History, Sociology and Social Anthropology, Environmental Sciences and Policy, Legal Studies, and Public Policy, as well as with the Business School and the Open Society Archives, to establish the structure and contents of the new program. These efforts were acknowledged by the Senate of CEU, which gave its institutional endorsement at its meeting in May 2012 and proposed that the program be submitted to the New York State Education Department for registration.

Workshops and Visitors. CEU Medieval Radio

Similarly to all the previous years since the foundation of the Department, we have convened several interdisciplinary workshops throughout the year, all assisted with great care and competence by Annabella Pál. In October 2011, the workshop "Knights, Nobles, Diplomats. Social Network and International Contacts in Historical Perspective," organized by József Laszlovszky in collaboration with the Order of Malta, the Joseph Károlyi Foundation, and the *Capitulum* working group of the University of Szeged, commemorated Szabolcs de Vajay (1921–2010), the renowned historian, genealogist, and cultural diplomat. He visited CEU several times during the last decade of his life and taught courses on heraldry and genealogy. He even provided access for students interested in these fields to his immensely rich library in Vevey, Switzerland, a collection which is now partly housed in the Károlyi Palace at Fehérvárcsurgó. Our coordinator, Annabella Pál was a longtime collaborator of Szabolcs and played an instrumental role in cataloguing the collection. The memory of Szabolcs will live on in the Department.

Memory was the main theme, in a different context, of the interdisciplinary workshop "Constructing Memory in Pre-modern East Central and Southeast Europe: Creation, Transformation and Oblivion," organized in March 2012 by Judith Rasson and Daniel Ziemann. The workshop discussed the construction of memory under particular historical circumstances. As stated by the organizers: "Memory can be seen as a conscious means for stabilizing structures of political power by the ruling elites. Memory can also emerge spontaneously from other social groups which create and use memory for their own ends. Sub-conscious but

powerful aspects of memory can arise from traumatic (or ordinary) experiences of individuals or groups." This workshop broadened the traditional view of memory by putting special emphasis on the inherent mechanisms for constructing memory in certain places and/or the use of different cultural elements for creating or transforming memories. Discussions addressed the social and cultural dynamics that go into the establishment, use, and dis-use of memory/memorials in East Central and Southeast Europe from the Middle Ages up to the present. Memory of the past two decades was also invoked by the participation of many alumni of our Department, together with new contacts from Poland, Romania, Serbia, and Hungary. The program was enriched by a public lecture by Professor Stephen G. Nichols (Johns Hopkins University) and an "Oblivion Field Trip" to the Budapest Memento Park, where ideological statues commissioned during the Communist period were relegated after 1990. Also in March, Anna Somfai, Senior Research Fellow, organized a workshop for specialists on "Medieval Manuscripts. Visual Layout and Cognitive Content in Cross-Cultural Perspective."

In early June, the Department welcomed a small gathering of scholars working on the European Historic Towns Atlas project, the Hungarian branch of which is led by Katalin Szende, hosted by CEU. The European project has produced more than 500 atlases to date, very few of which are currently available in electronic form. The aim of this meeting of atlas editors from Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, the UK, and Romania was to think about possible solutions for this problem.

The Centre for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS), a vibrant hub of exchange in which Medieval Studies faculty members, including the director, Volker Menze, play a crucial role, also organized an impressive number of lectures and workshops. These are amply documented on their website http://cems.ceu.hu/. Let me just mention here perhaps the furthest-reaching one, the Annual International Workshop of the "Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages" project at Tbilisi State University in September 2011. On another occasion, experts on the Caucasus world-wide gathered at CEU in Budapest to participate in the "12th General Congress of the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes," with István Perczel, professor at the Department of Medieval Studies in charge of the organization. You can find more information on this event in this volume of the Annual.

Besides conferences and workshops, public lectures delivered by prominent scholars also enhanced the academic offerings of the Department. The most prestigious of these was the by-now-traditional Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series in early November, this year given by William Chester Jordan (Princeton

University). In three captivating lectures under the common title "Men at the Center. Three Biographical Studies of the Court Circle of Louis IX of France," he presented vivid portraits of three different, yet equally intriguing, personalities: Robert of Sorbon, churchman; Etienne Boileau, bourgeois; and Simon de Nesle, aristocrat. On the occasion of this series Natalie Zemon Davis also came to Budapest and had a special session with doctoral students where she gave much appreciated feedback on their individual work.

The spring was also marked by a major occasion, the "Medieval Afternoon." The program started by the inauguration of a unique forum of education and entertainment, CEU Medieval Radio (http://95.140.35.68:9920/listen.pls). The story goes back to October 2011, when Medieval Studies faculty voted in favor of the student initiative of launching a departmental radio. The mastermind behind the plan is Tamás Kiss, PhD student, competently assisted by other PhD students, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Zsuzsanna Eke (music), and Christopher Mielke (interviews). The radio plays medieval and Renaissance music on the internet around the clock, pre-recorded papers of guest and in-house lecturers, and interviews. The most popular feature is certainly *Past Perfect!* – a show on medieval and early modern history and culture in association with Civil Radio FM98, Budapest, where the interviewer informally discusses with his guests various issues ranging from the crusades to archeo-zoology to medieval urine sampling. In a wider perspective, CEU Medieval Radio, as the university's first-ever such initiative, has helped raise interest in the department and its academic programs. We hope that Medieval Radio will remain an online platform through which the department can reach more people in the world than before.

The rest of the afternoon was dedicated to the Renaissance period and its renowned research institution, the Villa I Tatti – The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence. The director of I Tatti, Lino Pertile, gave a deeply moving talk on: "Hell and Poetry from Dante to Primo Levi," preceded by an introduction to the Center and its fellowships by Dr. Jonathan Nelson, assistant director. The program also included a reunion of several generations of former Hungarian I Tatti fellows, including five alumni of the Department. In the evening, Rector Shattuck held a dinner in honor of Professor Pertile.

Other distinguished public lecturers this year included Grenville Astill (Reading University), Dick de Boer (University of Groningen), Benjamin de Lee (UCLA), David Hunter (University of Kentucky), J. R. Mc Neill (Georgetown University) and Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University). Molly Greene (Princeton University), while in Budapest upon invitation by the

CEMS, also presented Tijana Krstić's new book, *Contested Conversions to Islam* (Stanford University Press, 2011). The inspiring contents and the somewhat unusual location, the Art Nouveau Café, made the launch, well visited by the most renowned Ottomanists in Budapest, a memorable occasion. It was also a pleasure to welcome our alumna Lucie Doležalová (MA '01, PhD '05), who brought her students from Charles University, Prague, on a field trip to Budapest to visit collections of medieval manuscripts as well as CEU. She gave a thought-provoking talk together Gábor Farkas Kiss (MA '99) on "Medieval Manuscript Transmission and the Digital Environment."

