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Edited by
Ildikó Csepregi

Central European University
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Department of Medieval Studies

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PREFACE

One of the disadvantages of having received a sort of overdose education in Classics, is that Latin sentences can pop up unexpectedly in your mind—ranging from innocent looking Roman proverbs, Biblical passages, and Doomsday Book quotations to worn out clichés. And they always fit the occasion! Such is *Fluctuat nec mergitur* that aptly describes the past year of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU. First came the general turmoil of translocating from Budapest to Vienna—a shift that you can witness on the cover of the present *Annual*, the map of Vienna, compared to last year's image, which depicted the raid of the barbaric Mongols. And we have done that, however painful it was, with an admirable efficacy.

Then came the pandemic that hit the whole world—and made worlds and lives fall apart. Yet while I was witnessing the difficulties and general alarm while putting this volume together, I have found a piece of noteworthy good news to pin down: when the world falls apart, not counting personal losses and obstacles, it is a safe place to be a historian, a medievalist. Stack up your books in your study—and you can continue your research. Those skills that we tend to take for granted, the tools of the métier, came in very handy when so many people in various professions lost their balance. Observing the events, good analytical skills, seeing the "big picture," and creating a context, along with the quiet study hours, even self-isolation when you were to finish your last chapter, thinking, writing, formulating your arguments—these could not be taken away. There is more resilience in the historian's craft than we might imagine. In the face of every hardship—it is good to be a medievalist.

Ildikó Csepregi

PART 1

Articles and Studies

EUNUCHS IN THE DIVINE MENAGERIE: THE CASTRATION IMAGERY OF THE GREEK *PHYSIOLOGUS* IN ITS CONTEXT

Holger Hespen

> *"There are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Let the one who is able to receive this receive it." (Mt 19:12)*

These words, spoken by Jesus right before the much less controversial "Blessing of the Children," are among the more dazzling passages in Scripture and not the first pick for a feel-good Sunday sermon.[1] What can we possibly make of them? Are we supposed to understand them in a completely allegorized way? Are they metaphorically pointing at the praiseworthiness of sexual continence?[2] Or are the male among us expected to cut off their genitals for the sake of the kingdom of heaven? The modern believer would probably not opt for the last version; yet, such an interpretation is not excluded, and we should not forget that the practice reappeared time and again among certain radical groups until relatively recently.[3]

In this article, I am dealing with the ancient Christian attitude towards eunuchry by analyzing a source text usually not included in this discussion: the Greek *Physiologus*. I will set out with a short overview of the general approach to self-emasculation in early Christianity, followed by an introduction to the *Physiologus* and its manuscript tradition. The core of this article consists of two case studies: in its chapters about the onager (wild ass) and the beaver, the *Physiologus* uses castration imagery for a pedagogical purpose. The analysis of these chapters proves to be insightful when it comes to the Christian opinion on

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1 In German-speaking countries, Mt 19:12 has been popularized by the late Uta Ranke-Heinemann, who called her bestselling critique of Catholic sexual morality *Eunuchen für das Himmelreich: Katholische Kirche und Sexualität von Jesus bis Benedikt XVI.*, 5th rev. ed. (Munich: Heyne, 2012). Ranke-Heinemann, an expert of early Christianity by education, treats some of the sources mentioned in this paper, but mostly as the basis for her retaliation against the Catholic Church.

2 The role that sexual continence played in early Christianity has been masterly analyzed by Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

3 Consider, for example, the case of the Skoptsy: Laura Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Russian Folktale* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

eunuchs; beyond that, it helps to clarify some features of the Greek *Physiologus* in general.

Self-Castration in Early Christianity

In the formative first centuries of early Christianity, Mt 19:12 caused exegetes and common believers quite some headaches. From the surviving writings of the Church Fathers, we can see that none of them advocated a literal interpretation of this dominical utterance; quite the contrary, they used their exegetical efforts to convince the readers "either to moderate corporeal asceticism or check it completely."[4] Yet, all in all, the Christian attitudes towards castration as the ultimate form of continence were ambiguous these days.[5] In the mid-second century, Justin Martyr refers to a young Alexandrian Christian's petition to the Roman prefect, asking for permission to self-castrate.[6] In the context of Justin's *Apology*, this is used as a rhetorical device: He wants to emphasize the extreme chaste behavior of Christian believers in an environment that suspected them to be sexually deviant; however, Justin does not seem to judge the zealous lad's decision whatsoever.

More straightforwardly, we can read the following advice in the *Sentences* of Sextus: "Every part of the body that persuades you to be unchaste, cast away. For it is better for you to live chastely without the part than to live to destruction with it."[7] While there has been a discussion about whether the *Sentences* are a Christian text or not, Origen informs us that this work was very popular among his fellow believers. The Church Father quotes this passage in order to refute it;

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4 Daniel F. Caner, "The Practice and Prohibition of Self-Castration in Early Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51, no. 4 (1997): 404.

5 I will not engage here in detail with the general approach towards castration in the Roman Empire in the first centuries BCE. Generally speaking, however, the social prestige of eunuchs was rather low until at least the third century; cf. Christoph Markschies, "Kastration und Magenprobleme: Einige neue Blicke auf das asketische Leben des Origenes," in *Origenes und sein Erbe: Gesammelte Studien*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 160 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 23. Several emperors explicitly made the act of castration a punishable offense, and only from the fourth century onwards did the sentences get less severe (Markschies, "Kastration," 27–28).

6 Iust. Mart. *Apol.* I,29,1–2.

7 *Sent.* 13: "πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπεῖθόν σε μὴ σωφρονεῖν ῥῖψον· ἄμεινον γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ μέλους ζῆν σωφρόνως ἢ μετὰ τοῦ μέλους ὀλεθρίως." I quote Henry Chadwick's translation: *The Sentences of Sextus: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 112. Very similar advice is also in sentence 273: "You may see men cutting off and casting away parts of their body in order that the rest may be strong; how much better to do this for the sake of chastity" (Chadwick, *Sentences*, 112).

in his opinion, self-mutilation for the sake of chastity is practiced by hot-headed youngsters with good intentions but deficient knowledge of Scripture.[8] Maybe he is speaking from his own experience, as there is the persistent rumor that Origen zealously performed the same act in his youth.[9] Eusebius of Caesarea, though not wholeheartedly endorsing Origen's alleged act, qualified it as a "great evidence of faith and chastity at the same time."[10]

While it is not uncommon to encounter such implicit or explicit appraisal of castration as the ultimate form of asceticism in early Christian sources, we can easily point out passages that outright condemn the act as well. For example, the second-century apocryphal Acts of John tells the story of a young patricide, who, after coming to realize that his uncontrollable libido was the force behind killing his father, removes his sexual organs with a sickle. He probably expected John's praise for this courageous act when he told the apostle about it, but far from it: John claims that the devil must have inspired the young man to do so, "for not the organs are harmful for man, but the invisible sources by which every shameful motion is set in motion and comes to light;"[11] sin stems from the thoughts and therefore requires spiritual penance.[12]

This castration in the Acts of John is an impulsive act by a remorseful sinner; like the other examples mentioned before, it does not indicate the existence of an accepted practice in certain Christian circles. Whenever an author talks about a larger group engaging in self-emasculation, however, the custom is introduced as a "mark of alterity;"[13] the reader is supposed to assume that this group is by no means orthodox, but part of what we might call today the "lunatic fringe"[14] of asceticism. Epiphanius, in his famous *Panarion*, a sweeping blow at all imagined and actual heresies since the beginning of Christianity, accuses the Valesians of being such a group. He claims that they do not only mutilate their own disciples but also strangers that they receive as guests. Initially considered part of the Church, they

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[8] Caner, "Practice," 403.

[9] This question has been excessively debated by modern scholars. For a useful, comprehensive overview of the *Forschungsgeschichte*, see Markschies, "Kastration," 15–22.

[10] Eus. *H.E.* VI, 8,1,4: "πίστεώς γε μὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δεῖγμα περιέχον."

[11] Act. Ioh. 54: "οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὄργανά ἐστι βλαπτικὰ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀλλ' αἱ ἀφανεῖς πηγαὶ δι' ὧν πᾶσα κίνησις αἰσχρὰ κινεῖται καὶ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν πρόεισιν."

[12] For a discussion of this episode and its connection with the beaver narrative of the *Physiologus*, see Eckhard Plümacher, "Paignion und Biberfabel. Zum literarischen und popularphilosophischen Hintergrund von Acta Iohannis 60f.48-54," *Apocrypha* 3 (1992): 69–109, in particular 91–108.

[13] Caner, "Practice," 407.

[14] Chadwick, *Sentences*, 111.

were eventually expelled for their aberration.[15] If we can trust Epiphanius, there were a significant number of eunuchs among the Egyptian monks of his times as well;[16] John Chrysostom confirms this for Antioch and likens the eunuchs to Manichaeans in order to discredit them.[17] From these authors' statements, we cannot infer the existence of a mass movement of self-castrating ascetics. However, many clerics were certainly concerned about the practice gaining popularity: in the early fourth century, the Nicene Fathers decided to exclude voluntary eunuchs from ordination, and about half a century later, the *Apostolic Constitutions* prohibited laymen from self-emasculation as well.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* explains the ban on castration in a new way: "Who mutilates himself […] is a suicide and an enemy of God's creation."[18] The idea is clear: God has created us the way we are for a reason, and therefore we are not supposed to interfere with our bodily integrity. If our sexual organs cause us trouble, we better learn how to deal with them because they are the result of God's craftsmanship. This adds to the aforementioned, more common argument against castration, namely, that sin, as an interior moving force, has to be fought with spiritual, not physical, weapons. In a treatise on virginity, Basil of Ancyra points out (correctly, by the way) that even as a measure against mere carnal desire, castration is a futile act, as sexual urges remain existent anyway. He claims that many ascetics undergo the procedure in order to be able to shamelessly follow their desires afterwards and seduce young women free from suspicion.[19] For Basil, castration is not a sign of praiseworthy continence but of uncontrollable licentiousness.

The *Physiologus* – A Short Overview

This aforementioned evidence shows that the practice of self-castration, while certainly not being a standard practice in Christian communities,[20] constituted a well-known part of the repertoire of radical ascetic movements in the early Roman Empire. One source text, however, is barely ever included in modern discussions

[15] Epiph. *Panar.* 58,1,4–7.

[16] *De Fide* 13,5.

[17] In his comment on the Epistle to the Galatians: *PG* 61,668.

[18] *Const. apost.* 8,47,22: " Ο ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτὸν μὴ γινέσθω κληρικός· αὐτοφονευτὴς γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός." Chrysostom calls them "men who despise God's creation" (*PG* 61,668).

[19] *De virg.* 61 (*PG* 30, 793B).

[20] Caner, "Practice," 398, considers it a "fundamental part of Christian devotion," which is certainly an overstatement.

of this topic, despite prominently mentioning the phenomenon of voluntary emasculation twice: the famous *Physiologus* (i.e., the *naturalist*), composed by an unknown Christian author as an allegorical/typological[21] interpretation of nature. This curious text dates back roughly to the second half of the third century[22] and was initially composed in the monastic circles of Egypt.[23] Each of its chapters usually begins with a short description of the *physeis* (*natures*, or *properties*) of a real or mythical animal, a stone, or a plant. An allegorical interpretation follows, in which the author explains what we can learn from the properties with regard to Christian doctrine and/or appropriate Christian conduct. The pedagogical goal has absolute priority for the author; what we consider natural science nowadays is secondary for him at best. Therefore, he takes the liberty to significantly modify or even distort well-known ancient narratives in order to make them agree with his message.

Out of the forty-eight (give or take) chapters of the most ancient *Physiologus*, two explicitly deal with the topic of castration: chapter 9 about the onager/wild ass, and chapter 23 about the beaver. In the following pages, I will analyze these two chapters in order to figure out what they can contribute to the early Christian debate about the scope and limits of radical physical asceticism. Before embarking on this mission, however, it is important to clarify the state of our

[21] Klaus Alpers, "Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus und den Kyraniden," *Vestigia Bibliae* 6 (1984): 42–46, insists that we have to distinguish between allegory and typology. However, this is a modern distinction resulting from a general suspicion of Protestant theologians towards allegory; see Zbyněk Kindschi Garský, "Der Physiologus und das Neue Testament, Die neutestamentlichen Wurzeln der frühchristlichen Naturdeutung," in *Christus in natura: Quellen, Hermeneutik und Rezeption des Physiologus*, ed. Zbyněk Kindschi Garský and Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Studies of the Bible and Its Reception, vol. 11 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 84.

[22] This is a rather controversial topic; several earlier and later dates have been suggested. For a very brief overview see Horst Schneider, "Physiologus," in *RAC* 27 (2016), 729–730. Many of the relevant arguments for this dating had already been anticipated by a reviewer of Friedrich Lauchert's history of the *Physiologus* in 1890: Anon., review of *Geschichte des Physiologus*, by Friedrich Lauchert, *HZ* 64 (1890): 132–133. See also Alan Scott, "The Date of the Physiologus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 4 (1998): 430–441, and most recently, for an even later date, Samuel Vollenweider, "Der Erlöser im Tarnanzug. Eine Studie zur Christologie des Physiologus, zu seiner Datierung und zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Psalm 24 (23LXX)," in Kindschi Garský, *Christus*, 93–132, especially 122–125.

[23] This is, similarly to the date, controversial, although no contemporary scholar denies the *Physiologus*' Egyptian setting in general. Despite certainly being wrong with his very late dating, Erik Peterson correctly describes the monastic setting of the *Physiologus*: Erik Peterson, "Die Spiritualität des griechischen Physiologus," in *Frühkirche, Judentum, Gnosis* (Freiburg/Breisgau: Herder, 1959), 236–253. See also Scott, "Date," 441; Vollenweider, "Erlöser," 124–125.

source material: the *Physiologus* survived in some eighty manuscripts, all of them showing significant, sometimes fundamental variances; this turned any attempt to publish the *Physiologus* into an incredibly challenging task, resulting in a diverse variety of (critical) editions.[24] For our purpose, however, it is sufficient to know that the first, most ancient recension of the *Physiologus* survived in two distinctive redactions, which I will call, with Caroline Macé, redaction α and redaction β.[25] The former redaction has two main witnesses: the quite corrupted Greek Π, and the Latin Y,[26] which is a direct translation from a Greek original and diverts in some passages from Π. The latter redaction is generally more stable but contains several additions and glosses that are hard to date. Among the remaining, younger Greek recensions, only the so-called pseudo-Basilian (ca. tenth through twelfth century[27]) interests us in this article, as it takes up the castration narratives and modifies them according to its new audience.

Case 1: The Onager

Let us, for a start, have a look at what the *Physiologus* tells about the onager. I will set out with Francesco Sbordone's version,[28] which is a synthesis of the Greek manuscripts of redaction β of the first recension.[29]

> It is written in Job: "Who has set free the onager?" (Job 39,5) The Physiologus said about the onager that he is the leader of the drove, and if the roaming mares give birth to males, their father

[24] Francesco Sbordone's edition is a collation of all seventy-seven Greek manuscripts available to him: Francesco Sbordone, ed., *Physiologus* (Rome: Società Anonima Editrice 'Dante Alighieri,' 1936); synoptic editions: Dieter Offermanns, ed., *Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, vol. 22 (Meisenheim/Glan: A. Hain, 1966); Dimitris Kaimakis, ed., *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion,* Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, vol. 63 (Meisenheim/Glan: A. Hain, 1974) (both complement each other); first attempt of a multilingual edition: Caroline Macé and Jost Gippert, eds, *The Multilingual Physiologus: Studies in the Oldest Greek Recension and Its Translations*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, vol. 84, forthcoming. For the several other editions, see the comprehensive overview in Kindschi Garský, *Christus*, 231–232.

[25] See Macé's stemma in Philipp Roelli, ed., *Handbook of Stemmatology: History, Methodology, Digital Approaches* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 154.

[26] Francis J. Carmody, ed., "Physiologus Latinus Versio Y," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12 (1941): 95–134.

[27] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, xii: tenth/eleventh century; Ben Edwin Perry, "Physiologus," *RE* XX,1 (1941): 1114: twelfth century.

[28] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 31–32.

[29] In the case of this chapter, I will concentrate on redaction β; redaction α reads a bit different in the details but is rather distorted in general and does not add much in terms of content.

> cuts off their entire private parts, so that they might not procreate. The patriarchs sought to sow corporeal seed, the apostles, however, to engender spiritual children; they practiced abstinence (ἐγκράτεια), asking for heavenly seed, as it is written: "Rejoice, o barren one who does not bear; break forth and cry aloud, you who are not in labor! For the children of the desolate one will be many more than those of the one who has a husband." (Is 54,1 in Gal 4,27) The old is the seed of promise, the new, of abstinence.[30]

In many cases, the *Physiologus* uses biblical quotations in a merely ornamental way, but in this case, there is more than meets the eye: the initial quotation from the Book of Job continues in a way that easily brings to mind the lifestyle of the early monks. God says about the onager: "I made its home the wilderness, while it laughs to scorn the city's crowds and hears not the chiding of the tax-gatherer" (Job 39:6–7).[31] This would be a good starting point for reflections on anachoresis; but instead, the author of the *Physiologus* rather picks up the ancient narrative about the onager biting off the private parts of their offspring in order to keep them from procreation. This piece of natural history can be traced back to several other classical sources.[32] We can assume that at least some of the *Physiologus*' readers were familiar with it. The following allegory, however, is completely innovative, and also fairly skewed in its composition. This is no surprise, as the author of the *Physiologus* does not handle his pieces of natural history with kid gloves. The intact onagers signify the patriarchs, trying to establish a lineage of descendants. However, the apostles that are seeking the heavenly seed by means of abstinence are not represented well in the tale, as they practice the monastic life by free choice. The fathers, evirating their male offspring, therefore seem to represent the apostles distancing themselves from the life in the flesh; but in the allegory, this happens only by proxy.

Be that as it may, what matters in the *Physiologus* is not the exact typology but the message transmitted by it. As a quintessence, we can see a clear juxtaposition

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[30] "Γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ιώβ· «τίς ἀφῆκεν ὄναγρον ἐλεύθερον»; ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε περὶ τοῦ ὀνάγρου ὅτι ἀγελάρχης ἐστί, καὶ ἐὰν γεννῶσιν αἱ νομάδες ἄρρενας, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ὅλα τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτῶν τέμνει, ἵνα μὴ σπερματίζωσιν. Οἱ πατριάρχαι σπέρμα σωματικὸν ἐζήτουν σπεῖραι, οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι, τὰ νοερὰ τέκνα, ἐγκράτειαν ἤσκησαν, οὐράνιον αἰτησάμενοι σπέρμα, ὡς γέγραπται· «εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα». ἡ παλαιὰ σπέρμα ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ δὲ νέα ἐγκρατείας" (Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 31–32).

[31] Translation by Claude E. Cox, available online at the Electronic Edition of NETS: "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," last accessed April 1, 2021, http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/28-iob-nets.pdf.

[32] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 31–32.

of the patriarchs and the apostles, procreation and abstinence, the corporeal seed and the heavenly seed,[33] the latter always superior to the former. The whole idea is summarized in the final statement: the old (i.e., the Old Covenant) is the "seed of promise," the new (i.e., the New Covenant) is the "seed of abstinence." The former refers to God's promise to make Abraham the father of a great people, that is to say the Jews; this promise of physical procreation is contrasted with the spiritual fatherhood of the Christian ascetics. Such strict juxtaposition of Old and New Covenant pervades the *Physiologus*. For example, we can find a similar line of reasoning in chapter 35 about the doves, in which it says that the prophets have failed to lead mankind to the light, whereas Christ succeeded to do so by giving his own blood; and in chapter 41 on the elephant, in which we learn that while the Law and the prophets could not lift up the fallen man, Christ finally managed to raise us up.[34] Here, as in many other cases, the *Physiologus* wants to make a point about the absolute novelty and necessity of Christianity with regards to the possibility of salvation for mankind. The Hebrew tradition of the Old Testament may not have become entirely obsolete, but it has no value in itself without Christ's soteriological intervention. Such sharp contrast between Jewish tradition and Christian innovation continuously reappears in the *Physiologus*. It is the basis of the *Physiologus*' straightforward anti-Judaic agenda displayed in other chapters, in which the Jews are characterized as prosecutors of the Christians and stubborn enemies of the truth.

In the onager chapter, this theological message is intertwined with an instructive aspect. It seems rather obvious that the opposing description of procreative prophets and chaste apostles should also have practical consequences for the faithful reader; however, it is not stated explicitly. Unlike in many other cases, the *Physiologus* does not drum the message into its audience with a sentence like: "You as well, good Christian, remain abstinent like the onager!" Yet, throughout its reception history, the present chapter has always been understood as an appeal: take the way of life of the apostles as an example, and act accordingly! This becomes clear if we have a look at the additions and modifications in the manuscripts: later revisers of the text were obviously concerned about the practical consequences of the chapter's teaching and therefore felt the urgency to make sure its call to *enkrateia* was interpreted "correctly" by their target audience. Interestingly, such kind of "clarification" can go either way. A rather late tradition

[33] Probably, our first impulse would be to assume a Gnostic context of the term "σπέρμα οὐράνιον," as Peterson, "Spiritualität," 236 suggests, but the expression can be also found in perfectly "orthodox" settings.

[34] For more examples, see Peterson, "Spiritualität," 236–237.

of redaction β, represented by the group of manuscripts σtVL,[35] seems to have taken the narrative about the wild ass as a call to actual castration: "Likewise you, as well, noetic man, do not appear to be worse than the wild donkey, because that one makes his sons into infertile offspring for the sake of not procreating; likewise you, as well, make yourself a eunuch for the sake of the kingdom of heaven."[36] This is an interesting addition: unlike the more ancient versions of the *Physiologus*, the passage refers to the biblical *locus classicus* about castration, Mt 19:12, quoted at the beginning of this article. Clearly, the verse would have been the first association of any informed believer when it comes to the topic; yet it only enters the discourse with significant delay. In the σtVL manuscript tradition, stripped of the biblical context, it loses its ambiguous character: How could such a straightforward exhortation be understood metaphorically?

However, even without such an incisive propagation of eunuchry, readers, time and again, must have (mis-)understood the *Physiologus* as a text promoting voluntary emasculation. In several manuscript traditions, we can see the tendency to point out that the act has to be taken in a figurative way. This is the case in manuscripts WO, where the chapter closes with an addition to the originally transmitted text:[37] "For that castration is praiseworthy: voluntary abstinence and self-control; cutting off bodily parts, however, is worthy of punishment. Therefore the Lord also says in the Gospels: "Let the one who is able to receive this receive it."[38] Again, an anonymous editor inserts a direct reference to Mt 19:12; this time, however, with a different emphasis, therefore only quoting the final sentence. A symbolical castration, manifesting in a monastic way of life, is permissible, encouraged even; anything that goes beyond has to be condemned as unorthodox.[39]

The tale about the onager survives in the third, pseudo-Basilian recension of the *Physiologus*,[40] but it has become suspicious enough not to be referred to anymore as a model for good Christian behavior. Quite the contrary, the *typos* of the wild ass is now connected with two of the shadiest biblical protagonists as its *antitypoi*: on the one hand, the Pharaoh, on the other hand, Herod the Great.

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[35] For a description of these manuscripts, see Sbordone, *Physiologus*, xviii–xix, xxxiii.

[36] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 32 (apparatus).

[37] Lauchert, with the typical confidence of a classically trained turn-of-the-century scholar, assures us that these sentences are "als spätere Zusätze leicht zu erkennen": Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1889), 240.

[38] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 32 (apparatus).

[39] The same tradition also mentions that castration is a practice popular among the Persians, thereby exoticizing and delegitimizing it.

[40] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 298–299.

The analogy is quite straightforward: the onager envies the male new-born as the Pharaoh envied Israel and Herod envied the Lord. Having such congruent mentalities, the Byzantine author considers it fitting to call the two villains "brute-minded" (κτηνόφρονες). The text does not dwell further on this analogy, but the reader is expected to fill the gaps him- or herself: in all the three cases, misandrous acts are performed with the goal to decimate the male population. The Pharaoh intends to kill all the newborn Hebrew boys in an attempt to make the whole Israelite people go extinct (Ex 1:15–22); Herod plans to kill all boys younger than two in Bethlehem and the surroundings, trying to prevent another aspirant to the throne to enter the scene (Mt 2:16); and, transhistorically, the onager castrates the male progeny, thereby symbolically killing them, as he prevents them from procreation.

Equating the wild animal with famous biblical child killers works actually rather well on the level of typology but conflicts with the usual onager narrative, which was supposed to emphasize the laudability of voluntary sexual abstinence. This is one of many examples in the *Physiologus* that shows us how typology can be flexibly adjusted to a changing agenda. The call for (symbolic) castration has been discredited over the centuries. Therefore, the story turns from an example for imitation into a cautionary tale. Such a transformation is consciously made by the pseudo-Basilian author; the older meaning still reverberates in the final (longer) part of the chapter. Rather awkwardly, a warning about the actual act of castration is attached. It does not logically connect to the example of the Pharaoh and Herod but presupposes the "classical" analogy that must have been still in the mind of the audience. By no means, it says, should anyone practice castration: it is an act that transforms male into female, thereby opposing the work of the Creator; it is potentially life-threatening; and it is not even useful for the sake of leading a more virtuous life, as the fleshly desires still remain after the procedure. The true "eunuch according to Christ" is the one who fights an inner war against worldly temptations. In this section, the Byzantine author neatly summarizes the main arguments against castration that we have already encountered at the beginning of this article and that had obviously turned into commonplaces by his time: it is an offense against the divine creation, has no effect on the actual desire of the ascetic, and cannot replace a proper spiritual engagement with sin. The additional information about the potential life-threatening consequences had been common knowledge anyway.[41] These explanations were introduced because, over the centuries, the redactors of the *Physiologus* had gradually lost interest in

[41] For the Roman Empire, see Markschies, "Kastration," 23–27.

greater theological questions and laid a stronger focus on its exhortative elements. Having in mind a target group that expected practical advice, it was important for the authors and redactors to specify which exact behavior they would encourage. In this respect, the pseudo-Basilian *Physiologus* confirms a tendency that we could already observe in the modifications introduced by manuscripts WO and σtVL, respectively.

Case 2: The Beaver

The second occasion in which the *Physiologus* speaks about castration is in his report about the beaver. Both redactions of the first Greek recension describe the strange behavior of this rodent almost identically: The beaver is a particularly nice and serene fellow,[42] but unfortunately many hunters have designs on its testicles, as they are considered a potent medicine. Being chased, the animal therefore bites them off and throws them at the hunters, thereby saving its life. When it encounters another hunter in the future, it simply displays its lack of sexual organs and is therefore left in peace.[43]

This is obviously not zoological knowledge in the strict sense, but it is derived from actual observations: mature beavers (of both sexes) have organs called castor sacs, which by the looks of them can be easily mistaken with the animal's testicles. These sacs were considered valuable, as they contain castoreum, an exudate that was widely used in folk medicine and perfume production. The actual testicles are located internally and therefore not visible; this very different observation might have led to the idea that an exhibitionist beaver has nothing to show.

The audience of the *Physiologus* most probably recognized the anecdote, as the *topos* of the self-mutilating beaver was well-known in antiquity. We can read about it not only in several natural histories,[44] but also in other literary genres, used as an example of a sacrifice for the greater good. In the *Satires*, for example, Juvenal compares the beaver's behavior to that of his friend Catullus, who recently almost suffered shipwreck: like the beaver surrenders his gonads to the hunter in order to save his own life, in the same way Catullus threw overboard all his precious goods in order to prevent his ship from sinking.[45]

[42] This information is redundant: the panther and unicorn are described in a very similar way.
[43] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 82–84.
[44] For extensive references, see Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 83–84.
[45] Iuv. 12, 34–38.

Here it shows again that, unless it is crucial for its allegory, the *Physiologus* pretty much relies on traditional material. What is innovative is its *hermeneia*, and here, unsurprisingly, the several versions start deviating from each other significantly. Now, what are we supposed to learn from the beaver's manners? Redaction β, considered by many scholars the most "archaic" remnant of an *original Physiologus*, teaches as follows:

> You now as well, ascetic (πολιτευτής[46]), render to the hunter the things that belong to him. The hunter is the devil, his belongings are fornication, adultery, murder[47]: cut off these things and give them to the devil, and the hunter, the devil, will set you free, so that you might say as well: "Our soul was rescued like a sparrow from the net of the fowlers" (Ps 123:7).[48]

This short interpretation contains biblical allusions beyond the obvious quotation from the Psalms. Firstly, the phrase "render to the hunter the things that belong to him" brings to mind an influential phrase by Jesus that is famously known in its King James translation: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Mt 22:21).[49] This phrase has been taken up again by Paul in his argument for the submission to worldly authorities (Rom 13:7). Secondly, as the synoptic Gospels seem to have a soft spot for dismemberment imagery, the mutilation metaphor also calls to mind the Lord's order to (hopefully figuratively) chop off several body parts in order to resist temptation: "If your hand or your foot causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away…," etc.[50]

Both of these Scriptural repercussions, however, are not further developed in redaction β. The analogy in this version of the *Physiologus* is rather straightforward: like the hunter chases the beaver for its testicles, the devil is after us because of our sins; once we get rid of them, the adversary will stop harassing us, and we

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[46] Peterson, "Spiritualität," 240–241 shows that in the Physiologus, "πολιτευτής" is used as a terminus technicus for an ascetic.

[47] Here, as in all enumerations of vices in the Physiologus, the transmission is particularly instable. I translate Sbordone's version, but the accumulative evidence (including manuscript G) suggests that *avarice* (φιλαργυρία) should replace *murder* (φόνος), or at least be added to the list.

[48] "Καὶ σὺ οὖν, πολιτευτά, ἀπόδος τὰ τοῦ κυνηγοῦ αὐτῷ. ὁ κυνηγός ἐστιν ὁ διάβολος, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσι πορνεία, μοιχεία, φόνος· ἔκκοψον τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ δὸς τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ ἀφήσει σε ὁ θηρευτὴς διάβολος, ἵνα καὶ σὺ εἴπῃς· «ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὡς στρουθίον ἐρρύσθη ἐκ τῆς παγίδος τῶν θηρευόντων»" (Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 84–85).

[49] The term "ἀποδίδωμι" (render), used by both the *Physiologus* and the Bible, is a terminus technicus for "paying tax."

[50] "Εἰ δὲ ἡ χείρ σου ἢ ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτὸν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ…" (Mt 18:8f.). See also Mt 5:30; Mk 9:43–47.

are free. The beaver has been considered the prototypical ascetic by some,[51] but neither redaction β nor any other version of the *Physiologus* exploits the potential of the natural historical account to the maximum. Even more than in the chapter on the onager, we would expect the author to establish a connection with Mt 19:12:[52] The beaver practices castration out of its own free will to set itself free—could there be any better basis for the *Physiologus* to argue for extreme austerity, or even actual emasculation?[53] However, in redaction β the animal's behavior is associated with the renunciation of rather abstract vices. There can be no doubt that the connection between the beaver's private parts and the two sins mentioned first, *fornication* (πορνεία) and *adultery* (μοιχεία), is intentional. It fits in seamlessly with the general hostility towards sexuality pervading the *Physiologus*. It is not even an exaggeration to claim that, according to its author, concupiscence can be identified as the source of all other vices.[54] Nevertheless, the beaver's behavior is not transformed into a role model for rigorous chastity, and even less for self-castration; what we rather learn from the rodent is that we should generally steer clear of sin, and that sexuality comprises a big part of it. This is certainly good advice for monks, but doubtlessly many other faithful believers try to stick to it as well.[55]

Redaction α offers a slightly more embellished version of the beaver narrative, then starts out the *hermeneia* in approximately the same way as redaction β. Both versions agree that the hunter is the devil, to whom we have to give back

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[51] "Prototyp des Asketen": Stephan Wyss, *Askese: Ein Essay zum Selbstverständnis des herrschenden Mannes: Zwei Bestiarien des heiligen Hieronymus von Lucas Cranach dem Älteren* (Fribourg/Brig, 1989), 48; similarly, Arnaud Zucker, *Physiologos: Le bestiaire des bestiaires*, trans. and comm. Arnaud Zucker, Collection ATOPIA (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 2004), 161–162, and many others.

[52] So much so that Zucker, *Physiologos*, 161, constructs such a relationship: "(L)e castor propose une solution radicale pour extirper le diable qui niche dans la chair, et se pose en modèle d'ascétisme et de chasteté, du chrétien qui se fait 'eunuque pour le royaume des cieux'(.)" No version of the Greek *Physiologus*, however, makes this claim explicitly.

[53] One could, however, also twist the argument: Does the sacrifice of a dear possession as ransom for one's own life rather represent a pretty strong attachment to our mundane existence (*amor vitae*)? See Meinolf Schumacher, "Der Biber – ein Asket? Zu einem metaphorischen Motiv aus Fabel und Physiologus," *Euphorion* 86 (1992): 350–351.

1 Peterson, "Spiritualität," 242: "Wir haben es also im Physiologus mit einer Lehre zu tun, in der die einzelnen Sünden als Glieder eines einzigen bösen Ganzen, nämlich der Konkupiszenz, erscheinen." Peterson gives several examples for this.

[55] Plümacher, "Paignion," 105, still claims: "(M)an kann sich des Eindrucks nicht ganz erwehren, daß der Verfasser […] sich gegen eine Interpretation der Fabel oder seiner Auslegung im Sinne einer Empfehlung der Selbstentmannung nicht allzu heftig gesträubt haben würde"—an assumption barely supported by our source material.

his belongings. These are the vices, which we have to cut off like the beaver removes his testicles. While redaction β continues by vaguely claiming that such conduct sets us free from the devil, and illustrates this with a Psalm reference, redaction α explicitly refers to the aforementioned passage Rom 13:7: "'For render,' he [i.e., the Apostle] says, 'to each the debts: tributes to whom tributes are due, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor.' First, let us give to the devil the activities (ἐνεργήματα)[56] within us; and render to God what belongs to God as follows(.)"[57] I quote the Greek manuscript Π, but up to this point the other main witness of the same redaction, Latin manuscript Y, a literal translation of an older Greek text, basically agrees. They divert in the question of what we actually owe to God: Y specifies that we should render to God offerings of prayer and the fruit of our good work. Π, however, indicates that in order to please God, we should strive for the ideal of complete poverty, which appears to be a bit more precise of an order. The author writes: "Peter and John neither had gold nor silver when they were rising up the lame man at the Beautiful Gate (see Acts 3:1–10), because of what Jesus told them: 'Do not acquire gold or silver' (Mt 10:9)."[58]

This is not the place to discuss the complex question of the relationship between the two redactions of the first Greek recension of the *Physiologus*. I would suggest, however, that at least in the beaver chapter redaction β is superior; in redaction α, the introduction of the biblical quote Rom 13:7 and the second call to submit one's vices to the devil clumsily connect to the rest and merely serve as a vehicle to introduce our duties towards God. We can easily imagine the audience of the *Physiologus* asking: So, if we are supposed to refrain from vices to keep the devil away from us, what should we do to actively please God? The two main strands of redaction α give different answers, and I profess myself unable to confidently claim at this point which of them might have been in a hypothetical *urtext*. For our current purpose, that does not matter so much anyway; more importantly, we can see even within one single redaction how flexibly the *Physiologus* text could be adjusted to different contexts. Clearly, version Y would be more accessible to a wide Christian audience, whereas an emphasis on poverty seems fit for monastic circles, the initial target audience of the *Physiologus*.

Neither version of redaction α, however, just like redaction β, exploits the obvious sexual connotations of the beaver's behavior to the fullest. On the

[56] It is not clear why the author picks this term, as it is usually not used with a negative meaning in early Christianity. Latin Y has "turpitudines peccatorum"; either the translator introduces this, as he does not understand ἐνεργήματα, or Π is corrupted here.
[57] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 85 (apparatus).
[58] Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 85 (apparatus).

contrary, it is explicitly clarified that we do not actually have to chop off our problematic body parts and throw them at the devil; rather, we should get rid of the sinfulness that is *within us*. Admittedly, this sinfulness is, as mentioned before, sexual in its core, but it includes many other forms of misbehavior. In manuscript Π, we can even see an attempt to shift the focus away from sexuality; this is the only manuscript that shuffles the list of vices in a way that it starts with avarice rather than adultery or fornication. Here, it is clear from the outset that the author intends to use the beaver narrative not as a warning about carnal desires, but as an instructive story about the necessity of material abstinence.

Like the onager chapter, the beaver narrative was adapted by the Byzantine pseudo-Basilian recension of the *Physiologus*. While the author of this version describes the animal and its characteristics in pretty much the same way as in the first recension, he gives the story a different twist in its interpretation. The focus lies no longer on an internal struggle with one's own vices; instead, pseudo-Basil identifies the people around us as the real danger, having the potential to compromise our spiritual integrity. We have already noticed that the beaver chapter implicitly refers to Jesus' request to cast off our sinful body parts. Pseudo-Basil, however, is the only Greek version with an explicit reference to this dictum. After quoting it, he continues to explain what the Lord supposedly meant by it: "He has not said this about the parts of the body, but about the family members, friends and brothers: [For if you have someone among your family members and friends and brothers] harming your soul, cut them off from yourself just like the beaver cuts of his private parts."[59] Sorting out one's own social setting in this way constitutes the precondition for achieving a peaceful state of mind; a state that eventually makes it possible to show proper devotion to God and to find grace.

This new interpretation is in line with the interest of the pseudo-Basilian recension to give practical advice for the appropriate organization of a group of people, probably in a monastic setting. The advice is directed at an individual; however, it focuses on that individual's role within a social context. This is a notable difference from the first recension of the *Physiologus*, which is aimed at anchorites dealing with their inner spiritual struggles in solitude. Pseudo-Basil finds it particularly important to emphasize that the imitation of self-castrating animals should by no means be understood literally; the author does not want to take the risk that anyone draws the wrong conclusions. He agrees in this respect with most of the other examples we have discussed above.

[59] "οὐ περὶ τῶν μελῶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο εἴρηκε, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν· [εἰ μὲν ἔστι σοί τις ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν] τῶν βλαπτόντων σε κατὰ ψυχήν, ἔκκοψον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ σοῦ ὥσπερ ὁ κάστωρ τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτοῦ" (Sbordone, *Physiologus*, 269).

Conclusion

Let us try to systematize our findings: What do we learn from the analysis of the two "castration chapters" of the Greek *Physiologus*? I would like to summarize the aforementioned discussion by making three points: the first relating to the role of self-emasculation in early Christianity, the second and third to the special features of the *Physiologus* literature:

1) In an early Christian context that had a curiously ambiguous approach towards eunuchry, the *Physiologus*, at least in its oldest form, does *not* use castration imagery in order to promote self-mutilation as an appropriate part of extreme ascesis. All of the texts we have analyzed here display a strictly ascetic mindset, but they know where to draw the line: castration is to be understood in a figurative way. It is therefore slightly odd that the pre-existing narratives of the onager and the beaver had been selected for the *Physiologus* in the first place, as they easily inspire radical ideas in the target audiences. Therefore, not surprisingly, later redactors had to make up for this choice by explicitly clarifying that a good ascetic should always refrain from castration. Only one (late) manuscript tradition of the *Physiologus* seems to support the concept of the Christian eunuch. Unfortunately, we lack the knowledge to contextualize this statement properly.
2) The two chapters under scrutiny have undergone significant changes throughout the redactions and recensions. This underlines that the typological/allegorical meaning of any natural object, as presented by the *Physiologus*, is not set in stone. Quite the contrary, there is significant leeway for constant reassessment, modification, and in some cases even complete inversion.[60] The beaver can represent different kinds of laudable actions, depending on the message the author or redactor wants to send. In more extreme cases, animals can turn from positive examples of correct Christian behavior into incarnations of absolute evil. The onager's interpretation in the pseudo-Basilian recension illustrates such a development: the donkey is not the *typos* of the apostles anymore, but of biblical villains. This general tendency in *Physiologus* literature is confirmed by several other cases.[61] Its adaptability, however,

[60] This aspect is analyzed in Arnaud Zucker, "Morale du Physiologos: le symbolisme animal dans le christianisme ancien (IIe-Ve s.)," *Rursus* 2 (2007).

[61] One out of many examples: Both in the first and in the pseudo-Basilian recension of the *Physiologus*, the hedgehog is collecting grapes on his spines. In the former, the animal represents an

is part of the reason for the great success of the *Physiologus* throughout the centuries, as it makes the genre attractive for communities with diverging mind-sets. However, it also complicates our attempts to figure out what might have been the *original version* of the *Physiologus*—if there has ever been such a thing.

3) Somewhat connected to the adaptability established in the second point, we can see a slow transition in the agenda of the *Physiologus* over the course of time. It has been claimed that there is a general tendency to replace typological/mystical interpretations with allegorical/moralizing ones.[62] This is an overstatement: already in the first recension of the *Physiologus*, we have a good mix of theological explanations and practical advice, often combined and intertwined within a single chapter. But it is true that in later centuries, readers obviously consulted the Greek *Physiologus* mostly to get proper instructions about correct behavior. As a consequence, passages like the one about the relationship of the Old and New Covenants in the onager chapter disappear, and clarifications about the correct implementation of "castration" are added. This is not a sign of an intellectual decline, but an adjustment to the needs of the target audience—an audience that required hands-on advice about an appropriate monastic way of life rather than theological clarifications.

evil spirit that steals from our spiritual vineyard; in the latter, it exemplifies a good Christian who collects the teachings of Jesus Christ and brings them to the family.

[62] Perry, *Physiologus*, 1114, commenting on the pseudo-Basilian recension: "[Die Deutungen zeigen] fast überall den Übergang aus der typologisch-mystischen Sphäre in die allegorisch-moralisierende(.)"

SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN AND THE BOOK OF GENESIS: THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IN BYZANTIUM AROUND 1000 CE

Nikita Bogachev

At the turn of the millennium, a Byzantine monk known as Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) was abbot of Saint Mamas monastery in Constantinople.[1] There, Symeon supposedly composed most of his catechetical and theological texts, which discuss monastic life, salvation, and how to achieve it. Written for the monastic audience within the convent, these discourses adopted the narrative of the book of Genesis as an important instrument in monastic identity formation. In this essay, I will explore the ways Symeon used and transformed this part of Scripture for the anagogical and moral needs of the community and how Symeon's interpretation of Genesis differed from other widespread homiletic texts of the period.[2] In addition, this paper will reflect on Symeon's authorial self-fashioning in his texts.

Throughout the whole tradition of the interpretation of Scripture, Christian preachers were preoccupied with the spiritual growth and virtuous life of their audience. Theologians like Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom exerted their authority through *psychogogia* ("training of the soul"), aiming to influence the interior lives of their congregations.[3] The liturgy provided Biblical role models to follow and represented a spectacle that triggered responses on numerous levels. Hearing and seeing was only the anticipation of the Eucharist tasting. Thus, the interpretation of Scripture turned into a multi-sensory and multi-layered experience for preachers and listeners alike.[4] The theatre of the Church was established in this interplay while the narrative of faith was

[1] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1278. Symeon rebuilt the monastery, which was in an unprecedented decline.

[2] This article is an adaptation of one chapter from my MA Thesis titled "Redeeming the Sinful Flesh: John Climacus and Symeon the New Theologian on Penitence and the Body" defended in Budapest in June 2020 at the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University. My sincere thanks to the department for constant inspiration, substantial critique, and appreciation of my work.

[3] Wendy Mayer, "Catecheses and Homilies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 245.

[4] Mayer, "Catecheses and Homilies."

reproduced during the liturgy.[5] This kind of performativity was present also in the way Symeon interacted with the sacred text and his audience. In the sermon texts, Symeon fashioned himself as a powerful hegoumenos whose primary aim was the transformation of the interior lives of his monks.[6]

Symeon's interpretation of Genesis affirms his authority as a theologian and places him in a long tradition of interpreting Scripture. The name *Neos Theologos*, thus, established his historical relationship with two past writers designated as theologians: John the Apostle and Gregory of Nazianzus. The label of theologian served to underscore the credibility and authority of Symeon's writing in the eleventh-century context. In the same way, the title of "theologian" could refer to the possession of divine inspiration, which granted a preacher the power of discourse and truth-speaking. The divinely inspired interpretation of Scripture thus becomes an act of revelation: the text should be understood not only literarily but also spiritually, revealing the hidden meanings for those willing to hear. Symeon, as an author, shows his spiritual superiority over even those high up on the social ladder:

> All you who think highly of yourselves, learn from me here to humble yourselves and to moderate your self-opinion, and never to exalt yourselves, be you the mightiest kings of kings, or the most noble of nobles, or wealthier than all the other rich men put together.[7]

This example shows how Symeon's manner of writing combines humbleness with a prophetic vim. The divinely inspired interpreter or prophet speaks through the workings of grace (*charis*): "From this point, however, without straying from the word of the Gospel, grace (*charis*) gives me something else to understand and compels me to say it, to speak of that whichever occurs mystically and in all the sons of light."[8] In a way, here, Symeon is not an author but rather a filter

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[5] Carol Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134–135.

[6] Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 197.

[7] Symeon the New Theologian, *Ethical Discourses* I.9, 28–32 (ed. Darrouzès); trans. Golitzin, 53–54. The first part of this reference gives the number of the discourse and the lines in the critical edition where the cited text can be found. The second part provides the same information regarding the pages of the English translation. The complete critical edition of Symeon's works was published in *Sources Chrétiennes*: Symeon the New Theologian, *Ethical Discourses. Éthiques: Syméon le Nouveau Théologien.* ed. and French trans. Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols., SC 122, 129 (Paris: Cerf, 1966–1967). Trans.: Symeon the New Theologian, *On the Mystical Life,* ed. and trans. Alexander Golitzin, 3 vols. (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995–1997).

[8] Symeon the New Theologian, *Ethical Discourses* I.9, 71–73 (ed. Darrouzès); trans. Golitzin, 55.

through whom the revelation happens. The divine grace produces the discourse through Symeon's mediation. This idea remarkably overlaps with Symeon's "lack of education," which Niketas Stethatos (c. 1005–c. 1090), his pupil and editor of the works, emphasized in his narrative, following a widespread hagiographical *topos*.[9] A saint does not have to be educated to produce a sophisticated theological and highly rhetorical discourse. Niketas mirrors Symeon's self-fashioning as a mouthpiece of God and speaks about the absent "Hellenization" of Symeon's language that, in fact, is a good example of Byzantine high-style writing.[10] Thus, regardless of the real rhetorical style of the text, Symeon and, following him, Niketas fashioned Symeon's authorial self as one occupied with renunciation and humility. At the same time, it is also obvious that Symeon's theological views were influenced by Plato and the story about Symeon's debate with Stephen of Nicomedia perfectly illustrates the apogee of humble self-representation in which the *topos* of divine inspiration accurately fits.[11] Thus, the image created by Niketas corresponds with the way Symeon presents himself in his writings as an author through the prism of divine inspiration and humbleness.

To better understand Symeon's theological significance, idiosyncrasy, and innovation I have chosen to compare his interpretation of the beginning of Genesis with the homilies of John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) on the same subject. The popularity of Chrysostom's text in Constantinople around 1000 CE justifies this comparison. Both Symeon and Niketas in Symeon's *Vita* often refer to the authoritative texts of Chrysostom.[12] John Mauropous's (c. 1000–c. 1070) poems are further evidence for the circulation of Chrysostom's texts in the period.

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[9] Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 92–103.

[10] *Vie de Syméon*, I.2, 19–26 (ed. Hausherr); trans. Greenfield, 5.

[11] Niketas describes this conflict between Symeon and ecclesiastical authorities. Symeon was asked to provide an answer for a theological question about the distinction between the Father and the Son in the Trinity. Symeon, of course, provided it in a rhetorically distinguished manner composing a written answer, even though before that, according to Niketas, Stephen had mocked Symeon's lack of education calling him "ignorant and an utter peasant." For this, see: *Vie de Syméon*, X.74–78 (ed. Hausherr); trans. Greenfield, 167–179. Manolis Patedakis, "Quotations and Allusion in Symeon the New Theologian," in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 291–292. For Symeon's use of the references to Plato, see: Symeon the New Theologian, *Ethical Discourses* I.12, 319–415 (ed. Darrouzès); trans. Golitzin, 74–77. See also Alexander Golitzin's commentary on Symeon's use of the allegory of the prisoner on pages 19–20.

[12] For example, see: Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*, X.84 (ed. Hausherr); trans. Greenfield, 193. Niketas gives two long excerpts from Chrysostom's eulogy of Philogonios as an example of apologetic writing about sainthood. For a short summary of the debate about sainthood and Niketas's (and, as follows, Symeon's posthumous) relation to it, see: *The Ashgate*

Mauropous wrote about the three most important interpreters of the Scripture for the Eastern tradition. His laudatory poems for John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Basil the Great reveal that the influence of the late-antique Church Fathers had never faded:[13]

> Yes, he calls aloud and utters admonitions,
> but his voice is weak from fasting.
> It is my fault – I did not lend my ear.
> But now listening attentively, I will grasp what he tells me.
> Alas! He persuades me to reject this life.[14]

Mauropous focuses on the asceticism proclaimed in Chrysostom's writings. At the same time, the poet speaks about the theologian who lived many centuries before in the present tense and describes him as a living contemporary whose voice, still persuasive, sounds through the text. The importance of John Chrysostom for Byzantine liturgical practice and theology of the period can be emphasized by the fact that in the eleventh century, his liturgy almost completely replaced the Liturgy of Basil the Great, which was for centuries the principal liturgy of the Byzantine church.[15]

Symeon and John Chrysostom on the Creation of Humankind

In his *First Ethical Discourse* (*biblos ton ethikon*), Symeon begins by narrating the history of divine creation and elaborately comments on the beginning of the Book of Genesis. His comment on Genesis 1:27*,* the creation of Adam and Eve, deserves special attention:[16]

> "And God made the *human being* (*ton anthropon*), He made them male and female."[17] It [that is, Scripture] says "male (*arsen*) and female (*thelu*)," not as if Eve had already been born but as being in Adam's rib and being with him.[18]

Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 149.

[13] *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, trans. Floris Bernard and Christopher Livanos (London: Harvard University Press, 2018), 347–349.

[14] John Mauropous, *Poems* 14.343–346 (ed. Bernard and Livanos).

[15] Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 115.

[16] Gen. 1:27: So God created mankind (*anthropon*) in his own image, in the image (*eikona*) of God he created them; male and female he created them.

[17] Here, I edited Alexander Golitzin's translation replacing the word "man" with the gender neutral "human being," which fits this context better.

[18] Symeon the New Theologian, *Ethical Discourses* I.1, 25–27 (ed. Darrouzès).

Here, it is important to notice that Symeon understands the creation of male and female as simultaneous. Eve was created at the same time as Adam, but within him, as a part of his body; she had not yet been born as a separate subject. The notion of *anthropos* is significant for the theological understanding of human nature, since, in a way, it is not gendered. Male (*arsen*) and female (*thelu*) are rather attributes of *anthropos* as a being that possesses both of these categories.

By contrast, Chrysostom in his *Tenth Homily* clearly dismisses the idea of Eve's simultaneous creation:

> He says, "Male and female he made them." Do you see how he describes what is not yet created as though already created? That's the way you see with the eyes of the spirit; I mean, these bodily eyes cannot see visible things in the same way that the eyes of the spirit can see things that are not visible and things that have no subsistence.[19]

According to Chrysostom, Eve did not exist and was present in the narrative as an anticipated future, so that the creation of Adam and Eve in this interpretation was a sequential event. Adam was created as a king of all irrational animals (*aloga*) and lacked a "helpmate of his own kind" (*homoion auto*),[20] that is a rational helpmate, who was eventually created to satisfy this need. Unlike Chrysostom, Symeon does not emphasize a sequential and thus hierarchical structure of creation. It seems that for him the act of creation works according to other premises. Symeon's view on Eve's existence as a part of Adam from the very creation of the latter may be influenced by the discourse on the creation of humankind in Plato's *Symposium*:

> In the first place, let me treat the nature of man and what has happened to it; for the original human nature was not like the present, but different. The sexes were not two as they are now, but originally three in number; there was man, woman, and the union of the two, having a name corresponding to this double nature, which had once a real existence, but is now lost, and the word "Androgynous" is only preserved as a term of reproach.[21]

In this dialogue, Plato attributes these words to the comedian Aristophanes. Later Christian authors, such as Eusebius, described Plato's discourse as a perverse history of creation of which he "was evidently not ignorant."[22] Symeon's description of Adam's creation can be read as the creation of an androgynous

[19] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* 10; *PG* 53:85; trans. Robert C. Hill, 134.
[20] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* 15; *PG* 53:120; trans. Robert C. Hill, 197.
[21] Plato, *Symposium* 189d–e.
[22] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, XII, 12.

being and, thus, as a supposed reference to Plato. It is important since it shows the equality of Adam and Eve in the Genesis narrative. Symeon thereby subverts the standard hierarchical interpretation of the passage.

It is interesting that Symeon's reading has certain affinities with the interpretation of Genesis 1:27 in contemporary queer theology: it is often argued that the human being that God created could not be defined within a binary opposition of masculine/feminine.[23] In Symeon's view, Eve was paradoxically created at the same time as Adam but had not yet fully come into being. One could thus say that, in Symeon's interpretation, Adam's body initially encompassed femininity as if he was pregnant. So, according to John Chrysostom, in the moment of Adam's creation Eve had not yet been created, but she had been foreseen; Symeon, on the other hand, argues that Eve was already present in the substance of Adam's body. This means that Chrysostom emphasizes a hierarchical relation between man and woman, while Symeon does not pay any attention to such a relation in his discussion of the passage.

Symeon and John Chrysostom on the Transgression of Adam and Eve

Chrysostom and Symeon also take different approaches to the description of Adam and Eve's interrogation by God and represent the aftermath of the Fall in different ways. In Symeon's view, the transgression is postponed, and the souls of Adam and Eve suffer from insensitivity (*anaesthesia*), which brings the impossibility of penitence (*metanoia*). In the *Fifth Catechetical Discourse*, Symeon shows elaborately how both failed to repent:

> Will you not say "I have sinned" (*hemarton*)? Say, O wretch, "Yes, it is true, Master, I have transgressed Thy command, I have fallen by listening to the woman's counsel, I am greatly at fault for doing what she said and disobeying Thy word, have mercy upon me!" But he does not say this. He does not humble himself, he does not bend. The neck of his heart is like a sinew of iron *(Is. 48:4)*, as is mine, wretch as I am! For had he said this he might have stayed in paradise.[24]

[23] Elizabeth Stuart, "Sacramental Flesh," in *Queer Theology: Rethinking the Western Body*, ed. Gerard Loughlin (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 65–76.

[24] Symeon accuses Adam and Eve of insensitivity (*anaisthesia*), the death of the soul before the death of the body. According to Niketas, this was the same vice that Symeon had started to struggle against by praying among the tombs after reading John Climacus's *Ladder*. Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* I.6, 33–39 (ed. Hausherr); trans. Greenfield, 19.

Then Symeon describes how God interrogated Adam and Eve one by one. It is remarkable how in Symeon's narrative both gain equal attention, and Eve also receives the words from Symeon that she should have said. Symeon uses this elaborate illustration to show how both were equally unable to repent by saying a single word, *hemarton*, which, according to him, could have been sufficient for them to remain in paradise. Then he identifies himself with both characters.[25] Introducing the concept of repentance (*metanoia*) to the narrative, Symeon turns the history of creation into the history not so much of sin but of failed repentance. Sin and transgression are not terrible and irreversible for Symeon. For him, the Fall decisively happens not after the tasting of the fruit but after the failure to repent.

Thus, through the introduction of a new concept (*metanoia*) into his interpretation of the Biblical narrative, Symeon postpones the Fall and ascribes to repentance a deeper eschatological meaning. Repentance becomes an instrument of salvation and restoration of the sinful body in Symeon's text. In a sense, such an interpretation significantly transforms the history of salvation, since only the word *hemarton* (I have sinned), a performative act, pronounced in the first person, according to Symeon, could have restored Adam and Eve to their initial undefiled existence in paradise. The consequences of the transgression were, therefore, easy to avoid through the act of repentance, but this idea makes the Biblical story even more tragic. In other words, for Symeon, the real transgression is in the absence of repentance rather than in the sin itself, and at the same time repentance can be a cure for the consequences of human free will. This idea is powerfully and explicitly elaborated in Symeon's writing, which is aimed at questioning the premises of sin and salvation at large.

The central role of repentance is a characteristic of Symeon's writing. He describes a variety of practices to perform it and in the quoted passage, Symeon's authorial figure appears to identify with Adam and, further, with Eve through self-humiliating exclamatory intrusions.[26] These intrusions present Symeon in the text as a wretched sinner who is also unable to repent. Symeon intrudes into the Biblical text by introducing the words that Adam and Eve could have pronounced to repent, and thus presents his audience with important patterns to follow in

[25] Symeon the New Theologian, *Catechetical Discourses* V.213–219, 225–229, 237–240, 252–264, 268–274 (ed. Krivochéine); trans. de Catanzaro, 96–97.

[26] Symeon gives detailed instructions on how to perform repentance before going to sleep. This one includes recollection of sins and self-beating. Symeon the New Theologian, *Catechetical Discourses* 30 (ed. Krivochéine); trans. de Catanzaro, 318–328.

constructing their penitent selves.[27] Symeon inspires their participation through his own example and through this rhetoric demonstrates that he, too, is part of this story of sin and salvation.

Going back to the comparison of Symeon and Chrysostom, it is necessary to explore how the latter treats the same subject in his *Homily* 17. I focus more specifically on his representation of Eve's interrogation:

> "God said to the woman," the text goes on, "What is this you have done?" (Gen. 3:13) You heard your husband, he says, transferring the responsibility to you and putting all the blame on you, given to him though you were as his helpmate and created for the purpose of providing him with comfort from your person inasmuch as you have the same being as he and share in the same nature. So why did you do this, O woman? For what reason did you become the cause of such dreadful shame to yourself and your husband? What advantage did you gain from such intemperance? What benefit came to you from the deception which you willingly embraced and made your husband sharer in? So, what did the woman reply? "The serpent deceived me, and I ate" (Gen. 3:13).[28]

Chrysostom's main emphasis here is on guilt and the transmission of responsibility. His approach towards the judgement of Eve is more elaborate and outraged than Symeon's. There are no hierarchies in Symeon's interpretation; rather, Symeon, unlike Chrysostom, interprets Eve as a separate being for whom the only authority is God, without man being a mediator. John Chrysostom, moreover, says nothing about the concept of repentance; it is simply absent from his discussion. His presence in the text is explicit in his interrogatory rhetoric towards Eve, and to some extent, his authorial persona takes on the role of a judge. At the same time, for him the sin of transgression is an unavoidable and inerasable fact that happened at the very moment the fruit was tasted.

Symeon reshaped the narrative by introducing repentance as the instrument that could have eradicated the consequences of the tragedy. Repentance (*metanoia*) fits into Symeon's general view on human salvation. He treats Adam and Eve as equal individuals showing how both were unwilling to repent in the presence of God. He identifies with both and reconstructs how their repentant speech could have sounded, thereby giving his audience a pattern to follow.

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[27] Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 197–198.

[28] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* 17; *PG* 53:140; trans. Robert C. Hill, 232.

In addition, Symeon stresses the affective side of repentance expressed in the form of tears. He writes about Adam and Eve: "While they were walking about and sitting down outside paradise they repented. They wept, they groaned, they beat their faces, they tore their hair and plucked it out and bewailed their own hardness of heart."[29] This excerpt again augments the original text; in Genesis, there is no scene that could describe the repentance of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from paradise. Rather, such a description appears in the commentaries of Ephrem the Syrian and in the so-called apocryphal "Book of Adam and Eve." The apocryphal text narrates Eve's point of view on the story: "And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting."[30] However, the apocryphal text describes Eve as resistant to compunction while Symeon makes both characters repent, and this plays an important role as a model of behavior for the monastic audience.

The centrality of repentance in Symeon's preaching is connected to the centrality of the Eucharist. The Host is a crown of liturgy of which only the repentant subjects can partake. For Symeon, affectivity reflected in tears and emotional groaning is a manifestation of interior repentance. He writes: "But he who practices all these things and spends his whole life with groanings and tears is most worthy (of communion), not only on the feast day, but every day."[31] Only with apparent repentance expressed in tears and remembrance of Adam's and one's own faults can a monk approach and taste the Eucharist. Thus, in Symeon's theology, the Eucharistic meal mirrors Adam and Eve's insensible eating of the fruit, while acts of repentance, either failed or successful, unite Symeon's time with the historical time of Genesis and redeem original sin.

[29] Symeon the New Theologian, *Catechetical Discourses* V. 280–283 (ed. Krivochéine); trans. de Catanzaro, 97.

[30] Ephrem the Syrian, *Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on Our Lord, Letter to Publius*, trans. E. D. Mathews Jr. and J. P. Amar (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2015); Robert Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 134.

[31] Symeon the New Theologian, *Catechetical Discourses* IV. 612–615 (ed. Krivochéine); trans. de Catanzaro, 86.

BONDS OF LOYALTY IN THE *GESTA PRINCIPUM POLONORUM*[1]

Michał Machalski

The first work of Polish historiography, the *Gesta principum Polonorum*, was composed in times of political turmoil. Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth, at whose court the anonymous author known as Gallus composed the aforementioned work sometime between 1112 and 1118,[2] had just recently resolved a long-standing dispute with his older stepbrother Zbigniew. Previously exiled, Zbigniew, who had tried to reach for princely power in the past, returned to the country after promising his subordination. However, in the eyes of Bolesław, he did not keep his part of the promise or renounce his ambitions. Thus, in 1111, Zbigniew was violently punished. While the exact nature of this punishment is not known—some kind of mutilation being the most probable—this move must have caused considerable political uproar, as we know that Bolesław had to publicly repent for subjecting Zbigniew to this. Although Zbigniew reportedly forgave his brother before dying due to the abuse he suffered, it is probable that some of his influential supporters held a grudge against Bolesław for a very long time.

These events, almost contemporary to the creation of the *Gesta*, may be seen as something more than a mere dynastic dispute: symptoms of broader socio-political transformation. Although Thomas Bisson's suggestion that events depicted by Gallus were symptoms of the so-called "feudal revolution," the broader European process of the decentralization of royal and ducal power,[3] may seem farfetched, it has nevertheless found some validation in Polish historiography.[4] One thing is certain—this violence, which already characterized internal politics under Bolesław's father Władysław I's rule, did not end with the

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[1] This article is based on parts of my MA thesis, defended in June 2020 at the Central European University: Michał Machalski, "Concepts of Loyalty in the Earliest Central European Chronicles" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] Marian Plezia, *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku* [The Chronicle by Gallus in the Context of 12th-century Historiographical Writing] (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1947), 136.

[3] Thomas N. Bisson, "On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the 'Deeds of the Princes of Poland (1109-1113)," *Viator* 29 (1998): 275–289.

[4] Grzegorz Myśliwski, "Feudalizm—'rewolucja feudalna'—kryzysy władzy w Polsce XI-początku XII w. Punkt widzenia mediewistyki anglojęzycznej" [Feudalism—the 'Feudal Revolution'—the Crisis of Power in 11th–12th-century Poland. The Point of View of English Medieval Studies], *Przegląd Historyczny* 93, no. 1 (2002): 73–102; Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa: niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza społeczno-ustrojowej odrębności Polski* [For the shape of the united

death of Zbigniew but continued with the rebellion of the palatine Skarbimir, which took place shortly after Gallus finished the *Gesta*.

Considering these turbulent circumstances, I believe that depictions of loyalty, fidelity, obedience, or lack thereof played an important role in the political and ideological message of the *Gesta principum Polonorum*. In the following article I attempt to outline how Gallus portrayed the concept of loyalty in the *Gesta* and to what ends he used it in his chronicle.

The study of loyalty, which has always been of central interest for many medievalists, has undergone a significant transformation over the last century thanks to two crucial paradigm shifts. The first was brought about by František Graus's systematic critique of the notion of the *germanische Treue*. Graus argued that, contrary to the dominant approach of German historiography, there was in fact no continuity between the *fides* of warriors from Tacitus's *Germania* and the *fides* of Carolingian capitularies. Instead, the later, legally binding mutual obligation of *fides,* based on the rule of *do ut des,* was a new creation formulated in Carolingian times by the burgeoning feudal society, under the decisive influence of the Church.[5]

The second was introduced by the re-examination of the concept of *feudalism* itself, which revealed the constructed nature of this category of relationship.[6] Susan Reynolds, one of the key critics of this concept, proved that it was a development of twelfth-century jurisprudence that led to the gradual uniformization of the complicated web of early medieval social relations.[7] Indeed, a number of studies published since her *Fiefs and Vassals* underscored that Graus's vision of feudal loyalty with its legal, normative character only applies to a more literate society of the High Middle Ages.[8]

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kingdom: German territorial authority and the genesis of socio-political distinctiveness of Poland] (Warszawa: DiG, 1996).

[5] František Graus, "Herrschaft und Treue: Betrachtungen zur Lehre von der germanischen Kontinuität," *Historica* 12 (1966): 8ff.; for a representative treatment of fidelity as a specific characteristic of feudo-vassalic relations from Graus's contemporaries see: François-Louis Ganshof, *Feudalism* (New York: Harper, 1964).

[6] A good overview offered in: Stephen D. White, "A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000?," in *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimation in Medieval Societies*, ed. Isabel Alfonso Anton, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona Monge (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 27–49.

[7] Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 17–34, 475–478.

[8] For the links between the increasing use of writing and the creation of the narrowly understood *fidelitas* as a legal term of jurisprudence in the High Middle Ages see: Chris Wickham, *Courts and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Tuscany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); White, "A Crisis of Fidelity in c.1000?"; Stefan Weinfurter, "Lehnswesen, Treueid und Vertrauen. Grundlagen der

With focus shifting away from the normative orders and regulations, toward the unwritten but widely-known rules governing society—so-called *Spielregeln*[9]—a new vision of early medieval society emerged, one composed of multiple overlapping temporal communities held together by personal ties and common ideals.[10] Those personal bonds included not only lordship, but also kinship and friendship.[11] Due to this shift, *amicitia*, previously seen mostly as an emotional relationship, was proven to be an integral part of securing alliances.[12] As argued by Klaus van Eickels, all three of those mutual bonds were based, at their core, on "negative loyalty"—prohibition to attack, injure, or harm kinsmen, friends, lords, and subjects.[13]

It is surprising then that the problem of loyalty has never played a central role in studies on the *Gesta principum Polonorum,* or in Polish historiography in general. This is not to say that Polish historians were not interested in Gallus's depiction of loyalty, but that those inquiries were usually limited and not at the forefront of their studies. A good example of the incidental nature of previous research on loyalty in the earliest Polish chronicle is Marian Plezia's exploration of the meaning of *traditor* in the *Gesta,* in discussing the passage concerning the death of

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neuen Ordnung im hohen Mittelalter," in *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter: Forschungskonstrukte – Quellenbefunde – Deutungsrelevanz*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Roman Deutinger (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2010), 443–462.

[9] Gerd Althoff, "Einleitung," in *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2014), 13ff.

[10] Fredric Cheyette, "Some Reflections on Violence, Reconciliation and the 'feudal Revolution,'" in *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, ed. Warren C. Brown and Piotr Górecki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 259.

[11] Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[12] Verena Epp, *Amicitia: zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999); Verena Epp, "Rituale frühmittelalterlicher 'amicitia,'" *Vorträge und Forschungen* 51 (2001): 11–24; Klaus Oschema, "Sacred or Profane? Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages," in *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 43–65.

[13] Klaus van Eickels, "Tradierte Konzepte in neuen Ordnungen. Personale Bindungen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Vorträge und Forschungen* 64 (2006): 101; Klaus van Eickels, "Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft und Vasallität: Der Wandel von Konzepten personaler Bindung im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter. Forschungskonstrukte - Quellenbefunde - Deutungsrelevanz*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Roman Deutinger (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010), 407; Eickels deliberately borrows the term "negative loyalty" from the previous literature on feudo-vassalic relationships, see: Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 77.

St. Stanislaus.[14] Among the Polish historiography the best point of departure for my current analysis is found in the works of Zbigniew Dalewski, which examine this shift towards unwritten norms of behavior expressed in gestures and rituals. His primary contribution focuses on the use of ritual in Gallus's depiction of the dynastic conflict between Bolesław III and Zbigniew, with smaller contributions broaching the subject of the chronicler's vision of the bonds between the ruler and his subjects.[15]

At the core of the ideological vision presented by Gallus stands the status of the Piast dynasty as *domini naturales* of Poland. Although the exact origins of the story of the eponymous founder of the dynasty—Piast, a ploughman from the Gniezno suburbs—can be most likely traced back to some pre-Christian tradition, the chronicler clearly interprets the narrative through a Christian framework.[16] Piast's act of hospitality towards his two mysterious guests, who find humble Piast more welcoming than Gniezno's ruler, Popiel, is rewarded by God, who "exalts the poor and humble in this world and does not disdain to reward even pagans for their hospitality." God multiplies the food and makes drinks served by Piast ever plenty, so the humble host was able to invite the whole community to his feast. Piast's son Siemowit, whose great future is foretold by this miraculous feast, grows in strength and excellence (*probitas*) day by day; finally, he is made the duke of Poland by God and disposes of Popiel. The precise phrasing of the *Gesta—rex regum et dux ducum eum Polonie ducem concorditer ordinavit*—reassures the reader that

[14] Marian Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława: Studium źródłoznawcze* [Concerning the affair of St. Stanislaus: Study of sources] (Bydgoszcz: Homini, 1999).

[15] Zbigniew Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics: Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Zbigniew Dalewski, "Władca i możni w Kronice Galla Anonima" [Ruler and nobles in the Gallus's Anonymous chronicle], in *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve stredoveku*, ed. Nodl Martin and Martin Wihoda (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), 31–44; Zbigniew Dalewski, "'Vivat Princeps in Eternum!' Sacrality of Ducal Power in Poland in the Earlier Middle Ages," in *Monotheistic Kingship. The Medieval Variants*, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh and János Bak (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004), 215–230.

[16] Some, like Roman Michałowski, argued that the tale about Piast was only superficially Christianized, but most agree on a strong "saturation" with Christian meaning by the time of Gallus. See: Roman Michałowski, "Restauratio Poloniae w ideologii dynastycznej Galla Anonima" [Restauratio Poloniae in the dynastic ideology of Gallus Anonymous], *Przegląd Historyczny* 76, no. 3 (1985): 461; Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium Porównawcze Nad Wczesnośredniowiecznymi Tradycjami Dynastycznymi* [Story of Piast and Popiel. Comparative Study on Early Medieval Dynastic Traditions] (Warsaw: PWN, 1986), 140; Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski: studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* [Gallus Anonymous' myth of the origins of Poland: A study in historiosophy and hermeneutics of symbols of medieval historiography] (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 2000).

it was God who made Piast's family the rulers of Poland.[17] It also shows that in Gallus's opinion there was little difference, at least as far as divine investiture was concerned, between royal and ducal power. The slight modification of the image of Christ as the King of Kings by adding the title of Duke of Dukes (*dux ducum*) allowed all Piasts, regardless of whether they called themselves dukes or kings, to participate in Christ's heavenly dignity.[18]

This vision of sacralized sovereign authority had two consequences for the depiction of idealized loyalty in the *Gesta principum Polonorum*. On the one hand, it seemed to create an expectation of loyalty, formulated in an impersonal way, toward all members of the dynasty. The relationships between God, the Poles, and their dukes were intertwined. God's support for the Piasts meant that under their auspices Poles were to prosper, participating as subjects in some of their ruler's divine favor.[19] This direct link between the fate of the country and its ruling dynasty formed a fundament of ducal claim to power, with the general obligation of loyalty to the Piasts stemming directly from it.

Gallus goes as far as to state this explicitly in his account of the fall of the first Polish monarchy. When Queen Mother Richeza and the adolescent Duke Casimir were exiled by some traitors and villains (*traditores, maliciosi*), a series of disasters shook Poland while abandoned by the Piasts. Disloyal subjects had to face not only the invasion of foreign rulers who tried to carve up the land, but an even more dire threat of social reversal.[20] The picture of the complete desolation of the country ends with the warning: "But let this suffice on the subject of Poland's ruin, and may it serve in correction of those who failed to keep faith with their natural masters (*domini naturales*)."[21] The moral is clear—those who turned their back on the Piasts, the *domini naturales* of Poland—turned their back to God and were punished for it. Only when Casimir returns to Poland, ignoring the pleas

[17] 1.3–1.4 in *Gesta principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles,* transl. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), 22–24 [henceforth*: GpP*].

[18] Dalewski, "'Vivat Princeps in Eternum!,'" 226.

[19] Zbigniew Dalewski, "A New Chosen People? Gallus Anonymus's Narrative about Poland and Its Rulers," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery*, ed. Ildar Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 160–165.

[20] 1.19 in *GpP*, 79; for the narrative analysis of "pagan revolt" see: Edward Skibiński, *Przemiany władzy: narracyjna koncepcja Anonima tzw. Galla i jej podstawy* [Transformations of power: The narrative concept of the Anonymous, so-called Gallus, and its basis] (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2009), 85–96.

[21] "Haec autem dixisse de Poloniae destructione sufficiat, et eis qui dominis naturalibus fidem non servaverunt ad correctionem proficiat," 1.19 in *GpP,* 80.

of his mother who urges him not to return to "gentem perfidam et nondum bene christianam," is he able to repel his enemies and restore the state with God's aid.[22]

The return of the young prince highlighted the nature of loyalty owed by subjects to their *domini naturales*. In order to restore his rule after fending off foreign invaders, Casimir had to confront Miecław, the former cupbearer of Mieszko II, who "had the presumption to become the leader and standard-bearer of the Mazovian people."[23] As the leader of the Mazovians, he not only refused to submit to Casimir, but even began to resist him militarily. The Piast prince, who did not consider the rouge cupbearer as anyone more than a rebellious servant, attacked Miecław's forces; despite his numerical disadvantage, he won over these rebels, who were fighting against the rightful ruler of Poland. [24]

The main crime of Miecław lies in his refusal to submit to his returning *dominus naturalis*.[25] But why should the trusted man of Mieszko II, following the death of the old monarch and the collapse of his state, consider the prince returning from exile his ruler? According to Gallus, the answer is simple: because the Piasts are the "natural masters" of Poland. The Polish common folk in the *Gesta* seem to recognize him as such immediately: straightaway after the young prince crosses the border, the citizens of an unnamed castle open the gates for him.[26] The devotion of the common-folk is further highlighted by the heroism of "a soldier from the rank and file (*de gregariis militibus*)," who saves Casimir's life during the battle with Miecław.[27] With his return, Casimir gained the right to recognize all Poles as his subjects, from whom he had the right to expect loyalty.[28] The implication is that even if he had not dealt with the Piasts before, Miecław should have recognized the divine claim of the dynasty. Thus, both the description of the fall of Poland and the clash between Casimir and Miecław are to serve mainly to emphasize the need to remain faithful to their natural lords—the Piast dynasty. The first describes the consequences of not remaining faithful, the second emphasizes the unbreakable nature of the bonds of loyalty between the Poles and the dynasty. The Piasts are chosen by God to rule Poland, and both

[22] 1.19–21 in *GpP*, 80–86.
[23] 1.20 in *GpP,* 83.
[24] 1.20 in *GpP,* 82.
[25] Skibiński, *Przemiany władzy*, 94.
[26] 1.19 in *GpP*, 80.
[27] 1.20 in *GpP,* 83–84.
[28] Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai: Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 222.

the earthly and the eternal life of their subjects are determined by their loyalty to their *domini naturales*.

On the other hand, the vision of the sacralized sovereign authority meant that the Piasts had to follow certain standards of conduct befitting a Christian sovereign. While Gallus seldom makes direct statements about the proper way in which rulers should behave towards their subjects, the depictions of great ancestors—particularly, the idealized reign of Bolesław I the Great—are provided as examples of proper relationships between the ruler and his subjects.[29]

For instance, Bolesław, the first Polish king, "loved his dukes, *comites,* and princes as if they were his brothers or his sons."[30] Feasts played an important role in highlighting this proximity between the ruler and his subjects;[31] Gallus noted that Bolesław would regularly dine with twelve of his closest friends and counselors. While the chronicler spends a considerable amount of time describing the lavishly set tables, the redistribution of wealth, food, and drinks, these were not the main draw of such banquets. Rather, participation itself was the main reward for *fideles*.[32] Gallus mentions that a person who for some reason became excluded from the common feasts and banished from the presence of the king, even temporarily, "would feel as though he were dying rather than alive, and not free but cast into a dungeon until he was readmitted to the king's grace and presence."[33] The feasts created a great opportunity to reassert one's loyalty and dedication. When returning from the campaign in Rus', Bolesław I and his closest followers become surrounded by a large Ruthenian force; he expresses his confidence in his victory, trusting the promises made by his soldiers during feasts and division of the booty. The fighters respond that they place triumph over any

[29] For the role of Gallus's depiction of Bolesław I as a mirror for the future princes, see: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Gall jako historyk poważny, czyli dlaczego dzieje i Bolesława Chrobrego, i Bolesława Krzywoustego są prawdziwe i niegroteskowe" [Anonymous Gallus as a serious historian, or why his descriptions of the reigns of Bolesław Chrobry and Bolesław Krzywousty are plausible and not grotesque], *Przegląd Historyczny* 99 (2008): 43.

[30] "Duces vero suosque comites ac principes acsi fratres vel filios diligebat," 1.13 in *GpP*, 58–59.

[31] For the importance of feasts in the Middle Ages in the social context see: Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 152–159; Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Trzy razy uczta" [Three times a feast], in *Społeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński, vol. 5 (Warsaw: DiG, 1992), 95–97.

[32] For Marian Dygo, the depiction of Bolesław's feast builds on the Christological vision of the first Polish king; the main reward for faithful service would therefore be the admission to a sacred eucharistic community. See: Marian Dygo, "Uczty Bolesława Chrobrego" [Feasts of Bolesław Chrobry], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 112, no. 3 (2005): 41–54.

[33] 1.12 in *GpP*, 59.

kind of loot, thus reinforcing the idea that material rewards were secondary for the followers of the Piast monarch.[34]

The twelve confidants that regularly attend Bolesław's feast are far from the only advisors that make an appearance on the pages of the *Gesta*. These anonymous counselors surround Piast rulers, giving them both good and bad advice.[35] As noted by Zbigniew Dalewski, Gallus's depiction resonates with the notion, popular in the medieval ideal of rulership, of a monarch consulting with the members of the secular and ecclesiastical elite on the most important of his decisions.[36] The rulers were to obtain *consensus fidelium* before taking their actions, and those who disregarded the counsel of their advisors risked being accused of tyranny.[37] The participation of the most powerful of subjects in the exercise of the dynasty's sovereign authority was likewise a primary reward for their loyalty. Thus, the active role played in the internal politics of the Piast realm by non-dynastic elites, either by voicing their support for sides in dynastic conflicts or by serving as advisors, can be seen as an essential part of the relationship between rulers and their subjects.

Thus, Gallus treads the line in his description of bonds of loyalty between the Piasts and their subjects between two visions: unilateral obedience stemming from the sacralized dynastic authority of *domini naturales*, and reciprocal commitment based on the *do ut des* rule. This can be explained by Gallus's aim to highlight the sacralized authority of the Piast dynasty while excusing some acts of disloyalty against those members of the ruling family whom his patron Bolesław III found himself in conflict with. It is no coincidence that the personal virtue and suitability to rule of the member of the dynasty plays an increasingly larger role in the more contemporary parts of the chronicle. When the dying Duke Władysław is asked by the nobles which of his sons should hold a primary position in the realm, he leaves it to their judgment, instructing them to "let him possess the throne of the kingdom by perpetual right who better provides for the honor and advantage

[34] 1.7 in *GpP,* 44–46.

[35] For the example, see the role of advisors in the final confrontation between Zbigniew and Bolesław III: 3.25 in *GpP* 271–275.

[36] Dalewski, "Władca i możni w Kronice Galla Anonima"; for a broader context, see: Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus fidelium: Frühfeudale Interpretation des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankenreiches* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982).

[37] Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 103–106; Gerd Althoff, "Colloquium familiare - colloquium seceretum - colloquium publicum. Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters," in *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenshaftlische Buchgesellschaft, 2014), 157–185.

of the land."[38] It is worth pointing out that this kind of mutual fidelity built on the consensual lordship and reciprocal bonds between rulers and their subjects was a dominant vision of loyalty in the contemporary chronicles of neighboring realms—Bohemia and Hungary.[39]

The tensions between conflicting visions of loyalty in Gallus's *Gesta* can be further explored by examining the differences between the chronicler's depictions of two rulers whose downfalls were caused by their unfaithfulness—Bolesław II of Poland and Svatopluk of Bohemia. The Přemyslid duke, after betraying the trust of Bolesław III—to whom he swore faithful friendship after his help in obtaining the Bohemian throne—was killed by one of his own soldiers.[40] It was his treachery and tyranny that dissolved the natural bond between the ruler and his subjects.[41] Svatopluk's fate was met with the approval of his followers, who did not try to avenge the death of their duke. This seems to suggest that Gallus approved of the subjects' disloyalty to their oath-breaking rulers.

This does not seem to be the case, however, when it was the Piast ruler Bolesław II who was killed for making a mockery of the accepted rules and arrangements and for breaking his promises.[42] The expulsion of the troublesome monarch, a result of his transgressions during the conflict with Bishop Stanislaus, does not meet with comparable approval. On the contrary, Gallus characterizes the people involved in the expulsion of Bolesław as malicious enough to poison

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[38] 2.8 in *GpP,* 132–134. For the role of personal virtue and ability to rule in the legitimization of the rule in the *Gesta* and other Central European chronicles, see: János Bak, "Legitimization of Rulership in Three Narratives from Twelfth-Century Central Europe," in *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects*, vol. 8 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 43–60.

[39] Jakub Razim, "Věrnost v Kosmově kronice" [Fidelity in the Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague], *Forum Historiae* 13, no. 2 (2019): 18–39; Angelika Herucová and Pavol Hudáček, "Verní a neverní kráľovi" [Loyal and Disloyal to the King], *Forum Historiae* 13, no. 2 (2019): 1–17. I present a more detailed comparison between visions of loyalty in the earliest Central European chronicles in my MA thesis, see: Machalski, "Concepts of Loyalty in the Earliest Central European Chronicles."

[40] "Sed ducatum adeptus nec fidem tenuit iurata violando, nec Deum timuit homicidia perpetrando. Unde Deus ad exemplum aliorum sibi dignam pro factis reconpensationem exhibuit, cum securus inermis, in mula residens in medio suorum ab uno vili milite venabulo perforatus occubuit, nec ullus suorum ad eum vindicandum manus adhibuit," 3.16 in *GpP*, 248–250.

[41] Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 180–181; Paweł Żmudzki, *Władca i Wojownicy: Narracje o Wodzach, Drużynie i Wojnach w Najdawniejszej Historiografii Polski i Rusi* [Ruler and Warriors: Narrations about Leaders, Hosts, and Wars in the Oldest Historiography of Poland and Rus (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2009), 69.

[42] Edward Skibiński, "Biskup i monarcha" [Bishop and monarch], in *Docendo discimus: studia historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Zbigniewowi Wielgoszowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Zbigniew Wielgosz, Krzysztof Kaczmarek, and Jarosław Nikodem (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2000), 106.

his virtuous son Mieszko.[43] This would imply that Gallus saw the actions taken against King Bolesław II as an example of infidelity, even if the ruler himself was known to break his own promises. The disloyalty to the Polish *domini naturales* was for Gallus harder to justify than that of the Přemyslid ruler, underlining the privileged position of the Piast dynasty in his mind.

The vision of loyalty in the *Gesta* is further complicated by the fact that, as I mentioned at the beginning, loyalty can be seen as underlying not only bonds of lordship and friendship, but also very important bonds of kinship.[44] Despite the value that warrior societies of the early Middle Ages placed on the youthful vitality required to pursue a martial lifestyle, the patriarchal Roman and Christian notions of reverence and filial obedience retained their importance, with the supreme authority of a father over his sons becoming even more present in the medieval conception of ideal family relations.[45] Everything points to Gallus subscribing to those ideals, with the notion of paternal love as a shorthand for the ideal relationship between two unequal parties.[46] An example of how this orientation affected Gallus's writing can be seen in his effort to frame what was essentially a conflict between Duke Władysław and his sons, Zbigniew and Bolesław III, as stemming not from direct disagreements between father and sons, but from the machinations of Władysław's bad advisor Sieciech. In the opinion of the chronicler, only the machinations of the ambitious palatine could have turned the loving father against his sons; the decision of the old duke to side with Sieciech against his sons and to abandon his nobles is described as madness. This is further contrasted in the *Gesta* with the vision of the young princes trying to reconcile with their father by appearing in his camp just like sons ought to: "humbly, unarmed and in peace, and not as lords but as his knights or servants offered their obedience with bowed necks and meek hearts."[47]

The bonds of kinship could also become a detriment to one's loyalty. *Comes* Wojsław, a guardian assigned to the adolescent prince Bolesław III to share

[43] 1.29 in *GpP*, 102; Gerard Labuda, *Święty Stanisław biskup krakowski, patron Polski: śladami zabójstwa, męczeństwa, kanonizacji* [St. Stanislaus the bishop of Cracow, patron saint of Poland: Signs of murder, martyrdom, canonization] (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2000), 75–76.

[44] On the primacy of bonds of kinship over other types of personal bonds in the Middle Ages see: Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 23.

[45] Christoph Dette, "Kinder und Jugendliche in der Adelsgesellschaft des frühen Mittelalters," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 76, no. 1 (1994): 1–34.

[46] For example, the important part of Bolesław the Great's depiction as an ideal ruler is that "love for his people abounded within him, as in the father towards his sons," see: 1.16 in *GpP*, 67.

[47] "ad patrem fratres humiliter inermes et pacifici perrexerunt, eique non ut domini, sed ut milites vel servi suum obsequium pronis mentibus et cervicibus obtulerunt," 2.16 in *GpP,* 146–151.

power with Duke Władysław and his brother Zbigniew, was a kinsman of the aforementioned Sieciech.[48] In the light of the palatine's hostility toward the young prince, some of Bolesław's companions found Wojsław's absence during the planned campaign against the Bohemians suspicious, suspecting that the *comes* had known of some intrigue plotted by his *propinus* Sieciech.[49] Confused by the accusations, the *comes* repeatedly tried to mend his relationship with Bolesław and Zbigniew by offering the young princes *satisfactio*—ritual submission—to prove his innocence and loyalty.[50] While Gallus never acknowledges those accusations as true,[51] the fact that the Piast princes at the time did not answer Wojsław's pleas suggests that they found them probable. It seems then that the claim that bonds of kinship took precedence over bonds of lordship would not be outlandish for the audience of the *Gesta*, suggesting an interesting hierarchy of loyalty that would re-affirm Gerd Althoff's claim about the importance of bonds of kinship.[52]

The interwoven nature of the different bonds of loyalty was also utilized by Gallus to obfuscate certain realities of power, which, contrary to his vision of Piast lordship, seemed to be contested by non-dynastic elements. This is most clearly visible in the story of Zbigniew's first return to Poland. The story begins with the introductions of Władysław's "natural" son Zbigniew, and of Sieciech, the ambitious palatine of Duke Władysław, who despite his many virtues does not hold any regard for nobles. As Sieciech regularly expels his opponents or sells them into slavery, many of these men flee or are banished to Bohemia. There, with the help and advice of Duke Břetislav, they pay for the retrieval of Zbigniew from the German monastery to which he had been sent for his studies.[53]

The subsequent course of events clearly depicts a complicated political game, which Gallus reports on while apparently trying to omit some aspects of it. The exiled Poles, having freed Zbigniew, send a letter to Magnus, *comes* of

[48] Gallus does not specify the exact relationship between Sieciech and Wojsław, using the broad terms *propinquus* and *consanguinitas*, see: 2.16 in *GpP,* 142; Janusz Bieniak in his classical work on prosopography of Piast Poland suggested that Wojsław was Sieciech's sororal nephew or cousin, see: Janusz Bieniak, "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku: Część II: Wróżda i zgoda" [Polish political elite of the 12th century: Part II: Feud and consensus], in *Społeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej 3*, ed. Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński (Warsaw: PWN, 1985), 19–25.

[49] 2.16 in *GpP*, 142–143.

[50] Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 81.

[51] On the contrary, the chronicler seems to be overall sympathetic towards the *comes*, praising his valiant sacrifice in the description of one of the prior episodes, when he became seriously wounded in the battle of one of the young Bolesław's campaigns, see: 2.14 in *GpP*, 140–141.

[52] See footnote no. 43 above.

[53] 2.4 in *GpP,* 122–124.

Wrocław, to try to convince him that by welcoming Zbigniew back in the country he will be able to break the yoke of Sieciech's tyranny. The language used is important: Magnus is not asked to participate in attacking any party but is rather cast as the protector of the weak and unjustly oppressed—that is, the juvenile son of Władysław and the nobles persecuted by the power-hungry palatine. The *comes* of Wrocław decides, after seeking the advice of the people of Wrocław, to welcome Zbigniew and his companions.[54] This not only saddens Władysław, but also frightens Sieciech and the queen. The ruler sends a messenger to the people of Wrocław "demanding to know what they were about in harboring Zbigniew as well as the exiles without his father's orders: did they intend to be rebels, or to obey him?"[55] The people of Wrocław promised the Piast ruler, "that they would obey faithfully their lord the duke and his legitimate son Bolesław in all matters and circumstances, but they would oppose Sieciech and his evil deeds by all means possible."[56] Despite these assurances, Władysław and Sieciech decide to intervene by force, soliciting help from King Ladislas of Hungary and the aforementioned Břetislav of Bohemia. However, the military action ended in failure, with Ladislas almost turning against Sieciech in order to bring him in bondage back to Hungary. Faced with the squabbles of his allies and reluctance of his own men, who "had no desire to fight against their own people," Władysław is forced to publicly recognize Zbigniew as his son.[57]

Up to this point, contrary to those who claimed that the prince's return was a form of *adventus regis*—a ceremonial gesture that would express claims to the political authority[58]—young Zbigniew seems to be a surprisingly passive actor in the unfolding events. The long hesitation of Magnus and the townsfolk's reassurance to the messengers of the duke that they aim to remain loyal to Władysław as their lord indicates rather that Władysław's son is simply a tool

[54] "Hoc audito Magnus diu imprimis hesitavit, sed communicato consilio maioribus et laudato, verbis eorum eum recipiens acquievit," 2.4 in *GpP,* 122–124.

[55] "Igitur legatum Magno Wratislauensisque magnatibus regionis transmiserunt sciscitantes, quid hoc esset, quod Zbigneuum cum fugitivis sine patris imperio recepissent, si rebelles existere, vel obedire sibi vellent," 2.4 in *GpP,* 126–127.

[56] "Ad hec Wratislauienses unanimiter responderunt, non se patriam Bohemicis vel alienis nacionibus tradidisse, sed dominum ducis filium suosque fugitivos recepisse, seseque velle domino duci legitimoque filio suo Bolezlauuo in omnibus et per omnia fideliter obedire, sed Setheo suisque malis operibus modis omnibus contraire," 2.4 in *GpP,* 126–127.

[57] 2.4 in *GpP,* 127.

[58] Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 22–28.

in the hands of the exiles.[59] The conflict within the ruling family seems to be playing—at least in this part of the narrative—a secondary role.

The peace between Władysław and Zbigniew is short-lived. Sieciech bribes the most important figures from Wroclaw to revitalize the assault on Zbigniew, and with Wladyslaw's army approaching the city once more, Zbigniew has to flee, unable to find support in the local elites or the populace.[60] His father follows him in pursuit to Kruszwica, and the tone of Gallus's narrative decidedly shifts, with conflict becoming "more than civil war, with son in arms against father and brother against brother in a cursed contest." The victory of Władysław over his son and his pagan allies is celebrated by Gallus as God's rightful judgment.[61] Zbigniew, aware of the gravity of his transgressions, "could only contemplate whether his life or some limb would be forfeit."[62] However, Władysław shows understanding for the "youthful stupidity" of his son, and after a short imprisonment Zbigniew "recovered the good graces he had lost."[63] The whole episode, with the clear assignment of blame to Zbigniew and Władysław's benevolence toward his son's juvenile transgressions, fits well both Gallus's agenda and the cultural expectations of fatherly love.[64]

This narrative framework, however, fits imperfectly around the events surrounding Zbigniew's initial move to Wrocław. We see that Zbigniew's role in the initial stage of the conflict is inflated and that he is used as a convenient cover-up for the chronicler, as it allows him to use the frame of familial conflict while

[59] For similar critique of interpretation sugested by Dalewski, see: Jarosław Nikodem, "Nieskruszony syn marnotrawny : Gall Anonim o dwóch powrotach Zbigniewa do Polski" [Unrepentant prodigal son: Gall Anonymous on Zbigniew's two returns to Poland], *Studia Periegetica* 4 (2010): 67.

[60] 2.4 in *GpP,* 125–128.

[61] "Zbigneuus vero convocata multitudine paganorum, habensque VII acies Crusuiciensium, exiens de castro cum patre dimicavit, sed iustus iudex inter patrem et filium iudicavit. Ibi namque bellum plus quam civile factum fuit, ubi filius adversus patrem et frater contra fratrem arma nefanda tulit. Ibi spero, miser Zbigneuus paterna malediccione, quod futurum erat, promeruit; ibi vero Deus omnipotens Wladislauo duci misericordiam tantam fecit, quod innumerabilem de hostibus multitudinem interfecit et de suis sibi paucissimos mors ademit," 2.5 in *GpP*, 128.

[62] 2.5 in *GpP*, 129.

[63] 2.5 in *GpP,* 131.

[64] Władysław's benevolence is particularly interesting given his ambivalent characterization in the other parts of the chronicle, see: Jaroslaw Nikodem, "Parens tanti pueri: Władysław Herman w Gallowej wizji dziejów dynastii" [*Parens tanti pueri*: Władysław Herman in Gallus's vision of dynastic history], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 117, no. 1 (2010): 5–22. While Nikodem discards the explanation of Władysław's benevolence as based on the understanding of Zbigniew's "youthful stupidity," I believe that he does so too easily given Gallus's own leniency in the portrayal of the young characters, see: Żmudzki, *Władca i Wojownicy*..., 89.

describing a much more complicated reality in which power can be contested not only by other Piasts, but also by competing camps of non-dynastic elites. This narrative manipulation aside, both the response of the inhabitants of Wrocław to Władysław's inquiry and the old duke's leniency toward his firstborn son illustrate the obligation of "negative loyalty." The Piast subjects demonstrate their faithfulness to their ruler by presenting their actions as unharmful for Władysław and his heir, but passively defensive against the actions of the ambitious Sieciech, which they deemed oppressive. Following the same principle, the duke recalls his paternal bond with Zbigniew, and does not harm his rebellious son.

In conclusion, Gallus's dominant vision of loyalty is one of reciprocal, though not always symmetrical, loyalty. As depicted by the chronicler, the tradition surrounding the origins of dynastic power draws a direct line between the election of the legendary ancestors of the Piast dynasty as God's representatives and the position of their descendants as the *domini naturales* of Poland. Nevertheless, some parts of the *Gesta*—particularly those depicting rivalry between Gallus's patron Bolesław III and his stepbrother Zbigniew—gesture towards a different approach to the legitimization of rulership: one that links the subjects' loyalty to the ruler's own ability to live up to the standard of a Christian sovereign. Thus, strong ideas about the divine origins of dynastic authority coexist in the earliest Polish chronicle with the ideological message of consensual lordship. While the example of Mieciław would suggest that the bonds of loyalty between the Piasts and their subjects are "by nature" unbreakable, members of the dynasty nevertheless reinforce those relationships by rewarding their followers with feasts, gifts, and participation in their sovereign power.

Similarly, as the example of Władysław and his sons shows, the fathers in Gallus's work demanded filial obedience, while their children could expect love and benevolence. While the loyalty of the bond of kinship was seen as ultimately stronger than that of lordship, both were characterized as reciprocal relations with clearly defined "negative obligations," with both sides forbidden to harm each other in any way. To do so was seen as a grave moral failing. Subjects who raised their hand against their Piast rulers, such as the *traditores* who expelled Rycheza and Casimir, met divine justice brought down by their own schemes. Rulers who transgressed the limits of "negative loyalty" by perjury or harming their subjects also met their ends, with their behavior prompting the dissolution of their bonds of loyalty.

This raises the question of Gallus's deployment of the concept of loyalty in shaping the ideological message of his work. While Bolesław III is always true to his word, disloyalty is often part of the negative characterization of his

adversaries, foreign or domestic. However, when writing about the perjuries of Władysław or Zbigniew, Gallus often nuances his message by introducing the figures of bad advisors—like Sieciech—who guide the errant princes' decisions. This shifting of blame can be to some extent explained by the chronicler's need not to antagonize those elites whose allegiances may have been on the "other side" of dynastic conflicts.

However, perhaps the most important way in which Gallus used his concept of loyalty within the *Gesta principum Polonorum* was to attempt to present it as an absolute value, shared by the whole society. The events surrounding Zbignew's rebellion at Wrocław act as a reminder that, be it unilateral obedience to the *domini naturales* or reciprocal obligations governed by the rule of *do ut des*, Gallus's concept of loyalty belonged only to him and the narrow circle of the secular and ecclesiastical elites gathered at Bolesław III's court. While the negative obligations of loyalty were well stipulated, the positive ones were not defined in any absolute terms. As such, they were open to negotiation, allowing Piast subjects to contest claims to power by offering different interpretations of their obligations and duties. The response to Władysław's inquiry about their fidelity by the people of Wrocław suggests that they had their own vision of what being loyal to the Piast ruler meant.

This lets us see Gallus's chronicle in different perspective. When placed in the broader context, the visions of loyalty presented in the pages of the *Gesta* do not differ significantly from those seen on the pages of other contemporary chroniclers of Latin Europe, with a common set of values shaping reciprocal and unilateral social relationships. Gallus not only depicted this process of integration of the Polish ruling elites into the larger *Christianitas* with its shared *Spielregeln*, but by the virtue of being the author of the very first work of Polish historiography, he also actively participated in its unfolding, by communicating the negotiable rules in the form of a normative description of loyalty.

THE REPOSITORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF GIFTS IN THE MONGOL IMPERIAL COURT IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY[1]

Ya Ning

In recent years, noticeable research interest on the issue of gift-giving has grown in the field of the studies of the Mongol Empire. Most of this research has been carried out with a focus on the transcultural contacts between European envoys and the Mongols.[2] The main sources for this research are the diplomatic reports or travelogues of the Latin missionaries, which often highlight the avarice and excess of the Mongols in demanding gifts. Astonishingly, the inner mechanism of gift-giving in the Mongol imperial court as well as the afterlives of these gifts have not been dealt with seriously.[3] The present article aims to discuss the repository and distribution of gifts in the imperial court of the Mongol great khan in the early thirteenth century, with a hope to counteract this imbalance in the scholarship.

The first question under examination regards the repository of the gifts. This agency and institutional issue will be investigated from the perspective of the Mongol imperial treasury system and the role of Mongol *khatuns* (royal wives) of the great khan. The second question concerns the mechanism of distribution. In the ideological world of the Mongols, the empire and its resources were regarded as the shared property of the whole golden family. The head of the family, the great khan, had the right to distribute them based on the Chinggisid tradition. However, unlike spoils as well as newly conquered lands and peoples, gifts were more personal and at the discretion of the khan. These treasures were frequently granted as gifts to Mongol dignitaries in exchange for their loyalty especially

[1] This article is based on Ya Ning, "The Reception and Management of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan, from the Early Thirteenth Century to 1368" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] See A. J. Watson, "Mongol Inhospitality, or How to do More with Less: Gift Giving in William of Rubruck's Itinerarium," *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 90–101; Claudia Garnier, "Gabe, Macht und Ehre: Zu Formen und Funktionen des Gabentauschs in den Beziehungen zwischen Mongolen und Europäern im 13. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 63 (2015): 47–68; Adriano Duque, "Gift Giving in the Carpini Expedition to Mongolia, 1246-1248," in *Remapping Travel Narratives, 1000–1700: To the East and Back Again*, ed. Montserrat Piera (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), 187–200; Jana Valtrová, "Christian Material Culture and the Mongols: The Case of William of Rubruck," *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019): 228–243.

[3] Yihao Qiu's recent contribution is a notable exception to this, see Yihao Qiu, "Gift-Exchange in Diplomatic Practices during the Early Mongol Period," *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019): 202–227.

during periods of succession competitions as well as in routine investitures. The practices of repository and distribution of gifts serve as a convenient point for us to approach the institutional, gendered, and ideological dimensions of Mongol court politics.

Repository

The issue of gift management must be examined within the context of Mongol court management, especially its treasury system. At present, scholars have not reached an agreement concerning the origins and functions of the Mongol imperial treasury. Timothy May points out that the Mongol treasury as an institution did not come into being until the founding of the Mongol capital Karakorum in the 1230s.[4] It was under the command of the Great Khan Ögödei that a specific governmental branch was established and guards were selected to take care of the imperial treasuries.[5] Michael Hope elsewhere remarks that there was no formal treasure house at Karakorum and the system of treasury keeping in the early period of the Mongol Empire was rather primitive, since there was no need for fixed treasure storage due to the seasonal movement of the imperial court.[6] Both views have their points. In fact, the formation of the Mongol treasury system was a long process and cannot be fully understood without the context of the Mongol imperial court management and the idea of imperial property.

In 1206, right after being elected as the great khan, Genghis Khan laid out the imperial blueprint. According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the first task he finished was to establish a workable administrative system. He appointed his court servants to take different positions: quivers carrier (*qorchi*), stewards (*baurchi*), sheep keeper (*qonichi*), tent-carts manager (*ulachi*), swords carrier (*ulduchi*), gelding officer (*kodolchi*), equerry (*qulaqachi*), and parasol bearers (*sukurchi*).[7] At present, we have no idea which of the personnel above was in charge of the treasures. It is possible that *ulachi*, the tent-carts manager, could have been responsible for some of the properties for daily use. Other possibilities also exist. According to the prominent German Orientalist Gerhard Doerfer, "parasol" has a symbolic meaning for ruling and domination in many Eurasian courts.[8] Meanwhile, based

[4] Timothy May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 116.

[5] May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History*, 116.

[6] Michael Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 60–61.

[7] *The Secret History of the Mongols*, vol. 1, trans. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 50–52.

[8] Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Band I: Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische*n (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), 357–358.

on the Ghazan Khan's testament, Charles Melville demonstrates that parasol bearers ranked as the top position of the imperial household due to their closest proximity to the Khan.[9] It is feasible to infer that *Sukurchi* could also possibly have been responsible for the Khan's properties, at least the most precious ones.

A source from *Yuan Shi* gives us a further clue to the way this household system functioned in terms of gifts management. In 1215, Yelu Liuge 耶律留哥, a Khitan royal descendant serving the Jin dynasty, was forced to rebel against the Jin emperor. In the end, Yelu fled to the court of Genghis Khan and brought him ninety carts of gold coins, as well as five hundred gold and silver plates.[10] These gifts were highly cherished by Genghis Khan not for their monetary value, but rather because Yelu, who was of royal blood, broke away from a heavy siege and sought him for shelter. Thus, the great khan held a solemn ceremony for these gifts by placing them on white felt for seven days. Only after this were these gifts taken into his treasury.[11] Certainly not every gift and gift presenters enjoyed such a highly courteous reception. This in itself indicates that the Mongols undoubtedly had an institution and some kind of custom to handle gifts.

Nevertheless, the Mongol imperial treasury during this early period was still inefficient compared to its sedentary counterparts. Some research even suggests that there is no evidence proving that register lists of the treasury had ever existed in the Mongol court before the end of thirteenth century.[12] In the early fourteenth century, Rashīd al-Dīn still complained about the chaos of the Mongol imperial treasury in his *Jami't-Tawarikh*:

> Prior to now it was not customary for anyone to maintain written accounts of the Mongol Emperors' treasuries or to keep track of additions and outlays. They used to appoint a few *khizanachis* [treasurers] to receive whatever was brought in. Together they placed things in the treasury and gave out what was expended. When nothing was left, they would say so. A few custodians also maintained the treasury, and they did the loading and unloading. The whole thing was so disorganized that there was not even a tent: they simply piled things in the open and

[9] Charles Melville, "Ghazan Khan's Political Will and Testament: Further Light on the Mongol Household," *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 22 (2018): 164–190, esp. 167.

[10] [Lian Song] 宋濂, ed., 元史 [Yuan Shi: official history of the Yuan dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976), 3512–3513.

[11] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3512–3513.

[12] Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition*, 173.

> covered them with felt. From this one can deduce what the situation was like.[13]

One might wonder why such a great empire had not developed a well-established or at least effective system to preserve their wealth, considering the huge exchange and circulation of personnel and objects moving through the imperial court. What can explain this inefficiency of the gift repository? From my point of view, several notable aspects resulted in the imperial treasury system not being highly institutionalized. First, the Mongol rulers kept the seasonal movement of their court even after the establishment of a fixed capital.[14] The Yuan dynasty had a formal capital, Dadu or Khanbaliq (modern Beijing), and a summer capital, Shangdu or Xanadu. The Ilkhan in Iran had two capitals, Tabriz and Sulṭāniyya, and other seasonal camps. And the khans of the Golden Horde made seasonal movements along the Volga River. At least some parts of the imperial treasury would be moved annually with these khans. Second, the Mongol imperial family held the attitude that the imperial property was the public wealth in circulation. The whole empire was regarded as the shared properties of the Chinggisid family, and the great khan was readily praised for his generosity. As Marie Favereau in a recent publication reveals, in the Mongol ideological world, "the circle of redistribution brought happiness," and "the ultimate purpose of the Mongol Great Khan was not to retain but to circulate wealth."[15] Finally, yet importantly, the patrimonial nature of the Mongol imperial administration made the division between government funds and family wealth very unclear.

Different independent sources confirm that there was no clear boundary between the Mongol imperial treasury and the households of the great khan and his wives. A somewhat later case from the Ilkhanate is illustrative in this aspect. Every time the Il-Khan Abaqa (r. 1265–1281) went to the treasury, he "brought out exquisite gems and precious things" and "secretly gave to his senior wife Bulughan."[16] As for the received gifts, a notable part would not directly go into the imperial treasury but was distributed ad hoc upon the command of the great

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[13] Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Jami't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols,* Part II, trans. W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 746.

[14] For the seasonal capitals in the Mongol Empire, see Tomoko Masuya, "Seasonal Capitals with Permanent Buildings in the Mongol Empire," in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. D. Durand-Guedy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 223–256; J. A. Boyle, "The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ogedei," *Central Asiatic Journal* 16 (1972): 125–131.

[15] Marie Favereau, "The Mongol Peace and Global Medieval Eurasia," *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 28, no. 4 (2018): 57.