During the year we hosted a number of senior and junior post-doctoral research fellows: Oleksandr Golozubov (Professor, Department of Cultural Studies, National Technical University Kharkiv, Ukraine) spent a semester in Budapest as Special and Extension Project (SEP) fellow, working on a study on "The Image of St. Francis of Assisi: Urban and Natural-Philosophical Dimensions." The Romanian Academy of Sciences sent two post-doctoral researchers: Maria Emilia Țiplic (Nagyszeben/Sibiu), an archaeologist working on the settlements of German *hospites* in southern Transylvania, and Doina Doroftei (Bucharest), a philologist collecting and analyzing medieval and early modern Latin inscriptions in Transylvania. Judit Majorossy, our alumna (MA '96, PhD '06), joined us again with the Return Fellowship of the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung in a project "Urban Space and Urban Society. Comparative Investigation of the Use of Space, Social Topography and Social Networks in Western Hungary (1400–1550)."

As usual, work did not stop for the summer either, only took on a different form. Faculty members of the Department of Medieval Studies participated in a wide range of conferences, including the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. In the framework of CEU's Summer University, György Geréby and Visiting Professor Gábor Buzási (ELTE) directed a well-received course on "Polemos/Pulmus. Ways of Confrontation in Judaism, Paganism and Christianity in Late Antiquity," centering their agenda on the popular Greek saying: "Struggle is the father of all things."

Arethas of Caesarea and the Scholia on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* in Laur. 69.33
Ryan Bailey (United States)

Thesis supervisor: Niels Gaul
External reader: Kristoffel Demoen (Ghent University)

This thesis investigates the understudied and partially unedited corpus of scholia on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*. C. L. Kayser included over three hundred scholia from four manuscripts among the notes that follow his 1844 edition of the *VA*. The scholia in these manuscripts vary in size, ranging from glosses of a single word to paragraphs of some length. While many scholia are common to both Laur. 69.33 and other manuscripts, a significant number are found only in the margins of Laur. 69.33. In addition, there are some thirty scholia in Laur. 69.33 that Kayser did not include in his edition and that have remained unpublished. Scholars in the late nineteenth century, particularly Adolf Sonny, conjectured that Laur. 69.33 was an apograph of a codex once owned and annotated by Arethas (ca. 850–post 932), archbishop of Caesarea from the year 902 or 903 until his death. However, due to the lack of convincing arguments and corroborative evidence, some scholars have rightly been hesitant to attribute the scholia on Philostratus' *VA* to Arethas, and hence to include the *VA* among the works that made up Arethas' personal library. There are good reasons for attributing many of the scholia on the *VA* to Arethas, but these have never been clearly stated, in large part because a number of scholia in the margins of Laur. 69.33 have remained unedited. The first chapter of the thesis, "The Library and Scholia of Arethas of Caesarea," contains an overview of the eight codices that survive from the personal library of Arethas; its purpose is to elucidate Arethas' scholiastic habits from his own codices and to provide a solid foundation for an analysis of the scholia on the *VA* and the status of Laur. 69.33 as an authentic transcript of a codex owned and annotated by Arethas. The second chapter, "The Scholia on Philostratus' *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollōnion* in Laur. 69.33," examines the proposals of Adolf Sonny and Rudolf Mueller concerning the scholia on the *VA* and their relation to Arethas and considers additional

evidence provided by some of the previously unedited scholia. The third chapter, "The Christian Polemic against Philostratus and Apollonius of Tyana," presents and analyzes most of the previously unedited scholia and places the scholiast's acerbic invective against Philostratus and Apollonius within the long, protracted, and surprisingly variegated reception history of the *VA*.

Semantics and Foreknowledge: Logical Presuppositions in William Ockham's and Robert Holcot's Solution to Divine Foreknowledge
Ida Becskereki (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby
External readers: Chris Schabel (University of Cyprus),
        Gábor Borbély (Institute of Philosophy, Eötvös Loránd University)

The problem of divine foreknowledge; i.e., how to reconcile God's foreknowledge with essentially free human will, is one of the enduring topics of medieval theology. During the fourteenth century the issue was hotly debated in both Oxford and Paris. I discuss the work of two important authors from this period, William Ockham (OFM ca. 1288–1347), who is credited with great influence on contemporary thought, and Robert Holcot (OP ca. 1290–1349), who developed and modified Ockham's influential ideas. By making a comparative logical analysis I argue that the significant differences between the solutions offered by these two theologians are the consequences of their different semantic theories. Holcot's more restricted signification theory allows a narrower interpretation of divine foreknowledge: God knows only future-tensed propositions and knows them only indeterminately. Ockham claims that terms in future- (and past-) tensed propositions can also have a sort of signification and, therefore, although it is impossible to give a logical analysis of divine foreknowledge, he can argue that God has definite knowledge about future events. Besides the logical explanation of these arguments I briefly discuss some sub-problems related to the main issue: the case of divine revelation and beatific vision, the problem of temporally changing knowledge, and the relation between God's eternity and the created realm existing in time.

The Politics of Memory and Visual Politics:
Comparing the Self-representation of Constantine and Augustus
Mariana Bodnaruk (Ukraine)

Thesis supervisor: Volker Menze, Matthias Riedl
External reader: Rubina Raja (Aarhus University)

My analysis of Constantine's self-representation is based on a prominent yet also familiar triad of visual media: the imperial building program and public ceremonies, the iconography of honorific statuary, and numismatic evidence. However, in contrast to previous studies, focusing on material as well as literary sources, I propose that the proper context for understanding ideological shifts in the Constantinian period is Augustan Rome and the symbolic legacy that Constantine appropriated from the founder of the empire.

Although the innovative Constantinian image has been seen to represent the end of the military tradition of short-haired and short-bearded imperial likenesses which culminated in the anonymous and effectively interchangeable portraits of tetrarchs, it is much under-emphasized that the traditional elite did not embrace the features of Constantine's new look. Although this radically new image conceived for Constantine, that of a beardless Augustus-like figure, has been recognized and held up as an important turning point in late Roman art, its contemporaneous textual parallels that demonstrate the increasing desire for typological comparisons between Constantine and Augustus have been entirely neglected by art historians. My thesis offers a new interpretation of Constantine's memory and visual politics, examining his literary and iconographic typological assimilation to an Augustan image and youthful Apollonian portraiture and argues that Constantine fully inherited ideological capital from the empire of Augustus, whose memories were harnessed as weapons in new political realities.

Poverty and Poor Relief in the Ottonian and Salian Empire
Gábor Bradács (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: Daniel Ziemann
External reader: Gerd Althoff (University of Münster)

This MA thesis explores the so-far-little-researched social stratum of the poor in the Holy Roman Empire between the tenth and early twelfth century and the royal and ecclesiastical efforts to aid them. From today's perspective, the concept

of "poverty" in the early medieval period can be misleading, especially in the Holy Roman Empire, where the vast majority of the population lived a rural lifestyle, so they might be generally regarded as poor according to our modern concept of poverty. However, there is no trace of organized poor relief in either the Carolingian Empire or the early medieval Holy Roman Empire ruled by the kings and emperors of the Liudolfing (better known as the Ottonian) and Salian dynasties. Hospitality as part of poor relief had a relatively organized framework at pilgrimage sites and also at the so-called *hospicia*. The other constant institutions of organized poor relief were the palaces of the bishops in episcopal towns and the buildings of the cathedral chapters, where the poor of the city were assisted. The Ottonians (between 919 and 1024) continued the Carolingian practice by establishing new *hospicia* or confirming the existing ones, as well as by providing economic benefits to the monasteries for poor relief. Under the Salian rulers (between 1024 and 1125), a remarkable change occurred in the ideology of poor relief, namely, the emergence of the idea of memory and commemoration of the dead predecessors of the rulers (who were actually their parents and grandparents): *agape*s, feasts organized annually or more frequently for the salvation of their ancestors' souls. It is clear, however, that such events served the interests of royal representation rather than being a welfare service in the modern sense.