[16] Rashīd, *Jami't-Tawarikh*, 848; Thomas T. Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 44–45.

khan. Especially when he received the envoys and gifts in his wives' *Ordo*, the *khatuns* would have a right to these objects. William of Rubruck gave us a vivid account of one such reception in the *Ordo* of the *khatun*:

> As he has more than one wife, the one with whom he is sleeping at night sits by his side during the day, and all the rest must come that day to her dwelling to drink: there the court [*curia*] is held for that day, and the gifts presented to the master that day are stored in the lady's treasury.[17]

But matters were far more complex. The word "stored" (*deponuntur*) may cause some ambiguities. Were these gifts only temporarily deposited in the treasury of the *khatun* or were they transferred to the *khatun* permanently? Fortunately, Persian sources provide an answer. Those gifts would become the income of the *khatuns*, which constituted a significant proportion of the *Ordo*'s finance. In *Jami't-Tawarikh*, Rashīd al-Dīn lists the various financial sources of the *Ordo*:

> During the time of Hulagu Khan and Abaqa Khan, funds for meals in the *ordus* and for the ladies were in accordance with Mongol custom, and not too much expenditure was involved here. When booty was brought from enemy territory, a part of it was given to them. Each [of the ladies] also had an *ortaq*, and they brought in something in the name of *asigh* [profit], or someone would present a gift. They also had some herds and there were the profits from their increase. Funds for their meals and necessities came from those sources, and they were satisfied with that.[18]

Based on the records of William of Rubruck and Rashīd al-Dīn, it is not unreasonable to infer that these gifts were regarded as the compensation and benefits for the *khatuns* for hosting the reception of the khan's visitors.[19]

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[17] *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson, and with introduction, notes, and appendices by Peter Jackson with David Morgan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), 76. For the original Latin text in a critical edition, see A. Van den Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1: *Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Florence: Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae, 1929), 479–480: "Quatuor magna festa in anno iste Imperator facit, scilicet festum circumcisionis, eiusque nativitatis diem, et sic de aliis reliquis."

[18] Rashīd, *Jami't-Tawarikh*, 745–746.

[19] In her recent groundbreaking monograph on Mongol imperial women, Anne F. Broadbridge rightfully argues that the occasional gifts from the great khans in the form of spoils from warfare acted as an important source of maintenance of the royal female household. Yet, she does not establish connections between the reception of envoys and the distribution of gifts, see Anne F.

As for those gifts sent initially to the *khatun* rather than the khan, they certainly became the personal belongings of the *khatun*. There is a well-known, yet debated case, the Christian tent-chapel sent by Louis IX to the Mongol rulers. In 1250, through the hands of the Dominican missionary Andrew of Longjumeau, this tent-chapel came to Oghul Qaimish, the widow of Güyük Khan.[20] It is arguable that three years later William of Rubruck saw it again near Karakorum.[21] In the letter written to Louis IX in 1262, Hülegü likewise referred to a special chapel.[22] According to Marianna Shreve Simpson, Louis IX's gifts were presented not to Güyük but to his widow Oghul Qaimish, then serving as regent of the empire, and may not have been passed on to Güyük's successor, Möngke.[23] It seems unlikely that the chapel in the court of Möngke was "the" one sent by Louis IX. Yet, we should not forget that the great khan should have the absolute right to all the properties in his empire including those of the *khatun*, as the story of the pearls narrated by Juvaini shows: it was under the command of Ögedei Khan that Möge Khatun gave her pearls to a farmer, nevertheless, at the end of the story, the Khan got back the pearls for his wife.[24] In this sense, the remark from Thomas T. Allsen is insightful indeed, "the imperial administration was essentially an extension of the prince's household establishment in terms of organization, function, and personnel," which makes the reign of Mongol emperors "have a pronounced patrimonial flavor."[25] The Mongol *khatuns* were considerably involved in the depositing and circulation of gifts, as a result of the patrimonial nature of the Mongol imperial administration.

Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 23–24.

[20] Jean de Joinville, *The History of Saint Louis*, trans. Joan Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), 40, 142.

[21] *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, 173–174.

[22] Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hülagü, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis of France," *Viator* 11 (1980): 257–258; Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations," *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 3 (2007): 360.

[23] Simpson, "Manuscripts and Mongols," 358–361.

[24] ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn ʻAṭā Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, with a new introduction and bibliography by David Morgan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 211–212.

[25] Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 100.

Distribution

Many scholars have underlined the importance of wealth distribution in the Mongol Empire. Joseph Fletcher considers the ability to obtain and distribute wealth the most desirable qualification for a great khan candidate.[26] İsenbike Togan, one of the disciples of Fletcher, suggests that the act of redistribution corresponds to the Mongol tribal structure and is the key to understand the mechanism of the rising of the steppe empire.[27] Furthermore, Thomas T. Allsen points out that the Chinggisid practice of capturing, collecting, and redistributing reflects the demographic and ecological requirements of Mongol pastoral nomadism, which was continuously preserved in its later imperial stage.[28] These excellent works serve as a good basis for further analysis of the distribution of the received gifts in the Mongol imperial court. In the following, three dimensions of distribution will be examined, namely, distribution as the underpinning mechanism of the Mongol Empire as a political entity, as a political tool to attract loyalty during succession intrigues, and as an institutionalized way to conform hierarchy during routine investitures.

As mentioned above, except those distributed at hoc or transmitted into the hands of the *khatun*, the rest of the gifts the great khan received would be stored in the imperial treasury. Gifts were certainly not the only sources of imperial finance: tax revenues, booty, and tributes (the latter frequently in the guise of gifts) take up the more prominent parts.[29] However, as Favereau convincingly argues, diplomatic gifts comprised the majority of the redistributed items in the imperial court from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, since the storming period of the Mongol expansion had almost ended by this time and the income from

[26] Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44 (1984): 23.

[27] İsenbike Togan, *Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations: The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 5–8, 14–16.

[28] Thomas T. Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire: Apportioned Lands under the Mongols," in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*, ed. Anatoly M. Khazanov and André Wink (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 172–190.

[29] For a classic study on the financial system of the Mongol Empire, see H. F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19, nos. 3/4 (1956): 304–389. For a discussion and response to Schurmann's thesis, see John Masson Smith, Jr., "Mongol and Nomadic Taxation," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970): 46–85. For a case study on Mongol-dominated Iran, see A. K. S. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia," *Studia Islamica* 64 (1986): 79–99; and A. K. S. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part II)," *Studia Islamica* 65 (1987): 97–123.

booty significantly decreased.[30] The exotic and luxury attributes of diplomatic gifts certainly also added to their popularity. To get a better understanding of the distribution mechanism in the imperial courts, the fundamental rule of Mongol statecraft, the Chingisid principle, must be considered. The core of this principle is that the empire and its sovereign power are regarded as shared property of the descendants of Genghis Khan and only the male members of this Golden Family are eligible to rule as khans.[31] This principle took root during the last years of Genghis Khan's reign when he allocated his extensive lands to his four sons. Based on it, Jochid received all the lands west of the Altai Mountains, Chaghadai got West Turkestan, Ögedei obtained the throne of central Mongolia and Dzungaria as his allocation, and the youngest son, Tolui, was awarded east Mongolia.[32] This plan eventually paved the road for the formation of the four individual khanates.[33]

In accordance with the territorial allocation, taxation, captives, spoils, ideas, and technologies were also the subjects of distribution.[34] It was very common in the Mongol Empire that the different ruling houses had apanages within the sphere of other khanates especially in Yuan China, which was among the first lands that the Mongols conquered. Their hereditary rights on these apanages were largely respected and secured even during interwar periods.[35] If the apanage taxations were regarded as a deserved share for the Mongol khans, other distributed wealth certainly meant more gifts for them.

Gift-giving took up a great part of the policy toolkits of the great khan especially during the enthronement season. Since theoretically every male relative of the Chingisid imperial clans had the right to claim the throne, the competition was usually rather fierce and bloody. In these court struggles, gift-giving acted as an effective way to gain support and secure loyalty. Ögedei, who was renowned for his generosity and beneficence, was adept in using this tool. Ögedei faced no

[30] Favereau, "The Mongol Peace and Global Medieval Eurasia," 57.

[31] On the Eurasian legacy of the Chingisid principle, see Michal Biran, "The Mongol Transformation: From the Steppe to Eurasian Empire," *Medieval Encounters* 10, nos. 1–3 (2014): 358–359.

[32] Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, 42–43.

[33] Peter Jackson, "From Ulus to Khanate: The making of the Mongol states c. 1220-c. 1290," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. R. Amitai-Preiss and D. O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 31.

[34] Thomas T. Allsen, "Ever Closer Encounters: The Appropriation of Culture and the Apportionment of Peoples in the Mongol Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997): 6.

[35] Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire," 179–181; Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 34. For a case study on the Jochid apanages in Yuan China, see Yihao Qiu, "Independent Ruler, Indefinable Role: Understanding the History of the Golden Horde from the Perspectives of the Yuan dynasty," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018): 45–64.

legitimate challenge to his own accession in 1229, since it was the founding father Genghis Khan who personally assigned the position to him. Nevertheless, after the enthronement ceremony and drinking feast, Ögedei ordered the opening of his treasuries and bestowed a great number of gifts and presents:

> They should open the deposits of the treasuries collected during so many years from the countries of the East and the West for the behoof of Chingiz-Khan, the sum total of which could not be contained within the bellies of ledgers. He closed the mouths of the censorious with rejection of their advice and allotted his portion to each of his relatives and soldiers, his troops and kinsfolk, noble and base, lord and liege, master and slave, to each in accordance with his pretensions; and left in his treasuries for the morrow neither much nor little, neither great nor small.[36]

These acts of gift-giving smoothed the transition from the reign of his father, the great world conqueror Genghis Khan, to himself. The empire continued its expansion under the rule of Ögedei, and in 1234, they finally ended the war with the Jurchen Jin and overthrew their previous master once for all. At this time, all the lands north of the Yellow River came into the dominion of the Mongols.

In 1235, Ögedei convened his second *quriltai* in the newly established imperial capital Karakorum. The principal agenda was to formulate a new campaign plan aimed at the then unconquered areas such as Southern Song, Russia, and Eastern Europe. As an incentive to the commanders and soldiers, Ögedei distributed gifts to his followers:

> In his wonted manner and in accordance with his usual practice opened the doors of his treasuries, which no man had ever seen closed, and distributed amongst all present, kinsman and stranger, all the valuables that had been gathered together from every clime since the holding of the first *quriltai*, scattering them upon small and great as the spring cloud rains upon grass and trees.[37]

These rewards certainly boosted the morale and courage of the men on the eve of an expedition. It also promised a shining vision for receiving much more valuable rewards after the triumph of campaign. The ensuing military expedition was a great success in the western direction. Under the lead of Batu, the son of the Jochi, the Mongols subjugated almost all of the lands of the Rus' Principalities and penetrated into Central Europe and the Balkans.

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[36] Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, 188–189.
[37] Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, 198.

Unlike his father, Güyük struggled a lot before ascending the throne. Even to his own father, Güyük was not the preferable candidate. It was largely due to the efforts of his mother Töregene Khatun that Güyük won.[38] Meanwhile, several incidents contributed to the mother and son's success. Köchü, the favored son of Ögedei, died prematurely in 1236 during the campaign against the Southern Song. Although Shiremün, Köchü's then minor son, had the support of his grandfather, he was too young to be considered a capable ruler of such a huge empire. As for Töregene, she herself was not the great *khatun* but the sixth; however, the great *khatun* Boraqchin had passed away without any offspring. In the following five years, Töregene showed her extraordinary political skills. She persuaded and gained the support of the imperial clans especially that of the Chaghadaid house and replaced Möge Khatun as the regent of the empire. Among her multifaceted tactics, Töregene was especially adept at giving gifts to win over supporters:

> And when Möge Khatun shortly followed in the wake of Qa'an, by means of finesse and cunning she [Töregene] obtained control of all affairs of state and won over the hearts of her relatives by all kinds of favours and kindness and by the sending of gifts and presents. And for the most part strangers and kindred, family and army inclined towards her, and submitted themselves obediently and gladly to her commands and prohibitions, and came under her sway.[39]

Having learned from his father and mother, Güyük frequently used gift-giving as part of his statecraft. In 1246, Güyük was elected as the new Mongol great khan during the *quriltai* convened by his mother. The first order he issued was to open the treasury and to distribute wealth as Ögedei had done many years ago:

> When they had done with feasting, he ordered the doors of the old and new treasuries to be opened and every sort of jewels money and clothes to be got ready and the direction of this business, that is, the distribution of these valuables he entrusted to the counsel and discretion of Sorgotani Beki, who had the greatest authority in that *quriltai*. The first to receive their share were the princes and princesses that were present of the race and lineage of Chingiz-Khan; as also all their servants and attendants, noble and base, greybeard and suckling;

[38] On the life and activities of Töregene, see Bruno De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khātūns, 1206–1335* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 66–72; Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire*, 164–194.

[39] Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, 240–241. A similar passage appeared from the pen of Rashīd al-Dīn, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. J. A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 176.

> and then in due order the *noyans*, the commanders of *tümen*, thousands, hundreds and tens, according to the census, the sultans, *maliks*, scribes, officials and the dependents. And everyone else who was present, whoever he was, did not go portionless, nay everyone received his full share and appointed lot.[40]

The distribution of gifts by Güyük reveals the rigid rule of social ranking in the Mongol imperial court; the sequence of distribution had to be strictly observed, ranging from the Chingisid imperial clans to the Mongol military dignitaries, and then to the leaders of the client states. The identity of the distributor is pertinent here.[41] The person customarily in charge of distribution had to be the highest sovereign of the empire, that is, the great khan himself, but Güyük entrusted his right to Sorgotani Beki, the elderly female leader of the Toluid house.[42] This can be explained by the fact that the support of the Toluid house was decisive in enabling the election of Güyük. Güyük had been at odds with the Jochid house leader Batu since the western campaign of 1236 and the latter would be the last to support Güyük's claim for the throne. Meanwhile, Temüge Otchigin, the youngest brother of Genghis Khan and leader of the eastern realm of the empire, posed the most imminent and geographically proximate danger to Güyük. Right after the death of Ögedei, Otchigin marched to Karakorum with his huge army only to be persuaded by Töregene to retreat. It was the decision of Sorgotani Beki and the Toluid house to stand by Güyük that changed the course of this *quriltai*.[43]

As in many other places, gift distribution also took place during the investiture of positions in the Mongol imperial court.[44] The most commonly distributed gifts in these investitures were gold, silver, silks, robes of honor, jade belts, weapons,

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[40] Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, 254–255.

[41] This ceremonious occasion of gift distribution was also noticed by John of Carpini, yet as a foreigner, Carpini was not capable of discerning the inner rules of Mongol gift distribution, let alone the role of the Tolui house in the enthronement of Güyük, see John of Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Christopher Dawson (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 64.

[42] Sorgotani was similarly well known for using gifts to win over supporters, which turned out to be very helpful in the succession of his son Möngke after the death of Güyük, see Rashīd, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, 199–200.

[43] For a revaluation of Güyüg Khan and his short-term reign, see Kim Hodong, "A Reappraisal of Güyüg Khan," in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 309–338.

[44] For the investiture practice in the wider Eurasian context, see Stewart Gordon, ed., *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

and armor. In some cases, prestigious hunting animals like cheetahs and gyrfalcons would be given to the generals who had performed exceptionally meritorious service to the great khan. These vigorous yet tamed animals symbolized the valiance of these generals, but also delivered the message of the great khan that further loyal service was expected from them. In fact, in the early period of the Mongol Empire, the four heroic warriors by Genghis Khan's side, namely, Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, and Sübe'etei, won the name "four hounds" for themselves.[45] Needless to say, these exotic animals were mostly gifts or tributes presented to the great khan; the great khan then redistributed them as gifts to his generals, which certainly displayed the power of the monarchy and gave great honor to the recipient.

A later, yet illustrative, case helps reveal the mechanism of gift-giving in Mongol investitures. In the first decades of the fourteenth century, the family members of Tuq Tuq'a, descendants of the Qipchak peoples, were the most powerful figures in the imperial court. Three generations of the family kept close relationships with the great khans and received prominent positions and enormous gifts.[46] Tuq Tuq'a (1237–1297) made his big name first by crushing the rebellion of Shiregi in the 1270s. Shiregi was the son of Möngke Khan. He and other rebel generals marched into the central lands of the Mongols and stole the military tent that had once belonged to Genghis Khan. It was Tuq Tuq'a who chased the rebels and got the tent back. Kublai was overjoyed, and he rewarded Tuq Tuq'a with a whole set of golden and silver wine vessels, 100 taels of silver, a whole set of luxurious *zhisun* costume, and a white gyrfalcon. The tent of Genghis Khan was also given to him as a supreme honor. [47] During his whole career, Tuq Tuq'a received a great number of gifts from the great khan, including a piece of golden mink fur, a black gyrfalcon, a leather cap embedded with pearls, and five Arabian camels.[48] These royal favors continued for his offspring. His son Chong'ur (1260–1322) had an even more glorious military career in wars against Qaidu (c. 1230–1301) and Du'a (d. 1307), the two rebellious Mongol princes in Central Asia. The precious gifts he received from the great khan included one tiger or cheetah, the military tent, armor, and sedan chair once used by Kublai Khan, and the ivories

[45] *The Secret History of the Mongols*, vol. 1, trans. Igor de Rachewiltz, 119.

[46] On the Tuq Tuq'a family, see Michael Brose, "Qipchak Networks of Power in Mongol China," in *How Mongolia Matters: War, Law, and Society*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 69–86; Vered Shurany, "Tuqtuqa and His Descendants: Cross-Regional Mobility and Political Intrigue in the Mongol Yuan Army," in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals*, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 120–142.

[47] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3132.

[48] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3131–3135.

and golden sedan chair that originally came from the Dali Kingdom as tribute.[49] The era of El Temür (1285–1333), son of Chong'ur, witnessed the heyday of Tuq Tuq'a's family. He was the leader of the royal guard of Haishan (r. 1307–1311), kingmaker of Tugh Temür (r. 1328, 1329–1332), murderer of Khoshila (r. 1328–1329), and father-in-law of Toghon Temür (1332–1370), the last Yuan emperor. In 1328, he was invested by Tugh Temür as King of Taiping太平王, Supreme Grand Marshal上柱國, and Grand Chancellor of the Right Hand, and was bestowed 100 taels of gold, 2,500 taels of platinum, 10,000 ingots of paper money, 2,000 bolts of various kinds of textile, a white gyrfalcon, two grey gyrfalcons, a cheetah, and 500 hectares of lands.[50] In the same year, Tugh Temür rewarded El Temür enormously for his deeds in releasing Dadu and Shangdu, the two capitals of Yuan China, from rebels. El Temür received the title of *Tarkhan*,[51] which can be inherited by his descendants, and two gowns embedded with pearls, seven belts embedded with gemstones, a platinum vase, two golden vases, a white gyrfalcon, three black gyrfalcons, a white hawk, and twenty cheetahs.[52]

To conclude, a relatively systematic protocol regarding the repository and distribution of gifts had already existed and functioned in the Mongol imperial court before the establishment of the Yuan dynasty. Yet, because it was subject to the tradition of the seasonal movement of the imperial court, the unique idea of treating imperial property as public wealth in circulation, and the patrimonial nature of the Mongol imperial administration, this gift repository system did not function very efficiently. Nevertheless, the distribution of gifts was rather central to the operation of the Mongol Empire; it worked as the underpinning mechanism of the Mongol Empire as a political entity, as a political tool to attract loyalty during succession intrigues, and as an institutionalized way to confirm the hierarchy during routine investitures. Compared to its counterparts, a notable feature of the Mongol court practice was that the Mongol royal wives, the *khatuns*, actively participated in the reception and distribution of gifts. The practices of repository and distribution of gifts in the Mongol court were shaped by the interactions between institutional, gendered, and ideological factors.

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[49] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3135–3138.

[50] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3328.

[51] *Tarkhan* was a high-ranking honorary title widely existing among Central Eurasian nomadic polities; the holders enjoyed the privilege of being exempt from punishment nine times. See Peter Golden, "Ṭarkhān," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 10: *T-U*, ed. P. J. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 303; Marie Favereau, "Tarkhan: A Nomad Institution in an Islamic Context," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018): 165–190.

[52] Song, *Yuan Shi*, 3331.

MEDIEVAL GERMAN EXONYMS FOR THE CUMAN-QIPCHAQS

Stephen Pow

Introduction

In a Latin account of the Mongols' first foray toward Europe—namely on the Pontic Steppe and the borders of Kievan Rus'—Henry of Livonia (fl. 1229) provided a curious exonym for the Cuman-Qipchaqs. Mentioning the Mongol campaign of 1222–23 that culminated with the defeat of the Rus' and Cuman-Qipchaq allied forces at the Battle of the Kalka, the Riga-based German priest noted that initially the "Tartars" invaded "the land of the Valvus pagans" (*in terra Valvorum paganorum*). Many of these so-called Valvus pagans, or Valvi, were killed in initial fighting with the Mongols. The survivors fled to Kiev and convinced the Rus' princes to join them in a military alliance against the invaders. The combined forces marched southeastward to confront Jebe and Sübe'etei's army and this led to the destruction of a great number of Rus' princes and their troops in the fiasco at the Kalka on 31 May 122—an episode recounted briefly yet accurately in Henry's chronicle.[1]

Many sources, including Russian chronicles and Islamic authors' histories, corroborate Henry's testimony and establish with certainty that he was referring to the Cuman-Qipchaqs. In all accounts, they were defeated when the Mongols broke into their territory from the Caucasus in 1222, then sought help from Kievan Rus', and were defeated again with these Rus' allies when they pursued the Mongols to the Kalka River.[2] Henry of Livonia evidently received his account

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[1] James Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 205; G. H. Pertz et al. (eds), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores XXIII* (series abbreviated henceforth as MGHS) (Hannover: Hahn, 1826–1892), 316. The viewpoint in scholarship is that Henry of Livonia must have completed his chronicle in 1229 at the latest, and thus well before Batu's invasion of Europe in 1241–1242, which makes this quite an early Latin source. The reconstructed name of the tribe, "Valvi," is taken from the work of Josef Marquart who looked closely at the issue of this ethnonym and its variants in reference to the Cuman-Qipchaqs. See: Josef Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, ed. Willy Bang and Josef Marquart (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914), 29, 174.

[2] Stephen Pow and Jingjing Liao, "Subutai: Sorting Fact from Fiction," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7, no. 2 (2018): 56–58. The basic outline of this campaign was described in a wide variety of Rus', Persian, Arabic and Mongol-Chinese sources, among others. For similar Rus', Persian and Arabic sources, see: Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (trans.), *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471* (London: Camden Society, 1914), 64–65; George A. Perfecky (trans.), "Galician-Volynian

from informants with precise knowledge of the events; he accurately noted that Mstislav of Kiev was killed in the battle, but Msitslav of Galicia escaped. Henry even provides additional valuable details on how these events directly affected the German crusaders in Riga, noting that the surviving Rus' princes requested peace with them in the aftermath of the defeat.

Meaningful questions are raised regarding the ethnonyms which Henry applied to two nomadic steppe peoples in the thirteenth century. On one hand, terming the invaders "Tartars" was entirely conventional; Henry was simply following a custom of authors across the breadth of Eurasia that was especially prevalent during the first few decades of the rapid expansion of the Mongol Empire (c. 1206–1246) before a gradual shift to "Mongols" in many textual sources.[3] On the other hand, the German chronicler's reference to the Cuman-Qipchaqs as Valvus pagans (Valvi) is a much less well-known convention that might raise some eyebrows among modern readers. As such, this paper aims to explore how German terms like Valwen, Valewen, Valben (Falben), and Germano-Latin variations like Valvi, Valani, Falones, and Phalagi came to be applied to the Cuman-Qipchaqs as exonyms in the High Middle Ages. Scholarship has already arrived at a convincing answer regarding the etymological origin of this broad term; it stems from *falb* which means light color, fair, pale, sallow, etc. (*falb* or *fahl* in modern German; *val/valwe* in Middle High German, a cognate of *pallidus* in Latin).[4] Yet that explanation in

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Chronicle," in *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 16:2 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), 28–30; W.M. Thackston (trans.), *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u'tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1999: 2nd edition in PDF), 257; D. S. Richards, *Ibn al-Athir, The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh. Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 222–224; Stephen Pow, "The Last Campaign and Death of Jebe Noyan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27, no. 1 (2017): 8–14. It is important to note that some primary sources refer to the broad grouping of nomads from the Danube to the Volga as Cumans while others generally called them Qipchaqs. Whether the terms should be understood as synonymous or reflect some regional west-east division of the peoples themselves is a matter of differing opinions among researchers.

[3] Stephen Pow, "Nationes que se Tartaros appellant: An Exploration of the Historical Problem of the Usage of the Ethnonyms Tatar and Mongol in Medieval Sources," *Golden Horde Review* 7:3 (2019): 545–567. From the mid-thirteenth century, authors increasingly adopted Mongol in their writings, evidently at the initial prompting of the Mongols themselves, though the reasons and motivations behind this transition are not entirely clear.

[4] Szilvia Kovács, "A kunok története a mongol hódításig" [The history of the Cumans before the Mongol conquest] (doctoral diss. Szeged: Szeged University, 2012), 9, 21. Kovács' table of the myriad variations of the names for the Cuman-Qipchaqs recorded during the medieval period in many different languages is particularly useful. See also: Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History*

turn raises other questions regarding the "pale" descriptor's intended significance, as such, a deeper analysis of the issue is worthwhile. By reviewing the exonyms for Cuman-Qipchaqs that prevailed among Germans and noting its ties to other ethnonyms applied to the same people across Eurasia, this paper highlights the ways that news, terminology, and concepts about distant and little understood peoples were shared in the medieval period. As this study reveals, the persistence of calques that tied this people to the concept of paleness over such a vast geographical and chronological space is remarkable – and yet it is not at all clear what this concept of paleness was even meant to reflect in relation to the Cuman-Qipchaqs. Scholars have long debated what the Cuman ethnonym signified. Clearly the group's own apparent autonym, "Cuman," was connected to the paleness, blondness, yellowness, etc. – but whether the Cuman-Qipchaq people applied this descriptor to themselves or rather that it signified something else like the desert steppes, or "dun-colored horses," is a matter of ongoing debate.[5]

If the larger questions will remain a mystery, nonetheless, a smaller historical problem can be solved in the following study. First, an exploration of the various ethnonyms for Cuman-Qipchaqs in sources from the Middle Ages will be provided, including a range of passages which show the German usage of names like Valvi. This term's established etymology and its connections to other ethnonyms for the Cuman-Qipchaqs will be discussed. Ultimately this comparative study will allow us to positively identify the "Kartasi" people, mentioned in early fourteenth-century *Rhyming Chronicle of Dalimil*,[6] as the Cuman-Qipchaqs.

The Implications of German Ethnonyms for the Cuman-Qipchaqs

The wide range of Latin-language sources composed in medieval Christendom, such as letters of the papal curia, charters of monarchs such as the kings of Hungary and Western Europe, and chronicles or histories composed by churchmen across Europe generally referred to the nomadic people living to the east of Hungary and in the northern Balkans as "Cumans" in the early 1200s. The *Gesta Hungarorum* (*Deeds of the Hungarians*, c. 1200) written by the famous

of the Turkic Peoples (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 272; Josef Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," 176; Paul Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," *Journal Asiatique* 11 T. 15 (1920): 134.

[5] Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 272. Omeljan Pritsak suggested that the name could be tied to geography, meaning something like "people of the pale"—implying inhabitants of the steppe or desert.

[6] Václav Hanka (ed.), *Dalimils Chronik von Böhmen* (Stuttgart, 1859), 182–183; Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018): 242.

Hungarian notary, Anonymous, referred anachronistically to *Cumani* (Cumans) accompanying the Magyar chieftains in the ninth-tenth-century conquest of the Carpathian Basin.[7] The French crusader, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, fighting against them in the Balkans in the initial years of the thirteenth century, likewise referred to his nomadic adversaries as *li Commain*.[8] They were mentioned often in charters and correspondence between King Andrew II of Hungary and Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX regarding the settlement of the Teutonic Knights in Transylvania's Burzenland to guard against frequent Cuman raids (e.g. charters of Andrew II of Hungary dated to 1211 and 1212) or during the establishment of a diocese of Cumania in the 1220s and 1230s. Meanwhile, the France-based monk and chronicler, Alberic of Trois-Fontaine, referred to "Comani" in his chronicle (c. 1232–1252) when documenting developments in Hungary and its border regions in the first few decades of the thirteenth century.[9]

The same terminology was likewise applied in Southeastern Europe with the arrival of the Cumans in the region. From their initial appearance on Byzantine frontiers in the second half of the eleventh century, they were designated "Κούμανοι" (Kuman) in the Greek sources such as the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene (1083–1153). Already in these first forays on the Byzantines' Balkan territory, a distinction was drawn in the sources between them other large nomadic groupings from the steppe like the Pechenegs (Patzinaks).[10] The reason for this widespread usage of the "Cuman" name across European societies seems to be that it was directly borrowed from the people in question, being their own autonym. The term "Cuman" in the Turkic languages denotes yellowish grey, cream-colored, pale, flaxen, and such similar concepts. As Imre Bakshi noted, *quman* ~ *qoman* was a self-

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[7] Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy (trans.), *Anonymous, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 23–33, 127. It is anachronistic because Cuman-Qipchaqs did not appear in Rus' and European territories until they exploded into the Pontic steppe region and the historical scene starting in the mid-eleventh century. See: Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 17. Despite that, the *Gesta* seems to be documenting the possibly genuine participation of some Turkic tribes in the invasion.

[8] Natalis de Wailly (ed.), Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1872), 242. The author composed his work in vernacular Old French rather than Latin.

[9] Roman Hautala, *Ot Davida, carja Indij do nenavistnogo plehsa Satany. Antologija rannih latinskih svedenij o tataro-mongolah* [From David, King of the Indies to Detestable Plebs of Satan: An Anthology of Early Latin Information about the Tatar-Mongols] (Kazan: Sh.Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2015), 121, 193–269. The 1211–1212 charters record "Cumani" as is typical of later. See: Ibid., 193, 204. The diocese of Cumania was located in the area of Wallachia and Moldavia, a westernmost fringe of Cuman territory.

[10] E. R. A. Sewter (trans.), *Anna Komnene, The Alexiad* (London: Penguin, 2009), 191–192.

designation in the Turkic language of the people known as Cumans, stemming from *qu* ("pale, cream-colored"). The *-man* suffix is a nuanced but regularly added suffix in Turkic languages, applied to groups of people as a means of emphasizing the preceding quality or as a marker of the seniority of the group in question.[11] Bakshi subscribed to the view that this color-related term likely pertained to a special color of horse bred by the nomadic group rather than to a characteristic feature of the people themselves. As mentioned, such suggestions remain speculative, and it is not clear at all what the "paleness" or "light yellow" was originally intended to signify. Nonetheless, from the usage of "Cuman" and its variations as an autonym, we might at least infer that the Cuman people had intended or desired at one point to emphasize their association with paleness or yellowness.

This terminology for the Cuman-Qipchaqs, applied across cultures and languages to the same broad group of people, must have already been in place in the decades of mid-eleventh century when a series of mysterious events set off a largescale displacement of populations from deep within Inner Asia. This chain reaction propelled the waves of westward migration of the people who would widely become known as the Cumans in medieval European sources. The Armenian author, Matthew of Edessa, writing around 1113–1140, noted that in the year 1050–1051: "There were severe disturbances in the House of the Byzantines, and many districts were put to the sword. These were bitter days full of major events brought on by the rapacious, impious, and filthy Pecheneg people, those evil and bloodthirsty beasts. For the nation of serpents arose and struck the "Pale Ones" [*Xarte'shk'*]. The Pale Ones, in turn, arose and struck at the Uzes and Pechenegs and, all together, they were aroused against the House of the Byzantines and brought many tribulations upon Constantinople."[12] The Armenian term used here for the people in question is something that still is quite recognizable in modern Armenian as *xartēš* or *xartyaš* which means "blonde, fair, light, flaxen, fallow, pale."[13] This remarkable passage essentially captures the initial westward movement of the Cumans toward Europe within a domino effect of mass migrations taking place across the Inner Asian steppes in the mid-

[11] Imre Baski, "On the Ethnic Names of the Cumans in Hungary," in *Kinship in the Altaic World*, ed. Elena V. Boikova and Rostislav B. Rybakov (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 48.

[12] Robert Bedrosian (trans.), *Matthew of Edessa's Chronicle* (Long Branch: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2017), g108; Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 274. Note that I used wording from both translations of the passage. The Uzes mentioned by Matthew of Edessa were the Uz, better known to historians as the Oghuz.

[13] Kovács, "A kunok története a mongol hódításig," 9, 18; Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 272.

eleventh century, perhaps originally triggered by displacements on the frontiers of the Qitan Liao state as Peter Golden argued. These westward displacements of nomadic peoples seem tied as well to the expansion of the Ghaznavid Empire to the borders of the Oghuz.[14] A statement by the Persian author, Sharaf al-Zaman al-Marwazi (d. 1125), hints at the motivations that initially impelled the Cuman migration to the West. He noted of a people whom he termed the Qun who were now dwelling in the western steppes along with the Oguz and Pechenegs: "These came from the lands of the Qitai [Qitan Liao] fearing the Qita-Khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures […] The Qun were followed [or pursued] by a people called the Qay, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these pasture-lands."[15] The text relates that the Qun in turn displaced the Shari people who migrated into the territory of the Turkmans, who in turn pressured the Oghuz so that the latter group pushed westward into Pecheneg territory.

The emergence of the Cumans as a threatening nomadic group on Europe's frontiers seems tied to the westward flight of a people called the Qun who, along with the Qay, were reported by al-Biruni (973–c. 1050) to have belonged to the broader grouping of "Eastern Turks" which could imply an origin in the region of Mongolia.[16] Regarding the Qun's connections to the Cumans who began to attack the Byzantine Empire and Hungary from the late eleventh century, it is important to note that the name of Kuni/Chuni appears in Hungarian medieval sources in reference to the Cumans, including in the *Hungarian Chronicle*.[17] The first attack on Hungary by the Cumans was in 1091 according to Thomas of Split.[18] It should be noted that even though the earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Hungarian Chronicle* date from the fourteenth century, they appear to be reliant for the relevant sections on near contemporary sources from the period of Coloman the Learned in the early twelfth century, so the reference to the Cumans as "Kun," a term which mirrors the name of migrating nomads in the eleventh-century Asian sources, is especially intriguing. István Vásáry has suggested that Kun/Cun/Chun is the equivalent of Quman and must be another self-appellation used by the people in question.[19] This

[14] Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 218.

[15] Vladimir Minorsky (trans.), *Sharaf al-zaman Tahir Marwazi on China, the Turks and India* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), 30.

[16] Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 273.

[17] János Bak and László Veszprémy (trans.), *The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth Century Illuminated Codex* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 294.

[18] Damir Karbić, Olga Perić, and James Ross Sweeney (trans.), *Thomas of Split, History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), 94.

[19] István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5.

is the most plausible explanation. The situation is admittedly clouded by the fact that medieval Hungarians were aware of – and actively sought to attach their own origins to – the earlier occupation of the Carpathian Basin by Attila and his Huns. One can reasonably wonder if Europeans had applied the name of a group from Late Antiquity to the group present in the High Middle Ages. In the Hungarian case, it would be strange if their authors intentionally applied the name of the Huns to a foreign, often hostile people while simultaneously identifying the Huns as their own ancestors. It also does not help to make sense of the situation that the modern Mongolian word for a person/man is "khün" (*хүн*) since many ethnonyms throughout history tend to originate from the group's term for person/man in general.

The fact remains that the name Cuman appears in European sources much more commonly than Chun, and that Cuman is itself a Turkic term describing qualities of pale, cream-colored, flaxen, etc. Moreover, it is also clear that the Slavic people who had regular contact with the Cumans, starting from the mid-eleventh century, and eventually the Germans too used calques of the nomadic people's own ethnonym. The fact that Russians and Germans used separate terms that both reflected the concept of "paleness" offers strong evidence that this was what "Cuman" was indeed intended to signify to the newly arrived nomadic people and that there had been at some point of another an awareness of this among sedentary people who interacted with them. Otherwise, calques from diverse languages would not consistently reproduce terms in their own respective languages for "pale." The Rus' people, having sustained interactions with the Cumans, used the term Polovets/Polovci (*половец, половцы*) to refer to them.[20] Undoubtedly the two terms were equivalents. The *Primary Chronicle* describes them as the "Cumans or Polovcians" in an excursus on the origins of the different nomadic peoples in the vicinity of the Rus' principalities.[21] The term which appears already in the earliest Rus' historical work is generally thought to be tied to the Old Church Slavonic term (плавъ), meaning white or pale. However, there have been many different theories for the Slavic name for the Cumans, including suggestions that it might be tied to the term for the "field" since they were steppe people, or to a term for "blue," or that it denotes being born. As Szilvia Kovács has pointed out, the fact that the other exonyms for the Cumans employed in medieval texts by Armenians (*χartes*) and Germans (*Valben*, etc.) also consistently denote "pale" would suggest that this is also the case with the Slavic terminology.[22] Adam of Bremen (d. 1081) had evidently

[20] In English translation, this term can be rendered as Polovtsy, Polovtsians, Polovcians, etc.

[21] Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 184.

[22] Kovács, "A kunok története a mongol hódításig," 17–19.

heard of the Cumans, wring of the *homines pallidi*—pale people—associated with the *Husos* (Oghuz) in the steppe regions beyond Europe.[23] I would add that the combined picture which emerges from the Asian and European sources, including in the use of corresponding calques in widely separate societies, is that of a sudden and major disruption which saw to the arrival of the Cumans on the edges of Europe. We know from the Primary Chronicle that the Cumans (Polovci) rather abruptly appeared on the Rus' territorial frontiers in 1054 as an invading force.[24] From that point onward, they became a fixture of the chronicler's attention, even attacking Kiev by the end of the eleventh century and posing a serious threat to Rus' institutions.

The term used by the Rus' for the Cumans was also often employed in other Slavic-speaking countries as is clear from the terminology in their surviving Latin chronicles which reflects the name employed commonly. For instance, the Cumans appear as the *Plauci* in the Polish annalistic sources. In the *Annales Cracovienses compilati*, we encounter under the heading for the year 1135 that an area of Little Poland was devastated by the "Plauci or Cumans" which indicates that both appellations were known and used interchangeably (*Wislicia cede Plaucorum sive Comanorum destruitur*).[25] This name had appeared in Polish very early after the Cumans' arrival on the fringes of Eastern Europe – the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (c. 1113) anachronistically inserts *Plauci* alongside the Pechenegs who apparently joined Rus' forces (*cum Plaucis et Pincinaticis*) in a battle with the Poles in the first half of the eleventh century.[26]

There is evidence that the Slavic name for the Cuman-Qipchaqs was often employed by authors from separate language groups in Western Europe, showing that something like Polovci was the name they were receiving from informants. Richard de San Germano's chronicle (c. 1215–1228), discussed the defeat of the Russians and Cumans at the Kalka River in 1223, noting that the Mongols killed 200,000 of them in one day (*et uno die de Ruteis et Plautis occiderant ducenta milia*).[27] The Italian notary's *Plautis* is clearly a rendering of the Slavic exonym for the Cumans, "Polovci." This tendency to borrow the Slavic name for the Cumans, at least when

[23] MGHS VII, 375–376. The passage reads: *Ibi sunt homines pallidi virides et macrobii, quos appellant Huso*s. Hus certainly indicates the Oghuz, known in Byzantine sources as the Uzes (Οὔζοι, Ouzoi).
[24] Cross and Sherobowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 143.
[25] MGHS XIX, 589. Interestingly, another Polish annalistic source records a similar note for 1135 but observes the Cumans ties with the Hungarians. See MGHS XIX, 427: Vislicia cede destruitut 5. Ydus Februarii per Plaucos sive Hungaros; MGHS XXIX, 425–430.
[26] Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2003), 44–45.
[27] Roman Hautala, *Ot Davida*, 131.

the information originated from Slavic informants, helps to resolve a confusing section of Henry of Livonia's description of the Battle of the Kalka which reads: *Eodem anno fuerunt Tartari in terra Valvorum paganorum, qui Parthi a quibusdam dicuntur*. James Brundage's English translation suggested that the Tartars were sometimes called the Parthians ("the Tartars, who are said by some to be the Parthians…"), which only further confuses matters.[28] I would contend that Henry of Livonia was in fact trying to indicate that the Valvi (Cumans) also were also called Parthi (Polovci) by some – meaning of course Russians and other speakers of Slavic languages. Strong support for this explanation comes from the fact that in one manuscript of the thirteenth-century *Sächsische Weltchronik*, the term Parthi appears in place of the Valven appearing in other manuscripts in the description of the Battle of the Kalka.[29] In short, Valvi and Parthi, a corruption of Polovci, were interchangeable. Another very early European source, annals composed in the monastery of Klosterneuberg, described the same battle, referring to the defeated allies of the Rus' as "Valewin."[30] The contemporary *Chronicle of Emo* (c. 1170–1237), referring to the conversion to Christianity of Bortz, an important Cuman chieftain staying in Hungary in 1227, described him as a major prince of the "Huns/Chuni whom the Germans call Walewin."[31] In this last instance, we see the usage of a Hungarian vernacular term for the Cumans, followed by the German name.

As to the question of how the Germans adopted this name for the Cumans—Walewin, Valvi, or some other variation—it seems evident that it emerged from contact with Slavic people who, dwelling farther to the east, were brought into earlier direct contact with the new nomadic power in the region after their arrival in the mid-eleventh century. It seems that while German speakers at first adopted the Slavic term, they eventually translated its meaning, namely a descriptor of paleness, into their own language. Some of the sources, without explicitly stating it, hint at this process. We read for instance in a contemporary letter of an attack in 1132 by inhuman pagans, namely Bohemians and "Flavos" who were commonly called Valwen: *Rex Christianus [Lothar] inducit super ecclesiam Christianam homines inhumanos et paganos, Boemos videlicet ac Flavos, qui vulgari nomine Valwen dicuntur*.[32] So it

[28] Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, 205; MGHS XXIII, 316.

[29] MGHS Deutsche Chroniken II, 243. Accessed at: https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_dt_chron_2/index.htm#page/243/mode/1up.

[30] Roman Hautala, *Ot Davida*, 133.

[31] Ibid, 285. The passage reads: *Boricus quartus de maioribus principibus Chunorum, quos Theotonici Walewin vocant*.

[32] Philip Jaffé, *Bibilotheca rerum Germanicarum*, vol. V (Beriolini, 1913), 446–447; Kovács, "A kunok története a mongol hódításig," 102.

appears that the letter from a German bishop approximated the Slavic name for the Cumans while noting that Germans commonly used another term. Another source confirms that generally negative military interactions on the Holy Roman Empire's eastern frontiers were the typical cause of Germans having contacts with Cumans in this period. In the *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1211–1214) recorded the presence of "that most damned race of men who are called Valwen" committing atrocities that the author omitted describing during a campaign in Thuringia in 1203 that was tied to warfare in the Staufen-Welf struggles. Bohemian troops had invaded and ravaged Thuringia at the time and Cuman troops had accompanied them, much like in the previous century.[33] This incident might offer a plausible clue as to why Germans were both conscious of this group of people already by the twelfth century and why the German exonym for them took the form it did. If Cumans regularly accompanied Slavic armies even on campaigns in the Holy Roman Empire which saw complex international alliances that involved Eastern European powers, then the calque "Valwen" might owe much to common usage among Slavs. A statement by Godfrey of Viterbo (c. 1120–1196) supports this picture. When he described the Magyar invasion of the Carpathian Basin in the late ninth century, he noted that they ate raw meat and drank human blood just as the "Falagi" and Pechenegs customarily drank the blood of animals and ate raw horse and fox meat in the author's own time.[34]

With the Mongol conquests toward the middle of the thirteenth century, there was an enormous shift in the direction of attention in Western and Central Europe toward the East. Already in the 1230s, Friar Julian's missions to *Magna Hungaria* had alerted many in Europe to the rapid and brutal conquests unfolding west of the Volga River. There was a major increase in European geographic and ethnographic knowledge of a much wider Eurasia that occurred as a byproduct of the mendicant embassies to the Mongols in the 1240s and 1250s. In the German-speaking world, the Cumans were no longer an obscure people but rather a people who resided in Hungary and elsewhere and could exert a serious pull on the European balance of power, as was demonstrated in the struggle over the Babenberg inheritance which

[33] MGHS XXI, 216. The passage reads*: Nec defuit ibi illud perditissimum hominum genus, qui Valwen dicuntur*. For the historical background of the Bohemian attack on Thuringia in 1203, see: Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216–1245* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 127–128; For an excellent study on this war and its Eastern European connections, see: Alexander Maiorov, "The German King Philip of Swabia, Hungarian Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Meranien, and St Elizabeth of Thuringia in Old Russian Chronicles," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 69, no. 2 (2021).

[34] MGHS XXII, 230.

erupted from 1246, the same year that Cumans returned to settle in Hungary. In the texts from the period, there are two interesting observations to be made related to the German exonym for the Cumans. The first is that authors were quick to note that *Valvi* etc. was a specifically German usage for a people more regularly known as Cumans. For instance, Matthew Paris (d. 1259) in England noted that they were "Cumans whom we call Valvi" (*Cumani, quos Theotonice Valves appellamus*).[35] William of Rubruck, who journeyed to the Mongol imperial court in the early 1250s, likewise noted that the Germans specifically referred to these people as Valans (*Valani*). But crucially, Rubruck noted something else significant – he observed that the Cumans were called "Capchat" (Qipchaq) as well. He mingled the terms calling them "Cuman-Qichaqs" (*Commani Capchat*) at times.[36] This can be seen as a reflection of a new awareness among European visitors of an ethnonym that had been commonly used in Asia for the Cumans but had been unrecorded in Europe. Earlier in the 1240s, Friar C. de Bridia wrote about John of Plano Carpini's mission to the Mongols (1245–1246) and referred to the Pontic steppe region as "Qipchaq, that is Cumania" (*Cuspcas, id est Comania*).[37]

Thus, we can see that the common German term for the Cumans was a calque originating from the Slavic-language term for the people, a term that denoted cream-color or paleness (*falb* in medieval German, *fahl* in modern German). A term with an identical meaning was used by the Turkic people themselves evidently. We can see from this study that European authors of the period did take note of other names for this people which they evidently heard from Asian contemporaries. Aware of these circumstances of the period, there might be a plausible way to explain the mysterious "Kartassi" people mentioned in the fourteenth-century Czech rhyming *Chronicle of Dalimil*. It records that groups of wandering people called the "Kartas" or "Kartassi" came into Europe shortly before the Mongol invasion of Batu (1241–1242), advancing as far as the Rhine River. In fact, Dalimil notes, these Kartassi people were secretly spying for the Mongols before their arrival in Europe.[38]

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[35] Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Chronica Majora*, vol. VI (London: Trübner & Co., 1882), 82.

[36] Anastasius van den Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*. vol. 1 (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventura, 1929), 194–195; Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 112, 116.

[37] George Painter, "The Tartar Relation," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. Skelton et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 72-73.

[38] Václav Hanka (ed.), *Dalimils Chronik von Böhmen* (Stuttgart, 1859), 182–183; Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018): 242.

It appears that no serious effort has been made to identify the people in question. However, there is good linguistic and circumstantial evidence that this is a reference to the Cumans under their leader, Küten, who came to Hungary a few years before Batu invaded Hungary in 1241. As noted earlier, the term *Kartas* (χarteš) in Armenian definitely means pale and was a term directly tied to the eleventh-century migration of the Cumans in the work of Matthew of Edessa. He of course called these nomadic people the "Pale Ones" [*Xarte'shk'*] much like Adam of Bremen mentioned "pale people" in the Pontic Steppe in the same period. Thus, we can see that Dalimil's term for the Mongols' spies in Europe resembles a medieval term for the Cumans which corresponds with the Slavic and German calques for the same people. Still, it is very mysterious why a Czech author would be using an Armenian term for the Cumans or how that would even be possible. Perhaps it is helpful to remember that Armenians were more well travelled in the High Middle Ages than one might imagine, judging by many textual references. It is worth remembering there were Armenians in Crusader service in the Balkans in the early thirteenth century according to Villehardouin.[39] Owing to the Mongol invasions, Armenian refugees ended up in England according to Matthew Paris who personally met some of them in St. Albans.[40] The Mongol conquests saw a tremendous upheaval and movement of people, much of which undoubtedly went unrecorded. Thus, the surprising transmission evident in the Czech chronicle could have happened if any of Dalimil's sources on the events of the Mongol invasion involved information stemming from Armenians, or perhaps from the Jasz people who originated near the Caucasus and settled in Hungary as refugees of the Mongol invasion. Perhaps they or other similar refugees carried this name to Europe.

The similarity of Dalimil's description of the wandering Kartassi people to the story of the arrival of the Cumans in Hungary is another reason to propose a direct connection. In the late 1230s, the refugee Cumans were brought into Hungary by Béla IV after they sent messengers requesting asylum. The king, who styled himself already as *rex Cumanorum* and was engaging in a policy of eastward expansion, was glad to accept their proposal. However, he invited them into the country against the wishes and counsel of the local people.[41] There were good reasons for the discontent

[39] M.R.B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 109.

[40] J.A. Giles (trans.), *Matthew Paris, English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273,* Vol. 2 (George Bell & Sons, London, 1889), 342, 532

[41] MGHS IX, 640; János M. Bak and Martyn Rady (trans.), *Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 146–147.

of the Hungarians. Besides the chaos that ensued when thousands of steppe nomads started pasturing their herds in the vicinity of a sedentary populace, and the inevitable conflicts that resulted, there was widespread distrust of the motives behind the Cuman arrival. According to Rogerius, an eyewitness to the events, many people openly said that the Cumans were in fact allies of the Mongols already. Their purpose in coming to Hungary under the guise of an alliance was to explore the country, discover its conditions, learn the local language, and ultimately to join the Mongols in conquering the kingdom when they invaded. Rogerius emphasized that very many people were of this opinion and outraged that the king had invited dangerous spies.[42] All of this quite resembles Dalimil's account of the wandering Kartassi, secretly in league with the Mongols and quietly gaining information on the conditions in Europe for the coming war.

Conclusions

It is likely that the many variants of the Germans' unique exonym for the Cuman-Qipchaqs from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries was meant to convey *falben* and was a calque of the Turkic *quman*. The German variations of the name probably originated from the Rus' and their own calque for the Cuman name. It also appears that Dalimil's reference to the Kartassi people fits well with the first Cuman settlement in Hungary (c. 1238–1241). This small study has shown some avenues for gaining further insights regarding the history of the Cumans. Though fascinating, their history has been obscured to a degree by the limited textual materials. Nonetheless, a wide-ranging use of sources can provide resolutions to certain historical problems. The present study is intended to set the groundwork for a much fuller study of the Cuman-Qipchaqs, involving textual, archaeological, and visual artistic materials. The texts of antiquity about peoples in the same steppe region will be explored for pre-medieval influences behind the preconceptions and terminology presented here which will reveal some insights about the Cuman-Qipchaqs themselves. This could also shed light on the ways that notions inherited from antiquity melded with broadening knowledge among Europeans about the world beyond the frontiers of Christendom – particularly during the era of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. As well, a fuller exploration needs to be made of medieval descriptions of the physical features of the Cuman-Qipchaqs.

[42] Bak and Rady, *Master Roger's Epistle*, 156–159.

A BRIDE OF CHRIST AND AN INTERCESSOR OF MUHAMMAD: THE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM CULTS OF SAINTS IN COMPARATIVE TRADITIONS

Eylül Çetinbaş

Saints and cults of saints have long reshaped religious life in ancient, medieval, and modern societies. They have travelled to and from locations around the world, existed in between religious beliefs, and presented multifarious depictions of political, economic, and cultural struggles. Among Christian and Muslim societies in the Middle Ages, while the cults of some saints generated positive sentiments and peaceful communal relations, some others evoked polemical discussions, and others led to the mixture of both positive and negative representations of sanctity that were usually communicated through common cults or hagiographical propaganda. Therefore, this essay attempts to fill the gap of comparative Christian-Muslim saints and cults in the scholarship through the examples of two female saints, St. Catherine of Alexandria and Rabi'a of Basra who adhere to the final category of both positive and negative representations.[1]

Cult of St. Catherine of Alexandria

Saint Catherine as an ahistorical figure was remodeled after the Alexandrian Hypatia, re-transformed from the beautiful, virtuous, educated, wise, and pagan Hypatia to the virgin martyr Catherine.[2] The only non-hagiographical account of her life was written by her contemporary, Eusebius of Caesarea, around 340 CE.[3] When Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 340–410) translated Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* from Greek into Latin in 401, he referred to this Alexandrian Christian lady in the text as Dorothea rather than Catherine.[4]

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[1] Eylül Çetinbaş, "A Bride of Christ and an Intercessor of Muhammad: Comparative Saints Cults of St. Catherine of Alexandria and Rabi'a of Basra" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] Rudolf Asmus, "Hypatia in Tradition und Dichtung," *Studien zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte* 1 (1907): 11–44, 18.

[3] Book 8, line 14, in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2, Books 6–10, Loeb Classical Library 265, trans. J. E. L. Oulton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 309.

[4] Torben Christensen, *Rufinus of Aquileia and the Historia Ecclesiastica, Lib. VIII-IX, of Eusebius* (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab, 1989), 161.

The various versions of the earliest *vitae* of St. Catherine are categorized into four sections: A, B, C, and D. Version A, having been written the earliest, sometime between the second half of the sixth century and early seventh century, stands out with its brevity, whereas texts B and C are comparable in their sequence of events and grammatical structures. In a similar context, Simeon Metaphrastes, celebrating the feast of St. Catherine on November 24, duplicates a good number of paragraphs from text C and makes no additions or removals to the original text C.[5] Apparently, the verses in text C have acquired intertextual qualities through direct and indirect quotations from the Scriptures, John Malalas, Homer, Diodorus, Plutarch, Pluto, the Orphic fragments (frs. 62, 233, 1025), and the Greek version of *Barlaam and Josaphat*.[6] While the intertextual dependency is evident between the *Passio Catharinae* and the sources above, the earliest confluence of the three textual versions A, B, and C cannot be dated to the eighth century but to the sixth century.[7] It is not a coincidence that all five texts, which reflect ideas widely circulated in different types of literary genres and texts, came together simultaneously in the *Passio of St. Catherine* during the sixth century.

The remaining sources for Catherine's cult commence with the remarkable foundation of the Monastery of St. Catherine at the interreligious site of Mount Sinai and the accounts of pilgrimage to the monastery. In the late fourth century, the famous woman pilgrim Egeria describes Sinai *en route* to the Holy Land and calls Jabal Musa the Mountain of God, but makes no allusions to St. Catherine.[8] Writing two centuries after Egeria, between AD 560 and 570, Antoninus Martyr attests to the completed building of the monastery surrounded by walls, and the presence of the monastic communities with three polyglot abbots educated in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian, and Persian, yet again makes no allusions to Catherine and her patronage over the monastery.[9] Shortly before 820, the visitations of Epiphanios Hagiopolites to the *loca sancta* and particularly Sinai did not contain any references to Catherine either.[10] In the tenth century, however, the *Life of Paul of Latros* (d. 956) records the story of the anchorite who lived on

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[5] E. Klostermann and E. Seeberg, "Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina," *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 2 (1924): 37–40.

[6] Klostermann and Seeberg, "Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina," 37–40.

[7] The Metaphrastic text D is not included with the three main texts because the date for its recomposition and recompilation is attested to pinpoint the tenth century.

[8] John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 91–95.

[9] Antoninus Martyr, *Of the Holy Places Visited by Antoninus Martyr*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1887), 29.

[10] Herbert Donner, "Die Palästinabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita," *Zeitschrift Des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87, no. 1 (1971): 42–91.

Sinai before his retirement to Italy and how he would be thrilled with spiritual joy whenever he thought of St. Catherine.[11] The compound was called the Church or Monastery of St. Mary until the early fourteenth century, and among the list of popes who gave protection and financial benefactions to Sinai, Pope John XXII (1316–1334) was the first pope to refer to it as the Church of St. Catherine in pilgrims' indulgences.[12]

The hagionymic name "Catherine/Katherine" (Greek Ἀικατερίνη and Ἑκατερίνα) encapsulates a gamut of multilinguistic name variations from the ninth century onwards.[13] The *terminus post quem* for the prosopographical and personal name entry is found within the *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737) in which Aikaterine (d. c. 837–853) is a relative of Theodora and the abbess of the convent of St. Luke in Thessalonike.[14] Surprisingly, previous literature concerning the Catherine's cult failed to discuss Abbess Aikaterine, even though she attests to the existence of the saintly veneration of Catherine in Thessalonike and of the personal name from the ninth century onwards.[15] The second Αἰκατερίνη is a Bulgarian princess and later "τὰ βασίλεια," the daughter of Ivan Vladislav, the last tsar of Bulgaria (d. 1018), and the wife of Isaac I Komnenos (c. 1007–1060) as early as in 1025.[16] Each of the remaining eighteen personal names and biographical information in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (PLP) come from

[11] "Et aliorum quidem sanctorum memoriae hilaritatis ansam Paulo dabant; martyris vero Aecatherinae non solum voluptate sanctum replebat, sed propemodum exsultatione et tripudio. Etenim celebrabat illam non corporis tantum sensu, sed admixta simul spirituali laetitia." Ch. 39 in Vita Pauli Junius, *Analecta Bollandiana* 11 (1892): 136–182, 153.

[12] Georg Hoffmann, *Sinai und Rom* (Rome: P. Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1927), 229, 252.

[13] Simonne D'Ardenne, "Tentative Etymology of the Name Catherine," *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 12 (1970): 111–118; 111.

[14] Anthony the confessor, the hero of the hagiographical story, was Aikaterine's brother and archbishop of Thessalonike for a short period of time in 843. Aikaterine received Saint Theodora's six-year-old daughter to her own convent and thereafter, Aikaterine had the six-year-old daughter tonsured. Alice-Mary Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 160–171.

[15] Although it is unknown whether Aikaterine received her name at birth or adopted her "new monastic identity" by choosing a hagionymic name for her monastic vows, the rare use of the name proves its hagionymic value. For "the new monastic identity," see Dion C. Symthe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*; *Papers from the Thirty-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 13.

[16] Michael Psellos depicted her whilst delivering an acrimonious yet sorrowful monologue to the emperor and prompted him to reconsider his dramatic decision of abandoning the imperial throne. Book 7, ch. 82, in Michael Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), 335–338; Konstantinos Varzos, Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών: Τομος *Α* (Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1984), 41.

between the dates 1283 and 1442, out of which six entries refer to Greek nuns; one to the Latin empress of Constantinople, Ἐκατερίνα ντὲ Λεονέσα; one to the second wife of Constantine XI Palaiologos (c. 1405–1453), Γατελιούζαινα Αἰκατερίνα; one to a "neighbor" from Macedonia; and the other eleven names were Greek and non-Greek aristocratic women who held lands in various parts of the empire or were married to aristocrats.[17] Later occurrences include five nuns from the fourteenth and one from the early fifteenth century in different parts of the empire.[18]

Examining tombs and church dedications are nascent sub-disciplines that have received only sporadic attention before, so the two tomb attributions to the saint, one in Sinai and the other in Cyprus, have not been contextualized along with the onomastic data in tracing the historical route of Catherine's cult. In the ninth century, the monks of Sinai allegedly collected Catherine's body from the summit of Jabal Katharina, one of the highest mountains in the region, brought the saint into the monastery, and kept some of her relics within the monastery walls. Surprisingly, none of the contemporary accounts from the ninth century onwards mention the relics of St. Catherine, at least not prior to the thirteenth century. In the eleventh century, Symeon, a monk from Sinai brought her finger to Rouen, Normandy where Catherine's cult subsequently became one of the cult centers in medieval Europe. The relics travelled as far as the British Isles and appeared in church inventories and missals in the mid-fifteenth century.[19] The first eye-witness account, however, was recorded in 1217, when Magister Thietmar described his visit to Catherine's tomb and body in Sinai before travelling back

[17] Another Catherine, Εικατερίνης was the wife of Lazarus, the taxpayer of 26/48 of a nomisma for his household in Radolibos village belonging to the theme of Serres M. Jeffreys et al., "Aikaterine 102," *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (King's College London, 2016–2017), available at https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk.

[18] Around 1313, a Κατερίνα was recorded to reside in Sebaste, Crimea; in 1314, an Αἰκατερίνη is recorded in an unknown location; in 1324, an Αἰκατερίνη in Thessaloniki; in 1343, another Αἰκατερίνα in an unknown location; in 1347, Κατερίνα, the benefactress of the Church of Theotokos in Prodromi, Crete, and in 1405, certain Αἰκατερίνα lived in Skirmalo, Paphos. The only example of non-aristocratic secular bearer of the name, Αἰκατερίνα was a resident in Doxompus, Serrhai with no or less civil rights around 1317. The remaining Catherines were wealthy benefactresses. For example, in 1327, Κα<τερίνα> was the benefactress of the Church of the Michael the Archangel in Kandanos, Crete. The church epigraphy testifies her donation: "δέησις (της δού)λης του Θεου κα(τερίνης)." Giuseppe Gerola, *I Monumenti Veneti dell'isola di Creta*, vol. 4 (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1932), 454.

[19] Eylül Çetinbaş, "'Réalta an Chruinne Caitir Fhíona': The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval Scotland" (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2019), 12–13.

to Acre.[20] Thietmar embarked on his pilgrimage for penitence and accordingly, the monastic community was probably used by penitent pilgrims sojourning in the mountains and deserts of Sinai and praying for the intercession of Catherine through her tomb and, later, her relics.[21] The second tomb, also known as the prison of St. Catherine, is situated in the northern outskirts of the Salamis ruins in Cyprus. During the fourteenth century, the vaulted room and the funeral chamber previously served as the chapel of St. Catherine.[22] Although this building and the sliding door leading to the inner complex could have also been utilized as a prison for someone like St. Catherine, it seems unlikely.[23] St. Catherine was linked to Cyprus starting from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards, not in the early versions of the *vitae* and *passiones* insofar as we have seen in the above-presented sections, but in the late medieval translated versions of the hagiographical texts. Three fifteenth-century Latin manuscripts kept at Wrocław University Library in Poland fill the narrative gap in the earlier texts claiming that Catherine was born in Cyprus. Catherine was the daughter of Costas, who may have been the stepbrother of Constantine the Great.[24] By 1328, a Genoese merchant had founded a pilgrims' hostel in Famagusta, in other words, the "transit station" through which the pilgrims *en route* to St. Catherine's Monastery

[20] "The tomb is indeed short ad nobly made of the whitest marble. Its lid is raised just like a coffin, and it is opened and closed. When the bishop of that place learnt my wishes and the reason for my coming, after preparing himself with devotion, prayers and chant, and with lighted lamps and thuribles, he went to the sarcophagus of the blessed Catherine, opened it and bade me look inside. And I saw clearly, face to face and without doubt, the body of the blessed Catherine, and I kissed her uncovered head. The limbs and bones indeed, held together by sinews, still float in the self-same oil, which exudes not from the tomb but from the individual joints, just as in a bath sweat erupts in droplets from the pores of the human body." Denys Pringle and Peter E. Leach, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus 2.2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 52–53.

[21] "I, Thietmar, seeking pardon for my sins, armed myself with the sign of the cross, and left my home as a pilgrim with my companions." Hunt Janin, *Four Paths to Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Secular Pilgrimages, 1000 BCE to 2001 CE* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 114.

[22] Ludolph von Suchem writes: "Ex hac civitate (Famagusta) etiam sancta Katharina fuit orta, et adhuc ibidem stat capella." L. de Mas Latrie*, Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan,* 3 vols (Paris, 1852–1861, reprinted: Famagusta, 1970), 2:214.

[23] Vassos Karageorghis, "Note sur Les Tombes Royales de Salamine," *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série 1 (1969): 57–80, 65–67.

[24] "By right of inheritance Catherine held her father's kingdom, which was, as some rather authentic writings attest, the kingdom of Cyprus. And actually, the kings of Cyprus claim to be kinsmen of St Catherine." Lorenzo Calvelli, "Cypriot Origins, Constantinian Blood: The Legend of the Young Saint Catherine of Alexandria," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), 361–390, 365.

and Jerusalem could circumnavigate the port from the sea.[25] The accounts of the Cypriot origins attributed to St. Catherine proceeded in the sixteenth century in the account of Stephen of Lusignan (c. 1537–1590), a native of Nicosia, who claimed to have read the Greek life of St. Catherine at Famagusta and recorded the "real" version of the Greek life.[26]

Cult of Rabi'a of Basra

Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya of Basra (135/752–185/801) was and still is a very prominent saint in Muslim societies. Her influence helped to promote Islam throughout the region and among contemporary Sufi masters. While ground-breaking studies have succeeded in identifying Rabi'a as one of the most prominent historical Sufi women and examining her literary personification interwoven within the "mythical" texts, they failed at clarifying the position of the female saint among other Muslim saints, including in the context of her hagiography and cult in Muslim and non-Muslim societies.[27]

The most widely recognized Persian Sufi hagiographer of Rabi'a, Farid al-Din al-'Attar, states that Rabi'a became an orphan because of a famine in Basra and was thence sold as a slave for six dirhams. After all her hard work of labor and suffering, her master set Rabi'a free after he saw a projected light above her head illuminating the entire house.[28] In 'Attar's *vita* Farid al-Din al-'Attar—stressing the hagiographical nature of his text in contrast with earlier attempts by biographers of Rabi'a that signaled a promoted historicity and tradition of *isnad* within their own writings—also includes a succinct section containing a small supplication prayer made by Rabi'a. God thus converses with her directly, reminiscent of how Moses had also been in doubt until God revealed himself on Mount Sinai. After

[25] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov, *Philippe de Mezieres and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 417.

[26] According to this Greek life located in Cyprus, St. Catherine's father, Costa, was the king of Cyprus transferred to Alexandria in 290 and left a daughter, Catherine, behind when he died there. The emperors Diocletian and his son, Maxentius, fearing the Christians and Catherine's Christian faith, later brought her to Salamis and then to Paphos where she was put in prison. When she finally returned to Alexandria, Catherine, "the queen of Cyprus," approached the cruel Maxentius to confront his tyranny and was martyred in Alexandria. Stefano Lusignano, *Chorograffia: Et Breve Historia Universale dell'Isola de Cipro Principiando al Tempo di Noè per in Sino al 1572* (Bologna, 1573), 25 (b).

[27] Rkia Eleanou Cornell, *Rabi'a from Narrative to Myth, The Many Faces of Islam's Most Famous Woman Saint, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya* (London: Oneworld, 2019).

[28] Farid al-Din Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, trans. A. J. Arberry (Iowa: Omphaloskepsis, 2000), 29–47.

her pilgrimage to Mecca, she offers an extensive range of anecdotes and didactic spiritual conversations with the state and religious officials and Hasan al-Basri.

Rabi'a performed a distinguished series of miracles in the Islamic hagiography. Islam distinguishes the miracles of the prophets (*mu'jizât*) and the miracles of the saints (*karâmât*), whereas Christianity does not categorize the miracles of their holy figures in this way.[29] Rabi'a's hagiographer 'Attar exclusively put an emphasis on her saintly attributes, that is, her visions and *karāmāt* and how she was conversing with God both directly and indirectly through *hātif*, the divine voice, whilst having lost herself in spiritual suffering and ecstasy.[30] Right after she breaks her hand and prays to God, she exclaims: "yet for all this I do not grieve; all I need is Thy good pleasure, to know whether Thou art well-pleased or no," the divine voice replies: "do not grieve, tomorrow a station shall be thine such that the cherubim in heaven will envy thee."[31] We hear another audible divine voice when Rabi'a again makes a supplication prayer stating that she needs God with her at that moment. God reminds Rabi'a of the vision of Moses and how he had conversed with Moses on Mount Sinai: "Hast thou not seen how Moses prayed for the vision of Me? And I cast a few motes of revelation upon the mountain, and the mountain shivered into forty pieces. Be content here with My name!"[32] On every occasion of the *hatif*, God comforts Rabi'a, and 'Attar introduces a new event or anecdote.

The hagiographical writings concerning the life of Rabi'a were introduced in the ninth century. Sufi Al-Muhasibi of Baghdad (d. 857) introduced a supposed night prayer of Rabi'a in *Al-Qasd wa-l-Ruju'ila Allah*: "The night has arrived, the darkness has mingled, and every lover is left alone with his beloved. Now I am alone with you, my Beloved."[33] The night prayer Al-Muhasibi attributed to Rabi'a has found similar literary and thematic echoes to that of the Sapphic Fragment 52. The only difference is that Rabi'a confides in God by means of her mystical appeal, whereas Sappho denotes love and yearning for another person in relation

[29] Denise Aigle, ed., *Miracles and Karama*, *Hagiographies médiévales comparées* 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 13–36.

[30] Heidi A. Ford, "Hierarchical Inversions, Divine Subversions: The Miracles of Râbi'a Al-'Adawîya," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 15, no. 2 (1999): 5–24.

[31] Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, 32.

[32] Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, 33–34.

[33] Rkia Eleanou Cornell, *Rabi'a from Narrative to Myth, The Many Faces of Islam's Most Famous Woman Saint, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya* (London: Oneworld, 2019), 39–40. Cornell translates from Abu 'Abdullah al-Harith ibn Asad al-Muhasibi, *al-Qasd wa-l-ruju' ila Allah*, ed. 'Abd al-Qadir Ahmad 'Ata (Cairo: Dar al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1980), 104.

with the literary motif of astronomical occurrences.[34] The second, yet not extant, work *Kitab al-Ruhban* produced by Al-Burjulani of Baghdad (d. 852) in the ninth century has only been ascertainable through references found in other works. The third group of sources was authored by the Basran Al-Jahiz (d. 868), these are *Kitab al-Hayawan* and *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-Tabyin*, which depict Rabi'a as an extreme ascetic who would remain in solitude and refuse all "worldy things."[35] In the works of the tenth century, Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 996) was a student of Ibn al-A'rabi in Mecca and his most influential work, *Qut al-Qulub*, represents Rabi'a practicing an exemplary love towards the divine.[36] This divine love seems to encapsulate two kinds of love. "A passionate love" encapsulates the love of God to such extent that Rabi'a is metaphorically impassioned by whatever she does in the earthly world because she dedicates everything to Him.[37] The other facet of divine love begets the love "worthy of God" and unfolds in the series of progressing interactions between Rabi'a and God. In this process, God "removes the veil so that Rabi'a may see Him" and thus, the two could freely and lovingly expose themselves to one another.

The last extant source written by As-Sulami (d. 1021) comes chronologically right before 'Attar's *Memorial of the Saints* in which he managed to compile seventy-five Sufi biographies. *Dhikr al-Niswa al Muta'abbidat al-Suffiyat* includes not only Rabi'a from Basra but other Basran and Syrian female saints. Akin to 'Attar, Al-Sulami was also from Nishapur in the Khorasan region, which indirectly explains the geographical and literary changes in the hagiographical narratives compared to the Basran works. The major difference in the depiction of Rabi'a between As-Sulami and 'Attar stems from the inclusive chain (*isnad*) transmission. While 'Attar does not occupy his work with the testability of his statements on Rabi'a, Al-Sulami attempts to authenticate the reported evidence of her existence and encounters with famous Sufis or central and religious officials.[38] The *tabaqat* of As-Sulami therefore attests to Rabi'a being a spiritual Sufi leader and a wise source

[34] "The moon has set, and the Pleiades; it is midnight, the time goes by, and I lie alone." Sappho, *Alcaeus. Greek Lyric, Volume I: Sappho and Alcaeus*, Loeb Classical Library 142, ed. and trans. David A. Campbell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 173.

[35] Abu 'Uthman 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz, *al-Bayan wa al-tabyin*, ed. Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Daljamuni (Beirut: reprint of 1900 first edition, n.d.), 3:110, n2.

[36] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 87.

[37] Cornell, *Rabi'a from Narrative to Myth*, 197. I use Cornell's literal Arabic translation because the former translations by the Western scholars translated "passionate love" as "selfish love."

[38] "Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ahmad b. Sa'id ar-Razi reported from al-'Abbas ibn Hamza through Ahmad ibn Abi al-Hawari through al-'Abbas ibn al-Walid al-Mashriqi that Shayban al-Ubulli related:

of ascetic inspiration. She does not perform any *karamat*, yet she constantly teaches and serves people with her apothegmatic lessons. Al-Sulami's portrayal of Rabi'a draws parallels with the *apophthegmata* of the Desert Fathers and Mothers. The narrative of 'Attar, on the other hand, possesses many more hagiographical qualities such as *karamat*, visions, Muhammad and his prophetic authority, more abstract themes, the appropriation of anachronistic holy figures such as Hasan al-Basri,

Comparative Hagiology and Cults

The new studies on "comparative hagiology" redefine the key terms saint, saintliness, hagiography, and hagiology, and attempt to re-interpret hagiography and hagiology and to move away from concepts that are innately Christian and Eurocentric towards inter-/cross-cultural and trans-religious "heuristic devices."[39] The Christian and Muslim hagiographical sources, therefore, reveal the historiographical discourses rather than saints themselves by observing the "hagiographical process," during which the historical events paved the way for the production of these hagiographies, particularly how the two societies saw one another, either through polemical writing or dialogue.[40] In this regard, Oliver Freiberger's fourfold reassessment of former comparative methodologies has thus been pivotal.[41] According to the four models of comparison, the models of sainthood in hagiographical works essentially provide the backbone for comparative research much earlier than the dilatorily spotted cultic patterns in later literary works, churches, tombs, and pilgrimages.

The first category of comparison is "the comparative focus on similarity," which focuses on the similarities between the two textual representations. The foremost similarity between Catherine and Rabi'a begins with the fact that they are both female saints and of high popularity within their own belief systems and beyond, on the interreligious level. They both possess excessive beauty and wisdom, starting from a young age. The model of orphanhood at a young age

I heard Rabi'a say…" Abu 'Abd ar-Rahman as-Sulami, *Early Sufi Women: Dhikr an-niswa al-muta'abbidat as-sufiyyat*, ed. and trans. Rkia E. Cornell (Louisville, Kentucky: Fons Vitae, 1999), 74–80.

[39] Massimo Rondolino, "Some Foundational Considerations on Taxonomy: A Case for Hagiography," *Religions* 10 (2019): 538.

[40] Rondolino, "Some Foundational Considerations on Taxonomy."

[41] Oliver Freiberger, "Modes of Comparison: Towards Creating a Methodological Framework for Comparative Studies," in *Interreligious Comparisons in Religious Studies and Theology: Comparison Revisited*, ed. Perry Schmidt-Leukel and Andreas Nehring (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 53–71.

establishes the foremost prototypes from the lives of Jesus and Muhammad.[42] Despite Rabia's family being acutely poor, 'Attar links her parental heritage to Muhammad by their tribal confederation of Mudar (Northern Arabs). They possess the talent of rhetoric and eloquence. Both saints suffer at the hands of their confessors, Maxentius/Maximin/Maximianus for Catherine and the slave trader for Rabi'a, who lead the future saints into their suffering or martyrdom. They are both promised to reach the "Kingdom of God" and heaven before their death. Both saints have mystical inclinations, notwithstanding that the mystical marriage of Catherine with Christ had not existed in the hagiographical florilegia until the thirteenth century. The *Legenda Aurea* interposed Catherine's vision of the hermit and mystical marriage with Christ in the presence of Virgin Mary.[43] Rabi'a practices the Muslim version of holy anorexia and continuously fasts not on the Eucharist, but on thick and dry bread.[44] The association of the two saints with the prophethood of Moses and the Mosaic cult remains one of the most remarkable details in their path to sainthood. Since the ninth and tenth centuries the Monastery of St. Catherine has encapsulated the cults of Moses and Catherine; an icon collection of the monastery depicts them together accompanied by the Virgin Mary and the Burning Bush. One of the depictions attributed to Moses is the biblical scene of Exodus in which Moses removes his sandals before approaching the Burning Bush and receiving the revelation of God. In 'Attar's hagiography of Rabi'a, God spoke to Rabi'a directly as He conversed with Moses and urged Rabi'a to remain content with His name through his revelation at Sinai.[45]

The second category of comparison discusses "the comparative focus on difference." The foremost difference naturally denotes two saints of unique

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[42] According to the Scriptures, Jesus does not have a biological father. Luke 1:26–38, NIV. Whereas Muhammad had a biological father, the early Islamic sources from the seventh and eighth centuries establish the authority that Muhammad could be considered as an orphan because 'Abdallah died early enough. Baladhuri (d. 279/892) even states that "Messenger of God was a foetus in his mother's womb," when 'Abdallah died at the age of twenty-five. See Michael Lecker, "The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad's Father: Did Wāqidī Invent Some of the Evidence?" *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 145, no. 1 (1995): 9–27.

[43] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, with an introduction by Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 720–727.

[44] Caroline Bynum, "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," *Women's Studies* 11, nos. 1 and 2 (1984): 179–214. For the first usage and contextualization of the term "holy anorexia," see Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[45] "Hast thou not seen how Moses prayed for the vision of Me? And I cast a few motes of revelation upon the mountain, and the mountain shivered into forty pieces. Be content here with My name." 'Attar, *Episodes from Tadhkirat al-Awliya,* 33–34.

belief systems under the roofs of Christianity and Islam. The parentage of Rabi'a signals a Muslim background except for a few versions that claim that Rabi'a is of different religious origin; Muhammad appears to her father in a prophetic dream promising him that Rabi'a will intercede for the seventy thousand members of his community. In contrast, Catherine's parents were pagans and there are no indications as to their attitude towards Christianity. The socio-economic and political backgrounds of the families offer entirely original portraits to the background story of the hagiographical works. The family of Rabi'a is acutely poor and suffering from famine in Basra leading to the main crisis of the narrative in which Rabi'a becomes a slave to the cruel master, whereas Catherine refuses what she already has in her possession, the imperial possessions and throne of her father Costas, the king of Cyprus.

The third category unearths the "works with a comparative focus on *genu*-species relationship," "to construct and deconstruct" the typologies of female sainthood. Following the discussion above on the early veneration of saints in Islam and the cults of the prophet, his family, and companions, the sainthood of Rabi'a builds upon the same early prophetic cults with their literary *topoi* in her Sufi *hagiographa*.[46] Rabi'a is the fourth and youngest daughter in the family, hence her name Rabi'a—"fourth." This numerological *topos* obtains its origins from the family of Muhammad, within which the Sufi authors stylize the literary representation of Rabi'a in parallel with Fatima (d. 632), the fourth and youngest daughter of the prophet. The Hadith testifies to the holiness of Fatima through Muhammad because Fatima has unique characteristics in the eyes of the prophet and, therefore, the believers must conform to her sanctity in the prophet's example.[47] Fatima has the personal characteristics of purity, innocence, eagerness to help, and, most significantly, fondness of her father, Muhammad.[48] Fatima also had three suitors out of whom Muhammad declined two, Abu Bakr and Umar, finally choosing Ali ibn Abi Talib for Fatima's hand in marriage.[49] Although there is no possibility for an anachronistic encounter between Rabi'a and Hasan al-Basri, Rabi'a declined the hands in marriage proposed by Hasan al-Basri. The Shi'i traditions surmise that Fatima was begotten from the divine light through *Nur Muhammadi* and report that the light on her face would illuminate the entire

[46] For the term Sufi hagiographa, see J. Spencer Triminghan, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 31.

[47] "Narrated Al-Miswar bin Makhrama: Allah's Messenger said, 'Fatima is a part of me, and he who makes her angry, makes me angry.'" *Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 5, book 57, Hadith 61.

[48] Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani, *Hilyat al-Awliya*, ed. N. Shariba (Cairo: n.p., 1953), 2:39.

[49] Muhammed Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra,* ed. İhsan 'Abbas (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1968), 8:19.

room.[50] The same scene appears in the Islamic biographies and hagiographies of Rabi'a where the divine light flashes above the head of Rabi'a and lightens up the entire room. Another holy figure who emanates light is the mother of Muhammad, Amina, who frequently had visions of the divine light during her pregnancy. Ibn Hisham records that the divine light from the prophet's mother used to illuminate the entire palaces of Busra in Syria.[51] The only difference between the Christian and Muslim typologies of female sanctity, however, are trial and martyrdom (*shahada*). The absence of the latter Muslim texts does not denote the meaning that early examples of female martyrdom did not exist in the literature. Both Ibn Ishaq and Al-Tabari lament the death of Sumayyah bint Khabbat (d. 615) the first female martyr in Islam who suffered torture and death during the persecution of followers in Mecca.[52]

The fourth and final category of comparison brings forth "the use of comparison to refocus." This category includes the attempts to explicate one phenomenon in the lens of the other. The examined phenomena do not have to be selected from the same historical period, and relatedly, Freiberger exemplifies the notion through the comparison between the nineteenth-century mass suicide in Jonestown and the late antique cult of Dionysius.[53] On that methodological note, opting for the comparison of St. Catherine who supposedly lived in the fourth century with Rabi'a of Basra of the eighth century does not proliferate the chances of failure in an ostensibly anachronistic analysis. Along the same lines, we cannot logically expect religious phenomena, signifiers of sanctity, the metaphysical, and the supernatural to emerge simultaneously in different religious traditions. It is futile to discuss the chronological parameters and a possible anachronism between Catherine and Rabi'a in this comparison, claiming that the earliest hagiographical works dedicated to the life of St. Catherine dating back as early as the eighth century do not equally complement the thirteenth-century hagiography of Rabi'a produced in the narrative style of the Christian precursors. The religious foundations of Islam had not been established until the

[50] Uri Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light—Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), 62–119, 102. For a more detailed investigation of Fatima's cult, see L. Massignon, "Der Gnostiche Kult der Fatima im Schiitischen Islam," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 6 (1938): 161–173; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, *Fatima bint Muhammad: Metamorphosen einer frühislamischen Frauengestalt* (Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz Verlag, 2002).

[51] Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light," 87.

[52] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, trans. and ed. A. Guillaume (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 229; Al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l Muluk*, vol. 23, The Zenith of the Marwanid House, trans. and ed. Martin Hinds (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 18.

[53] Freiberger, "Modes of Comparison," 62.

seventh century, henceforth the hagiographical texts cannot exist simultaneously in both religions. The breadth of past literature dealing with the comparison of Rabi'a and other Christian saints, namely, John of Dalyatha on the themes of unconditional love and Teresa of Ávila and Margery Kempe on mystical inclinations, ecstasy, and divine love all compare two holy figures from different periods as in Catherine and Rabi'a.[54] The same dialectic applies to the comparative study of Christians cults for which one simply cannot expect to unearth identical types and amount of sources in the cults of Muslim saints. Church dedications, for instance, hallmarked the beginnings of a peculiar Christian spirituality in association with church buildings, their dedicators, and those to whom the churches were dedicated, whereas the Islamic sources do not formulate the mode of mosque dedications in the foreground.[55]

The story of St. Catherine was included in Arabic literature for the first time during the late eighth and ninth centuries in the Tawaddud tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*, later adapted into the Spanish version *La Doncela Teodor* in the thirteenth century. Tawaddud was a beautiful and wise slave girl owned by the son of a merchant, and she was brought to the court of Harun al-Rashid to demonstrate her skills in debate (*munazara*) against the ten scholars of the caliph. She defeated the ten scholars one by one and managed to impress the caliph who, in return, granted many gifts to her master and received him into his court.[56]

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[54] Nadira Khayyat, "L'Amour Gratuit chez Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya et Jean de Dalyata," in *Les Mystiques Syriaques*, Études syriaques 8, ed. Alain Desreumaux (Paris: Geuthner, 2011), 79–86; Ömer Yılmaz, "Basralı Rabia ve Avilalı Teresa'nın Mistik Görüşlerinin Karşılaştırılması," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 17 (2013): 5–31; Claudia Yaghoobi, "Sexual Trauma and Spiritual Experience: Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya and Margery Kempe," *Persian Literary Studies Journal* 3, no. 4 (2014): 73–92.

[55] As early as the fourth century, Eusebius and St. Augustine record the ceremonious origins of church dedications. In Sermon 336, Augustine deploys a descriptive relation to buildings and the Christian spirituality: "What was going on here when these walls were rising, it is going on here and now when believers in Christ are being gathered together […] but when the people are catechized, baptized, formed it's as though they are being chipped and chiselled, straightened out, planed by the hands of carpenters and masons." Sermo 336.1, *The Works of Saint Augustine: Translation for the 21. Century. Part III: Sermons*, vol. 9: Sermons 306–340A, on the Saints, ed, John E. Rotelle, trans. Edmund Hill (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1994), 266. The mosque dedications exist in Islam; however, they do not hail from the early periods onwards. I saw a governmental campaign in Ankara once running for the people to choose the name of the recently built mosque. The mosques dedicated to saints would bear the names of the saints themselves, i.e., the fifteenth-century Hacı Bayram Camii (mosque) encapsulates the tomb of the saint adjacent to the main mosque building.

[56] J. P. Guillaume, "Tawaddud," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Volumes X, T–U, ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 375–376. See for the comparison of Tawaddud and Catherine, Gustave E. von Grunebaum, "Greek Form Elements

The story of Rabi'a, on the other hand, appears in Western literature from the thirteenth century onwards. During the Seventh Crusade, Jean de Joinville (c. 1224–1317), the author of King Louis IX's biography, recorded Rabi'a running on the streets with a pot of fire and water bucket in Syria.[57]

The polemical dimension of the hagiographical tropes and cults emerges in the rhetorical process of these texts. Both saints were victorious in their didactive and transformative disputes with philosophers and religious (*hadith*) scholars thanks to their wisdom and eloquence. The hagiography of St. Catherine revises the existing Constantinian propaganda against Maxentius/Maximianus/Maximin and pagan beliefs, which were later adapted by the monastery on the frontier of the Byzantine-Arab wars. In the eighth century, Anastasios of Sinai, the discussed author of Catherine's *vita*, claimed that the Saracens put the Sinai fathers in difficult positions and attempted to evoke their hidden temptations. He further claimed that Arab conquerors subjected Christians to forced conversion, that prisoners and slaves in the hands of Muslim masters were always situated on the front lines, and that people were being used as prey on the dangerous path to apostasy. Anastasios proceeds to explain the main difference between Christianity and Islam, that is, the Christians believe in the only true faith through God, while the Muslims are the allies of demons.[58] One century later, Al-Jahiz (d. 869), the Basran native and the author of *Kitab al-Hayawan* and *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-Tabyin*, attacked, among many other things, the intellectual Hellenistic heritage of Christians and compared Christianity to both Manichaeism and atheism with his threefold polemical epistle including polemics against the Jews, "A Reply to the Christians."[59] The semi-hagiographical narrative *Dhikr al-Niswa al-Muta'abbidat*

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in the Arabian Nights," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62, no. 4 (1942): 277–292, 290–291, fn. 129.

[57] "On the way from their dwelling to the Sultan's palace, Brother Ives saw an old woman crossing the street, who carried in her right hand a pannikin full of fire, and in the left a flask full of water." What are you going to do with this?" Brother Ives asked her. She answered: That, with the fire she was going to burn up Heaven; and with the water she was going to quench Hell, that there might be no such things anymore. And he asked her: "Why do you want to do that?" "Because I want no one ever to do right for the sake of the reward of Heaven, nor for fear of Hell, but simply to win the love of God, which is worth all the rest, and in which consisteth all our good." Ethel Wedgwood, *The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville: A New English Version* (London: John Murray, 1906), 229–230.

[58] See Bernard Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins: L'auteur et le propos des Diègèmata Stèriktiká d'Anastaste le Sinaïte," *Travaux et mémoires* 11 (1991): 381–409, 390–396.

[59] "For the books of Logic and De Generatione et Corruptione… etc, were composed by Aristotle, and he was neither Byzantine nor Christian (Arab). And the book Almagest was written by Ptolemaeus, and he was neither Byzantine nor Christian. The book of Euclid is Euclid's, and he again was neither Byzantine nor Christian. And the author of the book of Medicine is Galen,

al-Sufiyyat insists on attributing both a non-Muslim and non-Arab heritage to Rabi'a.[60] Relatedly, the Umayyad governor 'Ubaid Allah b. Ziyad recorded one hundred and fifty persons converted to Islam in Basra alone as early as the year of 64/684.[61]

In 1341, Ludolph of Suchem limns a vivid interfaith portrait of how the "Saracens guides, camel-drivers and grooms" knelt with the Latins before the relics of St. Catherine "with the greatest devotion."[62] Finally, in 1483–1484 the Dominican theologian Felix Fabri, who had the chance to discern the relics of Catherine visually, witnessed the Muslims that were helping them reach the monastery venerating the relics of St. Catherine with the pilgrims and the monastic community.[63] In the case of the Rabi'a-cult, the Christian pilgrims visiting the shrine complex on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem did not observe any tombs dedicated to the Islamic saint before 1173. Daniel the Abbot, in his pilgrimage of the years 1106 and 1107 to the Holy Land, records his observations on the tomb of St. Pelagia and a very spiritual anchorite man, but not of the Islamic tomb.[64] In 1173, al-Hawari claimed that the *maqam* of Rabi'a al-Adawiyya was situated at this location, although the tomb belonged to Rabi'a al-Shamiya of Jerusalem, the wife of Sufi Ahmad ibn Abi l-Hawari (d. 845/860).[65] After the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, Saladin granted the Mount of Olives as a *waqf* to two shaykhs and their heirs in 1188. In 1344–1345, an anonymous English pilgrim stated that the whole complex was guarded by the Muslims.[66]

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neither Byzantine nor Christian. This holds true also of Democrates, Hippocrates, Plato, etc. All these authors belong to a race that has perished, but whose intellectual impress has endured, and they were the Greeks." Joshua Finkel, "A Risala of al-Jahiz," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 47 (1927): 311–334, 326–327.

[60] Cornell, *Early Sufi Women: Dhikr an-niswa al-muta'abbidat as-sufiyyat*, 74.

[61] Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 81.

[62] Ludolph von Suchem, *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land: and of the Way Thither, Written in the year A.D. 1350,* trans. Aubrey Stewart (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 86.

[63] "After the Father of Monastery, all the monks drew near, beginning with the eldest, and kissed the holy relics in the same manner in which the Abbot had done. After the monks we pilgrims went and worshipped the relics in the customary manner, and after us our ass-drivers did the same." Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1892), 600.

[64] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem,* 3:343.

[65] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem,* 3:343. See for further explanation, Taufik Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London: Luzac, 1927), 57.

[66] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem,* 3:343

Conclusion

To conclude, comparative hagiology and cults of saints prompted the present research to proceed on a promising and peculiar research strategy: the selected saints, either two or even more, do not have to be cherry-picked from analogous periods, because the trends of sanctity did not occur in every belief system during the same period. The second significant point in the comparison stresses that the relics of Muslim saints should be taken for granted in the medieval context. This is partly because of the iconoclastic movement of Islam, which did not give much importance to religious and devotional objects, and also because the majority of the extant Islamic reliquaries and relics belonged to the prophet and his family and companions—the decorations and protective items posited on the Kaaba (door, keys, locks, gutter, and the guard of Hajar al-Aswad)—as well as the other cardinal prophets.[67] In this aspect, adopting the thesis of the Hungarian orientalist Ignác Goldziher that relics in Islamic theology could not become as highly significant as in Christian societies, the cults of Islamic saints cannot stem from the direct influence of relics.[68] Therefore, there cannot be a single method to trace Islamic cults without the propagation of the saints' bones, teeth, or hair scattered around many different places, and consequently, the tombs are obliged to substitute the relics. With the replacement of the relic culture with the tombs, the importance given to the tombs and their *ziyarat* (visitation) in parallel to the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) was then paramount. Both Catherine and Rabi'a emerged as holy aides in the most difficult times and helped communities define themselves by observing one another, firstly in the polemical discourse of negative judgements and secondly, on the playground of moderate ideologies formed around the trans-religious and cross-cultural saints.

[67] The Apartment of the Relics and the Privy (Has) Chamber inside the Topkapı Palace encapsulate an immense collection for the relics stored in the palace including Hırka-i Saâdet (the Holy Mantle of the Prophet), the Footprint, the Tooth, Sakal-I Şerif (the Blessed Beard), the Bow, Sword, and the Seal of the Prophet and the Mantle of Fatima. The relics attributed to the Abrahamic prophets include the Sword of Prophet David, the Cooking Vessel of Prophet Abraham, and the Staff of Prophet Moses, but there are no signs of relics in the name of any Islamic saints. Sevgi Ağca Diker, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Apartment of the Holy Relics* (Istanbul: Bio Ofset, 2018).

[68] Ignác Goldziher, "Le Culte des Saints chez les Musulmans," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* I, tome 2 (1880): 257–235, 259.

TO DOMINATE A CITY: THE EMERGENCE OF PRIVATE TOWERS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Gergely Szoboszlay

Similarly to the cities and towns of Western Europe, medieval private towers emerged across the states of Central Europe in a seemingly scattered way. However, due to the comparative analysis possibilities of the residual sources a more nuanced picture has materialized. Namely, that a developing network of urban towers formed a separate system in the eastern border zone of the Holy Roman Empire. Here the connections and bilateral communication between settlements, their economic contacts, and several events, like the Mongol Invasion and the expansive politics of Otokar II, created a framework that led to similar development processes even on the level of private towers. Within this framework their structural and social aspects display a certain level of similarity, which differs from the patterns of urban tower building in other parts of Europe.

In this paper[1] I will discuss how these towers appear and fit into the urbanization process of the Central European states. What are their chronological boundaries, and how did their appearance within the urban topography change within these frames? To this aim I will examine the forty-five urban private towers that have any kind of structural remains or are referenced in written sources.[2]

Previous research typically associates the emergence of urban private towers with the northern part of Italy and Tuscany.[3] According to the theory of Bodo

[1] This paper is part of my MA thesis in medieval studies: Gergely Szoboszlay, "The Role of Private Towers in the Thirteenth-Century Urban Transition" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] All together information has come down to us in the form of datable or tangible evidence from private towers at the following sites: Vienna (6), Wiener Neustadt (2), Eggenburg (1), Krems (2), Bruck an der Leitha (2), and St. Pölten (1) form Lower Austria (although at this time Wiener Neustadt belonged to Styria); from the Kingdom of Hungary are Buda (1), Sopron (7), Bratislava (1), Székesfehérvár (1), and Zagreb (1); from the Kingdom of Bohemia I consider Prague (8) and Brno (4); and from Silesia and Lesser Poland are Wrocław (1) and Kraków (7).

[3] Jerzy Piekalski, "Die Rolle der Wohntürme bei der Entwicklung städtischen Wohnens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert im Mitteleuropa," *Offa* 63–64 (2006–2007): 174.

Ebhard,[4] Anita Wiedenau,[5] and Cezary Buśko,[6] this form of urban architecture emerged in the region as early as the eleventh century due to the weakening of the Holy Roman Empire's administration over Italy. Later, as a result of direct transmission, private towers are thought to have arrived north of the Alps within the next two centuries, with a bit of a delay. According to this theory, they first appeared in German-speaking territories, primarily Regensburg and Mainz, from where they continued to spread through other parts of the empire.[7]

In contrast to this, other research slowly emerged suggesting that several separately erected tower-type structures in Europe were built more or less in parallel to each other. In Zürich some towers have been dated to the eighth or ninth century,[8] even earlier than their Italian counterparts. Altogether, urban private towers only began to appear as a widespread architectural phenomenon at the beginning of the eleventh century, and in larger numbers from the turn of the eleventh century onwards.[9] Based on dendrochronological samples, in Zürich, for example, most of the towers were built in the eleventh century.[10] The same proved true in Trier and Mainz too.[11] Furthermore, especially in the German areas, there was a second wave of tower building from the second part of the thirteenth century, and a third one from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. As a result of this so-called "Gothic" period, famous towers were built

4 Bodo Ebhard, *Der Wehrbau Europas im Mittelalter* (Wien: Flechsig, 1939), 92.

5 Anita Wiedenau, "Form, Funktion und Bedeutung romanischer Wohnhäuser in Köln und im Rheinland," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 41 (1980): 7–26.

6 Cezary Buśko, "Budynki wieżowe w krajobrazie średniowieczne-go miasta" [Tower buildings in the medieval landscape], in *Dom w mieście średniowiecz-nym i nowożytnym*, ed. Bogusław Gediga (Wroclaw: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2004), 62–73.

7 Piekalski, "Die Rolle der Wohntürme," 174.

8 At Strochengasse 5 the tower was built in the Carolingian period. Jürg E, Schneider, "Das Hochmittelalterliche Steinhaus in Zürich: Ein Beitrag zur Monumentenarchäologie in der Zürcher Altstadt," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler: Mitteilungsblatt für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte = Nos monuments d'art et d'histoire : bulletin destiné aux membres de la Société d'Histoire de l'Art en Suisse = I nostri monumenti storici : bollettino per i membri della Società di Storia dell'Arte in Svizzera* 36 (1985): 175.

9 Günter P. Fehring, "Städtischer Hausbau des Hochmittelalters in Mitteleuropa," *Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie – Geschichte – Geographie* 5 (1987): 46.

10 Fehring, "Städtischer Hausbau des Hochmittelalters in Mitteleuropa," 46.

11 Georg Peter Karn, "Pro decore civitatis – Wohntürme und Adelshöfe der frühen Neuzeit in Mainz und ihre Vorläufer," *Burgen und Schlösser* 1 (2018): 4.

in Nürnberg,[12] Regensburg,[13] and Mainz, which were introduced previously as the forerunners of urban private tower architecture in the Holy Roman Empire.

At the same time, broken down into individual cities, it becomes clear that the towers should be interpreted in the light of the internal chronology of the settlement and regional influences. It would be tempting to say that the eastern part of the empire was lagging behind with respect to private towers because it did not follow the development seen in the western parts of the empire. But this statement is only partially true. In the cities of Poland and the Kingdom of Hungary, the first reliable data only appears in the thirteenth century, while urbanized settlements in Bohemia and parts of Lower Austria, for example, Krems, showed signs of private tower building from the twelfth century onwards.

The Appearance of the Towers

The Towers of Prague and Vienna in the Twelfth Century

The earliest urban towers discussed in detail in this paper are from Prague. Although in the absence of suitable dendrochronological finds they still await exact archaeological dating, on the basis of their construction techniques they can be dated to the second half of the twelfth century. However, it was not only private towers that appeared in the city at this time. A total of eighty-two monuments were listed and categorized by Zdeněk Dragoun, who uniformly named them "Romanesque ashlar houses."[14] These are stylistically homogeneous structures, along with the towers, multi-division houses, and urban palaces with central courts, scattered around the area of the Staroměstské Náměstí (Old Town Square), and from there, to the banks of the Vltava.[15]

In Vienna, earlier research has accepted the eleventh- to twelfth-century dating of the city's private towers. This was based on two factors: on the one hand, the projection of the topography of the purported suburbs outside the old

[12] Heinrich Bergner, *Handbuch der Bürgerlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1906), 121.

[13] Albrecht Uwe, *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995), 64.

[14] Zdeněk Dragoun, "Románské kvádříkové domy v Praze" [Romanesque ashlar houses in Prague], in *Średniowieczny Śląsk i Czechy. Centrum średniowiecznego miasta. Wrocław a Europa Środkowa,* ed. Jerzy Piekalski and Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2000), 299–310.

[15] Jan Havrda, Matouš Semerád and Martin Musílek, "K proměně předlokačního osídlení prahy v raně gotické město na příkladu románského domu v objektu čp. 309 v Bartolomějské ulici" [Romanesque house no. 309 in Prague. On the transformation of a pre-locational settlement into an early Gothic city], *Staletá Praha* 30, no. 2 (2014); Zdeněk Dragoun, Jiří Škabrada and Michal Tryml, *Romanesque Houses in Prague* (Praha: Paseka, 2003).

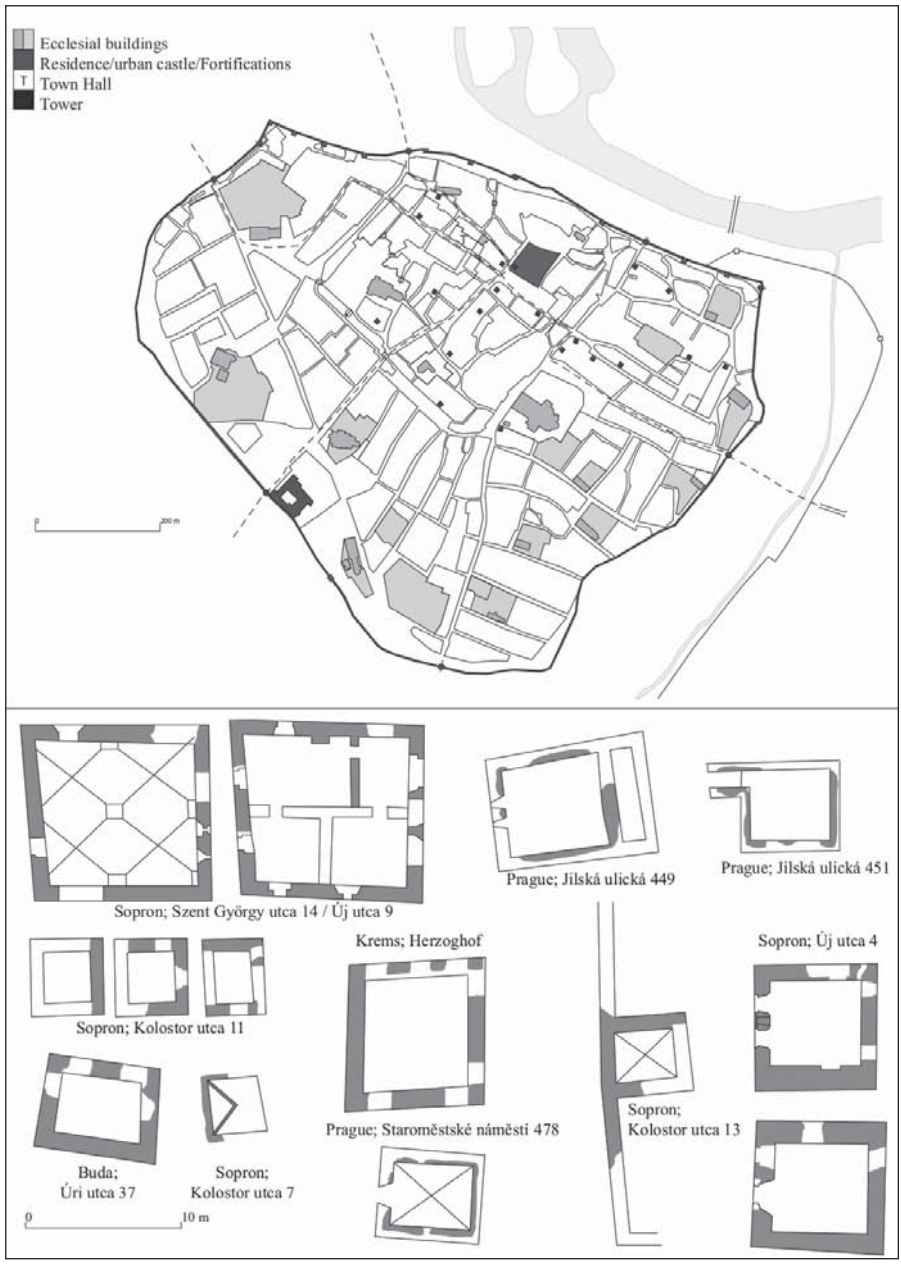

Fig. 1. The topography of Vienna and various private towers from the researched area

Roman camp wall onto today's street network,[16] and on the other hand, the work of Richard Perger, who had identified and described twenty towers.[17] Based on this hypothesis, the theory of dual development was established. According to this, early private tower buildings were first erected in the early phase of the city's urbanization mostly around the Babenberg residence and the Hoher Markt in the eleventh century, as can be seen in *Fig. 1*. Meanwhile, towers owned by nobles connected to the duke's court were built in the suburban areas, which mostly formed near major trade routes, such as the settlement hub in the nucleus of present-day Lugeck.[18]

This hypothesis, however, needs to be revised in several respects. Based on the archeological small finds and stratigraphic conditions found during the urban excavations of the early 2000s, no developed or homogeneous suburban settlement can be traced outside the Roman walls until the construction of the new defensive system in the 1200s.[19] In addition, Perger's early dating is not supported by sufficient evidence. Only the tower at Griechengasse 4 can possibly be dated slightly before the thirteenth century based on the surveys of Gerhard Seebach.[20] The same dating is not detectable in the case of the other examined buildings. It is also important to note that in Perger's collection of written sources the earliest mentions of towers or indications of the presence of private towers come from 1239 and 1277.[21] Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that such structures were indeed built as a result of the economic and topographical recovery brought on by the settling of the Babenberg dynasty in the city.

The Emergence of Private Towers with Urbanization Processes in the Thirteenth Century

In parallel with the thirteenth-century tower-building wave in cities of the Holy Roman Empire, private towers also began to appear in its eastern border zones. In this region, however, scholarship does not connect the construction of the towers

[16] Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll, *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 69–78; Ferdinand Opll, *Wien,* Österreichischer Städteatlas 1 (Wien: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 1982).

[17] Richard Perger, "Wohntürme im mittelalterlichen Wien" [Residential towers in medieval Vienna], *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 8 (1992): 103–115.

[18] Perger, "Wohntürme im mittelalterlichen Wien."

[19] Ingeborg Gaisbauer, Paul Mitchell and Doris Schön, "Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Wien. Neuansätze und Verpflichtungen zum Weiterdenken," *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie Österreichs, Beiheft* 6 (2003): 130.

[20] Gerhard Seebach, "Bauhistorische Analyse und neue Fassadengestaltung am Haus Wien 1, Griechengasse 4 (Steyerhof)," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 56, no. 4 (2002): 454, 460.

[21] Hoher Markt 1 and Graben 29; Perger, "Wohntürme im mittelalterlichen Wien," 105.

with the activity of German or Italian long-distance merchants or the artistic and architectural influences from the Apennine Peninsula. In both border states, in Hungary and Poland, the Mongol Invasion is thought to be the main catalyst. In both places, the construction of the towers as a "hybrid defensive building" was interpreted as the urban or proto-urban communities' direct response to the invasion.[22] The emergence of urban private towers in this role would have been the result of a central will. Since this had happened in Hungary in 1242, scholarship believed to discover the imprint of the tower constructions from the thirteenth century castle architecture in a special urbanized surroundings. In the Polish territories the towers were dated to the second half of the thirteenth century due to the Mongol attacks around the 1240s.[23] There the towers appeared in connection with the foundation and reconstruction of cities at the end of the century. Also, in a few examples, like in Wrocław, it appears that some of the buildings may have already stood there before the Mongol Invasion.

In Hungary, two written sources may suggest earlier dating, although their wording is ambiguous, and their reliability is questionable. The earlier one is about the city of Sopron in Muhammad Al-Idrisi's geographical book, the *Geographicum*, from 1154.[24] Idrisi devoted several lines to Sopron, where he mentions the "tall houses of the city."[25] The wording itself is vague: it could refer to the towers as well as almost anything else. The translation of the following text is also problematic: "The city of Sopron is a beautiful city, big one, with many waters and gardens, with populated markets and big streets, its courts / walls / households are tall, and houses well-erected."[26] The word *diyar*, translated here as "house," refers to the typical Middle Eastern residence type with a central courtyard surrounded by an encircling wall.[27] It seems justifiable to suggest that in Sopron this description may correspond to a private tower surrounded by walls, but this is merely a hypothesis. This argument is further weakened by the fact that Idrisi did not personally visit the area but relied on the narrative of contemporary travelers

[22] János Gömöri, *Castrum Supron* (Sopron: Scarabantia Társaság, 2002); János Sedlmayr, "Sopron koragótikus lakótornyai" [Sopron's early Gothic residential towers], *Soproni Szemle* 40 (1986): 323–324.