The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century
Uroš Dakić

Thesis supervisor: Tijana Krstić
Second reader: Tolga Esmer (CEU Department of History)
External reader: Baki Tezcan (University of California Davis)

This thesis discusses the politics of vizierial Ottoman households in the second half of the sixteenth century, an issue that has so far been seen mostly as a feature of the late seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. This phenomenon is observed through the example of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (r. 1565–1579), a Bosnian child of the devşirme, and his construction of political power through an extensive network of his family members, to the extent that it provoked the reaction of the Ottoman sultan himself. While it is generally accepted that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha became a "virtual sultan" who ruled by appointing his relatives to various positions all around the empire, there is no study which exemplifies how his family clan operated in the political circumstances under three successive

sultans: Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), Selim II (r. 1566–1574), and Murad III (r. 1574–1595). Although Sokollu Mehmed Pasha practiced nepotism, he and his relatives were good at their jobs and they served the sultan well.

With Sokollu Mehmed Pasha the evolution of the office of grand vizier reached a point that the accumulated power of the grand vizier challenged the supreme patron in the empire – the Ottoman sultan. This thesis discloses the mechanisms Sokollu Mehmed Pasha employed to become an all-powerful vizier. With the accession of Murad III in 1574, some of the most important nodes of the Sokollu network were removed one by one by the orders of the imperial center. After Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's assassination in 1579, the office of the grand vizier was narrowed down to a mere formality and remained so for almost a century.

"To go There Seven Times in Faith is like Going to Jerusalem:" Hagiographical Traditions and Hierotopical Perceptions in Ṭur 'Abdin in the Middle Ages
Reyhan Durmaz (Turkey)

Thesis supervisor: Volker Menze
External reader: Sebastian Brock (Oxford University)

The Christian landscape of the plateau of Ṭur 'Abdin (now in southeastern Turkey) in Late Antiquity was a result of Roman-Persian frontier dynamics, trade and pilgrimage routes, and struggles emanating from Christian doctrinal controversies. Medieval hagiographical compositions that narrate the lives of holy men in the context of the early history of the region emphasize certain themes in the ecclesiastical history of the region, indicating specific hierotopical perceptions that prevailed in the Middle Ages. Analyzing a group of saints' lives, this thesis presents the main themes emphasized in hagiographical compositions. It then examines the hierotopical perceptions in Ṭur 'Abdin in the Middle Ages, reconstructed through the literary representations of sacred spaces in the texts, i.e., churches, monasteries, and hermit's caves.

"My Kingdom in Pledge"
King Sigismund of Luxemburg's Town Pledging Policy:
Case Studies of Segesd and Bártfa

János Incze (Romania)

Thesis supervisors: Katalin Szende, Balázs Nagy
External reader: István Draskóczy (Eötvös Lóránd University)

King Sigismund of Luxemburg was already known in his age as a ruler who struggled constantly with serious financial problems. Pledging royal domains was a possible remedy for these problems, but one that had grave consequences for the future. His activities led to an increase in imperial town pledgings to an extent unknown before in the Holy Roman Empire and his successor in Bohemia took the throne almost on the verge of insolvency as a result of Sigismund's pledging policy there. Many scholarly works state that Sigismund pledged various towns, but one can find hardly any detailed information about what in fact it meant to pledge a royal town.

In Hungary, three historians between the 1930s and the 1960s (E. Léderer, J. Deér and Gy. Rázsó) tried to reckon all of his pledgings, without full success. Unfortunately, research on King Sigismund's pledgings in Hungary has not moved any further since, leaving many uncertainties and unanswered questions. Because what royal pledging was in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom has not been precisely defined in the literature, an entire chapter is devoted to this problem.

This thesis, through two case studies, thoroughly describes the procedure of pledging a royal town, what it meant in practice, and what the character and background of the pledging transactions was. Information is provided about the profitability of the transactions for the parties involved and the impact of the pledgings on the towns' development.

The two case studies, Segesd (Somogy County) and Bártfa (Bardejov, Slovakia) represent two extremes of Sigismund's town pledging practices in Hungary and they illustrate well the authority the pledgees gained through the transaction. The whole town of Segesd was pledged for only a few years with all of its *pertinentiae*, but this short period was long enough to have an impact on the town's medieval history. In Bártfa's case, only the town's yearly tax and the New Year's gift were pledged by the ruler and as a result the Hungarian kings lost this source of income for decades.

Prayers on the Passion in Late Medieval Hungarian-Language Codices: Functions and Context

Ágnes Korondi (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: György Endre Szőnyi
External reader: Zsombor Tóth (Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

In the last decades of the fifteenth and the first four decades of the sixteenth century a number of prayer collections were copied in the vernacular in Hungarian monasteries for the use of nuns or aristocratic patrons. Many of the prayers are centered on the Passion of Christ. Previous scholarship has discussed these texts mainly from a positivistic perspective, investigating their sources. This paper outlines the spiritual and cultural context of Hungarian Passion prayers comparing their narrative strategies and devotional function to the rhetoric devices of longer narratives about the suffering of Christ and visual representations of the Passion. By analyzing the introductory rubrics as well as the different requests formulated in the prayers, I point out various uses such texts could have served, ranging from short liturgical pieces said before or after communion, longer meditation-like *orationes* serving as a stage in one's mystical road towards Christ, to protective formulas meant to ensure a good death and eternal bliss in the otherworld.

The Visual Patterns of the Wandering Jew in the Late Middle Ages

Eszter Losonczi (Hungary)

Thesis supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács, Carsten Wilke
External reader: Zsuzsanna Urbach (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

This thesis is about visual representations of the Wandering Jew between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, using pictorial instances from England, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. My aim is to see the possible textual and pictorial antecedents of the legend and evaluate the different visual types.

Since the legend of the Wandering Jew can be considered an allegory of the fate of the Jews after the First Coming of Christ and the Destruction of the Second Temple, first, I analyze the representation of the Jewish exile in Biblical and Talmudic writings. In the first chapter I also introduce characters from the Bible, Jewish legends, and non-Jewish sources which display qualities similar to the figure of the Wandering Jew.

Second, I present the main elements of the textual tradition of the legend in the same period, compare them with the visual examples, and try to establish connections among them. Third, I show the visual instances and categorize them. My aim is to demonstrate the existence of an independent pictorial tradition, which in some images shows connections with pilgrim representations. I also suggest that some components appeared in the visual representations in the sixteenth century, but only appeared in the textual tradition a century later.