[23] Waldemar Komorowski and Piotor Opalinski, "O wiezy wójta Krakowskiego raz jeszcze. Komunikat" [Once again about the tower of Krakow's major. Statement], *Architektura – Czasopismo techniczne* 7, no. 108 (2011): 199–128.

[24] Muhammad al-Idrisi, "Climat VI," in *Opus Geographicum*, 1154. 861, lines 1–5.

[25] Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The emergence of the medieval counties in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1988), 269.

[26] al-Idrisi, "Climat VI."

[27] Thanks to Mykhaylo Yakubovych for the translation and comments.

such as Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn Hawkal, and Al-Jayhani to describe the Eastern European regions.[28]

The other source that may suggest a dating earlier than 1242 is not much clearer than Idrisi's description. In his *Carmen Miserabile*, a narrative account of the Mongol Invasion, Rogerius painted in vivid detail both the Mongol sieges of Esztergom. Here he describes that when the attackers broke through the walls of the city, the defending inhabitants set their wooden houses on fire, and retreated to the stone palaces of the nobility, where they defended themselves for some time until they were driven from there as well.[29] Rogerius, like Idrisi, does not mention towers, but the term "palace" (*palatial civitatis*) differs significantly from the description of other wooden buildings (*domos ligneas*) and this difference is further underpinned by the suggested defensive value of the buildings.

In the case of the other cities, the situation is a bit clearer. In these places, construction began after the Mongol Invasion as a result of Béla IV's defense policy, and his effort to settle the population within well-protected places, like, the built of the new walled city on the *Novus Mons Pestiensis*.[30] For some time, the inhabitants of Esztergom were also moved into the castle, while the inhabitants around Székesfehérvár were settled in the area of the (probably) fortified royal center, well protected by its marshy surroundings.[31]

The earliest source, from such a town actually, that mentions a tower is from Sopron. Two charters were created here in 1250 and 1256. The first charter, issued in 1250, is of a donation; here the king gave a tower and a house to the Hospitallers. From the documents issued to settle the terms of the donation, it is clear that there were several other towers in the castle at that time belonging to the inhabitants of the castle, the so-called *burgenses*.[32] This is strengthened by the second source, in which King Béla IV confiscated a previously donated tower along with a house from Petrus Agendorfer, the castellan of the county castle,

[28] István Zimonyi, "Idriszi," in *Korai Történeti Lexikon (9–14. század)* [Early historical lexicon, 9th–14th century], ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 279–280.

[29] During the siege the Mongols occupied the city, but they were unable to capture the castle itself. Magister Rogerii, *Anonymus and Master Roger; Epistola in Miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungariae par tataros facta*, transl. János M. Bak and Martyn C. Rady (Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2010), 216.

[30] The current Castle Hill in Buda. András Végh, *Buda.* Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015), 12.

[31] Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The Last of the Árpáds] (Budapest: Osiris, 1993), 84–85.

[32] Károly Mollay, "A Szélmalom utcai vám 1217–1564" [The toll at Szélmalom Street from 1217 to 1564], *Soproni Szemle* 55, no. 2 (1991): 4.

because of his misdemeanors.[33] If these structures were built as a result of the social and topographical transformation that followed the Mongol Invasion and the settling of the new inhabitants in the castle, the process must have been very quick, because the first such tower was mentioned within eight years after the invasion. The tower of the Agendorfer family also may have been built earlier than its supposed donation date.

In Buda and in the other towns with urban towers, the structures can be dated using the pattern observed in the case of Sopron. But in a few cases some archeological evidence is available too. For example, it is possible to date the tower at Úri utca 37 in Buda to the middle of the thirteenth century based on pottery finds.[34] In Bratislava, the construction of the tower can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century based on stylistic and urban development trends.[35] Relying on the process of the urban development of the country, it is possible to draw a chronological border to establish a dating framework. This frame can be used for towers in Székesfehérvár and Zagreb, despite the fact that documented mentions of them date from 1339 and 1480.

Similarly to Hungary, the Mongol Invasion played a decisive role in the history of the urban towers of Lesser Poland and Silesia. Here, the attack of 1241 was particularly important because, among other things, in Wrocław the urbanization process began as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, whereby the settlement was fitted within a stricter topographical framework, merging the former suburb and surrounding villages and placing them in a new context.[36] This is also indicated by the fact that the *rynek* (market square) with its large rectangular plan was completed by 1237. The marketplace itself already suggests a regular street network, reminiscent of a grid plan.[37] The tower, visible in the 1562 panorama image by Barthel Weiner, was adapted to the regular street layout on the corner of a block of buildings, and the street it is on (now Wita Stwosza) ran from the *rynek* on an east-west axis. The Mongol attack almost

[33] Károly Mollay, "Névtudomány és várostörténet Dágtól Ágfalváig (1195–1416)" [Etymology and urban history, from Dág to Ágfalva (1195–1416)], *Soproni Szemle* 15 (1961): 114–30; 119, 121.

[34] Erzsébet Lócsy, "A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum régészeti feltárásai [The archeological excavations of the Budapest History Museum]. *Budapest Régiségei* 1959, 342–49."

[35] Štefan Holčík, "Nové nálezy v Starej radnici" [New findings in the Old Town Hall], *Bratislava – Zborník Múzea mesta Bratislavy* 23 (2011): 229–241: 239.

[36] Roman Czaja, "Polish Town Plans as Expressions of Political and Economic Power," in *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anngret Simms and Howard B. Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 235–254: 239.

[37] Laurentiu Rādvan, *At Europe's Borders. Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities* (Leiden – Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010), 47.

completely destroyed the settlement in 1241 and the reconstruction only began in 1261, but several stone structures survived the attacks and were incorporated within the newly rebuilt system. It is not unlikely that the same happened with the urban towers—especially because several ashlar buildings that show direct stylistic connections with twelfth-century early towers in Prague were excavated around the *rynek*.[38]

A similar process may have taken place in Kraków, although a systematic pre-Mongol urban structure probably did not exist there. After a series of Mongol attacks, Boleslaw the Chaste issued a charter in 1257 granting Magdeburg rights and laying the foundations of a new city center, north of the Wawel Castle's *suburbium*, Okól.[39] It is probable that urban towers existed at this time as well. According to the excavations at Ulicka Bracka 5, the tower found there might have been the first civic stone structure in the city, and it can be directly connected to the last destruction layer and burnt wooden houses associated with the raids.[40] This can be supported by the fact that in 1312 the rebellion of Henrich Voit and Albert was crushed by the duke of Kraków, and the urban towers of the participants, including the building owned by Voit's brother, were confiscated.[41]

Thus, most of the Polish and Hungarian towers can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. However, as will be shown later, the shape and location of the buildings differ from contemporaneous structures in Vienna and Prague, and in many respects they follow the design of other towers that emerged in the early state of the urbanization of their cities. Thus, the towers follow an internal developmental curve within the settlements rather than being uniformly built following an overall plan.

One can find one more tower establishment along the foundation of a new town in the region, namely Bruck an der Leitha near Sopron. To the east of the former village-type settlement, a homogeneous urban core began to be built around 1200. In 1239, Duke Frederick II referred to Bruck as *civitas nostra*.[42] The similar late Romanesque stone corbels found both in the ground floor of

[38] Jerzy Piekalski, *Public and Private Space at the Time of Medieval Transition* (Wroclaw: University of Wroclaw, Institute of Archaeology, 2014), 120.

[39] Jacek Zinkiewicz, "Új város születik. Krakkó alapítása" [A new city is born. The foundation of Kraków], in *Közös úton. Budapest és Krakkó a középkorban*, ed. Judit Benda, Virág Kiss, Grazyna Lihonczak-Nurek, and Károly Magyar (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2016), 87–92: 88; Rādvan, *At Europe's Borders*, 47.

[40] Janusz Bogdanowski, "The Towers of Cracow," *IBI Bulletin* 50 (1997): 149–152: 153.

[41] Zinkiewicz, "Új város születik," 91–92.

[42] Ferdinand Opll and Susanne Claudie Pils, *Bruck an der Leitha,* Österreichischer Städteatlas 11 (Wien: Das Land Niederösterreich), 2010.

the tower and in the castle indicate that the tower itself must have been built approximately at the same time, in the first half of the thirteenth century, as the castle in the northeastern corner of the city.[43]

Combined with Bruck an der Leitha, the towers of Poland and Hungary were erected during the first phase of urbanization, or during the resettling of the current settlement. Although the effect of the Mongols is truly noteworthy, it more likely influenced the urbanization process rather than the tower constructions directly, while the towers more likely appeared concomitant with this process as can be seen in Bruck.

Tower Construction in the Thirteenth Century in Bohemia and Austria

Similarly to the previous examples, in contrast with the towers built in the second part of the thirteenth century, in the Kingdom of Bohemia and in Lower Austria most of the tower buildings were associated with the foundation or a more advanced stage of the urbanization process of the settlement.

An example of this phenomenon can be seen in Prague, where the second major wave of construction dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century. With the large-scale urbanization by the Přemysl dynasty around 1230, the so-called Gallus Market—now Havelská—was established in an empty corner of the Old Town, but still within the protection of the city wall.[44] Around the market square, several towers were built nearly at the same time as the square itself.[45] For several family towers, only *ante quem* dating is possible. For example, the tower of the Velflovice family in the vicinity of the main square, which served as the residence of the head of the family, is first mentioned in a source dated to 1264, before the family split into four branches around 1300.[46]

The tower of St. Pölten can also be interpreted in parallel to a similar urban development. Here, in 1256, Otto von Lonsdorf was instructed by the bishop of

[43] Patrick Schicht, *Österreichs Kastellburgen* (Wien: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Mittelalterarchäologie, 2007), 40.

[44] Miroslav Richter and Zdenek Smetänka, "Archäologische Untersuchungen zum städtischen Wohnhaus des Mittelalters in Böhmen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Prag" [Archaeological research on the medieval town houses in Bohemia, with special emphasis on Prague], *Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie – Geschichte – Geographie* 5 (1987): 79.

[45] Martin Musilek, "Rodina od věže a její městské rezidence. Příspěvek k dějinám staroměstského domu čp. 403/1" [The family de Turri (of the Tower) and its urban residences. A look at the history of house No. 403/I in Prague's Old Town], *Roč* 40 (2012): 333–347.

[46] Martin Musilek, "Příběh tří Mikulášů od Věže. Příspěvek k otázce jejich totožnosti" [The story of three men named Nicolas of the Tower. A contribution to the question of their identity], *Staletá Praha* 29, no. 1 (2013): 2–3.

Passau to build a tower in the city within two years, which Karl Gutkas connects with another charter and convincingly locates the tower in the newly created main square.[47]

The dating of the towers in Eggenburg, Brno, and Wiener Neustadt is uncertain. But all of these cases show a development along with the later extensions of the settlements. The earliest mention of the private towers in Brno comes from 1297, and archeological evidence also suggests that the towers can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.[48] In Eggenburg, the ownership of the building can be linked to Mayor Heinrich Gurrit, who held his office from 1300 onwards.[49] Considering the topographical development of the town, since Kremserstrasse and its surroundings where the tower stood were laid out around 1300, the tower could not have been built much sooner.[50] Out of these cases, the least amount of data is available for Wiener Neustadt. In spite of the early dating of the town (1194) the first clue regarding a private tower dates back to 1325 in the name *Wernhard in Turri*.[51]

Topography of the Towers and the Plots around Them

The urban private towers examined in the present study occupied some key locations in the surrounding urban fabric. Their presence was aligned with the main arteries of urban communication, thus dominating the channels of civic space and network. At the same time, the connection between the towers and the space surrounding them by no means can be called open in all cases. Overall, two practices emerge regardless of layout of the tower in relation to its surroundings. In some cases, the construction of boundaries is more prevalent, while the other examples are characterized by a significant openness. Notably the changes in the location and communication between the towers and the settlement highlight the same chronological framework as during the emergence of the buildings.

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[47] Karl Gutkas, "Stadttürme in St. Pöltens," *Sonderabdruck aus Sitzungsberichten der Österreich* 22 (1953): 308–317.

[48] David Merta and Marek Peska, "Brněnské domy s věží" [Brno Houses with Towers], *Dějiny staveb* 2007, 205–217: 205.

[49] Ludwig Brunner, *Eggenburg. Geschichte einer Niederösterreichischen Stadt* (Eggenburg: Verlag der Stadtgemeinde, 1933), 84–85.

[50] Felix Czeike, Renate Banik-Schweitzer, Gerhard Meißl and Ferdinand Opll, *Eggenburg.* Österreichischer Städteatlas 9 (Wien: Das Land Niederösterreich, 2006).

[51] Friedrich Kozak, "Zur Baugeschichte der Wohnburgen von Wiener Neustadt," *Unsere Heimat* 32 (1961): 99.

As noted above, in Prague most of the towers were organized around the main topographic focal points of the settlement. However, there is a difference in building location depending on the date of construction of the buildings. The twelfth-century private towers of Prague were built in a somewhat more scattered fashion than their later counterparts, although the existence of a building principle is detectable. These early tower buildings were mostly built between the Vltava River and the Staroměstské Náměstí, but even here a few the buildings were located directly next to the central square. This arrangement is also typical for the other "Romanesque houses" of the twelfth century.[52]

Although in Prague most of the towers were first concentrated within the Staroměstské Náměstí, over time the narrowing of the Old Town's topographic structure meant that they became more and more concentrated in the key areas. Seven towers were built around the emerging Gallus Market. In light of later sources, it is conspicuous that St. Havel Church, built in the market square, also became particularly important for the families who owned the towers through the burials and confraternities they made here.[53] A similar motivation is perceptible north of the Gallus Market. Here the residences of the urban elite were mostly built between the churches of Tyn and St. Nicholas, as well as the residence and tower of the Velflovice family next to the latter.[54] In addition, it can also be seen that while the early towers were built in isolation inside a plot, the thirteenth-century buildings are characterized by a more open structure. For example, compared to the "Romanesque" towers, the building on the Havelska 403 / I plot, which can be connected to Mikulas de Turri, was built right on the corner of the plot, where the market square and the southeast street at the Svatohavelska gate merge.[55]

Prague was not at all unique in this respect. During the thirteenth century there was an almost uniform concentration of towers in the main squares, in which two major groups can be distinguished. Firstly, the towers that were built next to the most prominent square of the city, and secondly, those that were connected to a major road. Of course, there are exceptions, as well as less central locations. Perhaps Vienna should be highlighted here, where private towers seem to have been more scattered than in other cities, somewhat reminiscent of the

[52] Havrda, Semerád, and Musilek, "K proměně předlokačního osídlení prahy v raně gotické město," 66.

[53] Musilek, "Rodina od věže a její městské rezidence," 339.

[54] Musilek, "Příběh tří Mikulášů od Věže," 2–3.

[55] Musilek, "Rodina od věže a její městské rezidence," 334.

distribution of the early towers in Prague.[56] In Vienna, the largest number of private towers was built within the walls of the old legionary *castrum*, where the Hoher Markt became the most highlighted building location[57]; there were also several towers in the vicinity of the Jewish Quarter,[58] close to the former Babenberg residence at the Am Hof.[59] The other focal point is the northeastern half of Vienna, which was encircled with newly built city walls after 1200, along the streets now known as Bäckerstrasse and Lugeck, both connected to the trade route to Hungary.[60] Richard Perger located towers in the squares, for example, one on the modern Graben and another at Stephansplatz, which were created during the thirteenth-century urbanization of the city.[61]

In newly founded or expanded cities, the topographic features are similar to the patterns found in Prague and Vienna, but strictly adhere to the more systematic arrangement of the thirteenth-century private towers of Prague. In Kraków, Bruck an dr Leitha, St. Pölten, and Bratislava, all the towers were built around the main square of the city.[62] One of the towers in Wiener Neustadt, Krems, and Sopron, respectively, can also be added here.[63] In Kraków, the main square is almost completely surrounded by towers[64] (*Fig. 2a*), while in the other examples they are restricted to one specific part. But these are usually important corners and junctions where major roads led to the square, for example, Wiener Gasse in Bruck an der Leitha and Heßstraße in St. Pölten. Similar to the location of the tower at Havelská 403 in Prague, in both cases the roads connected the central square and one of the gates of the city.[65] The tower of Henrich Voit, the first mayor of Kraków, was also located at a similar junction point on the *rynek*.[66]

Unsurprisingly, the other topographic group—Eggenburg and St. Pölten, as well as towers in Wiener Neustadt—is also tied to these major routes, connecting the marketplace and one of the city gates, which usually continued outside of

[56] To complicate the situation, most of the Viennese towers are only known from written sources, so their exact dating and locating is tenuous.
[57] Perger, "Wohntürme im mittelalterlichen Wien," 105–106.
[58] Gaisbauer, Mitchell and Schön, "Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Wien," 131.
[59] Opll, *Wien*.
[60] Paul Mitchell, "Early Stone Houses in Vienna," *Fontes Urbis Medii Aevi* III (2006): 23.
[61] Perger, "Wohntürme im mittelalterlichen Wien," 104, 107.
[62] For St. Pölten see Gutkas, "Stadttürme in St. Pöltens," 316–317.
[63] Hauptplatz 3 (Wiener N.); Gozzoburg (Krems); Agendorfer tower (Sopron).
[64] Marek Łukacz, "Sredniowieczne domy lokacyjnego Krakowa [Medieval houses of Kraków in its incorporation period]," *Architektura – Czasopismo techniczne*, 7-A, 23, no. 108 (2011): 81.
[65] Musilek, "Rodina od věže a její městské rezidence," 344.
[66] Komorowski and Opalinski, "O wiezy wójta Krakowskiego raz jeszcze."

Fig. 2a. The topography of Kraków (1) and Wrocław (2)

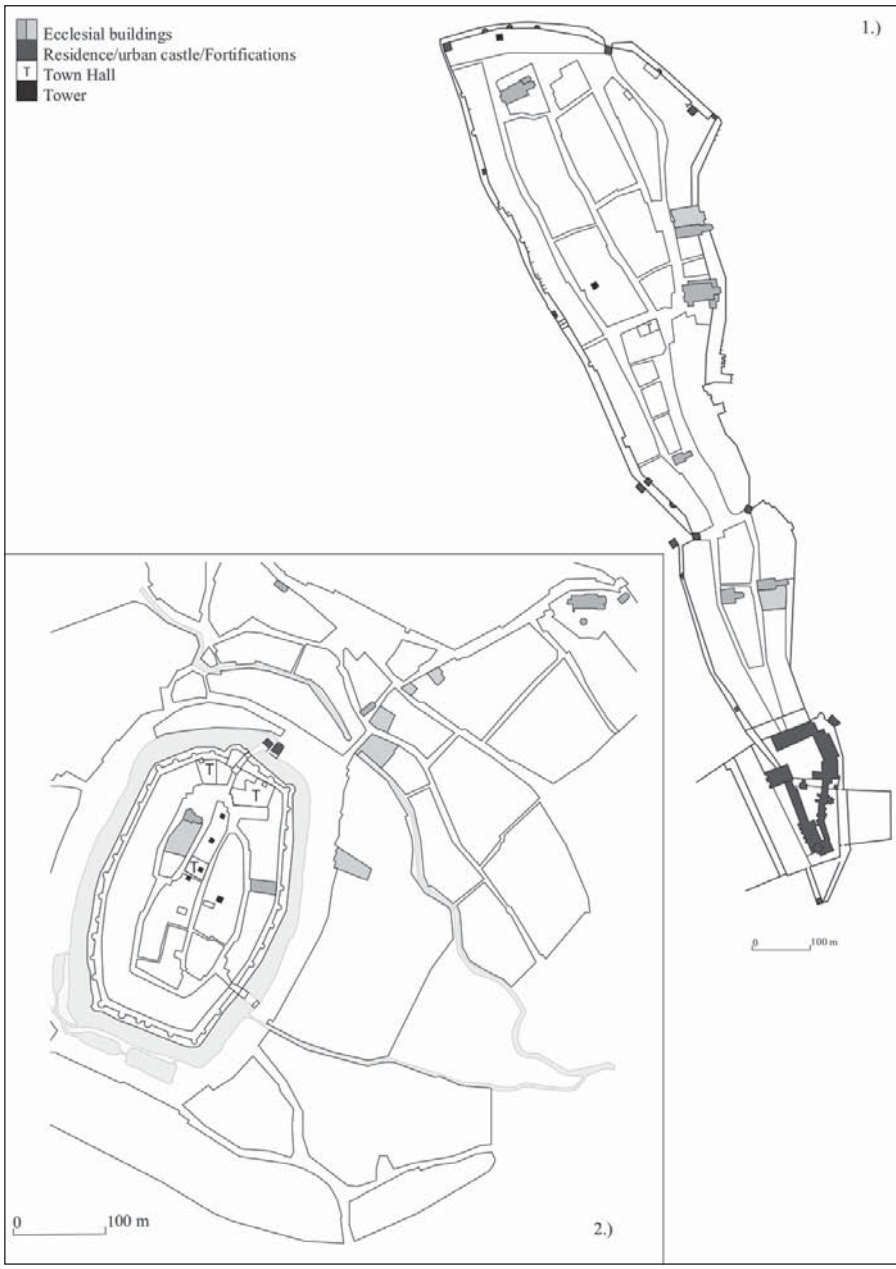

Fig. 2b. The topography of Buda (1) and Sopron (2)

the walls in the form of a major highway.[67] Wrocław is an outlier because here the Wita Stwosza road where the tower was built does not run straight out of town after leaving the *rynek*. The explanation for this is to be found primarily in the geography formed by the river Odera and its islands, but the street itself, nevertheless, was one of the main east-west axes of the planned city starting from the main square (*Fig. 2a*).

In Sopron and Buda towers are also connected to the topographic system formed by the main roads. These, however, are not found along exit roads, but along the streets defining the main central axis of the spindle-like city plan. In Buda, the section of Mindszent utca on the *Fischmarkt* and Olasz utca appear in this way, [68] and there is also written reference to a tower at the *szombathely* (Saturday market), which was the market square in the northern part of the walled city.[69] In Sopron, the situation is similar, but in a special way. All but two private towers were built in the block of houses between the main axis, Új utca, and Kolostor utca, which runs parallel to it (*Fig. 2b*).

The towers themselves, as anchor points, became active agents of the urban space and the topographic network that developed around them. The Gozzoburg in Krems consciously occupies the edge of the cliff that separates the Hoher Markt of the Upper Town from the Danube, so from the direction of the gates and the Lower Town, visitors could only approach the square under the foot of the cliffs and the buildings that rose above them.[70] In addition, the square itself could only be entered by bypassing the building itself. The private tower of Bratislava City Hall on the Hlavné Namnésti occupies a similar position. The private tower and the walls adjoining it occupied the corner of the square exactly where the space was accessible coming from the direction of the Mihály and Lőrinc gates and from the Franciscan friary (*Fig. 1*). Albert Voit's tower and its surroundings occupied the only diagonal plot around the *rynek*, where the city's south-facing

[67] At Eggenburg the Kremserstraße between the gate and the market square, in St. Pölten the Wienerstraße, while in Wiener N. the Herzog-Leopold Straße.

[68] Now the Úri utca and Országház utca.

[69] András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza II* [The medieval topography of Buda II], Monumenta Histrorica Budapestiensis XVI (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008), 144, 190, 240, 259, 288.

[70] Paul Mitchell, "The Gozzoburg in Krems and the Hofburg in Vienna: Their Relevance to the Study of the Social Space in Medieval Architecture," in *The Castle As Social Space*, ed. Katarina Predovnik, Castrum Bene 12 (Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, 2014), 25–36: 25.

main street joined the square from the direction of the Wawel Castle, while the Church of St. Mary was built facing the tower diagonally across the square.[71]

This topographic setup can be contextualized by the plot sizes, albeit with great variability. The private towers built on the edge of Prague's Staroměstské Náměstí and on Havelská follow one another closely along the square.[72] The situation is similar in Sopron.[73] Here, the buildings adapt their street facades to the average plot size of "10 ropes," but in terms of the depth of the plots, they are twice as big as later medieval plot sizes. This can be well observed at all of the towers located halfway between the two streets at the inner plot boundaries. In addition, even wider plots can be found in Sopron. The tower at Kolostor utca 11 covered an area of "2×10 ropes."[74]

Large plot sizes can be found in the case of several other private towers built at major topographic points. Gozzoburg in Krems, for example, occupied the entire northern side of the Hoher Markt.[75] In Bratislava, the plot of the Old Town Hall stretched inwards to the depth of an entire block of buildings. In addition to all this, one can also find a plot in Vienna with a tower next to the Hoher Markt with a plot size of 1500 m^2, which far exceeds the average plot sizes of its surroundings ranging from 400 to 800 m^2.[76]

The larger plots and the prominent topographic situation indicate a two-way communication between the building and the urban community through the openness of the towers and their central location in terms of the surrounding public space, as was the case of the Gozzoburg in Krems (*Fig. 1*).[77] However, this is not detectable in every case. As previously mentioned, some of the towers were built deep inside the plot, isolated from the outside world, sometimes utilizing the full length of the plots as in Sopron, where the towers were built at approximately the same distance from both streets. This trend primarily characterizes towers built at an early stage of the topographical development of the city. In addition to Sopron, this can be seen in Kraków, Levoča, Bruck an der Leitha, and at the

[71] Komorowski and Opalinski, "O wiezy wójta Krakowskiego raz jeszcze,"; Rādvan, *At Europe's Borders*, 45.

[72] Dragoun, Škabrada and Tryml, *Romanesque Houses in Prague*.

[73] Holl, "Középkori városi élet – városi építészet" [Medieval urban life – Urban architecture], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 116 (1989), 52–76.

[74] Holl, "Középkori városi élet."

[75] Mitchell, "Raum und Repräsentation in der Gozzoburg," in *Raumstrukturen und Raumausstattung auf Burgen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christina Schmid, Gabriele Schichta and Thomas Kühtreiber (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 279–307.

[76] Gaisbauer, Mitchell, and Schön, "Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Wien," 132.

[77] Mitchell, "The Gozzoburg in Krems and the Hofburg in Vienna," 25–36.

early tower buildings in Prague. Simmilar happened in Buda, where the tower on Úri utca 37 was situated in the center of the plot[78] (*Fig. 2b*) or at the tower of the *Herzoghof* in Krems, which was built deep inside the plot, in the twelfth century.[79]

This recessed and closed position is further enhanced by a peculiar stonewall built around the towers. In Bratislava, for example, a massive wall, as high as the first floor, encircled the plot surrounding the tower of the Old Town Hall. Similar constructions can be identified in Sopron, where the remains of a wall can be detected around three towers.[80] At Új utca 4 and Kolostor utca 13 the towers were built on the longitudinal, inner plot boundary and were integrated into the wall that ran around the plot[81] (*Fig. 1*).

Walls like the ones in Sopron and Bratislava are not uncommon around the urban private towers of the Holy Roman Empire. In Braunschweig, the pattern is quite similar to that in Sopron. Here, too, the towers were built along the inner, longitudinal plot boundary, and stonewalls with the same thickness as the walls of the tower were built around them reaching the height of the first floor.[82] One can find similar walls at Schneidergasse 12–14 in Basel, and in Luzern too. At the same time, all these towers, with the exception of the Bratislava example, were built at the center of the plot, so the isolation resulting from their position is further increased by the presence of these structures.

The question arises whether these walls could have served the explicit purpose of protection? However, in addition to the issue of defense, it is important to note that such walls almost completely exclude towers from the use of communication with the surrounding urban space. This is particularly striking because all the mentioned towers with walls were built on important central locations. The fact that the private tower in Bratislava was on the main square as well as the fact that it was later converted into a town hall demonstrates the importance of this position perfectly (*Fig. 1*). Prior to this, however, the tower completely filled and closed the corner of the square with the adjoining wall, from which direction the two main roads entered the square. Although the tower itself was built in the corner of the plot, the ground floor and first floor entrances opened to the inside

[78] Lócsy, "A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum régészeti feltárásai."

[79] Tanja Hollensteiner, *Der ehemalige Palast des Herzoghofes in Krems an der Donau* (Wien: Technische Universität Wien, 2015), 12.

[80] Holcik, "Nové nálezy v Starej radnici."

[81] Ferenc Dávid, "Kutatási dokumentáció – Sopron Kolostor utca 13" [Research documentation – Sopron Kolostor utca 13], Building Archaeological Documentation, Number: 13191 (Sopron, 1981); Ilona Schőnerné Pusztai, "Helyreállítási terv – Sopron Új utca 4" [Reconstruction survey – Sopron Új utca 4], Architectural Documentation (Sopron, 1991).

[82] Uwe, *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter*, 58.

of the walled-off area, so the building had no direct connection with the street in this way either.

This chronological distinction attached to the positioning of urban private towers within the plots can also be observed in the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire, albeit projected over a longer period. Some of the early towers of Zürich, Basel, and Regensburg were all situated deep—up to 25–30 meters—into the plot, with further auxiliary structures to increase their isolation from the city's public spaces. In Regensburg, however, the later elite towers, built from the middle of the thirteenth century, were almost all placed on the street front. This change of location is analogous with the expansion of Regensburg's civic autonomy in the mid-thirteenth century.[83] A similar process took place in Nuremberg, where a later built private tower of the so-called *Nassauer Haus* stands in front of the St. Lorenz Church. The later towers in Nuremberg were inhabited by members of the imperial ministerial strata. A similar social layer can be linked to the towers around the Gallus Market in Prague, such as the Velflovice and Domazlice families—who, in addition to their commercial and courtly functions, were also permanent members of the city council[84]—as well as Mayor Heinrich Gurrit, the owner of the tower on Kremserstrasse, Eggenburg,[85] and Mikulas de Turri, owner of a street-front tower in what is now the Dominican Square in Brno.

Conclusion

The examination of urban private towers' dating and location within their settlements has clarified their connection between each other and their surroundings, and also highlighted a group of towers around the eastern border of the empire. Unlike previous claims in scholarship, the emergence of these towers cannot be seen as the influence of various urban private towers from the South German episcopal cities or of Northern Italy. Even within the empire urban private towers began to appear independently more or less at the same time, in different settings.

In the examined region the earliest data for the private towers dates back to the second half of the twelfth century; their bulk, however, comes from the first decades of the thirteenth century. These chronological foci coincide with two distinct stages of the urbanization process and the legal or topographical development of the settlements, namely, the end of the twelfth century and the

[83] Uwe, *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter,* 64.
[84] Musilek, "Příběh tří Mikulášů od Věže."
[85] Brunner, *Eggenburg*, 85.

beginning of the thirteenth century, and the last decades of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. This chronological tendency also existed in the Holy Roman Empire, but it stretched across a significantly longer period. The second phase of the appearance of towers in Central Europe is more or less simultaneous with the last wave of urban private tower constructions in the southern towns of the empire. However, this building campaign is more likely connected to the evolution of the settlement itself rather than a result of direct external impact. At the same time, the regional connections are not negligible. The communication and links between towns within the same kingdom but also across borders, for example, between western Hungary and Lower Austria, must be considered.

Through this two-part chronological frame, topographically, the towers emerged in the most exposed areas of the towns, often as the first civic stone buildings. Where the towers were erected on already existing structures, they developed in line with the urbanization process at these premium locations near the market areas, along the main communication arteries of the towns, often in the vicinity of the parish churches or power centers such as ducal residences.

The relation between the tower structures and the plots containing them also reflects this situation. Most of the earlier towers were built remotely within the plots in spite of their exposed locations in the urban context. Clear borders were marked around them, which were further emphasized by the surrounding walls. This remoteness, or at least this illusion of separation, began to change by the second phase of tower building. From the second third of the thirteenth century, private towers were more often built on the street façade of their plots. This change was most probably connected with the changing of the tower's symbolism or its real or presumed defensive value, along with the denser fabric of the towns. At the same time, private towers kept their prominent position and followed the expansion of the urban network. Thus, the towers, whether built in the earliest phase or in a more developed period of urban growth, may be seen as one of the civic indicators of urbanization.

HIERONYMUS, PATRONUS MEUS: SELF-FASHIONING IN PIER PAOLO VERGERIO'S *SERMONES PRO SANCTO HIERONYMO*

Anja Božič

During the years 1390–1408, Pier Paolo Vergerio, one of the leading humanists of his generation, delivered at least ten public orations in the honor of St. Jerome.[1] His *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* are considered to be the earliest examples of classicizing orations (panegyrics) in the context of devotional epideictic.[2] Following the precepts of classical oratory rather than the traditional thematic form of late medieval sermons, Vergerio's orations illustrate one of the most conspicuous features of the humanists' writing, that is, the fusion of classicizing elements and hagiography.[3] The contents of their orations no longer focused on the saints' performances of miracles but were now centered on the saints' lives and deeds, interpreted in conformity with the preferences of their audience. The omission of biblical quotations, which notably structured medieval thematic sermons, opened the ground for humanist innovation and self-fashioning. The present study aims to illustrate the ways in which Vergerio exploited these new possibilities by fashioning St. Jerome as the protector and patron saint of his

[1] The present study is a condensed and revised version of the arguments presented in my MA Thesis: Anja Božič, "Praising St. Jerome or Praising Eloquence: Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo and his Letters*" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979). On classical epideictic rhetoric, see Malcom Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); George Alexander Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Laurent Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris: Institut des Études Augustiniennes, 1993). For the development of humanist classicizing preaching, see John N. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989). When referring to the format of Vergerio's *Sermones*, the previous scholarship employed varying terminology: "sermon," "oration," "speech," and "panegyric." I will refer to these texts as *sermones* since this is the "generic" label most frequently used in the manuscripts.

[3] The thematic sermon appeared in the late twelfth century and coincides with the birth of Scholasticism. The central study of the topic remains Harry Caplan, *Of Eloquence: Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970). For Latin medieval preaching, see Nicole Bériou, "Les Sermons Latins Après 1200," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kinzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 363–447; and Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience* (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: Brill, 2002).

family, and thus, while aiming to establish himself as an eloquent humanist intellectual, created a personal cult of the saint.

Preliminary Remarks

Vergerio began his public speaking career in Padua around 1390.[4] This may also have been the time when Vergerio began delivering his annual orations in honor of St. Jerome, although the precise date is difficult to pinpoint.[5] Two of the orations are dated in the manuscripts: *Sermo 5* to 1392, and *Sermo* 9 to 1408. Furthermore, *Sermo* 8 can be dated to the year 1406 based on internal evidence. The exact order in which the orations were delivered, however, remains unknown and does not depend on the extant manuscripts' numbering.[6] Three of the orations were delivered in a monastic milieu (*Serm.* 1, 5, and 10), two were delivered close to Vergerio's hometown in Istria (*Serm.* 3 and 6), and *Serm.* 8 was delivered before the papal curia in Rome. The orations circulated in numerous manuscripts, often functioning as prefaces to Jerome's works. They became a new and influential model for the humanists' epideictic oratory. One could ask what made Vergerio's panegyrics so popular that they made it even to the first incunabula of Jerome's collected works.

In his orations, Vergerio actively contributed to the shaping of the humanist cult of St. Jerome. As an accomplished scholar in numerous fields, ranging from the theory of education, canon law, and medicine to logic and rhetoric, Vergerio constructed an equally active and multifaceted figure of Jerome, and called for the imitation of his countless virtues. He highlighted Jerome's erudition and piety,

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[4] There is no evidence of his public activity before this time. Among these early speeches, there is Vergerio's judicial oration in defense of Francesco Novello da Carrara's lieutenant, Bartolomeo Cermisone (1390–1392), an oration celebrating Francesco Novello's recovery of Padua (1392), and the well-known funeral oration for Francesco Carrara the Elder (1393). For a detailed reconstruction of Vergerio's biography, see Michael Katchmer, *Pier Paolo Vergerio and the «Paulus», a Latin Comedy* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 1–77.

[5] In *Ep.* 42, Vergerio states that this practice began four years before the composition of the letter; see, Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. Leonardo Smith (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1934), 91. If Smith's dating of the letter to the period of 1392–1394, more probably to 1394, is correct, then Vergerio could have delivered his first oration in 1390.

[6] I use the numbering suggested in McManamon's edition (John M. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of 'Sermones Pro Sancto Hieronymo'* (Tempe, AZ: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999)), which, due to his different system of manuscript reference, differs from the one used earlier by Robey and in Smith's edition of Vergerio's letters. David Robey, "P. P. V. The Elder: Republicanism and Civic Values in the Work of an Early Humanist," *Past & Present* 58 (1973): 37.

depicting him as an exemplary pious scholar. Touching upon merely a few of his most famous miracles, Vergerio, instead, emphasized St. Jerome's human traits and depicted him as a familiar, approachable figure that every believer could take as a model.

Moreover, in the sermons, Vergerio put himself forth as a witness of St. Jerome's excellence. In *Serm.* 5 and 8, and in one of his letters, Vergerio explained that his inspiration to praise the saint derived both from his family's ancient tradition and from his personal experience of Jerome's sanctity.[7] On these grounds, he vowed to deliver a public oration in the saint's honor every year on his feast day. Yet, there is no evidence elsewhere about Vergerio's family actually partaking in any specific rituals in honor of the saint, nor did St. Jerome endure as the patron saint of the family.[8] Vergerio did not refer to St. Jerome as a "national" saint, either, as was the common practice in Dalmatia at this time.[9] Usually taken for granted, Vergerio's invocations of St. Jerome as his family patron have not been accurately investigated, and the existing scholarship, such as John M. McManamon's groundbreaking edition, takes them at face value without discussing Vergerio's claims in much depth.[10]

The present paper, however, intends to argue that Vergerio's appropriation of St. Jerome as his personal and family patron was one of his rhetorical devices, aiming to enhance both the emotional efficacy of his orations and his own fame. Starting from this premise, I will discuss these particular features of Vergerio's authorial approach in his *Serm.* 5 and 8 *pro sancto Hieronymo* and compare them to his other panegyrics in honor of St. Jerome as well as to his relevant letters. Exploring Vergerio's orations in parallel with later panegyrics to St. Jerome composed by other humanists, I will interpret Vergerio's personal appropriation of St. Jerome as the clever device of an erudite rhetorician, which helped him

[7] *Ep.* 79 addressed to his father. Vergerio, *Epistolario,* 186–187.

[8] Marko Marinčič, "*Amore patriae teneri non potuit*: dva Vergerija o Hieronimu in o mejah lokalnega patriotizma" [The two Vergerios on Jerome and on the limits of local patriotism], in *Secretarii Actiones Petri Pauli Vergerii,* ed. G. Pobežin and P. Štoka (Koper: Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja, 2018), 13.

[9] On this topic see, Ines Ivić, "The Birth of the National Saint: The Cult of St. Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2020). On the cult of St. Jerome among the Slavs, see Julia Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs* (DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014).

[10] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*. The article by Marinčič (see above, n. 8) is a welcome exception to this trend.

establish himself as a prominent practitioner of classicizing rhetoric among his contemporaries.

Transforming Tradition: Serm. 5 and 8

According to the manuscripts, Vergerio's *Serm.* 5 was delivered in 1392 to an audience of Benedictine monks in Padua.[11] This is Vergerio's lengthiest oration and, in David Robey's estimation, it may have also been the earliest.[12] Indeed, the oration makes no reference to any previous speeches in honor of St. Jerome, which is otherwise a frequent way for Vergerio to begin his *exordia*. Robey's argumentation is based on conjectural reasoning, namely, that the oration is relatively immature in style and hesitant in its approach to the subject. The speech is, in fact, the least coherent one among Vergerio's orations and often jumps between the topics.

Moreover, *Serm.* 5 is famously unique among Vergerio's works in its author's explicit profession of complete renunciation of the scholastic sermons' thematic structure. In my opinion, this might be another argument in favor of this oration being the first one he composed. Vergerio pointedly drew attention to his omission of the usual biblical quote at the beginning of the sermon:

> With your kind permission, I will slightly depart today from the usual manner of delivering a sermon, and leaving aside the thematic verse from the Scripture (a convention that is no longer observed by the most up-to-date-preachers), right at the beginning I will call to my aid the most glorious Virgin.[13]

In the absence of texts with a similar approach, the veracity of Vergerio's claim that this was already part of the contemporary practice cannot be established. Nevertheless, even though not a single example of a sermon delivered from the pulpit and following classical norms has been found to date besides Vergerio's orations, as noted by John W. O'Malley and repeated by Alison Frazier, Vergerio himself had already used the new format in his earlier funeral oratory.[14] It appears

[11] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 185.

[12] Robey, "P. P. V. The Elder: Republicanism and Civic Values," 37.

[13] "Cum bona venia vestra praetermiteram nunc parumper solitum morem sermocinandi, et, omisso themate (qui mos iam apud modernos deciderat) primo gloriossisimam virginem ad auxilium mihi vocabo." I quote Vergerio's orations in McManamon's English translation, occasionally modified. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 170–171.

[14] O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*, 86; Alison Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 213. These earlier funeral orations

to me that the emphatic opening statement was meant primarily to underline the classicizing form of his composition.

Vergerio's oration then proceeded with an emotional acknowledgement of his family's devotion to St. Jerome in a first-person narrative. He reported that his family used to hold annual feasts in St. Jerome's honor as long as they could afford them:

> They were accustomed for as long as their resources permitted them to offer a solemn feast for the poor of the city. Moreover, they used to remember that their own ancestors had consistently performed the same service on this feast day. […] If ever fortune should look and smile upon me once again, I will not hesitate to revive this ancient custom of our family.[15]

The author then vowed to continue with this tradition of honoring St. Jerome on his name day and asked himself which of the saint's many virtues he should praise. Even though in *Serm.* 5 Vergerio does not share any information about the fate of his family's devotion in this oration, he would do so later, in his *Serm.* 8.[16] It was a result of Jerome's holy intercession, he told his audience, that Vergerio's family survived the Genovese attacks against their hometown, Justinopolis (present-day Koper, in Slovenia) in 1380. This increased even further their already ardent devotion towards the saint, especially that of Vergerio's father, who, as Vergerio emphasized to his audience, at the time of *Serm.* 8 had recently passed away. After his father's death, Vergerio presented himself as the sole heir to his family's pious tradition and renewed his vow to deliver a speech in the saint's honor every year. The tone of the oration becomes highly emotional when Vergerio speaks of his father's legacy and its style frequently borders on theatricality.

Yet one may ask: Was Vergerio really "[n]ourished in an environment that saw the family as honored clients of a powerful heavenly patron," as McManamon puts it in his seminal work?[17] As mentioned before, there is no evidence to sustain the claim that St. Jerome was a patron saint of the Vergerii family or to document his specific veneration in Koper. The patron saints of Justinopolis at the time

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were delivered in the context of the Carrara court and are listed above (n. 4).

[15] "[S]olebant parentes mei, dum fortuna laetaeque res starent, atque id a suis fieri solitum commemorabant perpetuo hoc ipso festo die, […] sollemne convivium pauperibus facere. Si quando tamen fortuna placide vultu faverit, ne vetustum quidem morem familiae nostrae praetermittam." McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 176–177.

[16] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 224.

[17] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 16.

were, in fact, St. Nazarius and St. Alexander,[18] who, in contrast to Jerome, are not mentioned in any of Vergerio's extant works, including his letters.[19] Offering readers testimonies of having directly benefited from saintly intercession was one of the most frequent tropes of medieval hagiography.[20] Indeed, the universal cult, especially of the penitent St. Jerome, had already been firmly established by the time Vergerio wrote his orations. However, it has to be kept in mind that Vergerio was promoting a particular representation of the saint: that of a learned orator and translator, including a reinterpreted version of Jerome's famous dream.[21] As indicated by Frazier, appropriation of "personal saints" was a standard humanist practice.[22] Devotional texts, transcription of the saint's works, or production of their *vitae* served as an *ex-voto* of sorts, dedicated to the saint.

Moreover, passing through Italian cities, courts, and university towns, thus encountering different local cultures, humanists depended on their rhetorical abilities, which they tailored according to the circumstances. Vergerio's orations, therefore, must necessarily be interpreted in regard to the individual venues of their deliveries and their importance for Vergerio's rhetoric career. Comparing the contexts of *Serm.* 5 and especially *Serm.* 8, which was delivered in front of the pope, with the other orations' circumstances of delivery by Vergerio, will demonstrate that Vergerio referred to his family's and his own personal cult of St. Jerome only in the orations that were delivered under distinguished circumstances or in front of an influential audience. This might shed light upon additional arguments for

[18] The cult of these two saints is, in fact, attested in Justinopolis. The loss of St. Nazarius's relics was, for instance, a significant consequence of the Genovese attack on Koper that also forced the Vergerio family to leave their hometown. St. Alexander's relics are preserved in the cathedral church of Koper (Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 506).

[19] Although Smith reported the presence of four hymns in honor of St. Nazarius in Vergerio's *Epistolario*, he also stated that they were wrongly attributed to Vergerio, based only on the fact that they were added to one of the manuscripts containing his *Sermones*. The hymns were, in fact, written in 1422 to celebrate the return of the St. Nazarius's relics to Koper, arranged by the archbishop of Genoa, Pileo de Marini. Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 506. See also John M. McManamon, "Research Aids: Pier Paolo Vergerio," https://research.luc.edu/media/lucedu/history/pdfs/Vergerio%20Research%20Aids%20Database.pdf, where the hymns are listed as anonymous.

[20] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 133.

[21] *Ep.* 22. Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. F. A. Wright. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 52–157.

[22] Alison Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 16, and also 38–39. Sico Polenton, the orator from Padova, for instance, wrote *vitae* of Paduan saints in order to promote local virtue, and Agostino Dati wrote orations in honor of Siena's patron saints Catherine and Bernardino of Siena. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 133.

his construction of a family and personal cult of St. Jerome precisely in *Serm.* 5 and 8.

Effigiem mihi confingo: Contextualizing Vergerio's Serm. 5 and 8

Previous scholarship has treated Vergerio's *Sermones* as a corpus, without going into their specific contents in much depth or probing the background of the individual orations, which have not been analyzed with sufficient thoroughness. In spite of the existence of such differences, McManamon's edition does not explore Vergerio's orations as individual texts.[23] Eugene F. Rice's monograph on the cult of St. Jerome in the Renaissance also considers the orations as an undifferentiated block: merely a product of a new style of oratory, intended to promote a revised image of St. Jerome.[24]

However, I believe that by examining the orations one by one, as individual pieces, it is possible to better appreciate Vergerio's remodeling of the image of St. Jerome according to his different audiences. As there are no other humanist authors who produced more than one oration to St. Jerome, Vergerio's orations offer a unique opportunity to inspect the changes in his rhetorical approach depending on the contexts in which the orations were delivered. A captivating performance was an essential component of the epideictic nature of Vergerio's speeches, which therefore focused heavily on their audience. Vergerio aptly configured existing rhetorical *topoi* and shaped the entire contents of his orations with a view to secure the audience's favor. The imitation of examples given by Jerome is, indeed, the main motto of his work. It is important to add, however, that the examples offered up for imitation vary depending on the particular social stratum or group the given audience represents.

In the orations delivered in Istria, Vergerio argues that owing to the location of Jerome's birthplace near "this particular region" (*regio ista*), his local lay audience had a special duty to venerate the saint and imitate his deeds.[25] Even

[23] This is the perspective of John McManamon also in his monograph *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator* (Tempe, AZ: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), and in his earlier article "Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome," *The Catholic Review* 71 (1985): 353–371.

[24] Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

[25] The famous question of the exact location of Jerome's birthplace, Stridon, remains unanswered. For various placements of Jerome's birthplace by the humanists see, Vinko Grubišić, "Trojica humanista o rodnome mjestu svetog Jeronima: Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić i José De Espinoza De Sigüenza" [Three humanists on the birthplace of St. Jerome: Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić, and José De Espinoza De Sigüenza], *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008): 227–298.

though Vergerio associated himself with the audience by depicting himself as a local and using inclusive plural verb forms, he spoke of Jerome in a considerably less personal tone. He portrayed Jerome to his audience as one of their illustrious fellow citizens, only different in that he is much more worthy of praise than the others. He emphasized the humanity the saint shared with his audience and referred to him in terms of family and kinship. Should the audience join Vergerio in faithful praise of St. Jerome, as they live close to the latter's earthly residence, they will become themselves "members of his heavenly lineage" in the afterlife.[26] Vergerio's diction here evokes the language of similar late antique practice regarding the local cults of saints.[27]

Yet, Vergerio carefully warns against devotion towards the saint motivated merely by Jerome's origins:

> But indeed, neither proximity of birth, nor blood relationship, nor any earthly bond renders us acceptable and gratifying to the saints of God […] As a matter of fact, we can please the saints only by doing the same things that made the saints themselves pleasing to God.[28]

Going even further, in *Serm.* 6, Vergerio delivers a semi-historical lecture warning against a local cult of St. Jerome based only on the superficial resemblance of the name of a small nearby village called Stregna and Jerome's birthplace, Stridon, also located in the vicinity (*hinc proximo loco*). He referred to this local tradition disparagingly as "a local rumor" (*dictum est*) and condemned it without reservation.[29] Not a hint to his family and personal devotion on account of Jerome's intercession is given in these orations.

While assuming the posture of denunciation, why did Vergerio not refer to his family's tradition of praising the saint, especially given that these orations were delivered the closest to his hometown? Curiously, in none of the panegyrics from

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[26] "[P]raecipue tamen nos, huius regionis incolae, speciali quadam cura ac propensiore diligentia natale Sancti Hieronymi celebrare debemus, ut qui loco terrestris illius regionis vicini sumus eius meritis et precibus caelestis suae originis consortes efficiamur." McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 196.

[27] For the function of cults of saints, see, for instance, Robert Bartlett, "Patronage and Invocation," in *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 103–113; and Gábor Klaniczay, "Using Saints: Intercession, Healing, Sanctity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity,* ed. John Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 217–237.

[28] "Verum enimvero non ortus propinquitas, non coniunctio sanguinis, non ulla mundialis necessitudo, sed honestas morum, vitae sanctitas, ac mentis devotio Sanctis Dei acceptabiles nos reddit et gratos. Per ea etenim 'sola placere ipsis possumus' per quae et ipsi Deo placuerunt." McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 198.

[29] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 201.

Istria did he refer to St. Jerome as his family's patron saint, as he did previously in *Serm.* 5 and 8, but rather focused on the saint's image as a translator and intellectual. I believe that it would not be too far-fetched to look for a justification in the very venues of the performance of his orations. Even if the local veneration of St. Jerome was present in the Istrian towns, where Vergerio spoke, it was part of the medieval tradition, which focused primarily on Jerome's piety. What Vergerio sought to promote were the intellectual attributes of the saint. Moreover, as he was speaking in the region of his hometown, there was no need to establish his rhetoric acclaim. In contrast to these orations, delivered in the small provincial towns of Istria, the circumstances of *Serm.* 5 and 8 were far more important. Even though *Serm.* 5 was delivered in front of a relatively undistinguished audience of monks, it was among Vergerio's first orations in honor of St. Jerome (if not actually the very first one), which made it significant for Vergerio's rhetoric career. His arguments on account of his family's tradition of venerating the saint would help him establish himself as a premier member of Jerome's cult and add to the rhetorical "credibility" of his praise.

Vergerio's self-fashioning is even more obvious with regard to the special circumstance in which *Serm.* 8 was performed. This oration was delivered in Rome before the papal curia, in 1406. It was probably among the most renowned orations of this type during the Renaissance, as it was printed as a biographical appendix to the first edition of Jerome's works published in Rome in 1468. It is among Vergerio's most accomplished orations and among later Renaissance authors it was considered a plea in favor of humanist studies. In this sermon, Vergerio reflected on Jerome's famous dream, and of which he offered a new, humanist interpretation. He explained how Jerome, in his own testimony, continued to read the classics, but did not read them as ardently as the Scripture, and suggested that St. Jerome merely applied his classical studies in the service of his biblical studies. *Serm.* 8 thus formulated a call for placing the humanist pursuits of knowledge in the service of the ecclesiastical community, on the premise that humanist studies would bring up learned clergy capable of rectifying moral corruption by living exemplary lives.[30] Where could Vergerio more appropriately insert an emotional appeal to his family tradition, enhanced by the reference to his recently deceased father, if not in the refined background of the papal court, and while campaigning for classical learning?

[30] In his orations to monks, for instance, Vergerio used the image of St. Jerome in order to contrast him to the corrupt practices of the clergy of his time. He especially addressed the preachers, accusing them of delivering empty words in front of their audience while not providing an example of moral life themselves. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 115–129.

A similar strategy of creating saintly patronage was frequent in the late Middle Ages, and the saints whose sanctity one heard of being experienced by those close to them immediately became more popular than their more distant counterparts.[31] There was no need for Vergerio to refer to his family's tradition of devotion in the orations in Istria, as according to his own words, a traditional veneration was already present there. Instead, it made more sense to exploit the proximity of the saint's birthplace, and to demonstrate his own linguistic knowledge while exposing the erroneous identification of Stregna with Stridon. Vergerio did not need any additional device to bring Jerome's cult closer to his audience—its presence in the local context was already firmly established, and what Vergerio emphasized instead was Jerome's overcoming of the region's obscurity and incessant desire for knowledge. In contrast, while speaking in faraway Padua and aiming to promote himself as Jerome's spokesman, a reference to an established family tradition of devotion to St. Jerome would only add to Vergero's authority. Even if he did not detail his family's or his father's devotion, his own familiarity with the saint's cult is expressed with sufficient emotion to make his oration effective.

Nullum mihi gratius: St. Jerome in the Context of Vergerio's Letters

Even if Vergerio did not detail the reasons for his family's special devotion to St. Jerome in his orations, he described them in one of his letters, *Ep.* 79, addressed to his father and dated to 1397.[32] The letter's beginning resembles almost verbatim some of Vergerio's orations. After an initial protestation of his inadequacy to speak in the subject, Vergerio undertook a pledge to continue his practice of public preaching, which he saw as a way to repay his father's love towards him. This is followed by several passionate passages urging his father to honor St. Jerome, appropriately justified with a paraphrase of a Senecan dictum: "to receive a favor without a single word of thanks comes close to denying it."[33] At this point, Vergerio told the story about Jerome's divine intercession on behalf of the family, presenting it as if it were a recollection of something his father had once told him, in Vergerio's words: the "many benefits granted to us by him of which you spoke to me in the past."[34] The letter then continues with a series of rhetorical

[31] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 133.

[32] Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 186–187.

[33] "P]roximus Est enim neganti beneficium is qui tacet." Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 186. This paraphrases Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 2.1: "[P]roximus est a negante, qui dubitavit, nullamque iniit gratiam."

[34] "Multa enim, te olim memorante, pater, ab eo nobis beneficia collata cognovi mentique tenaciter affixi." Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 187.

questions, and reaches its climax with an appeal to St. Jerome as the one who saved the life of Vergerio's father:

> Who was it that led us out alive from so many traps laid against us during that wartime clash, when everything was filled with terror and was collapsing? Who was it that carried us safe and sound from the devastation and smoldering ashes of our pillaged homeland? […] Last but not least, who was it that saved your life, after you had been condemned to death and exposed to many great dangers if not the one to whom you have entrusted your life?[35]

The letter closely echoes *Serm.* 5 and 8, and Vergerio sometimes repeats entire phrases from the orations. Moreover, he seems to be reminding his father, who was supposedly most devoted to Jerome's cult, why the saint deserved to be praised by the family. One may reasonably wonder why Vergerio's father would have had to be prompted to follow the family tradition.

Vergerio's letter belongs among the typical humanist model letters that served to form their authors' image as they wanted it conveyed to posterity. It was not unusual for humanist authors to combine themes and even phrases from their orations with those from their letters and vice versa.[36] Referring to personal experience in order to argue for the excellence of the individual praised was a popular rhetorical method, suggested already by the ancient handbooks that Vergerio must have read during his rhetoric studies in Padua.[37] In my opinion, *Ep.* 79 is likely to have been designed precisely with the intention to sustain Vergerio's self-portrayal as Jerome's disciple. The phrases that repeat in his public oratory and in his stylistic letters are likely to have functioned as self-fashioning rhetorical devices, especially in the ones that were expected to be disseminated or even included within the major works.

Moreover, other letters by Vergerio illustrate his inclination for mythologizing and innovation, for instance, when referring to the etiological narrative about the origins of his hometown, again, in connection with St. Jerome. Although often expressing disdain for his hometown Justinopolis in some of his works, Vergerio

[35] "[Q]uis nos belli fragore, quo cuncta terrebantur, cuncta ruebant, ex tot paratis insidiis vivos eripuit? Quis ex patrie, populate ruinis, ardentis cineribus, sanos et tutos evexit? […] Quis denique caput tuum damnatum, tot periculis expositum, nisi is cui fuerat commendatum, servavit incolumne?" Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 188. Vergerio's father was initially condemned to death for deserting his post. Upon the family's return to Koper in 1483, he was acquitted, but the family never rose to the same distinguished position it had before.

[36] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 133.

[37] Katchmer, *Pier Paolo Vergerio and the «Paulus»*, 30.

showed keen interest in the local history of his native town.[38] In addition to the Stregna–Stridon debate, he was also engaged in discussions about the origins of the name "Justinopolis," claiming that the city was named after Emperor Justinian II (565–578), who restored the original Roman settlement of Aegida, or Capris, whose history had allegedly gone back to the times of the Argonauts. Vergerio described this founding myth in one of his letters, in which he also stated that despite its noble history, Justinopolis had by then fallen into moral decay and ruin. Its only current claim to fame is its proximity to Jerome's birthplace:

> Because you see, even some obscure places had brought up great men, and celebrated cities ignoble ones, since, as it is indeed attested, it usually happens more often that extreme brilliance springs from an oppressed and unknown place. In this regard, you could give many ancient examples, yet you could hardly quote any worthier or one that would be dearer to me, than, as you have remarked, St. Jerome, my patron, "the star of the Church," to praise him in your words, and, as you ought to have added, of exceptional learning. He was born not far from my fatherland's borders in a humble place, which became therefore revered before many other most splendid cities.[39]

In this passage, Vergerio once again made use of one of the most common *topoi* of the epideictic genre. As recommended by the handbooks, when the homeland of the praised subject was already remarkable, the panegyrist should refer to it as foretelling the glory of the one being praised. In contrast, if their birthplace was humble or disreputable, this should be emphasized to point out how gloriously the exalted subject surpassed their insignificant background.[40] This classic reference strongly hints at Vergerio's intentions, which are even more discernible in his orations from Istria, in which he emphasized Jerome's departure to Rome in order to become "better and more learned," despite his love for his

[38] He wrote two works in which he dealt primarily with the region where his hometown was situated, *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* and *De republica Veneta*. Giacomo Filippo Tommasini, "De commentari storici-geografici della provincia dell'Istria," *Archeografo Triestino* 4 (1837): 324–326; and David Robey and John Law, "The Venetian Myth and the De republica Veneta," *Rinascimento* 15 (1975): 38–49.

[39] "Sed, ut vix ullum dignius, ita nullum michi gratius adhibere potuisses quam quod Hieronymum memoras, patronum meum, Ecclesie, ut voce tua suo eum titulo decorem, sidus, et, ut adicere debueras, summum doctrine, quem non procul a patrie mee finibus humilis locus sed hoc uno plurimis amplissimis urbibus." *Ep.* 62, to Giovanni Zabarella. Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 145.

[40] George Alexander Kennedy, *Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 156.

homeland.[41] Moreover, by stressing the proximity of St. Jerome's origins and his own birthplace, Vergerio established a link between himself and his successful patron saint. It was not only Jerome who rose above his humble origins, but also Vergerio, his compatriot.[42] Modeling his own family and upbringing on those of the famous erudite theologian is clearly in the service of Vergerio's rhetorical self-promotion. The emphasis on the saint's scholarly activities presented St. Jerome as a model for imitation. Moreover, by proclaiming himself a model of Hieronymian devotion, Vergerio was able to depict himself in close resemblance to his virtuous patron.

Vergerio, Jerome, and the Others

Vergerio's own panegyrics and his letters are not the only texts that can provide a comparative context for a closer examination of his appropriation of St. Jerome as a family patron. Vergerio was not the only humanist to praise St. Jerome. Jerome was not only an ideal example for the humanists' Christian universalism owing to his enthusiasm for both the classics and for biblical exegesis. In line with their lively interest in textual criticism, humanist writers also transcribed and compiled Jerome's works and frequently exchanged them as gifts of symbolical value.[43] Jerome's writing served them as a model for rhetorical excellence.

Thus, more epideictic orations were composed in honor of the saint as his cult spread throughout Italy in the fifteenth century. The first of these was delivered in 1410 in Padua by Nicolaus (Niccolò) Bonavia of Lucca,[44] and another oration for St. Jerome was delivered, for instance, in Siena, no later than in 1447, by Agostino Dati.[45] Following the instructions from the ancient Greek handbooks of rhetoric, Bonavia applied in his panegyric the Platonic doctrine of the four

[41] "Patriaque Romam pertulit, non quia maior esset aut clarior, sed quia illa ad perficiendum eum magis erat idonea; quippe qui non illud potissimum quaerebat unde natus esset aut vitam ubi duceret sed quo post mortem esset arbiturus." Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 145.

[42] This passage, in fact, and the link it established between the two would have extremely far-reaching consequences; based on it, the famous Italian historian Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) listed Vergerio and Jerome as the most prominent people from the region and on the same grounds classified Istria as an Italian province. Flavio Biondo, *Roma ristavrata et Italia ilustrata* (Venezia: Michele Tramezzino, 1543), 196–197.

[43] Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 225.

[44] Biographical information about Bonavia is scarce. His oration is preserved in two manuscripts: Vatican Library, BAV Vat. lat. 5994 3r–7v, and in Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 92 sup. 2, 13r–17r.

[45] Agostino Dati, "Incipit Oratio prima de laudibus divi Hieronymi," in *Augustini dati senensis opera* (Siena: Impressum ex archetypo per Symionem Nicolai Nardi, 1502), fol. 56b. For a summary of

cardinal virtues and introduced Jerome's deeds as evidence for his virtues.[46] Dati's oration struck a similar tone and turned into a catalogue of Jerome's translations. Both of these orations closely adhere to the model of ancient funerary *encomia* and are exceptionally detailed when it comes to biographical information about the saint.

However, compared to Vergerio's works, these later pieces are less vivid in terms of pathos and authorial presence. Moreover, the authors do not offer any kind of personal motivation for speaking in praise of St. Jerome. Even if the pieces are long and meticulously crafted, they would have had a far lesser emotional impact than Vergerio's personal narrative. This might explain why none of these panegyrics entered into such wide circulation as did the ones by Vergerio, even though none of their manuscripts contain the complete collection of ten orations.[47] Their presence in North Italian manuscripts suggests that students often turned to them as models for their own rhetorical compositions, regardless of their interest in St. Jerome.

The multiplicity of approaches present in humanist epideictic oratory in praise of civil or ecclesiastical governors was already acknowledged by humanist scholars. "Nobody remains unaware that panegyrics reflect not their subjects' merits, but their author's ingenuity," wrote Erasmus.[48] Was the personal appropriation of St. Jerome and his representation as a patron saint one of the most ingenious features of Vergerio's authorship? Even though it is unlikely that this was the only auctorial strategy that earned him recognition, his passionate representation of the saint definitely helped the orations' popularity and contributed to Vergerio's rhetorical fame. Bending historical facts and events in order to give more authority to a speech was a strategy already widely known and practiced among Vergerio's contemporaries. Leonardo Bruni, to quote another famous humanist, openly privileged mastery of panegyric oratory over historical accuracy while commenting on his own panegyric of Florence: "History must follow the truth,

his life, see Paolo Viti, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 33 (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1987), s.v. "Dati, Agostino."

[46] Donald A. Russel and Nigel G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), xxi.

[47] McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, 137.

[48] "Ac minus quidem laedunt Poetae Rhetoresque, quorum nemini iam ignotum est institutum, Principum laudes non ex ipsorum meritis, sed ex suo metiri ingenio." Desiderius Erasmus, *Instituto Principis Christiani* II 2.4, translated in David Rundle, "'Not So Much Praise as Precept': Erasmus, Panegyric and the Renaissance Art of Teaching Princes," in *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning* 50, ed. Yun Lee Too and Niall Livingstone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 159.

but praise raises many things above the truth."[49] Vergerio masterfully raised his Jerome above it, too. Regardless of how real or how strong his family devotion to St. Jerome was, Vergerio succeeded in painting a convincing portrait of himself as a true follower of the erudite saint. As befitted his humanist milieu, the imitation of the saint's piety was one of Vergerio's recurring themes. Yet, he moved beyond this trope by drawing the focus to Jerome's eloquence as well and by utilizing it for his own self-fashioning purposes: to establish himself as a master of classicizing rhetoric among his peers.

[49] "Aliud est enim historia aliud laudatio. Historia quidem veritatem sequi debet, laudatio verum multa supra veritatem extolit." Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum Libri VIII*, ed. Lorenzo Mehus (Florence: Ex tipographia Bernardi Paperinii, 1741), *Ep.* VIII, 4.

THE ROLE OF TRUST IN ADMINISTERING THE INCOMES OF THE ZAGREB CHAPTER IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES[1]

Petra Vručina

Although Susan Reynolds expresses some doubts about researching history by applying the anthropological concept of trust, in the last decade this concept has become rather well received among historians.[2] Generally, trust is defined as a belief that a person, persons, or institution would work in the future to the benefit of the individual or individuals who are attached to those persons or institutions.[3] In this brief article, I bring forward three examples of the application of this concept in the case of the ecclesiastical landholding economy, namely, the economic system of the Zagreb chapter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this period, the Zagreb chapter administered three large land units: Zagreb, Sisak, and Varaždinske Toplice (see *Fig. 1*) and collected tithes from large parts of Slavonia.[4] I argue that by defining the distribution of trust and distrust in this system, it is possible to better understand its economic functioning.[5]

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis: "The Role of Trust in Administering the Incomes of the Zagreb Chapter (1466–1499) (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] Recent studies that apply the concept of trust: Geoffrey Hosking, *Trust: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Susan Reynolds, "Trust in Medieval Societies and Politics," in *The Middle Ages Without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West* (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 1–15; Masamichi Sasaki, ed., *Trust in Contemporary Society* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2019); Katalin Szende, *Trust, Authority, and the Written Word in the Royal Towns of Medieval Hungary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

[3] Hosking, *Trust: A History*, 28.

[4] About these estates: Radovan Gajer, "Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola oko Zagreba u prvoj polovici 14. st." [The estates of the Zagreb chapter in the first half of the 14th century], *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 11 (1978): 5–102; Marko Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici u 14. stoljeću: institucionalna i društvena povijest katedralne zajednice* [The canons of Zagreb in the 14th century: Institutional and social history of the cathedral community] (Zagreb: Croatian Studies of the University of Zagreb, 2018), 160–190.

[5] This is basically a narrowed argument of what Hosking stated. According to him "the manner in which trust works in any given society is vital to the understanding of most social phenomena." Geoffrey Hosking, "Trust and distrust: a suitable theme for historians?," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 95–115.

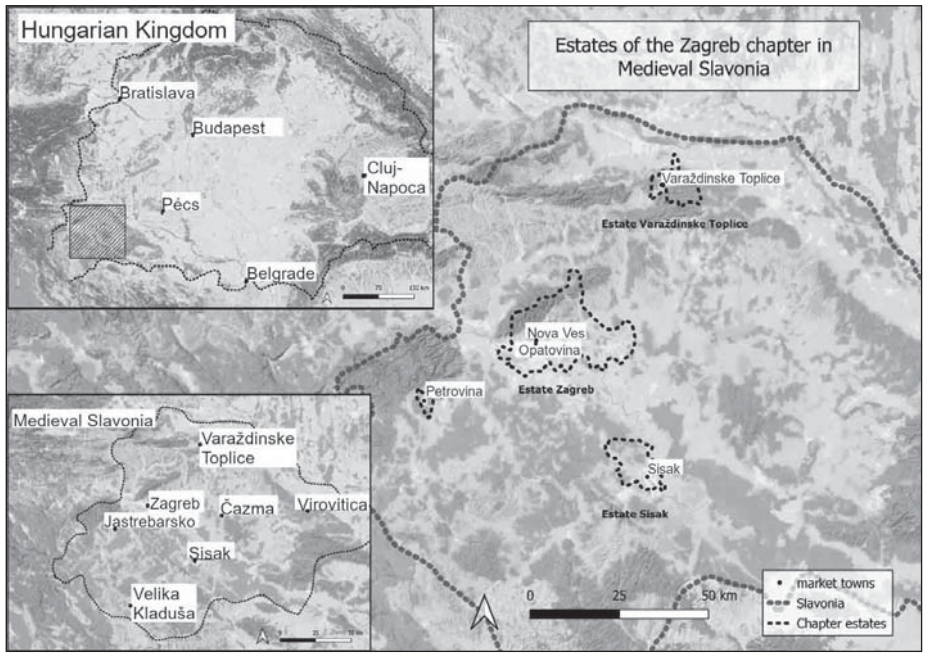

Fig. 1. Estates of the Zagreb chapter in Medieval Slavonia[6]

Corporate Identity, Trust, and Economy

The collection of incomes was a painstaking and organizationally challenging endeavor. That is why the corporate "spirit," present from the beginning of the foundation of the chapter, proved to be crucial in decision-making and its implementation on the lowest levels of the chapter's economic system. The idea of this institution acting as "one body" helped it achieve more uniform behavior and pursue more efficiently its goals.[7]

[6] All the maps in this article are made in QGIS with the help of Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről* [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages: Digital vector map and attaching database about the settlements and landowners of medieval Hungary] (Budapest, 2001), CD-ROM; Vlatka Dugački and Krešimir Regan, eds, *Hrvatski povijesni atlas* [Croatian historical atlas] (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2018).

[7] About the corporativism of the Zagreb chapter: Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 4–5, 25–27, 31. Cf. also Barbara A. Misztal, "Trust in Habit: A Way of Coping in Unsettled Times," in *Trust in Contemporary Society*, ed. Masamichi Sasaki (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2019), 41–59.

At the very beginning of the Chapter Statutes (1334/1354), in the second article, it is emphasized that when a problem arises, the canons should gather and discuss it. According to the statutes, the provost, or the dean in his absence, has the authority to invite the canons to gather in the cathedral for the discussion by ordering the ringing of the bells in the morning hours.[8] This was indeed followed in practice: a stipulation from 1474 mentions that the canons gathered upon the sign of the bells ringing.[9] The final decision about economic, or any other, activity among the canons was reached by voting. The full unanimity is mentioned on several occasions.[10] However, a stipulation concerning the dean's elections indicates that a decision could be reached by the consent of two-thirds of the chapter: "[…] in quem maior et senior pars consentit ita, quod pars minor, visa intencione maioris, debet cum ea concordare […]."[11] The principle of a two-thirds majority was introduced in the Third Lateran Council (1179). It replaced the former principle of seniority according to which the opinions of some members of the ecclesiastic body had more importance than the opinions of others.[12]

The date when the dean and most of the officials related to the administrative and economic duties of the Zagreb chapter were elected was St. Lawrence Day on August 10.[13] This date, therefore, can be considered the annual date of the official assembly of the Zagreb chapter. Marko Jerković convincingly argues that this day was chosen by Zagreb Bishop Augustin Kažotić (1302–1322), who was originally from Trogir where St. Lawrence was celebrated as a local saint.[14] The statutes depict the process of the dean's election in rather specific terms. First of all, he could not be appointed four times in a row.[15] Any kind of "lobbying" two weeks before the elections was forbidden and punishable.[16] The dean was

[8] Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije: Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, *vol. 2* (Zagreb: Car. Albrecht, 1874), pt. 1, chap. 2, 13 [henceforth MHEZ 2].

[9] No. 28 in Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*" [The 15th-century charters of the Zagreb chapter from the red book], *Starine* JAZU XI (1879): 46. See also: nos. 34, 35, 67, in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 52, 53, and 71.

[10] No. 32 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 51–52. See also: nos. 7 and 28, in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 29, 46.

[11] Pt. 1, chap. 26 in MHEZ 2, 27. The compiler of the statutes, Archdean John, wrote the collocation "senior pars" although it should have been "sanior pars." See also in the original version: DL-DF 291740, image 93. I kindly thank Katalin Szende for this remark.

[12] Arthur P. Monahan, *Consent, Coercion, and Limit: The Medieval Origins of Parliamentary Democracy* (Leiden: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 140.

[13] Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 67–68.

[14] Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 67–68. Cf. also pt. 1, chap. 26 in MHEZ 2, 27.

[15] Pt. 1, chap. 28 in MHEZ 2, 28.

[16] Pt. 1, chap. 27 in MHEZ 2, 28.

the most important official related to the economy of the Zagreb chapter since he was responsible for the distribution of the incomes among the canons of the chapter and took care of conveying the decisions of the chapter to the lower levels of the chapter's administrative body.[17] The function of the dean, defined in this way, was, it seems, the specificity of the Hungarian Church because not all chapters had a dean, or if they had one, he could have a completely different role.[18] Further on, the strictness that characterizes the process of the election of a new dean was probably related to the fact that the person who was appointed for this office made a considerable profit since his remuneration was rather large. In addition, he was in a position to appropriate revenues for himself as long as his mandate lasted. Thus, as a kind of control-mechanism, the newly elected dean had a right to investigate the activities of his predecessor if it was suspected that he misappropriated something.[19] The severity of this policy, however, applied to the election of other officials too, since the stipulations repeat that the other elections should run in the same way as the election of the dean. For example, the same rules applied to the election of the *comes servorum* (*kmetski župan*), who acted as the dean's right hand. The *comes servorum* oversaw the collection of the wine tithe in the Zagreb estate, ensuring that the subjects bring it to the chapter's wine and grain store.[20] Although the statutes do not state it, the chapter most likely elected three of them in one year, for each of the estates (Zagreb, Sisak, and Toplice) since these estates were not so close to each other. From the fifteenth century, the Sisak estate was governed by the chapter *comes* and *vojvoda*. The *vojvoda* was elected indirectly by the people who lived on this estate once a year, a few days before St.

[17] Pt. 1, chap. 26 in MHEZ 2, 27. About the dean cf. Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 68.

[18] The Hungarian chapters had deans with similar duties, while in the case of the French chapter the dean was obliged to attend to the spiritual care and the discipline of the canons. See: László Solymosi, "Az egri káptalan dékánválasztási statútumai a XV. századból" [The statutes of the election of the dean of the Eger chapter in the 15th century], *Levéltári Közlemények* 87 (2016): 147–154; and Michaël George, *Le chapitre cathédral de Verdun à la fin du Moyen Âge (fin XIIe - début XVIe siècle): étude d'une communauté ecclésiastique séculière* [The cathedral chapter of Verdun at the end of the Middle Ages (late 12th–early 16th century): Study of a secular ecclesiastical community] (PhD diss., Université de Lorraine, 2016), 85–86. Moreover, most of the chapters in Dalmatia, for example, did not have a dean at all. The difference between Dalmatian chapters and the chapters in Slavonia stems from different administrative origins—Dalmatia inherited the hierarchical structure from the period of early Christianity, while the chapters in Slavonia were closely related to the traditions of the Hungarian Church. See Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 53–55, who developed this idea based on the research of Robert Brentano and Mladen Ančić.

[19] Pt. 1, chap. 29 in MHEZ 2, 28–29. The stipulation describes in detail the dean's incomes.

[20] Pt. 1, chap. 25 in MHEZ 2, 26. Cf. Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 69.

Lawrence day, so that the chapter could confirm him on its assembly.[21] This was an important change in the management of the Sisak estate because in this way the chapter gave more liberty to the very community of the people living on this estate. Consequently, this probably strengthened the trust relations between the chapter and the community.

Other officials, not necessarily appointed on August 10, were the canons or persons appointed by them who made inventories of the incomes and the leases of the chapter's tithes. Their other important duty was to inspect the measurement of wine barrels in barns.[22] These administrators, together with the dean and the *župan*, had certain privileges, including enjoying the hospitality of tenants, known in the sources as *descensus* or *procuratio*. It means that the chapter's subjects had to treat the chapter's administrators, that is, provide meals for them during the collection of the tithes, three times a year. Since the statute stipulation mentions complaints from the peasants, apparently this was not a preferred tenants' duty.[23] The *procuratio* was, however, important because it was a recognitory due—it ensured the political and trust relations between the chapter and its subjects, which in the Middle Ages was achieved by means of personal contact. As suggested by a case from 1430, in which the *procuratio* was commuted into a money rent, this practice began slowly to erode in the fifteenth century.[24]

Further on, on the day of St. Lawrence, not all the officials were elected, some were nominated directly by the chapter. These were the *vežnici*. As the village representatives, their task was also to monitor the collection of the tithes and other taxes in the villages as well as to adjudicate in minor disputes.[25] Ideally, these officials were peasants who enjoyed both the trust of the chapter and the community in order to mediate. Just as *vežnici* were secular persons, so was the

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[21] No. 23 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige* zagrebačkog kaptola," 38–43. See also: No. 579 in Andrija Lukinović, ed., *Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije. Monumenta Historica Episcopatus Zagrabiensis,* vol. 6 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Hrvatski državni arhiv, 1994), 629 [henceforth MHEZ 6].

[22] Pt. 1, chap. 31 in MHEZ 2, 30–31. Cf. Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 69; no. 56 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 66. See, e.g.: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kaptolski arhiv u Zagrebu [Croatian State Archive, The chapter archive in Zagreb], fond Acta Capituli Antiqua, fasc. 78, no. 8 (Glavnica, 1474) (DL-DF 256630), [henceforth KAZ, ACA]; KAZ, ACA, fasc. 70, no. 10 (Toplica, 1483) (DL-DF 256737).

[23] Pt. 1, chap. 62 in MHEZ 2, 60. See also: chap. 31 in MHEZ 2, 29–30; and no. 42 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 57.

[24] Petra Vručina, "Imposing Identity: The Case of Zagreb Chapter's and Bishop's Conditional Landholders in the Late Middle Ages," in *Institutional Aspects of the Church and Social History*, ed. Marko Jerković (forthcoming).

[25] Pt. 1, chap. 35 in MHEZ 2, 33. Cf. Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 70.

iudex or *špan*, whose duty was to monitor the market tributes in Zagreb and who had the authority to imprison people for violence if any occurred.[26]

The last official involved in the maintenance of the chapter's economy was the chapter cellarer (*cellerarius*). He was commissioned by the chapter to supervise the distribution of the daily portions of the common supply—the statutes do not specify of what, but probably of grains and wine. His duty was to make the supply last for the whole year. The canons were supposed to check his incomes to see if he misappropriated anything. The statutes do not mention if the *cellerarius* was appointed on August 10 like the rest of the officials.[27] Before taking up the office all the mentioned administrators had to swear an oath whose purpose was to augment the awareness of loyalty and just commission.[28]

The Case of Tithes as a Steady Source of Income: Inverse Trust

One of the most lucrative incomes of the Zagreb chapter were the tithes. Since the Zagreb chapter archive has kept the inventories of tithes starting from the 1450s, mostly of the wine and grain, they are available for historical research.[29] However, the inventories for the last quarter of the fifteenth century do not enable precise statistical analyses.[30] In addition to being too short a period to make the statistical curves, the inventories do not allow a comparison of the overall amounts of income even for one year because they are not preserved in

[26] No. 47 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 62.

[27] Pt. 2, chap. 3 in MHEZ 2, 67. Cf. Jerković, *Zagrebački kanonici*, 69–70.

[28] See the oath in no. 74 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 75. Cf. about oaths in medieval society: Reynolds, "Trust in Medieval Societies and Politics," 8–11.

[29] Most of them are available on Hungaricana (https://hungaricana.hu/en/, accessed January 13, 2021).

[30] For examples of statistical analyses of tithes see Ben Dodds, "Demesne and Tithe: Peasant Agriculture in the Late Middle Ages," *The Agricultural History Review* 56, no. 2 (2008): 123–141; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Joseph Goy, *Tithe and Agrarian History from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Century: An Essay in Comparative History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). In Croatian historiography, besides Josip Adamček, the only historian who has conducted more comprehensive statistical analysis of the inventories of tithes, for the tithe district Glavnica, is Branimir Brgles, "Model obradbe protostatističkih vrela na primjeru analize najstarijih registara desetinskoga kotara Glavnice" [The model of the analysis of the protostatistical sources on the example of the oldest registers of the tithe district Glavnica], *Historijski zbornik* 69, no. 2 (2016): 293–333; and Branimir Brgles, *Ljudi, prostor i mijene: Susedgradsko i donjostubičko vlastelinstvo 1450–1700* [People, space and changes: The seigneuries of Susedgrad and Donja Stubica 1450–1700] (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2019). Neven Budak also used these sources for the analysis of the towns in the medieval county of Varaždin in *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* [The towns in the county of Varaždin] (Zagreb – Koprivnica: Dr. Feletar, 1994).

continuity and not written in a uniform way. For instance, while the inventory of the tithes of Glavnica of 1474 listed wine and grain tithes simultaneously, the inventory of 1494 of the same district used a different system: first listing the grain tithe, and then the wine tithe using different criteria.[31] Thus, the mentioned case of Glavnica will be used to broaden our knowledge of the process of the collection of tithes—of its organization and leasing, in the second half of the fifteenth century.

According to the statutes, from the available grains, the chapter collected a tithe of wheat, rye, barley, revel, millet, and oats. Out of every 10 *capetii* or stacks, one had to be given to the chapter, and every *capetia* comprised 60 bundles (*manipuli*).[32] In the case of pigs, the process of collection was slightly more complex. First, the family chose one pig out of ten that they did not want to be tithed. Then, the chapter collector chose one pig out of the remaining nine.[33] In the case that a family had a lot of pigs and more than one was tithed, it was obliged to take from the chapter up to three pigs for feeding. If it was not possible for the family to feed the pigs, that family had to pay an additional 2 ban's denars for every tithed pig. In cases where a family had only one pig altogether, it did not have to pay the tithe.[34] On the other hand, if a family had less than nine or ten pigs, it had to pay 4 ban's denars for each.[35] Another stipulation shows that lambs and young goats were tithed in a similar way to pigs.[36] When the wine was tithed, the collector, together with the estate officials, went into each cellar of the wine producers and determined the quantity of wine, that is, how much should be taken.[37]

After depicting which agricultural products were tithed and how, the next important question is what happened after, that is, whether the agricultural products were levied in kind or in the money equivalent, which is not so easy to answer. According to the inventories of tithes, the products were levied in kind; however, according to the statutory regulations, for most of the products the money equivalent was defined and was interchangeable.[38] How much was tithed in money or in kind

[31] KAZ, ACA, fasc. 78, no. 8 (1474); KAZ, ACA, fasc. 38, no. 10 (1494) (DL-DF 256632).

[32] Pt. 1, chap. 50 in MHEZ 2, 45.

[33] Pt. 1, chap. 53 in MHEZ 2, 46.

[34] Pt. 1, chap. 53 in MHEZ 2, 46. Cf. also no. 23 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 42, 44.

[35] No. 23 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 44.

[36] Pt. 1, chap. 51 in MHEZ 2, 45. Cf. no. 29 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 47.

[37] No. 29 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 47–48.

[38] See: nos. 23, 29, 42, and 64 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 44, 48, 56, 70. See also in the statutes: Pt. 1, chap. 55 in MHEZ 2, 47.

probably depended upon many factors, for instance, the prices on the market and the convenience, that is, the profitability of transporting the tithes from one place to another.[39] It also must have depended on whether it was possible for the peasant families to pay in money.[40] My guess though would be that most of the tithes were indeed given in kind, and a smaller part of it in money.

One of the indicators for such a deduction are the numerous barns mentioned in the sources. The central barn of the Zagreb chapter is referred to in the statutes as *nostrum cellarium*, and it was probably situated somewhere close to the cathedral since the statutes emphasize on several occasions that the subjects must bring the tithes to the cathedral.[41] Besides this main *cellarium*, the sources reveal that every tithe district had its own barns.[42] Also, canons had a barn within their house (*curia*).[43] Further on, one more reason—and the most important one—why most of the products were probably tithed *in specie* in the second half of the fifteenth century is the profitability that is connected to the practice of leasing.[44] According to stipulation 33 in the Chapter Statutes, the lease was introduced in order to contribute to the development of the cathedral community: "qui meliorem condicionem attulerit pro nostro comuni augmentando."[45] It seems that this practice entailed some kind of bidding since the stipulation says that the person, that is, the canon, who offered 2 marks more than the others got the right to lease the revenues.[46] Also, the lessee got the incomes he leased only after he paid the whole sum. The mitigating circumstance was that the lease had to be paid in three portions and not at once.[47]

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[39] That the tithes were transported is proven in a charter, no. 63 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 70.

[40] Cf. Witold Kula, *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System* (London – New York: Verso, 1987), 57; Keith D. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450* (London: Palgrave, 2002), 110.

[41] See, e.g., pt. 1, chap. 16 in MHEZ 2, 23. See also: Pt. 1, chap. 48 and 50 in MHEZ 2, 44–45.

[42] Nos. 29, 42, 43 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 47, 56, 58.

[43] No. 72 in MHEZ 6, 83.

[44] According to Branimir Brgles the collection of crops and wine in kind in the Glavnica tithe district was related to the increasing prices of agricultural products in the second half of the fifteenth century (Brgles, *Ljudi, prostor i mijene*, 36). However, even though the inventories listed the products in kind, this does not have to mean that part of it was not given in its monetary equivalent. Also, there is no information about the prices of agricultural products from this period in Slavonia in the sources.

[45] Pt. 1, chap. 33 in MHEZ 2, 31. Instead of "communi," it is written "comuni." See DL-DF 291740, image 103.

[46] "[…] videlicet saltem cum marcis duabus vel valore ipsarum quantitatem pecunie quam alter in conducendo huiusmodi redditus vel proventus offerebat […]."

[47] Pt. 1, chap. 33 in MHEZ 2, 31.

In order to control the lease of the tithes more easily, the chapter divided the area from which it levied it into tithe districts (*cultelli*). Based on the statutes (1334/1354), the inventories of leased tithes, and Josip Adamček's research, it can be established that this area was divided into approximately eight districts in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[48] "Approximately" is the operative word here because the boundaries of the districts changed. This is probably because the monetized economy with which the canons began to be involved prompted them to think about profit and rationalization. The canons naturally wanted to generate more money at the end of the lease than the amount they had paid for it, which explains why they started to draw up inventories in the first place. The inventories enabled them to keep track of the agricultural yield, modify to some extent the boundaries of the districts depending on profitability, and to organize the collection of the tithes more efficiently, depending as well on the local traditions and the agreements with the nobility from whose estate they were exacting the tithes. The most prominent example of manipulating boundaries is Glavnica.

As the statutes show, this tithe district was first a part of the so-called *magnus cultellus*, or the Zagreb tithe district.[49] However, in the fifteenth-century inventories of leased tithes, it appears as an independent district. The canons most probably detached it because it had high yields of the wine tithe.[50] The boundaries changed slightly one more time in the second half of the fifteenth century. This time they probably attached the small area across the river back to the Zagreb district because it had much smaller yields than the rest of the Glavnica district (see *Fig. 2*).[51]

The question is to what extent the rationalizing process was possible considering the fact that the collection of the tithes depended upon fickle weather and environmental conditions in general. Therefore, even if the inventories were used to forecast trends, the profit ultimately depended upon how (un)successful agricultural production was. To attempt to answer this question, in *Table 1* I

[48] The archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, II-c-49 [henceforth AHAZU]; pt. 3, chap. 52–64 in MHEZ 2, 46–62; Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi*, 83–87.

[49] Pt. 1, chap. 54 in MHEZ 2, 47.

[50] According to Brgles's research in the sixteenth century, Glavnica produced the largest quantities of wine in Slavonia and was not far behind the Srijem and Tokaj regions. Brgles, *Ljudi, prostor i mijene*, 263.

[51] This change most probably took place in 1475 when the canons regulated the collection of the tithes in Glavnica. Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi*, 89.

present the diachronic changes for one district—once again Glavnica—for the years 1474 and 1494:

	Number of grain tithe payers		Grain tithe collected (in *capetiis*)		Wine tithe collected (in *cubulis*)	
Year	**1474**	**1494**	**1474**	**1494**	**1474**	**1494**
Villicatus Stonevec	107	53	138.5	94	149.5	
Villicatus Brdovec	91	83	86.5	212.5	95	
Villicatus Pušća	117	69	116.5	106	131.5	
Villicatus Jablanovec	52	42	63	71	51.5	
Villicatus Stubica	359	415	356	648	1135.5	
In total	726	662	760.5	1131.5	1563	2911
Percentage of change	-9.2 %		+67.2 %		+53.69%	

Table 1. Grain tithe in Glavnica in 1474 and 1494[52]

This table demonstrates that even though the number of grain tithe payers was smaller in 1494 than in 1474, the overall amount of grain tithes was higher by 67.2% and that of wine tithes increased by 53.69%. Thus it follows from this case that the production in this area was steady, which was reflected also in the increase of the leasing of this district.[53] The stable agricultural production corresponds to the climatic and environmental conditions, which were favorable for the viticulture and arable farming of this area in this period.[54] The peasants

[52] KAZ, ACA, fasc. 78, no. 8 (1474); KAZ, ACA, fasc. 38, no. 10 (1494). Unlike the inventories from other districts, in the Glavnica inventory tithes were listed within the subdistricts (*villicatibus*), which makes it easier to trace changes closely. Only the categories that enable comparison are selected. The Novaki subdistrict (*villicatus*) is not included because it was listed only in the inventory of 1474. *Villicatus* was a smaller unit of a seigneury and can be translated as a rural municipality. See Brgles, *Ljudi, prostor i mijene*, 10. Brgles published a transcription of the inventory of 1474 in *Ljudi, prostor i mijene*, 273–288. My transcription differs somewhat from his numerical values.

[53] AHAZU II-c-49; Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi*, 88.

[54] Brgles, *Ljudi, prostor i mijene*, 62–63. Cf. József Laszlovszky, "Agriculture in Medieval Hungary," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018), 85.

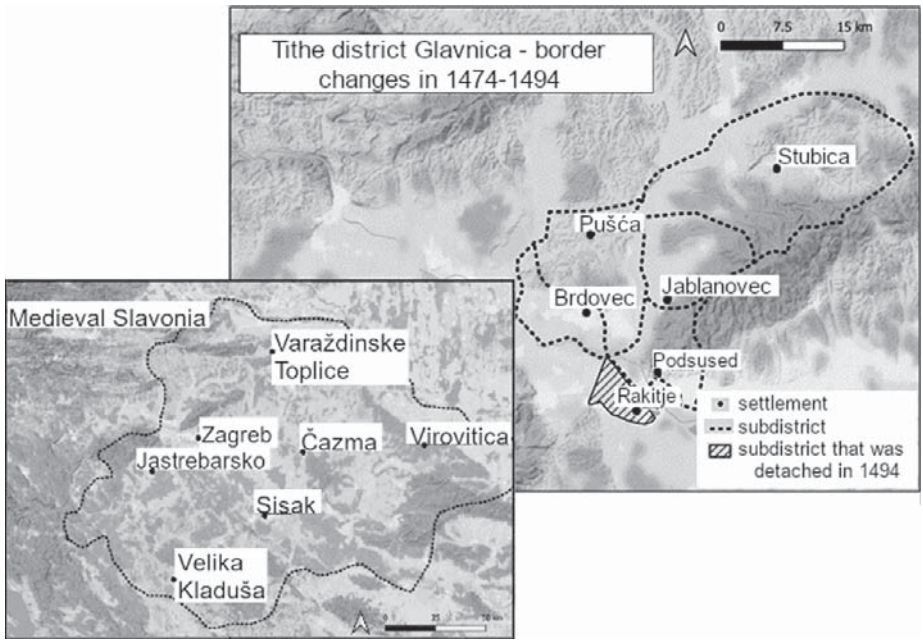

Fig. 2. The district Glavnica – border changes in 1474 and 1494

were also determined to apply traditionally known techniques that minimized the risk of small agricultural returns.[55] One of these practices, for instance, was sowing oats or legumes in order to fertilize the land.[56] The statutes reveal that peasants mixed grains and legumes, which suggests that they were familiar with this technique.[57] Also, if *Fig. 2* and *Fig. 3* are compared, it is visible that the largest amounts of wine were produced in the most geographically favorable, hilly areas. This shows that the peasants knew how to exploit the land in the most efficient way. Importantly, however, the increase of the tithed yields was not brought on by the techniques of agricultural production alone. Another reason for the increase was that in 1475 the chapter regulated the collection of the tithes.[58]

To conclude, it seems that the development of the practice of the lease happened due to the increased confidence in agricultural production. However, a

[55] Dodds, "Demesne and Tithe: Peasant Agriculture in the Late Middle Ages," 124; Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, 19.
[56] Dodds, "Demesne and Tithe: Peasant Agriculture in the Late Middle Ages," 127.
[57] See, e.g., pt. 1, chap. 65 in MHEZ 2, 61.
[58] Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi*, 89.

noticeable peculiarity in the case of the Zagreb chapter is that the canons leased the districts only among themselves, whereas in other European countries the common practice was to lease tithes to people outside the cathedral community.[59] In this way, the profit was "reserved" entirely only for the canons. This is informative about the chapter's distrust in engaging in monetary transactions with strangers, which would have been a prerequisite for further involvement in monetization.

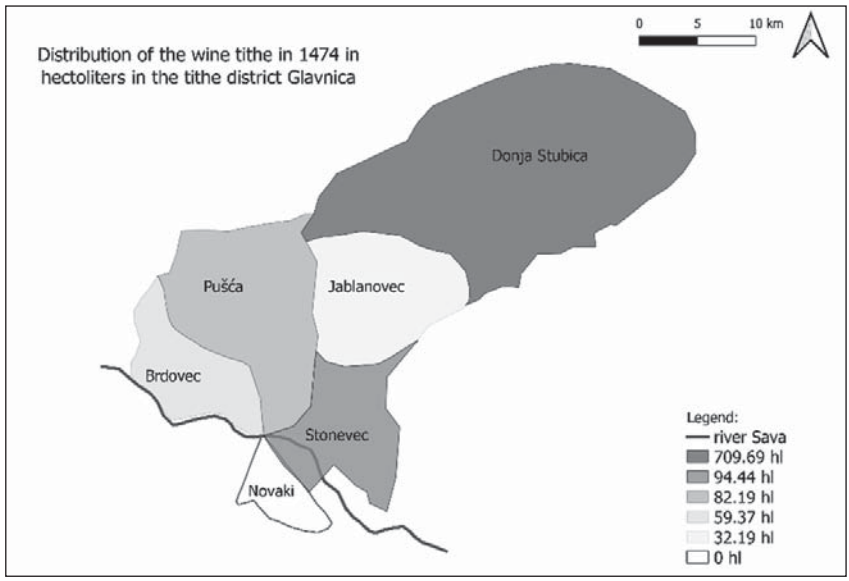

Fig. 3. Distribution of the wine tithe in 1474 in hectoliters in the district of Glavnica[60]

Liberae villae **and** ***oppida*****: An Example of Distrust**

Besides the example of distrust in leasing tithes to people outside the chapter, in the case of the economic system of the Zagreb chapter, there appears one more example of distrust, that towards market towns. Until not so long ago, market towns had been assessed in view of their positive or negative impact on

[59] Cf. the case of Italy: Catherine E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 196–207.

[60] In this map the *cubuli* were converted into hectoliters. One *cubulus* in the Zagreb chapter estates comprises 62.5 liters. Brgles, "Model obradbe protostatističkih vrela na primjeru analize najstarijih registara desetinskoga kotara Glavnice," 316.

commercialized economic development.[61] However, this positivistic stance that views history as linear and progressive has started to change, and market towns are now viewed from new perspectives and in broader contexts. For instance, Neven Budak applies the concept of centrality, in which the central, largest town takes on the most important functions. Consequently, this leaves the less important functions for the towns situated around it. One of the market towns he examined in Varaždin County is Varaždinske Toplice, a market town that belonged to the Zagreb chapter.[62] In his study, though, Budak did not deal so much with the question of why settlements such as Varaždinske Toplice have a thoroughly agrarian character with minimal craft development and orientation towards a more large-scale economy.[63] In the case of the Zagreb chapter, I opt for the assumption put forward by Keith Lilley. He states that for landlords the foundation of a new town was a highly controlled "enterprise," aimed mostly at increasing their revenues.[64] Market towns appeared relatively late on the estates of the Zagreb chapter, and when they did appear, it happened for three reasons: colonization, an administrative role, and/or trade and revenue generation.

These factors can be inferred from the charters that the chapter issued. The foundation charters of Nova Ves (1344) and Opatovina (1478), for instance, state that the reason for their creation was to populate the areas in which they were situated. Nova Ves was situated right next to Kaptol, the place where the canons lived, so the chapter probably wanted to extend this area.[65] Similarly, the privileges of Opatovina (*liber vicus*) were supposed to attract new people after the building of the palisades around the cathedral area to ward off Ottoman attacks. Without people, no defense could have been organized if the need arose.[66] Opatovina was also situated close to Kaptol (see *Fig. 1*). The latest village to be promoted

[61] István Petrovics, "The Medieval Market Town and Its Economy," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018), 359–360. Cf. also Adamček's analysis of the foundation of the market towns in Slavonia in *Agrarni odnosi*, 162–190.

[62] Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku*.

[63] An analogy can maybe better explain what I mean by this. Some of the cities in Dalmatia, for instance, did not fulfill the conditions of centrality, but were still more oriented towards long-distance trade and in general more monetized than the settlements in Slavonia, which was of course due to their geographical position by the sea. About the towns in Dalmatia see: Tomislav Raukar, *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku* [Studies about Dalmatia in the Middle Ages] (Split: Književni krug, 2007).

[64] Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450*, 106–108.

[65] Pt. 4, chap. 27 in MHEZ 2, 145–147.

[66] No. 309 in Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Povijesni spomenici slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Zagreba: Monumenta historica liberae et regiae civitatis Zagrabiensis*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Car. Albrecht, 1894–1896), 385–386 [henceforth: MCZ].

in *libera villa* was Petrovina (1482). The charters state that this was also decided due to colonization that became necessary after the Ottoman intrusion into the Petrovina estate.[67]

Features of the urban autonomy	**Nova ves**	**Opatovina**	**Varaždinske Toplice**	**Sisak**	**Petrovina**
Legal autonomy	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -
Simplified legal processes: fixed penalties	+	+	+	+	+
Urban tenure and rents paid in money	+	+	+ -	+ -	+ -
Exemption from seigneurial impositions	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -
Secured property	+	+	+	+	+
Self-government	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -

Table 2. Comparison of the legal elements of the market towns on the Zagreb chapter estates. The symbol " + " indicates the full extension of the certain right, " + - " indicates the partial rights[68]

The chapter refers to both Sisak and Varaždinske Toplice as *oppida* in the fifteenth century.[69] From the existing sources, it is not possible to tell why exactly they were known under this term. They certainly served as administrative centers for the Sisak and Toplice estates, and as places where the peasants could sell their products and thus raise cash rents. They also served as the places where landlords could sell the wine tithes they rented as shown by an undated charter regulating

[67] No. 43 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 57–58.

[68] The model for the analysis was inspired by Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450*, 51. The charters that were compared include: pt. 4, chap. 27 in MHEZ 2, 145–147 (Nova Ves); no. 309 in MCZ 2, 385–386 (Opatovina); nos. 1, 23, and 43 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz crvene knjige," 23, 38–43, 57–58 (Sisak, Varaždinske Toplice, and Petrovina).

[69] For Varaždinske Toplice, see a charter concerning the granting of privileges: no. 1 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 23. *Oppidum* Sisak is mentioned only in one charter regulating the economic administration of the whole province, Sisak no. 23 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 38–43).

the selling of wine in the chapter's Toplica estate that was probably written sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century.[70] The granting of charters can be used to show what the model of a market town on the estates of the Zagreb chapter precisely looked like and what its features were (see the comparison in *Table 2*). The comparative table shows that the canons actively endeavored to adapt the concept of market towns to their own needs, and as already stated, to control it completely. In this sense, it appears that they did not perceive market towns differently from the other estates they managed.

Conclusion

What have these three cases demonstrated? Firstly, to efficiently administer its incomes, the chapter had established practices that were both accepted by all the members and enabled flexibility in decision-making. In this respect, corporate identity provided the tools for such an organization. Thus, corporate identity was the basis for creating confidence among the canons. Secondly, regarding the collection of tithes, the chapter introduced the practice of leasing tithes. The tithe lease prompted them to think about profit and maximization of income. Because of it, extensive tracking of agricultural production was necessary due to which today we have the inventories of tithes preserved from this period. The case of Glavnica shown here indicates that the last quarter of the fifteenth century was a period of stable production, but more extensive research is needed to completely confirm this. Also, regarding this practice, a particularity of this chapter is that the canons leased the tithes usually only among themselves, while in other cases, tithes could be leased to people outside the cathedral community. This leads us to distrust. The third case analyzed shows that the market towns on the estates of the Zagreb chapter were not founded in order to develop independently but to provide a center where trade and administration could take place under controlled conditions. Finally, and most importantly, this analysis has demonstrated that the concept of trust can be a useful tool in researching the pre-industrial economy. That is, the application of this concept gives a more moderate picture of the pre-industrial economy, challenging in this way the idea of linear and "progressive" development.

[70] No. 2 in Tkalčić, "Izprave XV. vieka iz *crvene knjige*," 24.

GRAVES IN THE CASTLE'S COURTYARD. CASTLES BUILT ON TOP OF MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY[1]

Szabolcs Balázs Nagy

In 2018, an unexpected find was brought to light from the northern courtyard of the medieval castle of Bánd (Essegvár) in Transdanubia (*Fig. 1*). In the lowermost archaeological layer that covered the rock face of the hill, graves of a medieval cemetery were brought to light, although burials are usually not expected inside a fortification. The sondage that uncovered the graves measured 5×1.5 m and was further expanded in 2019 and 2020. Altogether nineteen burials or parts of graves were identified, along with several stray bone finds and heaps of bones. There were at least three superimposed layers of graves that often cut each other; on the testimony of grave goods (primarily, three coins, five S-shaped lock rings, and pottery shards) the burials date to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Taking into consideration coeval burial practices in the Kingdom of Hungary, the density and spatial distribution of the graves suggest that this was part of a graveyard around a church, even though no *in situ* remains of the church itself have been found. However, parts of a large building with multiple rooms were discovered. It was probably built around 1300 on the southern side of the castle hill and may be identified as a nobleman's manor house that was used contemporarily with the cemetery. Not much later, the cemetery area was built up during the construction of the castle; by the fourteenth century, its outer stone wall encircled even the northern side of the castle hill. Burials must have stopped when the area was enclosed. In the middle or later fifteenth century the trench that divided the northern and southern parts of the castle was filled up; by this time, the consecrated ground of the graveyard must have served mundane purposes, and the constructions disturbed the earlier graves.[2]

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[1] This paper is a shortened and reworked version of a 2020 study (Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron. Középkori temetőkre épült várak és az ősök emlékezete" [Graves on the castle's courtyard. Castles built on top of medieval cemeteries and the memory of ancestors], *Castrum* 23 (2020): 43–82). The research was supported by the ÚNKP-20-4 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology of Hungary from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund as well as the Thematic Excellence Programme 2020 at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

[2] For the observations in Essegvár in Bánd, see: Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Recent excavations at the medieval castle of Bánd," *Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando*

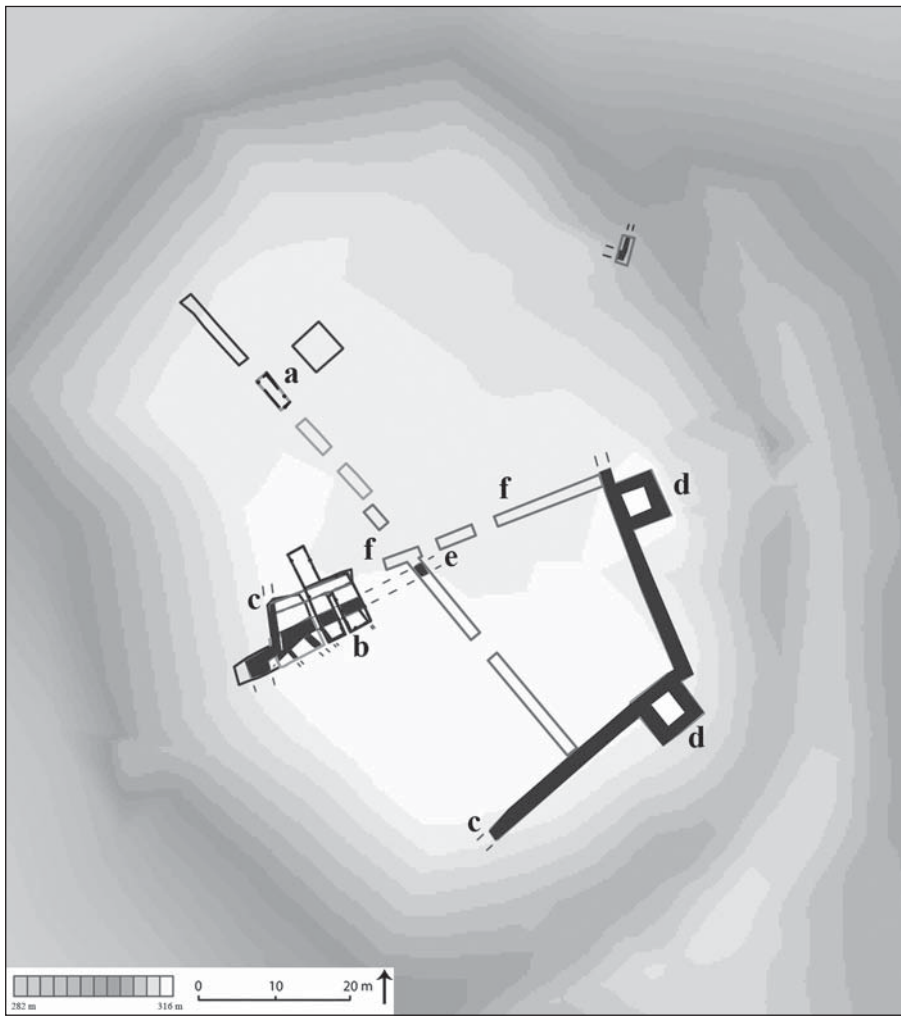

Fig. 1. The still standing and excavated walls of the castle in Bánd (Essegvár). Areas excavated in 2013–2020 are marked. a: burials; b: noble residence around 1300; c: outer wall; d: towers of the castle wall; e: the stone wall dividing the castle hill; f: the ditch below the stone wall

Eötvös Nominatae Ser. 3. No. 6. (2018): 557–572; Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 43–82; Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Egy váratlanul sokrétű vár: Bánd-Essegvár legújabb ásatásairól" [A castle of unexpected complexity: On recent excavations in Bánd-Essegvár], in *Várak, kastélyok, templomok. Évkönyv 2020*

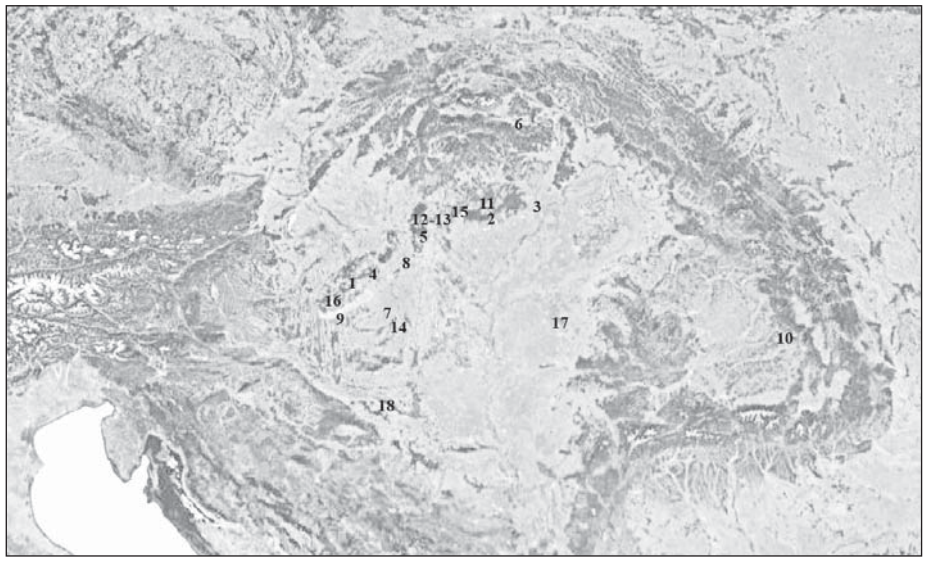

Fig. 2. Locations mentioned in the study, shown in a satellite image of the Carpathian Basin. 1–4: churches integrated into castles; 5–7: residences and churches connected by a passageway; 8–18: other locations named in the text. 1: Bánd. 2: Kisnána. 3: Ónod. 4: Várpalota. 5: Pomáz. 6. Márkusfalva (Markušovce, Slovakia). 7: Ozora. 8: Vál. 9: Fonyód. 10: Firtos (Firtuşu, Romania). 11: Pétervására. 12: Nézsa. 13: Alsópetény. 14: Sárszentlőrinc. 15: Ecseg. 16: Tapolca. 17: Gyula. 18. Valpó (Valpovo, Croatia)

It is quite unusual to find a church surrounded by a cemetery inside a medieval castle. However, the phenomenon observed in Essegvár in Bánd is not an isolated case, there is historical and archaeological evidence that such sites existed all over Europe, even if these pieces of information are sporadic. In this paper I present the sites known in the Carpathian Basin where a nobleman's manor and a medieval graveyard or church was found in a similar context (*Figs 2–3*). After presenting the sites I provide an interpretation of these phenomena and address the following questions: To what extent can cases such as Bánd be viewed as exceptional in the history of castle building in Hungary? What was the motivation behind enclosing cemetery area? and What were the consequences of these actions on religious and burial practices?