The Role of Astrology in the Poetry of Janus Pannonius
Áron Orbán (Hungary)

Thesis supervisors: György Endre Szőnyi, György Geréby
External reader: Enikő Békés (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Astrology plays a significant role in the Neo-Latin poetry of Janus Pannonius (1434–72), the most renowned humanist of Hungary. This thesis investigates the various forms of these astrological ideas and the reasons why they appeared. Previous research into this topic neglected to face the problem of the heterogeneity of astrology and to explore in detail the biographical-historical context, the role of astrology in the environment of Janus in Ferrara, Padua, and Matthias Corvinus' Buda court. Beyond the general fashion for astrology in fifteenth-century Europe, what could have been the reasons for the frequent use of astrological terms in his poetry? Previous scholars have argued that Janus had a peculiar interest or that he believed deeply in astrology. I conclude, however, that his astrological ideas can be explained by biographical, literary-historical, intellectual historical factors. This thesis concerns not only one particular person but also the intellectual life of mid-fifteenth century Italy and Hungary, and the habits of the Renaissance mind in general.

Landscape, Locality, and Labor:
Late Medieval Calendars from 1400–1550 and their Varieties
Rose Oliveira (United States)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External reader: Roger Wieck (Curator of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the Morgan Library and Museum)

Late medieval devotional books often included the Labors of the Month in their calendar sections. Representations in this cycle of the seasons and human work reached its zenith in Western Europe in the late fifteenth century. Scholars have treated these works, created in specialized workshops, as mines of information about costume and agricultural tools, increasing development of landscapes in art, and reflections of an idealized representation of the peasant world. This paper uses French and Flemish sources in an attempt to understand the differences of development due to regional placement and the context of the societies. By comparing the calendars and examining elements of composition focusing on place, person, gender, and considering the effect of the patron, clear patterns and differences were identified which reflected the needs of the society, consciously and unconsciously. Thus, in the use of landscape, one sees how architecture and town space were used differently to emphasize the correct work, in some cases becoming a proxy for the elite in society. Differing notions of hierarchy in rural and elite contexts are represented in both the increase of noble activities in later calendars and where peasant and upper class member meet. A stark difference in the number of women depicted in the calendars was evident as well as some regional differences in the work in which medieval rural women participated. By placing the Labors into a broader context one sees better how these images developed and functioned based upon the society where they were created.

Saint Vladimir of Zeta
Between Historiography and Hagiography
Stefan Trajković Filipović (Serbia)

Thesis supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External reader: Constantin Zuckerman (École Pratique des Hautes Études)

First published in 1601, *The Annals of a Priest of Dioclea* is a controversial chronicle, burdened with never-ending historiographic debates. Its authenticity

as a historical source is usually doubted and its narrative considered fictional. Several datings of the text have been offered; the dating to the twelfth century is the most commonly accepted, although Solange Bujan has offered an alternative dating to the seventeenth century. The focus of this thesis is Chapter XXXVI of *The Annals*, which offers a full account of the life and death of Saint Vladimir of Zeta. It is one of the longest chapters and most of the previous scholarship agreed that the chapter is actually an earlier hagiographic text incorporated in *The Annals*. Aside from that, two more problems are discussed: The connections of Chapter XXXVI with Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Byzantine History*, where Vladimir of Zeta is also mentioned, and the contextualization of Chapter XXXVI in the tenth- and eleventh- century literary context of hagiographies of martyred rulers. Starting from previous research and analysis of the narrative of the chapter, as well as of *The Annals*, I argue that Chapter XXXVI was written at the same time as the rest of the chronicle by the same author. This claim is based on the presence of the same narrative strategies and lessons in the chapter as in the rest of *The Annals*. However, similarities with the tenth- and eleventh- century phenomenon of martyred rulers remain. Therefore, it is possible that the story of Saint Vladimir of Zeta from Chapter XXXVI of *The Annals* originated in that literary tradition, but was changed to a great extent at the time the chronicle was written, in either the twelfth or seventeenth century, where it took on a specific hagiographic and dialectical structure.

**Sacrifice and Redemption in the Hamburg Miscellany.
The Illustrations of a Fifteenth-century
Ashkenazi Manuscript**
Zsófia Buda (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on May 17, 2012, consisted of András Kovács (Nationalism Studies Program, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Gábor Buzási (Eötvös Loránd University); Zsuzsanna Urbach (Pázmány Péter Catholic University); Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Carsten Wilke (Departments of History, Medieval Studies, and Nationalism Program, CEU). The external readers were: Hans-Wealter Stork (State and University Library Hamburg) and Sarit Shalev-Eyni (Hebrew University)

Nurtured from the same source and with a large number of their members living in the same society, Judaism and Christianity could never ignore each other. There was an ongoing dialogue between them which had a decisive impact on the development of both religions. Polemics were not confined to theology and to written works. They impacted other spheres of life as well. Art was no exception either. There is a long history of the study of the visual expression of attitudes towards Jews within Christian art. These studies have focused on how Jews were imagined and depicted by Christians and how they appear in their works of art. In these studies, Jews have merely been seen as objects of representation. In the last two decades, some scholars have also started to search for expressions about Christians in Jewish art, seeing it as a possible medium for the Jewish party to argue with the Christian side and/or to strengthen the Jewish side.

The illustration program of the Hamburg Miscellany – produced in the second quarter of the fifteenth century in the area of Mainz – contains numerous scenes which demand a martyrological and/or an eschatological interpretation. Due to the interdependent nature of such Jewish and Christian concepts, besides "articulating" special Jewish ideas, these miniatures are likely to contain criticism

of Christian beliefs. Its images, however, often show the influence of Christian art in their iconography. These features make the Miscellany an excellent candidate for an iconographical study focusing on the messages carried by its miniatures in relationship with Christian visual art and concepts.

Several individual studies have been written about certain miniatures of the Miscellany, which are important contributions to the iconographical interpretation of these miniatures. Nonetheless, none of them place the images they investigate within the context of the entire illustration program of the Miscellany, something indispensable for a full understanding of the iconographic significance of these miniatures, and no monograph has yet been devoted to the Miscellany. In this dissertation, I provide a monograph research study of the Miscellany, investigating its iconographic particularities within the manuscript as a whole as well as in the wider context of fifteenth-century Ashkenaz.

Jewish manuscripts produced in medieval Christian Europe were inevitably influenced by the art of the majority and to a certain degree they used the same "visual vocabulary." Therefore, instead of focusing only on the Jewish or Christian origin of certain motifs, it is more fruitful to study the integration of these elements within their present context, namely, how this visual vocabulary was used, according to what sort of "grammatical rules," and in what structures. The painters may have provided the visual vocabulary, but the way these elements were constructed into meaningful units, that is, "sentences," was not determined exclusively by them but also by other parts of the authorship such as the scribe, the patron, or a Jewish advisor.

There are different degrees in the integration of a foreign element, that is, different levels of intercultural appropriation. A motif adopted from another culture can be placed into the new context untouched. It can be also modified, transformed in order to fit within its new context. The quintessence of integrating a Christian element into a Jewish context is the case where by transformation of the motif the message it carries is turned entirely upside down. That is, the authorship of these images used a Christian visual "vocabulary" to construct special Jewish, but at the same time anti-Christian, "sentences." At first glance, the illustrations in the Hamburg Miscellany seem to have contained several images of martyrological scenes or scenes of divine redemption where elements borrowed from Christian iconography were used. In my study, I will examine the nature of Jewish appropriation of Christian iconographical motifs in the Hamburg Miscellany and show whether they became the bearers of special Jewish messages or not through their transformation.

In the first part of the dissertation, I provide a detailed description of the manuscript both as a literary work and as a material object. The survey of its paleographical and codicological features is followed by a compendium of its illustration program. The available data on its authorship and provenance are also discussed here. A detailed iconographical analysis of the miniatures constitutes the second part of the thesis. The images are examined in comparison with other Jewish depictions as well as with Christian iconographical traditions. The analysis is limited to the possible polemical aspects of the miniatures, but provides a comprehensive picture of the iconographic characteristics of the illustration program. In the third part, I assess the results of the iconographical analysis within the wider context of Jewish martyrological literature, on the one hand, and Jewish-Christian relations in fifteenth-century Ashkenaz, on the other.

The Myth of Ragusa:
Discourses on Civic Identity in an Adriatic City-State (1350–1600)
Lovro Kunčević (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on April 19, 2012, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), and Marcell Sebők (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Institute for Historical Sciences of HAZU, Dubrovnik) and Catherine Wendy Bracewell (UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London).

This dissertation investigates the self-representation of Ragusa between the mid-fourteenth and the early seventeenth century, during the period of city's greatest political, cultural, and economic importance. In other words, it seeks to analyse the changing ways in which Ragusans spoke about themselves as a community, how they developed a set of recognizable discourses of identity to describe their republic. Since Ragusan self-narration was performed through different social practices ranging from historiography to civic ritual and visual arts, this study has to take into account diverse source material (e.g., diplomatic correspondence, poetry, historiography, descriptions of ritual, and representative art). The statements regarding collective identity found in these sources are analysed through a set of contextualizing questions which address their authors, the specific circumstances of their creation, and the purposes they served.

Various themes, motifs, and commonplaces which usually appeared when Ragusans spoke about their city-state can be subsumed under three major discourses on identity, each of which is addressed in a separate chapter. They were the discourses of origin, on liberty, and on the frontier. The discourse of origin encompasses various references to the foundation of Ragusa, on the one hand connecting it with prestigious peoples of antiquity through its legendary founders, and on the other creating a tendentious image of the newly founded city which clearly served the contemporary interests of the Renaissance Republic. The discourse on liberty consisted of historical myths and theoretical propositions concerning the political independence and aristocratic constitution of the Ragusan Republic, in fact amounting to a specific Ragusan version of Renaissance republican ideology. Finally, reflecting the fact that the city was situated at the borderland of cultures and religions, the discourse on the frontier portrayed Ragusa as a defender of Catholicism and Christianity, or even civilization, against the infidel and barbarian Ottomans in its hinterland, a heroic *antemurale* in the "jaws of the infidel."

The first chapter discusses various utterances concerning the origin of Ragusa, the ways in which the image of the city's foundation changed through time. Since pre-modern historical consciousness saw an origin as an epistemologically privileged moment which revealed *in nuce* all the essential traits of a community, the young Republic took great care to re-fashion its beginnings in order to suit its contemporary concerns. More precisely, Ragusan authors used the narrative of the city's foundation in order to tackle four major ideological issues. The first was creating a suitable Classical predecessor for the flourishing city-state. Ragusa was endowed with a prestigious Classical past through re-writing the traditional story about its foundation by refugees from the neighboring ancient city of Epidaurus, which began to be represented as a Roman colony, a fully-fledged republic, and even the birthplace of a pagan god, Aesculapius. The second ideological issue was increasing the prestige and legitimizing the rule of the patrician elite which had recently monopolized political power. This was achieved by changing the traditional protagonists of the founding – a somewhat amorphous group of refugees – into ancestors of the nobility, thus inscribing the patriciate into the very foundations of Ragusan history. The third issue was reconciling the traditional claim of the Roman origins of Ragusa and its elite with their undeniable contemporary Slavic culture. These were harmonized through insistence on the alleged Slavic culture of the founders, that is, by projecting the contemporary ethnic and cultural situation of the city into a distant and normative past. Finally, the last issue was finding firm and deep historical roots for two crucial features of Renaissance

Ragusa: its political independence and its uncompromising Catholicism. Similarly to Slavic culture, both were represented as essential and timeless attributes of the city-state by being projected into the prescriptive moment of foundation.

The second chapter is dedicated to discourse on statehood, various historical myths and theoretical propositions about the independence and political system of the Ragusan city-state. The first part follows the gradual redefinition of the city's relationship with its distant sovereign, the Hungarian king, during the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. Although this relationship was originally an unambiguous acknowledgement of Hungarian sovereignty, Ragusan diplomats and historians represented it as a contract made freely between two essentially equal partners, thus laying the foundations for the later independence of the city. The second part of the chapter deals with probably the most problematic political relationship in Ragusan history in general – the city's status as a tributary state to the Ottoman Empire. It follows the ways in which Ragusans tried to obfuscate, justify, and redefine this immensely compromising political relationship after its establishment in the mid-fifteenth century. The third part of the chapter deals with a specific crisis of legitimacy which characterized Ragusa after the mid-sixteenth century. The city had seceded unilaterally from the Hungarian Kingdom after it collapsed in 1526 and therefore its self-proclaimed independence rested on dubious legal foundations. In an attempt to ground that independence on both historical precedent and divine sanction, the Republics' apologists redefined the entire history of Ragusa, suggesting not only that the city had always been free but that its liberty was defended by providence. The fourth part of the chapter deals with the various conceptualizations of the other basic aspect of Ragusan statehood – its republican form of government. It analyses various references to the political system of Ragusa, the virtue of its patrician rulers, and the social harmony which such a system allegedly produced. Finally, the fifth part of the chapter considers Ragusan discourse on statehood in a broader context of other similar ideologies. It compares Ragusan discourse with the emblematic Florentine republicanism, at the same time demonstrating the profound indebtedness of Ragusan ideology to Venice, the city's great teacher but also enemy.

The third chapter is dedicated to discourse on the frontier, investigating how Renaissance authors commented on the fact that their city was situated on the borderlands of religions, empires, even civilisations. It is largely dedicated to analyzing the various strategies of diplomatic self-representation which thematized Ragusa's position between Christianity and Islam. In this regard the most important was the rhetoric towards Western courts, which sought to justify the tributary position in quite a surprising way – by representing Ragusa

as an altruistic frontier guard of Christianity that defended the true religion by appeasing the "infidel." Besides the diplomatic rhetoric, this chapter also analyses various references in the literature and historiography to the religious identity of Ragusa and its position on the fringes of Christianity. While some such references were written in the usual panegyric tone, lauding the piety of the city and its unwavering loyalty to Rome, others were echoes of a hushed but fervent debate among the city's elite regarding the relationship with the "infidel." Namely, despite the diplomacy which trumpeted the great merit of Ragusan tributary status, numerous historians and literati felt distinct unease about it, raising the question of whether it was morally permissible and politically prudent for a Catholic city to cherish such good relations with a Muslim empire.

The conclusion considers these three civic discourses and the resulting image of the city-state in their broader ideological context. The first main question it addresses is how the three civic discourses interacted among themselves, what their relationships were in creating the totality of the city's image. They seem to have coexisted without contradictions, frequently even complementing and strengthening each other, which is only natural once one recalls that they were all the products of a homogeneous and small patrician elite. The second, even more important, question posed in the conclusion concerns the relationship of the civic discourses with other discourses on collectivity – focused on religious, social, familial or ethnic communities – which appear in Ragusan documents. Two main patterns of interaction seem to have existed, one of which could be labelled "parasitic" and the other "supportive." The "parasitic" pattern designated the instances in which the references to other communities were combined with those to the civic community in order to "borrow" some of the other's prestige or legitimacy. The "supportive" pattern was the opposite; it designated instances in which references to non-civic communities were invoked in order to elevate the prestige and legitimacy of the civic one.