[Castles, palaces, churches. Yearbook 2020], ed. Pál Kósa, Gergely Buzás, Ákos Karczag, Maxim Mordovin, Gyula Nováki, and Máté Szabó (Kökény: ZIMédia Kft, 2020), 80–84.

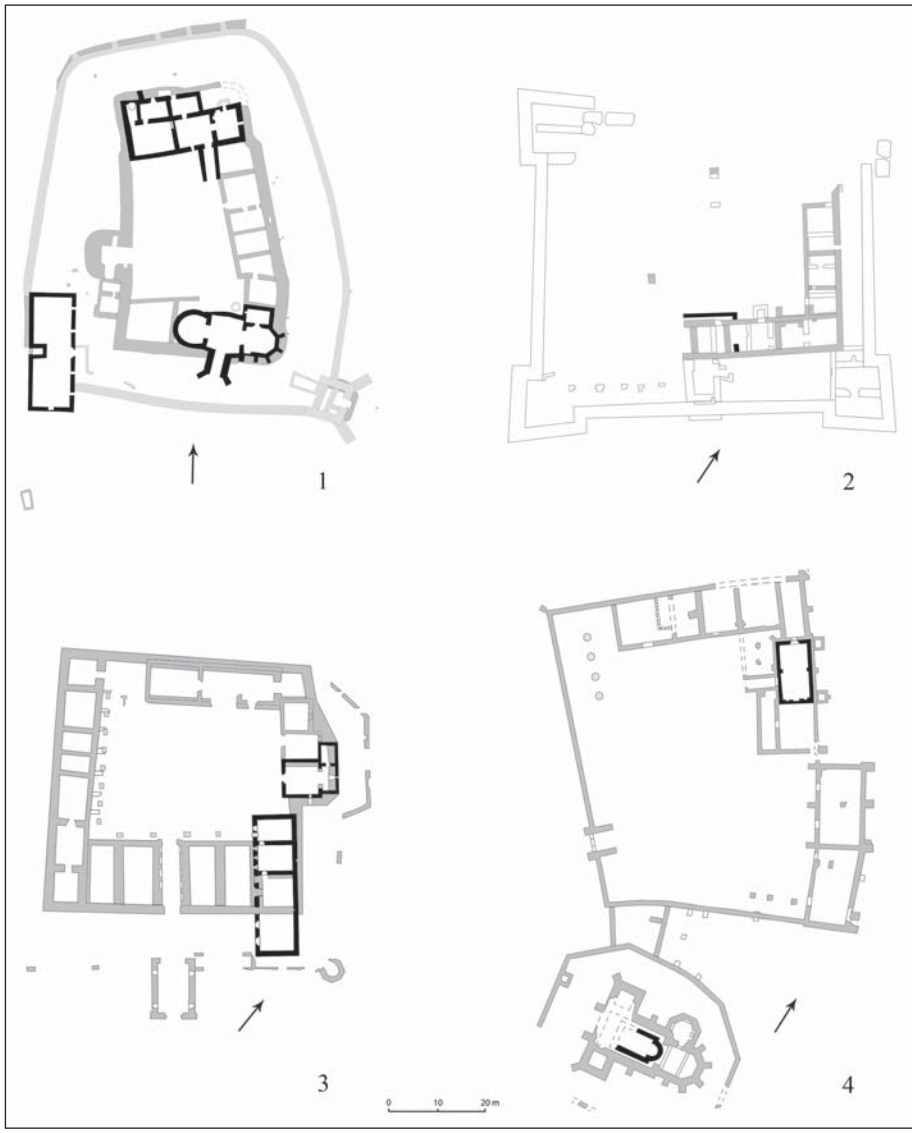

Fig. 3. Connections of the floor plans of noble residences and (one-time) alone-standing churches. The early cores of residences and churches are marked with black, the later medieval parts are marked in grey. 1: Kisnána. 2: Ónod. 3: Várpalota. 4: Pomáz. (After Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 297; Tomka, "Az ónodi vár," 24; and Virágos, The Social Archaeology, 26)

The Phases of Incorporating the Church and Cemetery into the Kisnána Castle

The most important and best-known example of this phenomenon is the Kisnána castle. As a number of papers have been published recently on this fort and its church,[3] here I only present a brief summary of the relationship between the noble residence, the church, and the cemetery, and elaborate only on issues not yet covered in the scholarly literature.

The Early Church and Its Cemetery

The earliest identified building in Kisnána at the southern foot of the Mátra Mountain Range is the All Saints Church. There was a multilayer cemetery around the rotunda that was built on top of a small hill. Only a minor section of the one-time cemetery area has been excavated.[4] The earliest grave finds (a twelfth-century silver denar, five S-shaped lock rings decorated with furrows, and a needle with a globular head) suggest that the cemetery was opened in the twelfth century, although it appears in written sources for the first time only in the fourteenth century.[5]

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[3] Gábor Virágos, *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites: Hungarian Noble Residences and Their Social Context in the Thirteenth through to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 40–60; Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "A Kompoltiak temploma Kisnánán" [The church of the Kompolt family in Kisnána], *Castrum* 12 (2010): 5–42; Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "A Kompoltiak udvarháza a kisnánai várban" [The manor house of the Kompolt family in the fort of Kisnána], in *Várak nyomában. Tanulmányok a 60 éves Feld István tiszteletére* [In the footsteps of castles. Studies in honor of 60-year-old István Feld], ed. György Terei, Gyöngyi Kovács, György Domokos, Zsuzsa Miklós, and Maxim Mordovin (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület, 2011), 161–168; Gergely Buzás, "Jelentés a kisnánai vár 2010-es megelőző feltárásának második üteméről" [Report on the second phase of rescue excavations in the fort of Kisnána in 2010], *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* (2012): 1–9; Gergely Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története* [The history of the Kisnána fort] (Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2013). In my PhD dissertation that will be published soon I provide the most comprehensive analysis of the architectural history of this fort and its church to date. See: Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, *Udvarházak és nemesi rezidenciák a 15. századi Magyar Királyságban. Várpalota, Újlak és Kisnána vára az építészeti reprezentáció fényében* [Manor houses and noble residences in the Kingdom of Hungary in the fifteenth century. The forts of Várpalota, Újlak, and Kisnána in the light of architectural representation] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2019), 96–166.

[4] Nagy, "A Kompoltiak temploma Kisnánán," 5–14.

[5] János Győző Szabó, "Gótikus pártaövek a kisnánai vár temetőjéből" [Gothic belts from the cemetery of the Kisnána fort], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* VIII–IX (1972): 57–59; Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Összefoglaló a kisnánai vár 2010. évi tavaszi-nyári ásatásairól" [Summary of the 2010 spring and summer excavation seasons in the Kisnána fort], *Castrum* 14 (2011): 83–84; Nagy, "A Kompoltiak temploma Kisnánán," 15–16.

Fig. 4. Tombstones featuring human figures from Kisnána, thirteenth to fourteenth centuries

Some of the early burials were marked with oval-shaped, roughly carved headstones. Two of the carvings were ornamented with human figures (*Fig. 4*) and one with a Greek cross.[6] Those with human figures suggest a dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries on the basis of analogies, while the undecorated

[6] For the ornamented tombstones, see: Nóra Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása" [The excavation of the Kisnána fort], *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1967–68* (1970): 302, 310, note 24; Nóra Pamer, "Látogatás

gravestones must have been erected between the eleventh and the early fourteenth centuries. In lack of more information, research usually connects these tombstones to clerics or wealthy people, such as members of the low nobility or the patron family of the church.[7]

According to the archaeological observations, the rotunda and the graveyard occupied only the southern part of the flat plateau of the hill,[8] and so the question arises as to how the northern half of the plateau was used. A few pits and an archaeological layer with varying thickness that yielded thirteenth- to fourteenth-century finds clearly indicate some form of human presence before the nobleman's manor was built.[9] These early phenomena (noble residence, house of the parish priest, or remains of a rural settlement) are, however, still difficult to interpret.

Building a Residence Next to the Church

The first non-ecclesiastical building we know of in this area was built 20–25 m west of the church. This building had a timber structure, a floor of 10×25 m, and a stone cellar, and was equipped with air heating. It may be identified as an unfortified residence of the Kompolt family of Nána who moved here after the 1325 land division in the family (*birtokosztály*). Indirect evidence (such as

a kisnánai várban 35 évvel a feltárás után" [A visit to the Kisnána fort 35 years after the excavation], *Műemlékvédelem* XLVIII/3 (2004): 158–163.

7 See Ágnes Ritoók, "Templom-körüli temetők Árpád-kori sírjelei Magyarországon" [Árpád period tombstones in cemeteries around churches in Hungary], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1997): 208–209; Ágnes Ritoók, "A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei" [Recent results of excavations of cemeteries around village churches], *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 169; Levente Szabó, "Árpád-kori templom és temető Mezőcsát határában" [An Árpád-period church and cemetery in the outskirts of Mezőcsát], in *„…a halál árnyékának völgyében járok." A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13–16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ["…I walk in the valley of the shadow of death." Research into the cemeteries around the medieval church. Presentations of the conference held at the Hungarian National Museum, 13–16 May 2003], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 221–232; Pál Lővei, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro atererna memoria. Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához* [Introduction to the catalogue of burial monuments in medieval Hungary] (diss., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009), 202–204, 207–208.

8 The northernmost grave of the cemetery known to date was excavated in 2010, 10 m northwest of the church. Nagy, "Összefoglaló," 84.

9 Szabó, "Gótikus pártaövek," 57–67; Nagy, "Összefoglaló," 83–84; Gergely Buzás, "A kisnánai vár története" [The history of the Kisnána fort], *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* (2012): 7–8; Buzás, "Jelentés," 8; Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története,* 6.

Fig. 5. The ruins of the medieval church of Kisnána, incorporated into the fifteenth-century castle complex

architectural analogies and the history of the family's landed properties) suggest that this residence was built in the second third of the fourteenth century.[10]

Later in the fifteenth century, following the large-scale land acquisitions of the family and their rise in social standing, extensive construction works started here. It seems that first the village church was transformed. The two most important additions to the building were the new, polygonal sanctuary and the ornamented church tower (*Fig. 5*). The date carved onto a burial monument in the middle of the sanctuary, 1428, serves as the main evidence for the Gothic transformation of the building; it must have happened in the first third of the century. These constructions also had an impact on the cemetery, as the new tower and sacristy, along with the extended part of the sanctuary, occupied former

[10] Buzás, "A kisnánai vár," 6–9; Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története*, 5–6; Nagy, "A Kompoltiak udvarháza," 167–168; Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Noble Residences in the 15th century Hungarian Kingdom: The Castles of Várpalota, Újlak and Kisnána in the Light of Architectural Prestige Representation," *Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae* Ser. 3, No. 7 (2019): 381.

burial areas, and some earlier graves were destroyed during construction.[11] Some of the early tombstones were reused as simple building material: one gravestone ornamented with a human figure and (probably) two undecorated tombstones were incorporated into the buttresses of the tower.[12]

After the transformation of the church, the next endeavor was to enlarge the manor house of the barons of Kompolt in Nána. On the northern side of the small hill, opposite to the church that served as a burial place for the family, a multi-story palace with a cellar was built, separately from the manor house. This was erected between 1430 and the mid-1440s.[13] As the rebuilding of the church and the construction of the new, northern palace building were close to each other chronologically, it is likely that the extension of the noble residence was already planned and scheduled when the old walls of the church rotunda started to be dismantled.

The Church Becomes Part of the Fort

The noble residence was now supplemented with an ornamental palace and shortly (or even at the time when the palace was built) was surrounded by a palisade. The fortification ran on the hill's edge and a ditch may have run on its outer side; it surrounded the early manor house, the northern palace building, the church, and the potential timber outbuildings (which have completely disappeared by now). The palisade was erected in the first half or the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[14]

This palisade is the first evidence that by that time it was not only the family's influence and patronage, or the spectacular constructions and burials, that connected the church to the Kompolts; the church building was physically incorporated into the family's headquarters. In all probability, the cemetery area shrank further, and the use of the church and its graveyard may have come under even stronger control of the patron family.

The palisade was soon replaced by a stone wall with a cornice (this was the internal fortification wall), and a massive gate tower was attached to it. On the testimony of coin findings and a mention in a 1445 document, it seems that

[11] Nagy, "A Kompoltiak temploma Kisnánán," 10, 21–22.

[12] For the provenance of the tombstones, see Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 302, 310, fn. 24; Pamer, "Látogatás a kisnánai várban," 158–163.

[13] Dating is based on coin finds and stone carvings secondarily reused as building blocks, see Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 69–70; Nagy, "Noble Residences," 384.

[14] Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 302, 309–310; Buzás, "Jelentés," 21–27; Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története*, 12–15; Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 70.

this fortification, through which the residence became a *castrum*, was done in the early 1440s.[15] The walls were built close to the southern and eastern sides of the church, only the church tower that housed the main gate protruded from the castle wall. It seems that this time no further modifications were made on the church that had been transformed a few years earlier. It must have continued to function as the castle's chapel.

The Cemetery after the Enclosure

One would think that once the castle and the surrounding walls had been built, burials would have ceased to take place in the cemetery around the church. However, excavations suggest otherwise. According to earlier scholarship, graves were opened on the southern side of the church, that is, on the outer side of the inner castle wall, as late as in the last decades of the fifteenth century.[16] In my view, among the burials brought to light during the spatially limited excavation project, the ones that are probably the latest based on their grave goods only suggest that the graveyard continued to be used up to the middle of the century. Namely, one of these graves yielded a coin from 1439 and another one yielded three coins from 1443. These findings, however, provide little basis to decide whether the burials stopped at the time of fortification, or continued for a few years, or, as previous scholarship hypothesized, went on for decades.[17]

Castle building may not have stopped the burials, but the space where the dead could be interred certainly decreased, and most of the consecrated ground of the cemetery was turned into a construction area. According to archaeological surveys, at the time when the inner castle wall was erected, both the eastern palace wing and the southwestern building on the courtyard were already planned to be built, and the well in the southeastern corner of the yard was also dug in the mid-century.[18] The dating of the external fortification wall is more challenging, but it was probably built when the inner wall was already standing.[19] So, from the mid-

[15] Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 300; Lajos Huszár, "A kisnánai vár éremleletei" [Coin finds from the Kisnána fort], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* VIII–IX (1972): 216–218; Nagy, "Noble Residences," 385; Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 70–71.

[16] Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 306; Szabó, "Gótikus pártaövek," 59–65; Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 50, 53.

[17] For an elaboration of the arguments, see Nagy, "A Kompoltiak temploma Kisnánán," 36–38; Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 71–73.

[18] Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 308; Buzás, "Jelentés," 37, 40; Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története*, 21–22; Nagy, "Sírok a várudvaron," 71.

[19] Fore earlier hypotheses in scholarship, see Pamer, "A kisnánai vár feltárása," 306; Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 50, 53; Buzás, "Jelentés," 27–32; Buzás, *A kisnánai vár története*, 15–18. For a

fifteenth century new graves could be opened only on the southern and eastern sides of the church, that is, in the area of the southern and eastern zwingers; it is uncertain, however, whether this area counted as inside or outside of the castle in that time.

Other Churches and Cemeteries inside Fortifications in the Kingdom of Hungary

Analogies and further examples may help to gain a better understanding of the background and significance of this phenomenon that we observed in Essegvár in Bánd and in Kisnána. Of the four noble residences listed below, only in the case of Ónod do we know for certain that the once alone-standing church and its graveyard became integrated into the castle. This procedure is only hypothesized in the case of Várpalota, while in Pomáz the church never became part of the fort, although a unique connection was established between the manor house and the church. The example of Márkusfalva (present-day Markušovce in Slovakia) may help with the interpretation of the latter, transitional version; here, as opposed to the other examples, only archival information is available, which, however, shed light on some other aspects of this phenomenon.

Ónod

The Cudar barons, a family favored by Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382), started to build a fortified residence in *Ónod* in the late fourteenth century that would reflect their wealth and status; the construction works must have ended in the first decades of the fifteenth century. A letter of sentence from 1416 reveals that the castle was built around a parish church (*per circuitum ecclesie parochialis*), while one of its huge towers was erected in the middle of the fort, on top of the ruins of the church (or at least on the plot on which the church stood; *in medio ipsius Castri supra dictam ecclesiam parochialem*). Although the excavations brought to light a multi-layer medieval cemetery, no trace was found of the parish church or of a tower built on top of it in the middle of the fort. Archival evidence suggests that the church was probably dismantled and the cemetery stopped being used, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove or disprove this information, and so caution is needed in making any hypothesis. The area of the graveyard was already disturbed before these large-scale construction works took place. Excavations

revisitation of the issue and the more detailed viewpoint of the author, see Nagy, *Udvarházak és nemesi rezidenciák*, 144–150.

brought to light the remains of a rectangular stone building that was built on top of the graves, which may be interpreted as a noble residence, a fourteenth-century predecessor of the castle. Even if the parish church and the cemetery retained their function after this noble manor house was built, they probably ceased to fulfil this function when the large Cudar residence and fort were built. The precise dating of the cemetery is unknown, as the only artefact yielded by the graves is an S-shaped lock ring.[20]

Várpalota

A similar development may have taken place when the Várpalota castle was built, with one major difference: in this case the church continued to be used. A small chapel, whose nave terminated in a rectangular apse, stood in a few meters' distance from the stone manor house built in the later fourteenth century or at the end of it.[21] Its known segments suggest that it was built in the twelfth, thirteenth, or at the latest in the fourteenth century, although its precise dating is uncertain. It is likely, however, that its construction preceded that of the manor house, and so it was originally built to serve the whole settlement and not (only) the noble residence. Its position also supports this hypothesis, because from the fourteenth century there is no trace of any physical connection between the two buildings. Moreover, no other ecclesiastical buildings are known from the settlement that could have functioned as a medieval parish church, in either the archival or the archaeological record.[22] If there were traces of a twelfth- to fourteenth-century

[20] Mihály Détshy, "Az ónodi vár korai építkezései" [Early constructions in the castle of Ónod], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 13–14 (1975): 191; Gábor Tomka, "Az ónodi vár" [The Ónod castle], in *Ónod monográfiája* [Monograph of Ónod], ed. László Veres and Gyula Viga (Ónod: Ónod Önkormányzata, 2000), 158–161, 167.

[21] András Gergelyffy, "Palota és Castrum Palota" [Palace and Castrum Palace], *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1967–68* (1970): 131; Csaba László, "Újabb kutatások a várpalotai várban" [New research in the castle of Várpalota], in *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban* [Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the late Middle Ages], ed. Juan Cabello (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület, 1992), 184–185; Csaba László, "A várpalotai 14. századi palota" [The palace of Várpalota in the fourteenth century], in *„Gondolják, látják az várnak nagy voltát…" Tanulmányok a 80 éves Nováki Gyula tiszteletére* ["They think they see the greatness of the castle…" Studies in honor of the 80-year-old Gyula Nováki], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület – Históriaantik Könyvesház Kiadó, 2006), 164–170; Nagy, "Noble Residences," 378.

[22] There is no information that would suggest the presence of another church in the medieval settlement of Palota, either in the written sources of local history or in archaeological topography. See István Éri et al., *A veszprémi járás. Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 2. Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája* [The area of Veszprém. The archaeological topography of Hungary Vol. 2. The archaeological topography of Veszprém county] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), 211.

cemetery around the church, one could hypothesize that it was indeed a parish church, but so far no medieval graves have come to light here. However, there are thick early modern and modern archaeological deposits in the area, and excavations only explored the upper layers; therefore, it cannot be excluded that there were medieval graves around the church. So far, only two S-shaped lock rings suggest the presence of a cemetery; these were found 56 m south of the chapel. The fact that they are relatively far from the chapel may be explained by early modern or modern disturbances; similarly, a few human bones were discovered in a secondary position in seventeenth- to eighteenth-century layers.[23]

Later, when the noble residence was gradually built, the chapel certainly became a private one, and later must have functioned as the fort's chapel. It is unknown when this shift in function took place, but by the mid-fifteenth century there was a multi-story, composite building wing attached to the northern wall of the church. In the 1440s, a regular castle design was implemented with four corner towers, and thus the different buildings now composed one architectural unit.[24] Miklós Újlaki must have established the friary of the Observant Franciscans in Várpalota at around the same date when the fort was built.[25] One possible explanation is that the friary had to be established because the one-time church of the settlement had become integrated into the Újlakis' residence, and a new friary was needed to perform the usual pastoral duties, at least partly. On the other hand, establishing a friary close to a noble residence was customary in the period.[26]

[23] Disturbed human skeletons were found during the 2020 excavation on the eastern side of the castle, but their dating is uncertain. No layer was found that could have been dated earlier than the sixteenth century. The S-shaped lock rings came to light during a survey in 2011. See László Pintér's unpublished internal report in the Archaeology Archives of the Laczkó Dezső Museum, inv. no. AD/873-2016.

[24] László, "Újabb kutatások," 183–188; Nagy, "Noble Residences," 378–380.

[25] In 1452, the founder asked the pope to give permission for the friary to issue indulgences, and by 1456 the General Chapter of the order was held in the friary in Palota. See Tamás Fedeles, "Egy középkori főúri család vallásossága. Az Újlakiak példája" [Piety in a medieval noble family. The example of the Újlaki family], *Századok* 145, no. 2 (2011): 384–385.

[26] András Kubinyi, "Főúri rezidenciák a középkor végén" [Noble residences in the wake of the Middle Ages], in *A Dunántúl településtörténete VII. Falvak, várak* és *puszták a Dunántúlon (11–19. század)* [Settlement history of the Transdanubian region VII. Villages, castles, and wilderness in the Transdanubian region (11th–19th centuries)], ed. Balázs Somfai (Veszprém: MTA Pécsi és Veszprémi Akadémiai Bizottsága, 1989), 92.

Pomáz

By the mid-twelfth century, a small rural settlement and a relatively small and simple church equipped with high-quality ornamental elements had been built on the north-south oriented Klissza Hill in Pomáz.[27] Next to the church to the north, on top of the remains of the one-time village, a manor house was built in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, which had a special connection with the church.

The origins of this noble residence may be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century. In this period, a (probably artificial) trench separated the settlement from the church and the cemetery around it. The large-scale constructions that completely transformed the architectural structure of both the manor and the church probably took place in the later fourteenth century. The earlier church was completely dismantled, and a new one was erected with a much larger floor plan, a polygonal apse, and two towers on the western side. The burial(s) in the sanctuary can probably be connected to the patron who financed the construction. On the testimony of the 500–600 graves that were excavated, the graveyard around the church continued to be used even after its transformation.[28]

Approximately at the same time when the church was rebuilt, the manor house was turned into a building complex with an intricate floor plan, surrounded by an encircling stone wall. According to the observations made during excavations, a wall surrounded both the manor house and the church and cemetery, and during the construction of the ring-wall, several earlier burials were disturbed. The two, separate ring-walls and the above-mentioned ditch separated the noble residence and the church in the fourteenth century, even though the benefaction and patronage must have created a close connection, as is reflected in the architecture of the church (in its the large-scale transformation and the burial in its sanctuary). In the later fifteenth or earlier sixteenth century this connection gained an even greater emphasis in the architecture: the ditch was filled up, and the ring-wall of the residence and that of the church were attached to each other by two short

[27] István Dinnyés et al., *A budai* és *szentendrei járás. Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 7. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája* [The processus of Buda and Szentendre. The archaeological topography of Hungary, Vol. 7. The archaeological topography of Pest county] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 187; Gábor Virágos, "A Late Medieval Noble Residence: New Excavations on the Klissza Hill in Pomáz," in *„Quasi liber et pictura." Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* ["Quasi liber et pictura." Studies for the seventieth birthday of András Kubinyi], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 667–668; Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 33–35, 38.

[28] Dinnyés et al., *A budai* és *szentendrei járás*, 187–188; Virágos, "A Late Medieval Noble Residence," 669–670; Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 32–35, 38–39.

wall sections.[29] In spite of all these changes, enlargements, and transformations, the noble residence in Pomáz remained a manor house and never became a castle either legally or architecturally.

Márkusfalva

So in the case of Pomáz, the church was not integrated into the manor complex. Neither did it happen at Márkusfalva (present-day Markušovce, Slovakia) in Szepes County, although there were such plans in the early sixteenth century. The local landlord Stephen Márkusfalvi Máriássy wished to transform his manor house in 1507. However, the town of Lőcse and thirteen other towns in the county that were pawned to Poland filed a complaint against these plans, saying that they involved fortification instead of a simple enlargement of the residential complex. His status and connections could not save Máriássy from negotiations, and he was forced to come to terms with these towns and abandon his plans of construction and fortification. Recently, historian Richárd Horváth analyzed the case of the Márkusfalva manor house;[30] for my point of view, one element of the draft agreement is of special importance. Namely, in the very first point of the agreement Máriássy promised that he will not incorporate into "his manor or fort" the parish church of St. Michael, which stood 30–40 m from his residence, and will not encircle it with a wall and attach it to his own house. At the same time, the draft allowed him to create a passageway between his residence and the church.[31] The Márkusfalva example thus serves as evidence that there were plans to include churches into noble residences, and also demonstrates a "middle ground" solution of connecting the residence with the church. As Horváth pointed out, in the archaeological record the manor in Pomáz or the "bridge" that connected Filippo Scolari's castle in Ozora with the nearby parish church may be interpreted as similar compromise agreements.

[29] Dinnyés et al., *A budai és szentendrei járás,* 188; Virágos, "A Late Medieval Noble Residence," 666; Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 33–35.

[30] Richárd Horváth, "Mitől vár a vár? Márkusfalvi Máriássy István várépítési kísérlete 1507-ben" [What makes a castle? Stephen Márkusfalvi Máriássy's attempts at castle building in 1507], in *Tiszteletkör. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára* [Lap of Honor. Historical studies for the 60th birthday of university professor István Draskóczy], ed. Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, and András Vadas (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012), 421–430.

[31] "…quod ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis castro sive curia sua nobilitari de Markosfalwa non incorporet sive muro coniugat possit, tamen de dicto castro sive curia sua nobilitari transitum aliquem ad ecclesiam ipsam facere." Horváth, "Mitől vár a vár," 430.

Conclusions and Open Points

Unique Cases or General Trend?

Of course, integrating churches and cemeteries around them into forts is not a uniquely Hungarian phenomenon, similar cases are known from various places in medieval Europe. Oliver Creighton in his monograph on the landscape archaeological research of English forts emphasizes the complex connections of castles and ecclesiastical buildings, and the intricate social and political background of this intertwined relationship.[32] Maybe the most revealing example he mentions is the fort of Farleigh Hungerford in Somerset, during the expansion of which in the 1420s the lord, Walter Hungerford, had the church of St. Lenard incorporated into the fort's new outer courtyard. Thus, the parish church was turned into a fort chapel, and a new church was erected for the settlement to substitute it.[33]

From the point of view of the present paper, the frequency of integration of medieval cemeteries into castles in the Kingdom of Hungary is more relevant than far away analogies. Churches fortified in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries during the Turkish-Ottoman conquest are, of course, connected to very different historical developments, and therefore they do not belong in this discussion.[34] Churches incorporated into royal centers and episcopal seats are also results of other developments and historical contexts. The same is true for castles where the chapel within the castle walls originally belonged to the power center or functioned as a private chapel instead of a simple parish church taking care of pastoral tasks in a settlement's community.[35]

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[32] O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London: Equinox, 2005), 110–132.

[33] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 124–125.

[34] See, e.g., the church of Vál, which was turned into an Ottoman-Turkish palisade fort in the mid-sixteenth century. Gábor Hatházi and Gyöngyi Kovács, *A váli gótikus templomtorony. Adatok Vál 14–17. századi történetéhez* [The gothic church tower in Vál. Data on the fourteenth–seventeenth-century history of Vál] (Székesfehérvár: A Fejér Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1996). Another example is Fonyód-Alsóvár (Lower Castle), where the fortification around the church and its cemetery were built by Christians. Ákos Szabados, "A fonyódi Alsóvár" [The Lower Castle in Fonyód], *Castrum* 20 (2017): 63–98.

[35] E.g., the small chapel with a semicircular apse that stood in the fort of Firtos in Udvarhelyszék does not belong to the category of churches discussed here, even if it proved to be older than the fort itself. About this fort and its topography, see András Sófalvi, *Hadakozás és önvédelem a középkori és fejedelemség kori Udvarhelyszéken* [Warfare and self-defense in Udvarhelyszék in the Middle Ages and the period of the Principality] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2017), 188–191.

In terms of the spatial distribution of the phenomenon discussed here the results of castle topographic research covering several counties and regions of Hungary may serve as a firm starting point. Browsing through these results, one may get the impression that incorporating cemeteries into forts was the exception rather than the rule. Of course, data is abundantly available on the fortification of village churches, but the ring-walls, ditches, and ramparts encircling these churches are usually difficult to date, and it is challenging to establish their one-time function as defense lines or barriers to separate two areas. Moreover, it is rarely raised that these ditches and encircling walls may have served as a fortification of the landlord's residence in addition to surrounding the church and its cemetery.[36] In some cases, although graves were found within a fortified building complex, there were no traces of a church and the burials failed to convincingly show the typical characteristics of a cemetery around a church.[37]

Although this kind of integration was rare in the Kingdom of Hungary, it must be emphasized that in all probability, presently only a fraction of such cases is known. It is likely indicative that the part of the graveyard discovered in Bánd in 2018 was encountered quite unexpectedly, and the integration of the Kisnána castle is never mentioned in the (known) written sources. The example of Márkusfalva is also interesting because the draft agreement suggests that in this settlement in Szepes County, incorporating the church into the castle was a realistic option that the landlord in fact aimed to achieve.

On the basis of the known cases, it seems that the "expropriation" of churches and their cemeteries was not restricted to the society's elite in the strict sense. Although in Ónod, Kisnána, and in the debatable case of Várpalota these

[36] In the case of Pétervására, the rampart-like remains that surround the cemetery of the medieval church cannot be dated, and there is no information on a mansion or a private fort here. See Gyula Nováki et al., *Heves megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig* [Forts in Heves County from Prehistory until the Kuruc period] (Eger: Castrum Bene Egyesület – Bükki Nemzeti Park Igazgatóság, 2009), 98–99. In Nézsa, there may have been a noble residence in the area, but its location is unknown and the age of the ditch encircling the church and its cemetery is also uncertain. See Gyula Nováki et al., *Nógrád megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig* [Forts in Nógrád County from Prehistory until the Kuruc period] (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület – Civertan Bt, 2017), 51–52. In Alsópetény, the medieval mansion was built ca. 30 m from the church, however, it is uncertain if they were fortified. Nováki et al., *Nógrád megye várai*, 18–20.

[37] In the case of Sárszentlőrinc-Birkajárás, the nine graves that came to light inside the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century fortified noble residence may be dated to the early modern period. Zsuzsa Miklós, *Tolna megye várai* [Castles in Tolna county] (Budapest: Históriaantik Könyvesház, 2007), 300–305, 436, and personal communication with András K. Németh. At the stone fort of Ilona in Ecseg, dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, only four burials were discovered in a trial trench, and both their dating and interpretation are uncertain. Nováki et al., *Nógrád megye várai*, 32–33.

were construction works connected to powerful baron families, the inclusion of the church and cemetery in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Bánd can be ascribed to the Essegvári family or their ancestors. Although they were influential in the immediate region, their status and power cannot be compared to that of the baron families who had a huge impact on politics, at least in the fourteenth century.[38] In terms of the frequency of this phenomenon, it is important to note that integrating the church and cemetery into a fort was only possible if the fort was built at an easily accessible spot, in the center of a settlement. These are, however, often areas that are difficult to research today, because they were frequently built up and continuously inhabited, or the medieval remains were destroyed. This phenomenon thus may remain hidden at many sites, escape the attention of archaeologists, and fail to appear in written sources; however, the inclusion of churches and cemeteries into forts must have been a plausible option in medieval times in certain situations (*Table 1*).

Possible Motivations

It is widely known that easily accessible noble residences were frequently built in the center of medieval settlements, often next to a parish church.[39] Castles that were created by enlarging and fortifying an earlier manor house comprised a unique group of late medieval residences in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.[40] Where there was no sufficient space to enlarge the residence, it must have been a plausible option to expand the complex in the direction of the church and its

[38] Richárd Horváth, *Várak és politika a középkori Veszprém megyében* [Castles and politics in medieval Veszprém County] (PhD diss., University of Debrecen, 2002), 11–13; Pál Rainer, "Segvártól Essegvárig. A bándi vár és birtokosainak történetéből" [From Segvár to Essegvár. On the history of the castle in Bánd and its owners], *Castrum* 8 (2008): 11–23.

[39] Ferenc Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje* [Medieval settlement structure of the Hungarian village] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 123–125. More recently, Tibor Ákos Rácz demonstrated on the example of rural settlements that people of high social standing preferred to settle close to the church as early as in the late Árpád period. See Tibor Ákos Rácz, "Társadalmi különbségek a Magyar Királyság központi területeinek 10–14. századi falusias településein" [Social differences in rural settlements in the central area of the Kingdom of Hungary in the tenth–fourteenth centuries], in *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete. A Kaposváron 2012. november 22–24. között megrendezett Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának tanulmányai* [Studies of the IVth Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists. Proceedings of the IVth Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists held in Kaposvár, 22–24 November 2012], ed. Máté Varga (Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2013), 41–52.

[40] István Feld, "Várak és erődítmények a középkori Magyarországon" [Castles and fortifications in medieval Hungary], in *Magyarország hadtörténete I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig* [Military History of Hungary I. From the Beginnings to 1526], ed. László Veszprémy (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 2017), 392.

Residence	Earliest known period of the church /graveyard	Earliest known period of residence	Date of the incorporation (or intention of it)	Initiators of the incorporation	The church after the incorporation	The graveyard after the incorporation
Bánd (Essegvár) Castle	12th c.	manor house (?), end of the 13th– beginning of the 14th c.	14th c. (?)	the Essegvári family (local noble family in Veszprém County)	?	cessation and disturbance by construction works from the 15th c. at the latest
Kisnána Castle	12th c.	manor house, mid-14th c.	1430s–1440s (palisade and later stone wall)	John Kompolt of Nána (baron, *magister pincernarum*, *comes* of Heves County)	lordly funeral place, castle chapel, perhaps with its parochial functions retained	gradual shrinkage and disturbance by construction works, latest known graves: mid- or late 15th c.
Ónod Castle	13th c. (?)	manor house, 14th c. (perhaps end of 13th c.)	end of 14th– beginning of 15th c.	Peter Cudar (baron, ban of Slavonia) with his sons (and perhaps with his brother)	unknown, perhaps demolished	partial or total cessation, disturbance by construction works
Várpalota Castle	12th–13th (perhaps 14th) c.	manor house, 2nd half of 14th c.	1st half of 15th century (or 2nd half of 14th c.)	the Újlaki family (barons, bans of Macsó, etc.)	castle chapel (a Franciscan friary founded ca. 1 km to the east in the mid-15th c.)	?
(Márkusfalva)	?	manor house	1507	Stephen Máriássy of Márkusfalva (captain of Szepes)	–	–

Table 1. Churches and graveyards incorporated into castles

cemetery, even by integrating these into the fort complex, surrounded by a wall. Thus, limitations in space may have contributed to the decisions in cases when the manor was not moved to a new, more spacious location.

Of course, expanding one's manor by taking up areas that belonged to a church or a consecrated cemetery must have had its consequences. In addition to provoking protest from the Church and the local bishop, the landlord had to ensure that burials and religious practices can continue in the community without interruption, which may have meant additional costs or made it difficult to use the manor as planned. This suggests that limited space itself may not have been a strong enough reason to incorporate a church and its graveyard. In some cases, defense issues also contributed to the factors at play. On the hill where the Bánd castle was built, for example, it would have been impossible to create an effective defense line for the noble residence without incorporating the most protected northeastern part of the hill, where the cemetery was located.

In the case of Kisnána, topographic features and the spatial pattern of the already standing buildings of the residence complex made it almost inevitable that the fortification of the noble residence also meant the inclusion of the church building. It is important to note that this transformation took place in the years postdating the death of Albert I of Habsburg (1439), when civil war and the Hussite threat created a need for fortification in the area. It is telling that another parish church was turned into a fortification in the same period: in the early 1440s in the market town of Tapolca, the prior of the Carthusian monastery in Lövöld (Városlőd) decided to fortify the church of the Holy Mary, built on the Church Hill. Although this fortification was unable to resist the attack of the military troops supporting Vladislaus I of Jagiellon (1440–1444), this case shows that similarly to northeastern Hungary, there were rapid, although sometimes ineffective, fortification attempts in Transdanubia. However, the church of Tapolca does not reflect the phenomenon that is in the focus of this paper, because here it was not a noble residence that was expanded at the expense of the church, but the landlord of the settlement; the Carthusian monastery in Lövöld tried to build up a defense for the market town and its parish church by creating a polygonal fortification. It is telling that after the fortification was destroyed in the attack, a few years later the Carthusian prior decided to build a new fortification next to the church and not around it, and integrated into it a one-time manor house that was already standing there.[41]

[41] On the "turbulent" years of the 1440s and their impact on Transdanubia, including Tapolca, see Tamás Pálosfalvi, "A Rozgonyiak és a polgárháború (1440–1444)" [The Rozgonyi family and the civil war], *Századok* 137, no. 4 (2003): 897–928. On fortifications in Tapolca, see Kornél Bakay, Nándor

In addition to defensive aspects, other factors that may be beyond reconstruction today must have played a part in these developments. For example, the status of a noble seat was considerably improved by having a church integrated into it.[42] In Márkusfalva, where the need for fortification itself would not have made it necessary to incorporate the church, it is clear that the connection between the noble residence and the church was of utmost importance, and the landlord wished to build at least a passageway symbolizing and demonstrating the strong connection between the church and its patron family, and also creating a privileged form of access. Of course, by building the castle walls around the church the landlord went far beyond his rights as a patron, and in the period discussed in this paper it was no longer possible for the founders or their descendants to treat such churches as private chapels (*Eigenkirche*).[43] It is also uncertain and mostly impossible to prove on the basis of the available information whether the landlords viewed these churches as foundations of their ancestors and felt entitled to include them in their own residence.

Churches and Cemeteries after the Inclusion

Unambiguous situations in which the landlord erected a new church for the settlement's inhabitants (just like in the English case cited above) are not known from Hungary. In the case of Várpalota it is one possible interpretation that the Franciscan friary built at the same time served this purpose, but other explanations are also plausible. In the rest of the cases there is no information on a new church, and so it cannot be excluded that the churches now incorporated into the

Kalicz, and Károly Sági, *A keszthelyi és tapolcai járás. Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 1. Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája* [The processus of Keszthely and Tapolca. The archaeological topography of Hungary, Vol. 1. The archaeological topography of Veszprém County] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 160; László Hangodi and József Paál, "A tapolcai Templom-domb és erődítménye" [The Church Hill in Tapolca and its fortification], *Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok* 1 (2011): 18–20.

[42] On the representational and other functions of castle chapels in the Kingdom of Hungary, see Richárd Horváth, "Várak és uraik a késő középkori Magyarországon. Vázlat a kutatás néhány lehetőségéről" [Castles and their lords in late medieval Hungary. A draft on possible research questions], in *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére* [*Honoris causa*. Studies in honor of Pál Engel], ed. Tibor Neumann and György Rácz (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet – PPKE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2009), 84–89; about the manifold relationship between castles and churches, with an international overview, see Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 102–111; Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 110–132.

[43] On the development from private churches to advowson in a Hungarian context, see Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz, "A zselicszentjakabi alapítólevél 1061-ből. („Pest" legkorábbi említése)" [The foundation charter of Zselicszentjakab from 1061 (The first mention of Pest)], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 16 (1964): 70–76.

lord's fort continued to serve religious purposes for the whole community of the settlement. It must have been a more cost-effective solution to share the already standing churches with the community than building new chapels: in addition to the costs of the construction and the furnishing of the church, the founder would have had to pay for the priests and provide a sum for the local parish.[44]

From this point of view, the castles in Gyula and Valpó (Valpovo, present-day Croatia) in the possession of the Maróti baron family are of special importance; more closely, what really interests us now is the written data recorded in charters from 1445 and 1453 about the construction of the forts' chapels. In Valpó the inhabitants of the castle, and in Gyula also the people who lived around it, had the right to participate in the mass held in the chapel; moreover, in Valpó the chapel had full parochial authority over the castle, with the exception of baptizing the newborn. It seems that the Maróti family had no intention to make the chapel fully private or to stop people of lower social status visiting it. So it must have been a viable option to share the chapels in other cases, too. It is interesting that in Gyula, it was exactly the difficulties of opening the castle gates that served as an explanation why the new chapel took over the jurisdictional rights from the settlement's parish church. If this was no mere excuse, this case can shed light on the practical problems such solutions could bring. In Kisnána, the floor plan of the castle may have made it possible for the church to continue to serve its parochial functions, because its southern gate opened to the zwinger and so it could be approached without crossing the internal residence area. However, it must have been ensured that people could cross the external gate tower.

There are lots of open questions in connection with the cemeteries, too. In Kisnána it is possible (although it cannot be proven) that the graveyard, or at least a smaller part of it, continued to be used after its integration into the castle, while in Bánd and Ónod it seems that fortification brought an end to burials there. Despite the differences it can be stated in general that the one-time consecrated ground of the cemetery was not treated in any special way or with deep respect. Castle yards could be built on top of earlier cemeteries and the construction of dwellings, outbuildings, and wells also frequently disturbed the graves. Theoretically it would have been possible to exhume the bodies and collect the bones in an ossuary. There is sporadic information on such practices in England, where the reconstruction of a church or the establishment of a fort on top of an earlier cemetery made it necessary to exhume the graves and rebury the bodies. It is also possible, however, that in these cases it was only the graves

[44] See Virágos, *The Social Archaeology*, 103; Horváth, "Várak és uraik," 87–88.

of families of high status or those who had living relatives that were treated this way.[45] In the Kingdom of Hungary, there is no such information preserved in the written sources. It is telling, however, that such practices were not at all usual when churches were simply enlarged: the dating of medieval churches is often made possible by the presence of burials disturbed or cut by newly erected walls.

The oval tombstones from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries from the Kisnána cemetery, and especially two pieces that feature human representations and date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, are of special interest in terms of the respect for the dead. These probably belonged to the graves of wealthy people, or even the ancestors of the Kompolt family of Nána, but it did not keep them from removing these carved slabs and incorporating them into the buttress of the church tower as simple building blocks. It seems that even though they took great care of creating the architectural frames of the new family burial place in the Gothic sanctuary in the early fifteenth century, not much respect was paid to old tombstones marking the graves of those who were once honored.[46]

[45] Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 204; Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 121–123.

[46] The fate of these burials marked by tombstones is unknown. Theoretically, it is possible that the bodies of the deceased were treated with more respect than the tombstones themselves, at least in cases when these were not simple priests or wealthy people but the actual ancestors of the given family.

HUMANIST AGENCY AND THE IMAGE OF THE OTTOMANS. THE CASE OF RICHARD HAKLUYT[1]

Antonia-Oana Avram

"The Spaniardes have exercised moste outrageous and more than Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies," so titled the Englishman Richard Hakluyt a chapter in a pamphlet written in 1584 to promote the colonization of the Americas.[2] Although never published, Hakluyt transferred many of the ideas found here to his later work: an all-encompassing travel literature collection including numerous voyages undertaken by Englishmen. *The Principal Navigations of the English Nation* was, however, more than this. It was a paper-project meant to shape what in Hakluyt's understanding was the English nation and its place in the world. By the time Hakluyt was writing—with the diversification of the political and confessional scenery of the sixteenth century—clashes between states' interests often happened. Alliances were formed not only between state rulers, but also between confessional groups. France and England were leaving behind their rivalry to turn against Spain as allies. The Ottoman Empire was becoming a potential economic and diplomatic partner in confronting the expanding Spanish Empire. England was part of these dynamics, as it was one of the European polities that began to develop imperial ambitions and started looking at other societies through the mirror of their political aims.[3]

As the above quoted words underline, to construct these imperial aspirations, Hakluyt painted the identity of Englishmen by hierarchically mirroring it in the image of other peoples. To this extent, both the Spanish and the Ottomans provided examples for establishing and expanding an empire.[4] But there were

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[1] This essay is a shortened and revised version of one of the case studies from Antonia-Oana Avram, "Sixteenth-Century Travel Literature Collectors and the Image of the Ottomans in Humanist Thought: Francesco Sansovino and Richard Hakluyt" (Master's Thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[2] Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, ed. Leonard Woods and Charles Deane (Cambridge Massachusetts: Press of J. Wilson, 1877), 71.

[3] See Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All Worlds: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); for the English case see David Armitage, "Literature and Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire Vol. I, The Origins of Empire. British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 99–123.

[4] See Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

differences between how Englishmen perceived the two polities. The former was considered to have a cruel and barbarous expansionist policy, while the latter was admired for its discipline and law. As Anna Suranyi underlines, by the mid-seventeenth century, protestant writers found favorable similarities between the ceremonial practices of Muslims and their own.[5] But traces of this rhetoric can be found even earlier, in Elizabethan England. By the end of the 1500s, although seemingly for political, economic, and diplomatic aims, the Ottomans were metamorphosing from misunderstood barbarians into a people whose human nature was becoming similar to that of the peoples for whom Hakluyt was editing his collection. However, as much as that of the Englishmen, the portrayal of the Ottomans in *Principal Navigations* is the result of Hakluyt's role as an agent of the crown, but more importantly, as a humanist whose education and erudite interests shaped his worldview and understanding of civility.

This essay focuses on the expression of sixteenth-century humanists' agency in creating travel literature compendia. It centers its analysis on the activity and works of the Englishman Richard Hakluyt and how his self-fashioning efforts as a skilled multi-profiled humanist led to the emergence of an ambivalent image of the Ottomans from his paramount publication, *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589, 1598–1600). The aim of this study is to show that the existence of such an image of the Ottomans in *Principal Navigations* does not necessarily reflect Hakluyt's role as an agent acting in the interests of the English crown, but rather his role as a humanist author, collector, and translator. It argues that regardless the scarcity of his own words about the Ottomans and the secondary place this people has in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's perception on issues such as authorship, historical truth, and accurate translation are reflected in the material describing the Ottomans, thus they bear his imprint.[6] Finally, this essay sketches the available universe of representations from which Hakluyt drew his ideas and arguments by tracing the references he made to scholars, thinkers, and agents of state.

Born in 1553 around London, Hakluyt studied and worked as a lecturer at Oxford University. He was a priest by profession and also developed a passion for cosmography and maritime discoveries inspired by his lawyer cousin, Richard

[5] Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation*, 42.

[6] In the first edition of *Principal Navigations* from 1589, from a total of 252 items, only 38 accounts are related to who Hakluyt referred to as "Turks." Although the three volumes from the second edition from 1598–1600 contain a good part of the material from the first edition, they are much more expanded. The second volume from 1599 touches upon the travels of Englishmen in the Orient and includes 55 sources regarding the "Turks," from a total of 205 items.

Hakluyt from Middle Temple. The same cousin acquainted Hakluyt with various contemporary scholars, such as cosmographer André Thevet, cartographers Abraham Ortelius and Gerard Mercator, with Queen Elizabeth's circle of humanists who were envisioning projects of maritime discovery, and with mariners and merchants who were constantly travelling by sea. Due to his interest in all these disciplines which were useful for the purposes of the English crown at that time, Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary, offered Hakluyt a place among his circle of diplomatic interests.[7] During his life, more than thirty titles appeared published under his name, most of which were either translations or compilations of travelogues and ethnographic material about the Americas. He wrote a couple of original pieces—*A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584) and a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*—which he sent to the queen. The grandest project Hakluyt worked on were the two editions of *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598–1600). A compilation of over a thousand pages comprising material ranging from history chronicles, travelogues, board journals to commercial patents, diplomatic reports, and capitulations, *Principal Navigations* was meant to include under its covers all the journeys that Englishmen have ever made in the world, as Hakluyt himself writes in the prefaces.[8]

Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* became the topic of extensive historical studies, as scholars paid great attention to its role as promotional material for the establishment of transatlantic colonies and commerce.[9] There are few studies that touch upon Hakluyt's documents about the Ottomans. Though most of these

[7] "Introduction" in E. G. R Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), 1–69.

[8] "Letter to the readers" in Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop, 1589); "Letter to the readers" in Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 1 (London: George Bishop, 1598).

[9] Hakluyt became an important figure in the anglophone historiography starting from the mid-nineteenth century. His *Principal Navigations* was often used as an argument for the emergence of English national identity in early modernity and to trace the ideological formation of the British Empire. In all these studies, the emphasis falls on Hakluyt's activity as an agent of the state who promoted colonial expansion towards, almost exclusively, the Americas. See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All Worlds: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

analyses integrate the sources about the Orient from *Principal Navigations* into a larger picture of English-Ottoman interactions or the English depictions of the Ottomans, historians have acknowledged Hakluyt's role in bringing together the material. However, most scholars usually stress that the ambivalent image of the Ottomans resulting from *Principal Navigations* is the consequence of Hakluyt's commercial and diplomatic influences in his choice of material.[10] But Hakluyt's agency in shaping the image of the Ottomans in his collection goes beyond the economic and diplomatic interests of the crown.

Though overshadowed by his involvement in political, diplomatic, and economic affairs, Hakluyt's role as an author, compiler, and editor may reveal that the image of the Ottomans from the collection also reflects his personal motivations as a humanist. The method through which he constructed the image of the "other" was by no means original; rather, it owed its thrust to a general trend of writing about foreign peoples and cultures in the sixteenth century. The emerging writing patterns were a hybrid of recycled material from medieval chronicles or accounts, and contemporary travelogues that reflected a gradual secularization of the authors' gaze.[11] By combining older and newer material, humanists used a rhetorical strategy through which they appealed to long established religious arguments and definitions of their Christian identities and reinterpreted them to fit them into contemporary debates. European scholars envisioned this process of identity fashioning as a double-sided task. First, they were trying to build an image of authority and superiority for themselves in relation to other peoples, such as the Native Americans. But in order to not undermine

[10] The English portrayal of the Ottoman Empire has been of interest to scholars ever since Samuel Chew's *Crescent and the Rose*. In current studies, the emphasis falls on the representation of the 'Turks' in English literature, especially dramaturgy, where Hakluyt's collection is used as a source of inspiration by late sixteenth and seventeenth century play-writers. Also, Hakluyt's diplomatic and economic connections are often referred to in studies dealing with the establishment of the Levant Company or the development of the relations between Queen Elizabeth and the Ottoman sultans. See Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2005); Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007); Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England*, Early Modern Literature in History (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015); Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (New York: Penguin, 2016); Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

[11] See Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995).

this image of supremacy, they had, at the same time, to reinterpret and shape in comparable terms the so far feared Ottoman Empire. In other words, Europeans first had to perceive themselves on an upper or at least equal position with the Ottomans in order to plead for developing connections with this empire.[12] And Hakluyt also used the tricks of his trade to portray the Ottomans.