The epilogue of the dissertation addresses the remarkable fact that many of the *topoi* of Ragusan self-representation have survived since the Renaissance and still exert a profound influence upon modern thinking about the old Republic. In other words, modified by modern ideologies and interests, many of the ancient *topoi* still enjoy a vibrant existence, emerging in different cultural genres from academic historiography and politics all the way to tourist marketing and schoolbooks. The aim of the epilogue is to provide a cursory overview of the more salient cases of such survivals, thus revealing the remarkable posthumous influence of Ragusan Renaissance ideology.

Rhetoric in Purple: The Renewal of Imperial Ideology in the Texts of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos
Florin Leonte (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on July 27, 2012, consisted of Tolga Esmer ((Department of History, CEU), chair; Niels Gaul (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Volker Menze (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); István Perczel (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Ida Tóth (Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies, Oxford) and Erich Trapp (Institut für Byzanzforschung Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

This dissertation examines the forms and the ideological contents of political messages embedded in the texts of a Late Byzantine emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425). I focus on four of his writings (see below). At a time of deep political and social transformation the emperor tried to maintain his position of authority not only by direct political agency, but also by advertising his ideas about the imperial office and about the issues at stake in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Throughout his reign, confronted with numerous challenges to his authority, Manuel II created a parallel literary court where he presided over a group of peer literati who did not contest his position. Several of his texts were produced within this group and subsequently disseminated in order to promote a renewed version of the idea of imperial authority. His ideological commitments valued education and the use of rhetorical skills as instruments of social and political change. My investigation involves the study of the underlying ideological assumptions of the emperor's political discourse, thus, this study takes into consideration two main areas of research: on the one hand, the political and social contexts in which the emperor's political messages appeared, and, on the other hand, the rhetorical forms and strategies he used to construct his ideological stance.

The first chapter offers a survey of the major social and political shifts in late Byzantium. Here, I document the emergence of a new class of entrepreneurial aristocracy with tight connections in both the old landowning Byzantine families and the commercial groups of Italian merchants. The picture of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Byzantine political history is outlined by a presentation of four different instances of challenge to imperial authority: the ecclesiastics' claims to preeminence in both spiritual and worldly matters, which triggered the emperor's more energetic involvement in Church affairs; the attempts to

overthrow Manuel II made by John VII, the heir of Andronikos IV, attempts which were ultimately thwarted by implementing a regime of dual rule, with John VII receiving the titles of *basileus* and *autokrator* in Thessalonike (1403–1408); the demands for autonomy exerted by the *archontes* from the Peloponnese that in the end called for Manuel's direct involvement in the affairs of the peninsula; and finally, the threats of extinction of the Byzantines coming from the Ottomans.

In the second chapter of the first unit of the dissertation I deal with the profile of the group of literati the emperor gathered at his court. I start from the observation that the emperor maintained a strong relationship with them, as is attested by their intense exchange of letters. After a presentation of the performances of literary writings that took place in the framework of the so-called *theatra*, I focus on the major groups of literati active in Constantinople: on the one hand, there were those oriented towards closer connections with the Latin West, like Demetrios Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, Manuel Chrysoloras, Demetrios Skaranos, and Maximos Chrysoberges. They partook in common intellectual projects such as the translation of the Dominican liturgy into Greek and coordinated diplomatic pursuits. On the other hand, the written sources present the image of another group of individuals who upheld strict Orthodox views, a group which included Patriarch Euthymios II, Joseph Bryennios, Theodore Potamios, and Makarios Makres. As indicated by their correspondence and manuscript evidence, intense intellectual exchanges connected them.

Examining the emperor's group of literati led me to conclude that the network of scholars in Manuel's entourage served various purposes. At a basic level, some of these literati used this network to obtain material benefits for themselves and their families. The network was also used for cooperation amongst scholars, as the manuscript evidence indicates. It appears that authors often commented on each other's texts, including the emperor himself. Manuel also actively engaged his literary friends in his political activities, as the example of Manuel Chrysoloras, teacher of Greek in Florence and later the emperor's envoy to the West, shows. A significant outcome of the scrutiny of the emperor's literary court pertains to the modality in which the emperor used the scholarly circle as a platform to advertise an image of his authority. In the absence of an officially appointed μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, the emperor himself acted as such an official court orator. Especially before 1403, *theatra* offered the opportunity for the emperor to broadcast his literary skills. With the temporary normalization of the situation after the Battle of Ankara the emperor relied on several members of this network, such as Demetrios Chrysoloras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Makarios Makres, and John Chortasmenos to write panegyrics or pieces of public oratory

which extolled his military and political merits in pacifying the state. Furthermore, the importance of the emperor as a major patron of letters and promoter of literary activities in the late fourteenth century appears even more clearly through comparison with other contemporary similar sponsors. Owing to the decline in economic resources, the activities of other patrons proved rather limited in scope while, on the contrary, it seems that Manuel II was not only active in literary circles but also sponsored a workshop for copying manuscripts.

In the second unit of the dissertation (chapters 3–6) I turn to the political texts the emperor composed during his reign: the *Dialog with the Empress Mother on Marriage* (1396), *The Foundations of Imperial Conduct* (1406), *The Seven Ethico-Political Orations* (1408), and *The Funeral Oration for his Brother Theodore, Despot of Morea* (1411). After a survey of the late Palaiologan literary landscape and the emperor's substantial oeuvre of theological, liturgical, and political writings, I proceed to a close reading of each of these texts and use notions drawn from both modern literary theory as well as from ancient rhetorical handbooks. This double perspective enabled me to analyze more in-depth categories such as genre and authorial voice which in turn support a better understanding of the topics approached in these writings and their functions in the given contexts. In addition, in this section I tried to place the production of these texts in their historical and literary contexts.

The analysis of the emperor's political texts reveals that all four of the emperor's political compositions were conceived and transmitted as different ways of expressing moral and political advice: deliberative (*Dialog on Marriage*), "gnomic" (*Foundations*), based on diatribe (*Orations*), and narrative (*Funeral Oration*). In the *Dialog on Marriage*, which draws on both orality and sophisticated rhetorical theories of topics, praise for decisive action or for political design was replaced with a deliberative stance. In the *Foundations*, by combining the categories of father and teacher into one authorial voice, the emperor played with his needs as a father, on the one hand, and the service to the prince elect, on the other hand. This strategy had the advantage of creating a migrating voice between paternal intimacy and court solemnity. Using multiple voices as well as several generic strands *(centuria, hypothekai,* gnomic literature, "princely mirrors") the author operated a multifaceted and stronger self-authorization. Tightly connected by the same intent to provide an educational model for his son, John VIII, are the seven *Orations,* the text that in most manuscripts followed the *Foundations* and was connected to it. Here, the author organized the material of his seven texts with different topics in the manner of a diatribe, a form of speech popular in antiquity and defined as a group of lectures or orations on a moral theme characterized

by vividness and immediacy of language. Thus, it appears that the seven *Orations* were intended as something different from a series of seven orations unconnected among themselves. Noticeably, the apparent indetermination of this collection of different types of *logoi* allowed for greater freedom in the use of philosophical or theological themes. As a result of the configuration of the *Orations*, the educational message is constructed through an accumulation of arguments and representations which culminate in the admonition addressed to John to regard humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη) as the highest imperial virtue. In the last text analyzed here, the *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, Manuel appears to have emulated both the traditions of panegyric oration and of epic/chronicle. The subject matter, praise for his brother, is treated in the form of a historical account and the author offers a wealth of details about the events he recounts. With regard to the construction of the authorial voice, I argue that the author weaves into his narrative three different plots: One following Theodore's deeds in the Peloponnese, one about the emperor-author himself who presented his actions as decisive in the pacification of the region, and one about the history of Morea.

In all these four texts, the elaborate construction of political advice is reflected in their deliberative contents, the ethos which the emperor strove to construct, and, not least, by their inclusion in a single codex, the Vindob. phil. gr. 98, dedicated to John VIII and part of a series of four manuscripts which comprised most of the emperor's literary texts. From this viewpoint, it can be suggested that the texts were conceived as elements in a comprehensive didactic project envisaged by Emperor Manuel II. In addition, the author often subverted the common tenets of the imperial representation and presented himself as a "defeated" interlocutor in the debate of the *Dialog*, as a teacher-rhetorician of his son in the *Foundations* and the *Orations*, or as his brother's helper in the *Funeral Oration*. Furthermore, noticeably, the emperor constantly suggested and explicitly stated that rhetoric and the ability to speak in a persuasive manner were correlates of power.

Building on the investigation of the underlying socio-political developments and the authorial rhetorical strategies, in the third unit (chapters 7–9), I deal with the ideological claims that shaped the different approaches to the nature and exercise of political authority in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. I proceed from the observation that in late Byzantium, as everywhere else, different social groups adhered to aims that suited their interests. As a result, the late Byzantine political sphere presents a picture of an arena where various political discourses sometimes competed and sometimes intersected with each other. In

the first two chapters of the unit (chapters 7 and 8) I focus on the discourses put forward by the two groups of authors with which the emperor interacted most: the ecclesiastics, defined as members of the Church hierarchy, and the court rhetoricians. In the last chapter (9), I discuss the differences in the emperor's discursive representation of imperial authority. In order to identify the differences but also the common genealogies of these three competing discourses I deal with four major themes of discourse shared by all the authors of the later Byzantine periods: Cleavages between various segments of society and particularly between the emerging entrepreneurs and the impoverished citizens of Constantinople and Thessalonike; an approach to the question of Byzantium's alliances; the formulation of Byzantine individuality either in cultural terms as identification with Hellenism or in religious terms as Orthodox or within a political framework as Roman; and the conceptualization of the idea of imperial rule.

The analysis of political discourses in late Byzantium reveals several important developments. Concerning the ecclesiastics' discourse it emerges that the members of the high-ranking hierarchy like Symeon of Thessalonike or Joseph Bryennios adopted a radical position concerning their wealthy contemporaries, whom they rebuked for the widening gap between the different social classes and for not participating in the defense of the city. Their discourse acquired even more radical hues regarding the authority of the emperor on the question of the patriarch's appointment. If the roots of this radicalization of the ecclesiastics' discourse, most evident in the treatises of Makarios of Ankara, can be traced back to the early Palaiologan period, its echoes are to be found in the texts of later Church officials like Sylvester Syropoulos and Mark Eugenikos.

Unlike the ecclesiastics, the imperial rhetoricians continued to support the idea of the omnipotence of imperial power in Byzantium. Even George Gemistos Plethon, who preached extreme political reforms that entailed a return to the values of ancient Sparta, agreed upon the appropriateness of monarchical rule. In their panegyrics, they praised the emperor's deeds extensively, his dynastic lineage, and direct successor, John VIII. Among the usual virtues identifiable in panegyrical texts, they often described the emperor as a skilled rhetorician and teacher, not only of his son but also of his people. Furthermore, unlike the ecclesiastics who preached a kind of Orthodox utopia, they emphasized the Byzantines' specificity, reflected in their Romanness.

A slightly different picture emerges with regard to the emperor's political authority from the analysis of the emperor's own discursive representation of imperial authority. He reworked the ancient representation of a philosopher-king in the form of a rhetorician-king and put forward a personal version of the

hierarchical system of kingly virtues with humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη) at the top. He often pictured himself in the guise of a *didaskalos*, not only of his son, to whom he addressed his texts, but also of his subjects, as he suggested in his very short *Oration to the Subjects*. Furthermore, his preaching activity probably indicated a tendency to absorb into his office the function specific to the Church's spiritual authority. The analysis of the three competing political discourses reveals the antagonisms emerging in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire between the Church and the emperor. In contrast to the orators' project, often driven by personal aspirations, Manuel's project seemingly also sought to compensate for the lack of previous enlightened statesmanship in the aftermath of conflicts with the Ottomans. Unlike the court rhetoricians, Manuel's discourse of imperial authority linked rhetoric to the idea of best governance. Clearly each program undertook to fulfill a special need; whereas the orators' program conceived rhetoric as key to social survival, Manuel's transformed it into a guide to the salvation of the Byzantine state. Thus, Manuel's rhetoric deliberately omitted praise and engaged more intensely with the political present.

Ultimately, my investigation unveils a picture of Emperor Manuel II as a political thinker concerned with the construction of a functional representation of the imperial office. He assiduously cultivated the alternative image of an emperor-writer very much different from the image of his father, John V, who was more interested in the day-to-day state administration. Yet, unlike other Byzantine philosopher-kings, through his texts he strove to shape a new role for the imperial institution in an environment increasingly controlled by forces like the Ottomans, Italian merchants, and the Byzantine *nouveaux riches*. This new role entailed the large-scale use of rhetoric, one of the very few tools which he could use to maintain a certain cohesion in the collapsing Byzantine political sphere. By this account, his political writings echoed the emperor's personal experiences, which underpinned his attempts to advertise a new imperial ethos adapted to the new social realities in which the Byzantine emperor represented little more than a *primus inter pares*.

The Noble Elite in the County of Körös (Križevci) 1400–1526
Tamás Pálosfalvi

The Examination Committee at the public defense, on March 13, 2012, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), supervisor; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies,

CEU); Borislav Grgin (University of Zagreb); Maria Karbić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb). The external readers were: Maria Karbić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb); and Szabolcs Varga (Theological College, Pécs).

The dissertation aims at identifying and examining a group within the nobility of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary on the example of one particular county. This layer of the nobility, generally thought to have formed the top layer of the "common nobility" (Hung. *köznemesség*), has been variously termed in Hungarian historiography so far, but no efforts have been made to define and analyse it from a number of approaches in any part of the Hungarian Middle Ages. Historians thus generally speak about the characteristic features of a social group without having a clear idea of what that group meant in practice. My aim, therefore, was to establish a number of criteria by which it would be possible to identify such a group within the nobility, and then subject it to a social analysis in order to see whether or not the existence of such a group, relatively clearly distinguishable from other layers of the nobility both above and below, can be demonstrated. The area studied was Körös County (Križevci in modern Croatia), one of the largest counties in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, situated in the former *regnum Sclavonie*, and exceptionally well covered by written sources. The period between 1400 and 1526, although forming the focus of the dissertation, was not treated rigidly.

Chapter 1, divided into three sub-chapters, first reviews previous sholarship related to the question of an elite nobility in late medieval Hungary and lists the difficulties involved in these approaches. The scholarly literature dealing with the late medieval Hungarian nobility in general and that of Slavonia in particular is reviewed. The final section of the chapter analyses the difficulties presented by the sources and their nature for any attempt at examining late medieval noble society and establishing different categories therein, a problem generally stated but often left out of consideration in socio-historical analyses.

Chapter 2, divided into two sub-chapters, establishes the criteria by which it is possible to identify the group of nobility that is suitable for further social analysis. The basic feature selected was title (*egregius*), although titles of nobility in medieval Hungary did not constitute a well-defined system in the manner of the kingdoms of France and England, for instance, and thus the difficulties in using them are more numerous. Titles were then completed by further criteria based on landed wealth and office-holding, which, again, presented problems which seem to be typical of late medieval Hungary. In the second part of the chapter, the longest section of the whole dissertation, I offer biographical treatments of all the units selected on the basis of the criteria defined before. Although

these biographies aimed at completeness, their length and comprehensiveness depended on a number of factors, the most important being the survival and nature of the sources. The great majority of the families and persons treated in the dissertation have never been studied before, which made it necessary to turn directly to charters and collect the relevant information from there. Although important points must surely have remained obscure, in several cases I was able to find out the exact or probable origins of the units chosen, and also establish with relative certainty at least the major turning points in their history.

Chapter 3 presents a social analysis of the units whose histories were set out in detail in the preceding chapter, in six sub-chapters. First I analysed their origins, identifying the most important ways in which the top layer in the nobility in Körös County was recruited. The most important conclusion was that horizontal mobility played a much more important role in this respect than vertical mobility, and that, whereas until the early fifteenth century royal power was dominant in re-locating noble landed wealth, thereafter two other factors, service and marriage, came to the fore and remained decisive in the emergence of new families within the ranks of the leading nobility in Körös. In the second sub-chapter I tried to establish a hierarchical list of wealth comprising all the entities. In the absence of exact numbers of tenant plots, the use of fortifications and market towns as indicators of status has proved rather helpful, although there were several problematic points. Practically all the entities chosen on the basis of title could be shown to have possessed either a fortification or a market town, frequently both, and several among them held more than one of each, either constantly or at least temporarily. Since outside the group of families identified by title few other noble families had fortification and none had a market town, this line of demarcation appeared to be clear for trying to distinguish between different levels within the nobility. Moreover, the possession of castles and/or several *castella* clearly correlated with the group of nobility regularly awarded the *egregius* title and is thus a useful indicator of a further break within the top group of the nobility generally characterised by the possession of fortifications and/or market towns.

The examination of the ways and means of acquiring and losing landed wealth yielded a number of important conclusions. The most important concerns the role of royal authority in the transmission of noble wealth below the level of barons, or, rather, the lack of it. Another important conclusion is that, whereas alienation of land could profoundly alter the relations of wealth within the nobility, above a certain level these changes rarely proved irreversible; it was generally the families which had recently joined the top group of the nobility for whom the loss of property proved fatal.

In terms of service (3.3), some fairly clear patterns emerged, but, here again, the picture is far from clear. The clearest line seems to separate the families which never appeared in subaltern positions such as royal men, elected jurors, and *szolgabírák*, and only took on service for the king or the barons and magnates. This group comprised mostly families which were also distinguished by the regular use of the *egregius* title and the possession of castles and/or several *castella*. But the relationship is not automatic and the status of an individual family could change a great deal over a long period of time. Since *familiaritas* itself could be conditioned by a great number of individual considerations, the exceptional cases are especially numerous here, and the underlying motivations difficult to examine. A crucial point to emphasise is the decisive influence that the rich nobility in Körös County built up over the appointment to the office of vice-ban from the middle of the fifteenth century; this influence gradually turned into a virtual monopoly, to the point that assuming the office of viceban could be no longer be regarded as a "traditional" form of *familiaritas*.

As regards the relationship between the court and the nobility (3.4), the strict opposition between "court nobility" and "provincial nobility" is not a working model for the period after 1437. The king and the court did continue to matter, but the kind of radical separation, in terms of both space and social prestige, of a so-called court nobility from the noble masses which would have remained isolated from the centre of power back in their homeland, is out of place. After the dissolution of the immense royal domain, favors available *only* through the court shrank as a matter of fact, and the competition for what was still available became ever more acute. New forms of participation in the workings of the royal court appeared and others (such as court *familiaritas*) were transformed as the country came under increasing Ottoman pressure. Some of these court functions, especially under King Matthias, involved real governmental powers; others, in contrast, served merely to demonstrate the incumbent's closeness to the court and thus increase his prestige locally.

The analysis of marriages (3.5) has generally confirmed the traditional picture of "like with like," that is, families of roughly the same social standing married each other. I have encountered, however, some interesting exceptions to the rule. First, in the top level of the local nobility there are more or less clear examples of upward marriages, with women who came from families that can be labelled aristocratic. However, with one possible exception, none of these cases can be regarded as marking the definitive adoption of the family into the ranks of the aristocracy; like the possession of castles, such a marriage was rather a mark which helps to distinguish them from the nobility below. Second, "downward"

marriages in an otherwise socially constant series of alliances can sometimes indicate a clear decline in the history of a family. And, inversely, a marriage with a consort from a family above may be, like the construction or acquisition of a fortification, the sign of a successful "social climb," in a sense marking the end of the journey.

What could be learnt about the role of the Church (3.6) in terms of career possibilities has confirmed the traditional view about its meager importance in late medieval Hungary. On the one hand, it was generally the middling offices in the ecclesiastical hierarchy that were available for the leading nobility in Körös County. On the other hand, in the few cases when someone managed to make his way to the rank of prelate, a church career apparently remained isolated and involved no consequences at all for the family of the cleric concerned.

Finally, to the question of whether the group of families analysed from various standpoints in the dissertation can be regarded as an elite within the nobility or not, the answer was rather elusive. What seems certain is that, in terms of title, landed wealth, service, officeholding, and marriage alliances it is possible to identify at any given moment in the period between 1400 and 1526 two groups of differing sizes within the upper ranks of the nobility, the contours of which, however, cannot be established with absolute certainty. Nor it is possible to draw the demarcation line below, for it is always a matter of personal decision of what to regard as a feature which allows counting someone as "outstanding" from the noble masses undistinguished in any respect. Classification, moreover, is hindered by intrafamiliar differences, and by factors which cannot be measured at all on the basis of the available source material. Nevertheless, following a model elaborated for the study of the medieval English nobility, it was possible to detect, from the second half of the fifteenth century, the formation of a family group which, by the turn of the fifteenth century, can be seen as constituting a fairly homogenous elite in terms of social and political dominance.

The findings of the dissertation are summarised in chapter 4, followed by appendices which list the persons who appear as representatives of the Slavonian nobility in the late Middle Ages, and the archontology of Slavonia between 1423 and 1526. The dissertation is completed by genealogical trees and a map of Körös County in the fifteenth century.

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