The clash between the types of sources integrated in *Principal Navigations* resulted in an ambivalent image of the Ottomans. This portrayal inspired fear towards the Ottomans, but respect towards their sultans. The sources reflect Hakluyt's understanding of the English nation, as they present the socio-religious and politico-economic identities of the Ottomans. And the best source for understanding Hakluyt's sketch of English national identity is the *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, as it encompasses all the ideas (and even includes a few more) that later materialized in the form of *Principal Navigations*. Just as he criticizes in *The Discourse* the idleness of English convicts and the high degree of vagabondage, and thus the Crown's ignorance and incapacity to deal with social problems, in *Principal Navigations* Hakluyt refers to safe-conducts granted to English merchants which, if read between the lines, highlight that the Ottoman merchants needed an official document to constrain them from plundering European merchants' ships which implies that piracy and pillaging not only characterized their usual behavior, but were also tolerated by the sultan.[13] The common element here seems to be the need for the sovereign's intervention in social activities to keep the politico-economic order. Furthermore, in the *Discourse*, Hakluyt looks beyond the social class and origin of the individuals encompassed under what he defines as the English nation, as long as their political alliances and religious affiliations would not negatively affect England's economic development. This could also constitute a parallel to the Ottoman Empire as even contemporary sources praised the religious and ethnic tolerance

[12] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 98; For a detailed analysis on how the Habsburgs portrayed both the Ottomans and Native Americans in relation to themselves see Carina L Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). As he included some accounts of Spanish explorers of the Americas in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt might have followed the example of Spanish humanists who developed their definition of national identity based on their encounters with the Moors and native Americans, as they mirrored the mental constructions of Muslim otherness and the indigenous populations from across the ocean. By bringing together under the covers of *Principal Navigations* sources relating to encounters with both types of societies, Hakluyt might also have simultaneously shaped the identity of the native Americans and the Ottomans along with that of Englishmen.

[13] "The safe conduct of priviledge, given by Sultan Solyman the Great Turke, to Master Anthony Ienkinson in Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere, 1553," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), 83.

of the Ottomans which contributed to their flourishing economy and efficient fiscal administration. In *Principal Navigations*, it may seem that Hakluyt let the texts speak for themselves, but he selected them carefully. The historical accounts and travelogues, that describe the crusading enterprises undertaken by the English monarchs or the perilous voyages of knights and priests, depict the Ottomans as barbarous people who committed the most heinous atrocities on those venturing into their territories.[14] But the diplomatic and commercial reports, coming from merchants or legates, describe them as being organized, proficient, and capable of expanding the Empire's economy.[15] However, this double-sided contrast also fluctuates, as not all travelers had awful experiences with the Ottomans, and neither all ambassadors nor merchants thought their discipline to be praiseworthy.

Even if Hakluyt's purposes for compiling the material did not place the depiction of the Ottoman Empire into the foreground, his contribution as a humanist editor and gatherer also influenced this portrayal. Although an armchair cosmographer, Hakluyt was up to date with the developments of historical writing, as well as with contemporary publications that used historical arguments.[16] He may not have had direct experience with the world of the peoples he was writing about, but he found himself in places where information was gathered and distributed across Europe, either by land or across the English

[14] "The worthy voyage of Richard the First, King of England into Asia, for the recouery of Ierusalem out of the handes of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Actes and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), 12; "A brief relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motio of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, 1524," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* vol. 2 (1599), 73.

[15] "The manner of the entering of Solyman the Great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching toward Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, present at that time," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), 81–83; "Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffrey Ducket, one of the Angents emploied in the same," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), 1:398–400.

[16] The approach to writing history during the sixteenth century became more systematic, as humanists began to be interested in finding better documentation and concern themselves with causality of events. See: Anthony Grafton, "The Identities of History in Early Modern Europe: Prelude to a Study of the Artes Historicae," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (MIT Press, 2005), 56–57; Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Canto Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Chanel, where material was discussed, requested, and reprinted.[17] With a range of material that encompassed almost 600 items, it is questionable to what extent Hakluyt managed to shape *Principal Navigations* into a coherent body of text. The mixture of geographical and chronological order gives the impression of a clearer categorization of the material, but many historians' readings of *Principal Navigations* seem to disagree.[18] However, a look at the paratext, that is the prefaces, dedicatory letters, and commentaries he inserted between the lines, could shed light on Hakluyt's own editorial logic and how he altered these sources.

Hakluyt did not take on the task of modifying the texts that needed improvement, but only pointed out the major issues he saw in them. For example, in the first edition of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt introduced the Latin version of John Mandeville's voyages. It is interesting to note that Hakluyt inserted, in a compendium meant to emphasize the language identity of the Englishmen, a thirty-page Latin travelogue to which he also attached a commentary. In it, Hakluyt expresses discontent with how copyists and printers have distorted the texts and confesses his attempts to restore Mandeville's text to its original form.[19] However, a most interesting detail in this passage is his observation regarding the veracity of Mandeville's account. Alluding to contemporary intellectuals, Hakluyt challenges the accuracy and credibility of Mandeville's words and argues that he copied entire passages from Pliny the Younger. Hakluyt goes even further in sustaining his argument by attaching the exact passages from Pliny that Mandeville had copied.[20] This account never made it into the second edition of *Principal Navigations*. In his quest for providing readers with historically accurate material, Hakluyt blended under his editorial cover accounts displaying a contradictory image. But for him, it was more important that the source was perceived to be reliable, and the best way to prove that was by pinning the narrative to a figure, a name, an author.

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[17] See Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (University of Toronto Press, 2005); Andrew Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery in the European Book World," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008): 101–128.

[18] E. G. R. Taylor remarked that Hakluyt's collection was made to resemble a unified work, but it was rather just a cluster of material, united by the paratext; MacCrossan also noted that the content of the narratives puts into question the smooth evolution of a meta-narrative of conquests and exploits that Hakluyt tried to construct by adding the standardized formula of "voyage" to each account. See Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence,* 1–68*;* Colm MacCrossan, "Framing 'The English Nation': Reading Between Text and Paratext in The Principal Navigations," in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 139–51.

[19] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), 1:77.

[20] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), 77–79.

Although he occasionally modified the texts or their translations, Hakluyt treated carefully the issue of authorship. Sometimes recognizing authorship manifested not by mentioning the name of the writer, but the name of the agent-source who had provided the text. Even in those narratives where the origin or the name of the author was uncertain, Hakluyt tried to provide explanations from where the material came or through whom he got hold of it. For instance, he briefly mentions in the preface that he got the most recent diplomatic and economic documents through the merchants from the Mercers' Company or the English ambassadors stationed at the Porte.[21] However obvious it might have been that these were official documents, there is no mention of their authors. From Paul Wittek's study, it is clear that the documents coming from or directed to the Porte had been reproduced by Hakluyt in their Latin or Italian versions, to which he also provided his own English version. Hakluyt also received several documents in Ottoman Turkish, such as Anthony Jenkinson's safe-conduct, but for *Principal Navigations*, he translated a French version that Jenkinson gave to him.[22]

As much as Hakluyt valued accurate translation, when it came to the documents regarding the Ottomans, he made concessions. For instance, in Balwinus Devonius's account, Hakluyt's English translation notes that he accompanied the king in war against the "infidels" at Jerusalem, but the Latin version of the text contains no word that would translate as such.[23] Although seemingly an insignificant detail, this could hint towards Hakluyt's discontent towards the "Turks" and their conquest of the Holy Places. Also, his critique of Ottoman piracy and pillaging, which the sultan tolerated, was reinforced in another account where he added marginalia noting: *The malice of the Turkish merchants*.[24] Furthermore, Hakluyt's English translation of the first capitulation the sultan granted to the queen seems to be missing the benediction formula characteristic to these documents that the Christian prince should embrace the faith of Islam before their end.[25] However, these ideological and religious factors did not alter Hakluyt's role as a promoter of knowledge spread through translations as he

[21] "Letter to the readers" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589).

[22] Paul Wittek, "The Turkish Documents in Hakluyt's 'Voyages,'" *Historical Research* 19, no. 57 (1942): 121–139.

[23] "The life and trauailes of Balwinus Deuonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterburie" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), 14.

[24] "The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthus Edwards Agent, Iohn Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richanrd Pingle, in the yeere 1568 delcares in this letter written from Casbin in Persia," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), 1:391.

[25] Wittek, "The Turkish Documents in Hakluyt's 'Voyages,'" 137–138.

urged other humanists to translate and publish for the intellectual growth of the commonwealth.[26]

Besides Aristotle, Hakluyt's prefaces and dedicatory letters reveal that there were a few other names he deemed worthy of quoting or paraphrasing to sustain his own arguments and ideas. In the preface of the 1589 edition, Hakluyt echoed Herodotus when explaining that his reasons for bringing under one cover all the material found in *Principal Navigations* was to bring to contemporary eyes material that had been left in the "greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion."[27] If he shed light on obscure texts in the main body of his compilation, Hakluyt, as a good humanist, displayed his familiarity with ancient authors in the preface to the readers, as he directly quoted Pliny the Elder, Cornelius Nepos, and Tacitus without specifying the title of the work, but emphasizing the author. But however much he valued historical truth and held in great consideration ancient and modern authors who wrote the truth, for Hakluyt there was no history in the world that is to be entirely believed except that from the Bible.[28] In the second edition of 1599, Hakluyt felt the need to add moral arguments for the connections with the Ottomans through biblical references and emphasis on the practice among Christian states, and not only those who were conquered or tributary, of having relations with this empire.[29] If Hakluyt's statement is to be taken for granted, then his comparison between Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre and Queen Elizabeth's Levant connections was a rhetorical strategy through which he wanted to emphasize that the queen would have conducted business with anyone who helped her turn England into a "temple of Protestantism."[30] In fact, in his attempt to support Elizabeth's connection with the eastern lands, Hakluyt also refers to Lucius Florus's *De Gestibus Romanorum* to compare the establishment of diplomatic relationships between the Roman emperor and certain peoples, probably the Chinese.[31]

But Hakluyt's references to ancient authors seem to be limited to these. Though in *Principal Navigations* he introduces some accounts on Roman emperors' travels in Britannia, the better part of his corpus of references is made up of medieval chronicles or material almost contemporaneous with his own editorial activities. The sixteenth-century author that probably influenced Hakluyt the most

[26] "Letter to the readers" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600).
[27] "Letter to the readers" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589).
[28] "Letter to the readers" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589).
[29] "Dedicatory Letter" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599).
[30] Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, 134.
[31] "Dedicatory Letter" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589).

was Giovanni Battista Ramusio and his *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550, 1556, 1559). For Hakluyt, Ramusio's cosmography was the starting point for getting acquainted with cartography and travel literature and cited the text when he needed a written proof by an external objective writer that Englishmen had arrived first in certain locations. Hakluyt's admiration for Ramusio's collection made him encourage John Florio to translate all three volumes and, as E. G. R. Taylor noted, Florio's version bears Hakluyt's imprint through the additional information he included.[32] Besides Ramusio, Hakluyt shows that he was also very familiar with the texts of other cosmographers. In the preface of the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations* he refutes the arguments that Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Kranzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, and Peucerbus put forward, since he attached for the readers a treaty that offered accurate information about Iceland, as their geographical descriptions contained many errors.[33] The first-hand geographical knowledge that Hakluyt possessed encouraged him also to write a letter to Abraham Ortelius in which he offered the cartographer advice on how to properly draw maps that would help the sailors better.

Although Hakluyt did not travel much besides his time at the French court, he developed a wide network of acquaintances whose names were renowned in various fields. While he was serving as chaplain to the English ambassador in France, due to his official position, but also to his vast knowledge of geographical discoveries and navigations, Hakluyt became acquainted with the Homems, a family of cartographers who were in the service of the queen of France, and he asked one of them to make a map for Walter Raleigh's upcoming expedition.[34] He also met the French royal cosmographer, Andre Thevet with whom he argued in the end over Hakluyt's unauthorized use of a manuscript that the Frenchmen had lent him.[35] A few years later he got to know the engraver and publisher Theodore de Bry for whose work Hakluyt provided travelogues and a series of illustrations about the colonization of Roanoke. In fact, together with de Bry he had in mind the preparation of an edition of the *Geography* of Abu Al-fida Ismael, a work that Hakluyt had been looking for for a while.[36] Probably because Ramusio refers to it in his *Navigationi et viaggi*, Hakluyt also asked the English merchant, John Newberry, to look for a copy in his travels into the Ottoman Empire. Although Hakluyt's

[32] Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 21–22.
[33] "Letter to the readers" in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589).
[34] Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 33.
[35] Mary Fuller, "Richard Hakluyt's Foreign Relations," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire. The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (New York: Routledge, 2008), 48.
[36] Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 47.

letter was not kept, in *Principal Navigations* he introduced Newberry's response which stated that he could not find a copy of the book.[37] Eventually Hakluyt obtained information on this Arabic geography since in a letter to Emanuel van Metteren, he provided instructions on where to find copies.[38] The reference to Abu Al-fida Ismael's *Geography* is perhaps the only mention of a text related to the Ottoman space associated with Hakluyt's personal interests. Although he was very well connected and read in matters of cosmography, geography, and history, most of the material gathered from these sources refers to other regions of the world, not those under the authority of the Ottoman sultan. His apparent silence regarding the Ottoman Empire does not indicate that he did not read or did not have access to such sources. In fact, it is very possible that Hakluyt was familiar with the passages touching upon the Ottoman Empire from Munster's *Cosmographia Universalis* or with the contents of Thevet's *Cosmographie du Levant*. Rather, the type of sources Hakluyt used to illustrate the presence of Englishmen in the Ottoman Empire might be more related to his role as an agent of the crown.

The image of the Ottomans that springs from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* does not find its main roots in the mass of literature that was circulating in Europe at that time about the Ottoman Empire. It is rather a symbiosis between Hakluyt's personal and humanist interests in geography and cosmography, his "patriotic" duty to present the travels of Englishmen, and his role as a promoter of the crown's interests in the Ottoman Empire. The ambivalence of this image is also the result of Hakluyt's self-fashioning as a prolific editor and his attempts to build a name for himself as a humanist. He needed to establish the authority and integrity of his arguments and thus he put a lot of emphasis on the veracity of the sources and on the credibility of the authors he used. Even if Hakluyt's compendia reflect the influences of various external factors and actors, the final shape of the editions mostly reflects the humanist agenda and practices. Precisely because there were other external factors whose influence is seen in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt wanted to put to good use his own humanist education and show his own contribution to the works.

[37] Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 198.
[38] Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 420.

HOW TO SURVIVE AND THRIVE IN THE OTTOMAN COURT? THE POLITICAL MANEUVERS OF KOCA SINAN PASHA (D. 1596) IN THE MIDST OF FACTIONALISM

Halit Serkan Simen

Certain studies have emphasized that the Ottoman imperial court witnessed a much fiercer form of political rivalry and factionalism among the sultan's ruling elite in the late sixteenth century compared to the earlier times of the empire. Indeed, as part of this intra-elite rivalry, we see that several high-ranking viziers were more frequently dismissed from their positions and sometimes got executed due to the mechanizations of their opponents in the power politics of the time. If competition was that fierce at the Ottoman imperial court, then how could its members survive and thrive amid such factionalist clashes? What kinds of methods could a vizier develop to sustain his power while undermining that of his rivals? What kind of a personal relationship would he need to establish with the sultan to these ends, and how did his relationship with the paramount ruling figure of the empire affect the daily dynamics of the faction-ridden court politics? Overall, how exactly did the Ottoman elite of this period maintain or lose their individual power, wealth, and influence, as well as manage to, as some cases show, transfer their power to their relatives after they were deceased?

The existing scholarship on early modern Ottoman court politics has thus far successfully examined the problem of factionalism in several respects, but not much scholarly attention has been paid to the specific actors and their individual maneuvers to survive and thrive in such a faction-ridden imperial court in the 1580s and the 1590s.[1] This article aims to address this problem in the light of the above-noted questions by focusing on Koca Sinan Pasha (d. 1596) and his grand

[1] For detailed information on Ottoman households, their functioning, and factionalism see Rifat 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; Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* V, no. 3 (1974): 233–239; Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors" (Unpublished PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2010); Metin Kunt, "Royal and Other Households," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London, New York: Routledge, 2012); Jane Hathaway, "Households in the Administration of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Turkish Studies/Turkluk Bilgisi Arastirmalari* 40 (2013): 127–149.

vizierates, five times in total between 1580 and 1596.[2] As one of the key agents of power at the top echelons of the Ottoman imperial system, I would argue that Sinan Pasha represents a transitional elite figure between the "old" and "new" political orders in terms of his methods for power accumulation and undermining his rivals.[3] In the crisis-ridden empire and faction-ridden court, the pasha appeared as the most successful grand vizier in terms of conducting his relationship with the sultan in a unique way, balancing his strategies and methods to consolidate his power and eliminate his opponents, and maintaining his influence and networks throughout his fluctuating career.

It is possible to suggest that his "transitionary" grand vizierate soon became a model for his successors in the ensuing decades of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries regarding how to sustain a good personal relationship with the sultan, while dealing with the business of the state in more complex ways, as well as expanding his network of power and patronage as part of sustaining his large pasha household, and above all in competing against rival viziers at the top echelons of the Ottoman imperial administration. Thus, tracking his political maneuvers in the court informs us about the transformative changes observed in the central administrative institutions of the Ottoman Empire during the period in question, as well as gives us insight into the behavioral patterns of the seventeenth-century ruling elite. In other words, the focus on Sinan Pasha's actions and motivations enables us to reassess Ottoman politics during the so-called crisis and change period with nuance to interpret the rising factionalist policies within the court and beyond.

The following discussion will mainly utilize the grand vizieral petitions (*telhis*) of Sinan Pasha that were exchanged with the sultan.[4] After briefly discussing the

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[2] For his life and career trajectory see Franz Babinger and Géza Dávid "Sinan Pasha, Khodja," in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* IX, (Leiden, 1997), 630–631; Mehmet İpşirli, "Koca Sinan Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 26 (2002): 137–139; Elif Özgen, "Grand Vizier Koca Sinan Paşa and Factional Politics in the Court of Murad III" (Unpublished Master's thesis, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2010); Ahmet Önal, "Koca Sinan Paşa'nın Hayatı ve Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1520?–1596)" (Unpublished PhD diss., Marmara University, 2012); Halit Serkan Simen, "The Grand Vizierate(s) of Koca Sinan Pasha: A Reassessment of the Ottoman Court Politics and Intra-Elite Rivalry in the Late Sixteenth Century" (Master's thesis, Central European University, 2020).

[3] Simen, "The Grand Vizierate(s) of Koca Sinan Pasha" 2, 87–89.

[4] Several historians have studied the *telhis* accounts, some with a specific concentration on Sinan Pasha's *telhis*es. In short, the *telhis* accounts existed in various forms, but with the enthronement of Sultan Murad III (d. 1595), as a direct consequence of political transformations that altered the relationship between the sultan and his servants, the system of *telhis* became standardized and constituted the main measure of political communication between the ruler and grand viziers. Consequently, these petitions turned into an effective "weapon" in the hands of grand viziers amid

main defining features of Ottoman court politics during the period in question, I will elaborate on Sinan Pasha's relative political success in relation to the factors that made him remain in power. Then, I will delve into the writs of the pasha to examine his personal relationship with the sultan and highlight his strategies/methods of survival in the faction-ridden court. Since the *telhis* accounts are mostly clear-cut, unfiltered, and exchanged frequently between the sultan and the pasha, they constitute one of the most important sources for late sixteenth-century Ottoman political history. Thus, my discussion will be particularly on the analysis of the set of incidents found in the *telhis*es and their reflection on factionalist policies.

The Making of Koca Sinan Pasha

The Ottoman ruling elite underwent some radical changes due to several interconnected new political and socio-economic conjunctures, which ultimately transformed the existing institutional structures of power and administration in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The assassination of the all-powerful Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579), who held the grand vizierate between 1565 and 1579, was no doubt a turning point in that it marked a new era in the political transformation of the Ottoman ruling elite.[5] Accordingly, a new administrative bureaucracy of the empire, formed around personal networks and alliances, emerged within the empire and beyond. This phenomenon resulted in the rise of royal favorites in the court. As personal "creatures" of the sultans, these favorites were empowered to act as power brokers, and often they turned into the alter ego of their masters.[6] This whole new configuration of the early modern Ottoman political structure necessitated a new definition in historiography, as Baki Tezcan

factionalist struggles. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "Die Vorlagen -Telhise- Des Grosswesirs Siñan Paša an Sultan Murād III" (Unpublished PhD diss., Hamburg University, 1967); Pál Fodor, "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier: Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite and the Formation of the Grand Vizieral 'Telhis,'" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47, no. 1/2 (1994): 67–85; Pál Fodor, "The Grand Vizieral Telhis: A Study in the Ottoman Central Administration 1566–1656," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15 (1997): 137–188; Halil Sahillioğlu, ed., *Koca Sinan Paşa'nın Telhisleri* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2004) [henceforth, *Telhisler*].

[5] For further remarks on the importance of Sokollu's assassination, see Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), 354–357; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1922* (London: John Murray, 2005), 164–165.

[6] Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors," 17, 152.

defined, namely, the "Second Empire" in the sense that the old Ottoman political system was the patrimonial dynastic state with the sultan at its helm, whereas the new court functioned like a spider web in which the sultan was relocated in the middle and all networks composed of households became connected to him through various patron-client relations.[7]

Koca Sinan Pasha's career coincided with this alteration in Ottoman politics. He had long served in different administrative positions during the first half of the century, when a full-fledged empire with a standardized form of governmental institutions was formed under Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566). Thanks to his skillful strategies, Sinan Pasha repeatedly returned to the grand vizierate post five times in the 1580s and 1590s, only to further enhance his power and position in the administration of the empire. In this respect, Sinan Pasha seems to have followed in the footsteps of his two predecessors, namely, Rüstem Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who were both known for their great wealth and power during the reigns of Süleyman I and Selim II (r. 1566–1574), respectively. Sinan no doubt knew how Sokollu and Rüstem were able to accumulate such power and wealth, as well as their mechanizations in networking among the larger groups of power and influence.[8]

Sinan Pasha owed his success and career in this fluid political setting to three main factors: 1) His close relationship with Murad III (r. 1574–1595) and the members of the sultan's court faction; 2) Following a Sokollu-type of political leadership; 3) His alternative network of power and patronage based both in the capital and provinces. It is possible to consider Sinan Pasha as one of the most successful grand viziers in terms of conducting a regular daily personal relationship with the sultan, which was, on the other hand, also a symbiotic one. Through the petitioning mechanism, Sinan Pasha managed to expand, protect, and consolidate his political power as much as possible. In 1580, when the sultan made Sinan Pasha grand vizier for the first time, the relationship between the two quickly gained a special character. Indeed, Sinan Pasha quickly established some important personal relations with the new powerful figures at Murad's court in

[7] Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 80; and Baki Tezcan, "The Second Empire: The Transformation of the Ottoman Polity in the Early Modern Era," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 3 (2009): 561.

[8] See Hacı Ahmet Arslantürk, "Bir Bürokrat ve Yatırımcı Olarak Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Veziriazamı Rüstem Paşa" (Unpublished PhD diss., Marmara University, 2011); Zahit Atçıl, "State and Government in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Grand Vizierates of Rüstem Pasha (1544–1561)" (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015).

the post-Sokollu period, such as Safiye Sultan, the sultan's favorite concubine of Albanian origin and the mother of Prince Mehmed (the future Mehmed III). These initial relations that Sinan managed to establish in the early 1580s during his first grand vizierate would prove critical in the ensuing years. For instance, Safiye Sultan would help her fellow Albanian Sinan in returning to his grand vizierate post in 1595.[9]

After the death of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579, Sinan Pasha reconfigured what Giancarlo Casale has called the "Indian Ocean Faction" at the imperial court in Istanbul.[10] Inheriting the economic and commercial capacity of the region, in addition to enhancing his political influence, the pasha was able to gain enormous power from regional politics. Furthermore, Sinan Pasha inherited the Mediterranean policies of Sokollu as exemplified in his following pro-Venetian policy while favoring anti-Spanish policy.[11] In one of his *telhis*es, for instance, the pasha informed the sultan that France and Spain were currently in a state of total upheaval (*tamam ihtilâl*) and thus vulnerable to any offensive action from the sea.[12]

The Relationship between the Sultan and the Pasha

Murad III was known for his sedentary style of rule, which became more visible particularly after the death of Sokollu Mehmed. During this period, the sultan preferred to use proxies to reflect his sovereign authority over state affairs. Among these proxy figures, the grand viziers continued in their traditional positions of power in leading the sultan's imperial government by the grandees, whereas his royal favorites were empowered in some novel ways to balance the actions of all the ruling viziers. Accordingly, a particular form of political communication in writing came into being between the sedentary sultan and his grand vizier, while the royal favorites had more direct access to the person of the Ottoman ruler.

In this new political setting, Sinan Pasha tried to maintain a regular dialogue with the sultan, which was subject to interference by his royal favorites and other important members of the inner court. Hence, both Sinan's official and personal relationships with Murad III continued under the close surveillance of the sultan and his court faction, while he sought more independence in the decision-

[9] Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 267–268.
[10] Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 156.
[11] Elif Özgen, "The Connected World of Intrigues: The Disgrace of Murad III's Favorite David Passi in 1591," *Leidschrift* 27, no. 1 (2012): 75–100.
[12] *Telhisler*, 4 [*telhis* # 3].

making processes of the government. It should be also noted that the pasha's communication with Murad III during his grand vizierates was based on dialogue, not a monologue by the pasha. In other words, the grand vizier wrote his petitions assuming the sultan would soon reply to them in writing.

For the pasha, it was essential to represent himself as the most loyal and competent servant of the sultan. Reading some of his *telhis*es, the modern reader may get the idea that Sinan was trying to self-fashion himself as an irreplaceable vizier. Indeed, he once said, "I try to fix things that others have disarrayed."[13] Similarly, the pasha used the term "enemies of the state and the sultan," by which he implied real persons working against him. Furthermore, Sinan Pasha typically rejected any apparent failure in his handling of state affairs; instead, he attributed the pressing problems of the time to the policies or actions of the previous grand viziers. According to the pasha, for instance, the notorious *ecnebî* (outsider/infiltrator) problem in the military/bureaucracy ranks started well before his tenure as grand vizier, and this only turned into a greater threat for the proper functioning of the imperial administration and army. He thus once claimed: "This servant of yours has never sold any post or rank, nor allowed any outsider in the imperial army." Similarly, he said, "Who knows and protects the old laws better than me?" According to Sinan, it was one Halil Pasha who initiated the practice of recruiting the Muslim Turks for the military.[14]

In many of the *telhis*es, Sinan Pasha refers to some petitions that accused him as he was checking the *telhis*es before the sultan. When the pasha was accused of something or implicated by an "anonymous" petition, he refers to the time of Süleyman I by stating that at that time it was not possible to submit anonymous petitions and complaints to the sultan since they were full of slander and grudges. The pasha had problems with this practice and suggested modifying it. For him, the petitions should be done in person, so that no one could blame another without any proofs and with evil thoughts.[15]

Sinan Pasha's other method of self-fashioning was to depict his every action as being done on proper terms and in good faith. When an anonymous letter blamed him for seizing the unfinished building of Hasan Pasha, for example, he defended himself by pointing out that he did it as a good deed since no one in the city wanted to purchase the building because of the thieves living inside: "Being a

[13] *Telhisler*, 7 [*telhis* #4]: "Eller bozduğın biz düzmeğe çalışıyoruz."

[14] *Telhisler*, 83–86 [*telhis* #58]: "Ve bu kulları mansıb satmam, hidmet satmam, kul arasında 'ömrümde ecnebi katmadum"; "Eski kanunları benden eyu kim bilür ve kim gözedür gelsün söyleyelüm."

[15] *Telhisler*, 37, 84, 94–95, 183, and 247 [*telhis*es #27, 58, 64, 143, and 210].

vizier did not make me lose my humanity." This particular example well illustrates the personal discourse of self-defense he often used.[16]

In this regard, the following two examples shed further light on Sinan Pasha's more personal sensitivities in his relationship with Murad III. When the sultan received a petition, which accused Sinan of taking bribes, the pasha sincerely asked the sultan:

> "In that petition, it is said that the illustrious sultan received 3,000,000 *akçe*s and I received 1,000,000 from the agha of the Janissaries [to give him this post]. Is this true? Did my sultan receive anything?"[17]

But the sultan dodged these questions and instead said that he could not leave the palace because of a health issue. In another similar case, Sinan Pasha wrote to the sultan, revealing an anonymous letter denouncing him, which was secretly given to the sultan at midnight:

> "Who left the letter there at midnight? Why not find him? Who gave it to my sultan? Who comes there? Who was the guard? This is negligence!"

This time, the sultan calmly replied to his grand vizier:

> "They left the petition on Saturday, the council day, at the gate. They delivered another one yesterday. However, the persons (who wrote these) are to be found as soon as possible."[18]

Sinan Pasha similarly presented valuable gifts to Murad III during the famous circumcision festival of his son, Prince Mehmed (III) in 1582. With these gifts, Sinan Pasha exhibited his power and wealth not just to the sultan, but also the entire ruling elite of the time present during the festivities. Ottoman royal circumcision ceremonies were important events that accentuated the dynastic legitimization and political consolidation of the House of Osman.[19] Furthermore, they functioned as a political arena on which the factional rivalries played out among the ruling elites through the display of wealth, influence, and prestige.[20] In

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[16] *Telhisler*, 248 [*telhis* #210]: "Vezîr olduksa insâniyetden *çıkmadık*."

[17] *Telhisler*, 83–86 [*telhis* #58].

[18] *Telhisler*, 83–84 [*telhis* #58].

[19] Kaya Şahin, "Staging an Empire: An Ottoman Circumcision Ceremony as Cultural Performance," *The American Historical Review* 123, no. 2 (2018): 462–492.

[20] Levent Kaya Ocakaçan, "Festivities of Curfew Centralization and Mechanisms of Opposition in Ottoman Politics, 1582–1583," in *Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age: Essays on Economic and Social Connected History*, ed. Anna Valerio (Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2018), 58.

the invitation list, Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha was ranked after the Crimean Khan.[21] According to Ferâhi, the author of a recently found Book of Festival (*Surnâme*) on Prince Mehmed's circumcision, Sinan Pasha submitted a total of 228 items as gifts to the sultan, whereas his son Mehmed Pasha gave 108 items, which was quite impressive compared to other elites of his stature. Moreover, Sinan Pasha personally gifted 20 items to Prince Mehmed.[22] Eventually, Sinan Pasha managed to utilize anything that could help him to increase his influence, including his great presence at the festival and a large set of gifts that exhibited the magnificence of his wealth.

Sinan Pasha and Sultan Murad maintained an equilibrium in their mutual relationship to a certain point. Sinan utilized his privileged position as grand vizier to directly communicate with the sultan in writing, in which he successfully expanded his influence while protecting his interests and undermining his rivals. Sultan Murad, on the other end, kept his suspicious attitude towards Sinan, yet he did not hesitate to seek the support and suggestions of the pasha, and occasionally supported him against the other pashas or vice-versa. In this sense, these two top ruling figures had a political-symbiotic relationship that benefited, to a large extent, both sides in the political arena of the faction-ridden royal court. However, the factional strife among the contemporary ruling elite helped Murad III more than Sinan Pasha. As the sultan frequently changed his grand viziers, as part of his sedentary style of rule by proxies, Sinan Pasha had to constantly struggle to sustain his position with all the available methods at his disposal.

The Ruling Elite Divided: The Factionalist Rivalry from the Point of Sinan Pasha

In this part, I will continue with the analysis of the political strife between Sinan Pasha and his chief rivals. More specifically, I will examine a select set of incidents to demonstrate how Sinan Pasha strengthened his power and influence at the court amid factionalism, and how he managed to undermine his rivals by tactical appointments, denunciations, and investigations.

Arranging different types of revenue appointments and some significant posts based on factional interests was one of the most prevalent features of power accumulation among the contemporary Ottoman high-ranking ruling elite. Times of war, as exemplified during the Ottoman-Safavid War of 1578–1590,

[21] Ferâhî, *Sûrnâme: Bir Özge Alem Osmanlı Payitahtında 1582 Şenliği*, ed. Mehmet Özdemir (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2016), 47.
[22] Ferâhî, *Sûrnâme*, 71 and 91–93.

were especially replete with such incidents. To illustrate, in one of his *telhis*es, the pasha asked Murad III to urgently dismiss the three provincial governors of Revan, Tebriz, and Gence, since they had apparently embezzled copious amounts of money from the revenues collected in these newly conquered lands instead of sending the amounts owed to the state treasury. The pasha wrote: "My illustrious sultan, there will be no good unless [these governors] are removed from their posts. As there are many newly conquered lands, they [now] learned how to eat [i.e., exploit the resources]."[23] This particular *telhis* reveals two problems. First, more wealth could be accumulated by the regional pashas in a regularized fashion and under the financial opportunities of the ongoing wars; and secondly, Sinan Pasha remained vigilant about the actions of these distant pashas who could quickly become more powerful through such methods and at one point potentially undermine his grand vizierate.

Recommendations were a strong factor in one's political career or standing at the time. A good or bad reference could change the sultan's mind regarding appointments and dismissals, especially if they were made as multiple appointments (*silsile*) at once. In this regard, Sinan Pasha's suggestions for critical appointments allowed him to enlarge his network of power and patronage at the expense of his rivals and their court-based factions. In his *telhis* collection, we see him making recommendations to the sultan concerning the numerous high posts, such as the grand admiral (*kapudân*), the governor-generalship (*beylerbeyilik*), and the *agha* of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri ağası*).[24]

In this respect, Sinan Pasha favored not just his son and brothers, but also other family members for various posts. A very interesting example is that he recommended his nephew Mehmed, the grandson of Sinan's elder brother Ayas Pasha, as a suitable candidate for replacing the deceased *agha* of the Janissaries stationed in Damascus. But Sinan Pasha refers to this nephew as someone unknown to him. Still, the pasha says that he had "heard of him" as being a poet using "Hâkanî" as his sobriquet as well as being a good servant of the sultan, who had given him a gift in return for his much-acclaimed works.[25] Clearly, for Sinan Pasha, having a family member as the *agha* of the Janissaries in Damascus was quite important, regardless of how suitable this poet nephew was for such an important military duty.

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[23] *Telhisler,* 252–253 [*telhis* #215]: "İmdi sa'âdetlu pâdişâhım, bunlar yerinden tahrik olunmayınca bu kadar menâfi' zuhur eylemez. Bir alay memleketdir, yeni fetholunmuşdur. Bunlar yimesini öğrendiler."

[24] *Telhisler*, 30–31 [*telhis* #20].

[25] *Telhisler*, 244 [*telhis* #205].

Such rank and office assignments formed a crucial part of the factional rivalries at the sultan's court. In this regard, another method utilized by Sinan Pasha was to send away his rivals from the capital by assigning them distant posts. In a *telhis*, the pasha responds to a question by the sultan regarding the former governor-general, Hasan Pasha, and the *agha* of the imperial Janissaries, Mahmud Agha, stating that these two men should be assigned to a post outside Istanbul since they bring trouble wherever they go.[26] Another example is that Sinan Pasha recommended Hüseyin Bey, the governor of the Mezistre district, for the governor-generalship of Trablus as he was a worthy and competent administrator. At first sight, this looks like Sinan is favoring one of his clients so that they would rise in the provincial administrative hierarchy. However, in a sentence, the pasha remarks, "if [Hüseyin] does not comply, then he should be forced [to accept this post]."[27] Apparently, Sinan was trying to "neutralize" a member of a rival faction by getting him out of his influence zone.

The pasha also used denunciation as a method for undermining rival pashas. To support his claims, he carried out detailed investigations to check their tax incomes and land assignments. For instance, in a *telhis*, we once again see him complaining to the sultan about the huge expenses made by Ferhad Pasha, his long-time archenemy, during one of his campaigns against the Safavids. The pasha actually accuses Ferhad Pasha and his allies Üveys and Hasan Pashas of corruption by stating, "the money that [they] embezzled in the last two-three years is incalculable."[28] He further claims that these pashas will eventually transfer their wealth to their sons as well as get their household members to exploit many revenue sources. In his response, the sultan congratulates the grand vizier and orders him to further investigate the matter, especially since Ferhad Pasha had acquired huge sums of money.

As part of the growing factionalism and personal rivalries at the imperial court, other grandees often targeted Sinan Pasha and the members of his faction, against which the pasha developed strategies to protect his interests under these constant attacks. In one of his oral correspondences (*ağız cevâbı*), Sinan Pasha denies the accusation that he favors and promotes his men: "I do not protect anyone by saying he is my man."[29] It can be inferred that, on the one hand, Sinan

[26] *Telhisler*, 242–243 [*telhis* #203].

[27] *Telhisler*, 126–127 [*telhis* #87]: "Kendu ihtiyârîyle istemez cebriyle gönderilür."

[28] *Telhisler*, 112 [*telhis* #77]: "Zira anlarun defterlerinden sonra iki üç yıl içinde kabzolunan mâlın nihâyeti yokdur."

[29] *Telhisler*, 192 [*telhis* #151]: "Ammâ tevâbi'imdir deyu bir ferdi üzerime lâzım idüb himâyet eylemezem."

Pasha tried to undermine his rival factions by always pointing out their factional interests and actions, and on the other, he denied doing the same while running his court faction and extending his large network of clients tied to his pasha household.

In another account, Sinan Pasha reminds the sultan that he has already decreed that no revenue will be distributed without royal consent, in reference to a case in which the pasha was accused of granting four *zeamet*s (medium-sized prebends) to his men. Accordingly, the pasha vows, referring to the decree, that he has not granted a single village without first having the approval of the sultan, and if anything is proven otherwise, he would not object to the confiscation of his men's prebendal villages by the imperial treasury. Sinan Pasha also notes that he had tasked his man, Kurd Agha, to investigate who holds these villages, who in turn found out that Kaytas Kethudâ, the scribe of the above-mentioned Üveys Pasha, as well as a man named Hasan Agha together with a follower of Ferhad Pasha, are holding the revenue rights of the villages instead of the pasha's men.[30] Though it is not clear whether the sultan personally authenticated these documents, or if the pasha was simply trying to manipulate the sultan in this matter. In any case, he considers such accusations as slanders against him.

The struggle did not cease during the period of expectancies (*ma'zûliyet*). The change of a grand vizier referred to the change of the "government." The pashas immediately reassigned their men to prominent positions since this pinnacle position was an unguaranteed gift. At the end of the second grand vizierate term of Sinan Pasha in 1591, the sultan assigned Ferhad Pasha to the post, and he began his duty by removing Sinan Pasha's son Mehmed Pasha from the Budin governor-generalship and Mustafa Pasha, nephew of Sinan, from the Sivas governorate, and changed fourteen more positions in the high level of administration. These political duels continued for four more years and when the pasha got his post back, he reinstated his power as Ferhad Pasha had done before.[31] Similarly, it also was also a case when the pashas were out of the capital for commander-in-chief duties. For instance, Baron Wratislaw, a member of the Habsburg diplomatic delegation, and Leanordo Dona, the extraordinary Venetian ambassador, reported that Sinan Pasha had lost a great amount of influence since he had not been able to make any military or diplomatic achievements during the

[30] *Telhisler*, 57–59 [*telhis*es #40 and 40a].

[31] Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400–1800* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 131–133.

Wallachian campaign, and other pashas in the capital had started to undermine his power and eventually tried to cause his dismissal or execution.[32]

Conclusion

The political, socio-economic, and military conjuncture of the 1580s and 1590s clearly necessitated the Ottoman ruling elite to arm themselves with new measures to survive in a faction-ridden and highly fluid political environment. Denouncements, accusations, gossip, slander, forged documents, and false papers were, in a sense, the norm of the day, and they were frequently used by the ruling pashas, as exemplified above, against those whom they considered their enemies.

With his enormous personal wealth, great political power, experience in statesmanship and military affairs, as well as his extensive network of allies and clients, Koca Sinan Pasha was no doubt an indispensable figure of the early modern Ottoman state machinery. His long career witnessed many critical maneuvers to survive in a faction-ridden imperial court during a crisis-ridden period under the exigencies of long wars and chronic financial difficulties. Hence, in a sense, Sinan Pasha successfully adapted himself to a newly emerging or transforming imperial system. Additionally, the pasha seems to have comprehended the political circumstances of the time more effectively than any other member of the ruling elite, which can be seen in his *telhis* accounts. Indeed, in pursuit of his personal interests, Sinan Pasha not only successfully fought against his rivals, but he also carefully conducted a balanced strategy in his personal relationship with Sultan Murad III and his royal favorites. All in all, his peers and the other ruling elite in the Ottoman imperial government would follow in his footsteps by using the same methods that Sinan Pasha had once used to remain in power in the midst of ever-increasing factionalism in the coming decades.

[32] Wrenceslaw Wratislaw, *Baron Wratislaw'ın Anıları* (Istanbul: Ad Yayıncılık, 1996), 145; Önal, "Koca Sinan Paşa'nın Hayatı ve Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1520?–1596)," 149.

"ITALIAN" PIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Erzsébet Kovács

Even today, phrases like "as American as apple pie" and baked goods such as Hungarian *almás pite* will recall something not entirely dissimilar. Although regional culinary traditions, names in the vernacular and some ingredients may vary, the basics of the recipe appear to be just the same: wrap shortcrust or puff pastry around sweet or savory filling (either raw or pre-cooked) and bake it. It is, then, to be served sliced (such as with apple pie or Hungarian *pite*) or in individual portions (such as with Cornish pasty or Chilean *empanada*) and eaten altogether. The pastry crust is enriched with butter, lard, or vegetable shortening, eggs, milk, sour cream, and even powdered sugar (depending upon national tastes and traditions) so that it would be enjoyable enough to eat with the filling.

It may seem that the simplicity of combining an edible pastry with a tasty filling requires no explanation as to its origin(s) or inventor(s). However, according to Barbara Santich, medieval pies were, originally, just another method for containing and preserving meat. A hard, flour-and-water-only pastry case was designed to keep the meat from burning while in the oven or from spoiling, since the baked pastry case effectively insulated the meat from air. This hard, maybe even burnt pastry case was meant to be discarded.[1] A sixteenth-century Transylvanian cookbook still has the instruction to "put the chick in the cooking pot made of pastry," shaping the pastry in the same way a potter builds an earthenware vessel.

Even though it was recorded as late as the sixteenth century, the Transylvanian recipe is more detailed than other chicken pie recipes. Its description may make it easier to understand how these pies were made:

> Tenth. Chick with pastry. Plucking and disemboweling thereof should be as before. When you disembowel it, break the little bone in its wing with a small stick, but just so as it is not torn apart, and its leg bones likewise. This is usually broken so that when you put it in the clean pot [of pastry], it would not make a tear in the sides. Shove it in with the beef, let it cook there a little while, only so long as it is parboiled. While it cooks [i.e., it is being parboiled], chop a few parsley leaves with some fat lard, have lemons brought in with its leaves, if no lemons can

[1] Barbara Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," in *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 61–81. See especially pp. 68–74 on the newfangled "torte and tourtes."

be had, then marjoram; add some pepper to it, you can make it with citron, too. Knead a dough with eggs and flour, as hard as it can be. With the rolling-pin, as usual, roll it out, let the middle be 'hillier' than the sides. Just keep on pushing that little hill down with your thumb. While you keep pushing the middle with one hand, with the other hand lift the edge ever higher and higher, [and] when you are able to draw the dough onto the back of your hand, like the potter draws up the pot or pipkin, leave some [dough] for a lid, as well. Now then, put the chick in the cooking pot made of pastry, at the same time add a little bit of salt to it. Cut the lemon into round [slices], put it [in], pour some of its juice upon, as well, put the lard on top, smear it on then, cut tender marjoram into it for its good smell, and pour some beef broth on it, too. Stretch the lid nice and thin. It should be only as large as the opening of pastry pot, wet the edge with clear water, so that the lid should stick, as is proper, take it in then nicely. In the middle of the lid, make a little chimney, make the likeness of a chick's head out of pastry for it, it should have a neck, too, and so put it in the chimney; paint this also with water, so it should stick to it all the better, pinch the edges, so that it should be prettier, the sides of the [pastry] pot, too, when you stand it up. Now then, this is done, just cook it well in a pinnata,[2] if you do not have a pinnata, it can be done in an oven, but you need to be more careful then. When you want to serve it, cut the lid off nicely, taste the broth, whatever is missing, correct it, put the lid back on while it is still hot.[3]

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[2] This was a sort of baking equipment much used in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hungarian recipes for gentle baking. Its name seems a misnomer, because functionally it must have been closer to an Italian *testo*.

[3] Béla Radvánszky, Báró, ed., *Régi magyar szakácskönyvek*, Vol. 1. Házi történelmünk emlékei… [Old Hungarian cookbooks. Vol.1. Memories of our household history] (Budapest: Athenaeum R. Társulat, 1893), 100–101: "Tizedik. Tyúkfi pástétommal. Mellyesztése, beli kivetése, mint azelőtt, úgy legyen. Mikor kiveted az belit, az szárnya csontocskáját törd meg egy kis fácskával, csakhogy egymástól el ne szakadazzon, az szára csontja csontját is azonképen. Ezt azért szokták megtördelni, hogy mikor az tiszta fazékban rakod, ki ne szaggassa az oldalát. Nyomd az tehénhús közzé, hadd főjjön ott kevéssé csak az abállásig. Az mig fő, addig vágj kevés petreselyem-levelet össze kövér szalonnával, hozass lemonyát levelestül hozzá, ha lemonya nincsen, majoránnát, borsold, czitrommal is megcsinálhatod. Tyikmonyból, lisztből gyúrj tésztát, mennél keményben lehet. Azt nyujtófával, az mint szokták, nyujts el, az közepit dombosabban hagyd az szélinél. Azt az dombocskát nyomogasd alá az hüvelykeddel. Mikor egyik kezeddel nyomogatod az közepit, az másikkal az szélit feljebb, feljebb emeld, mikor az kezed fejére felvonhatod az tésztát, mint az fazokas az fazokat avagy csuprot felvonsza, födélnek valót is hagyj. Immár az tészta fazékban rakd

It should be noted that Santich might have been drawing upon a familiar concept. English cuisine used to put so-called "huff paste" (made of flour and water, sometimes also suet) on meat and fruit as a protective cover against direct heat. Does it, possibly, go back to medieval usage? The *Oxford English Dictionary* knows of it only as an eighteenth-century local word.[4] According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, though, the word "paste" appears to have meant not only bread dough, or (as "swete paste") unleavened dough,[5] but also a pastry cover in the fourteenth[6] and fifteenth[7] century. But still in the fifteenth century, it could also

be az tyúkfit, ugyanakkor kicsinyné megsózzad. Az lemonyát kerekdeden metéld meg, rakd, az levében is tölts réá, rakd reá felűl az szalonnát, kenegesd reá aztán, gyenge majoránnát vágj belé az jó szagáért, és egy kis tehénhús levet is tölts reá. Az fedelet szép vékonyan nyujtsd el. Csak annyi legyen, mint az pástétom fazeknak az szája, tiszta vizzel aztán az körületit megértessed, hogy az fedele oda ragadjon, mint annak az módja, szedd be aztán szépen. Az fedelének az közepére egy kis kürtőt csinálj, abba egy tyúkfű formát csinálj tésztából, nyaka is legyen, s úgy tegyed az kürtőben; ezt is vízzel megkenjed, hogy inkább hozzá ragadjon, meg is csipkéld az szélit, hogy szebb legyen, az fazéknak az oldalát is, mikor felállatod. Ez itt immár kész, csak szépen pinnatában főzd meg, ha pinnatád nincs, kemenczében is meg lehet, de arra nagyobb vígyázás kell. Mikor fel akarod adni, az fedelét szépen felmessed, az levét megkóstoljad, mi híja vagyon, eligazítsad, az fedelét ismét jó melegen reá tegyed." I modified the translation by Bence Kovacs.

4 *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "huff (*n.*)": "6. *local*. (See quots.) 1787. F. Grose *Provinc. Gloss*. Huff, light paste enclosing fruit or meat whilst stewing, so called from its huffing or puffing up in the operation. Generally made with yeast. *Glouc.* 1890. J. D. Robertson *Gloss. Words County of Gloucester*. Huff, light pastry, or pie crust." Accessed May 17, 2020 at https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/89141.

5 *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "paste (*n.*) (1)": "1381 *Pegge Cook. Recipes (Dc 257),* p. 121: Make a thynne Paast of Dow and make therof as it were ryngis; tak and fry hem in oyle de Olyve."
(a1398) **Trev.Barth. (Add 27944)*226b/b: "Past ymade oonly of mele and of water hatte zima, as it were sine zima, wiþoute sourdowe."
(a1399*) Form Cury (Add 5016),* p. 30: "Take flour of payndemayn and make þerof past with water." A1400 *Lanfranc (Ashm 1396)* 274/20: "He schal ete no swete breed, & al maner mete þat is maad of swete past [L pasta azima]." Accessed May 17, 2020 at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary.

6 *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "paste (*n.*) (1)": "c1380 *Firumb.(1) (Ashm 33)* 2763: Capouns y-bake al-so tok he..& iij pecokkes y-bake on past."

7 *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "paste (*n.*) (1)": "a1425(?a1400) *RRose (Htrn 409)* 7048: He wole do come in haste Roovenysoun bake in paste." C1450 *Hrl.Cook.Bk.(2) (Hrl 4016)* 74: "Cover the coffyn with a lyd of þe same paste." C1450 *Hrl.Cook.Bk.(2) (Hrl 4016)* 75: "Make a large coffyn of faire paste." "?a1475 *Noble Bk. Cook. (Hlk 674)* 53: Tak pouder of pepper and canelle..meld it well with the fische, then close it up in the foile or paiste and bak it."

mean a dough flavored with sugar and saffron, as well.[8] And it still could mean just a combination of flour and water even in the sixteenth century.[9]

So, when and where might edible pie crust have been invented? The multiplicity and fuzziness of meanings, as we have just seen in the English terms, makes it difficult to pinpoint. Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari trace this innovation to Renaissance Italy,[10] while Santich goes even earlier: it "occurred in the fifteenth century, and [it is] associated with Maestro Martino – whether or not he was the originator."[11] According to her, the growing number of "torte," "tourte," and "tartes" recipes, first in the *Libro del cuoco* and Maestro Martino's cookbook, then in French cookbooks, shows the spread of this innovation from "particularly […] Italy."[12]

Santich admits that "torte" may have existed earlier: "the word was apparently first documented in Italy in the thirteenth century, and in Spain around the same time."[13] However, tart and *torta* (the Latin word and its descendants: Italian *torta*, French *to(u)rte*, German *Torte*) have an even longer history and a contested etymology.

Latin *torta* and *tortula* first occur in the Vulgate (Exodus 29:23, Numbers 11:8, 1 Chronicles 16:3), where they appear to mean a kind of bread. In this sense, it means a "round cake (of bread)," and it has nothing to do with the past passive participle of the Latin verb *torquere* "to twist."[14] As the earlier, Hellenistic grammarian Erotianus glosses a Hippocratic word as a sort of bread baked hidden in embers, "which is called *turta*,"[15] an Egyptian etymology has been proposed.[16] The same word, "turta," appears on one of the Vindolanda tablets.[17]

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[8] *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "paste (*n.*) (1)": "?a1475 *Noble Bk.Cook. (Hlk 674)* 58: Make a paiste of pured flour knodden with faire water, sugur, saffron, and salt."

[9] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "paste (*n.* and *adj.*)": "1526 W. Bonde *Pylgrimage of Perfection* ii. sig. Liiiv Mixtyng water with floure and werkyng it in to paste."

[10] Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, "*Torte and Tortelli*," in *Italian Cuisine: A Cultural History*, ed. Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, trans. Aine O'Healy (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 60.

[11] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 66.

[12] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 71.

[13] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 71.

[14] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "torte (*n*)."

[15] Joseph Klein, ed., *Erotiani Vocum Hippocraticarum conlectio* (Leipzig: Libraria Dykiana, 1865), 56, s.v. ἄρτον ἐγκρυφίαν· […] εἰκὸς δὲ λέγειν τὸν ἐν θερμοσποδιᾷ ἐγκρυβέντα ὀπτηθῆναι, ὃν τοῦρταν καλοῦσιν.

[16] Henry Kahane and Renée Kahane, "The Role of the Papyri in Etymological Reconstruction," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 207–208.

[17] "*Vindolanda Tablet*, 2.180 is an account of the distribution of measures of wheat to named recipients, some of which was to be used for making twisted loaves (*turta*)." Carol A. Déry, "Food

Be that as it may, by the eleventh century, *torta* meant rye bread (to be divided into quarters) and *tortula* a special treat given beyond the usual *libra* of bread at the five major holidays of the liturgical year for the monks in Cluny.[18] As for the English *tart*, it comes from the thirteenth-century French *tarte*, which may or may not derive from the Old French *torte*.[19] Later, Bartolomeo Platina derived the word from the "twisted" herbs in the tart's filling. Thus, in what seems to have been a characteristically Italian folk etymology, he made a difference between original Italian, or "Pythagorean" tart and the meat-filled, "Gallic" tart.[20]

As we can see, there was a similar multiplicity and fuzziness of meanings as with pie paste. Although Santich made a difference between old style pies, "pastez," and new style "torte" and "tourtes,"[21] both words could mean just a simple, flour-and-water dough or bread, and more refined, enriched crusts in different periods and places. The mere mention of these words in a recipe, without more detailed instructions as to ingredients, makes the two kinds of pastry difficult, even impossible to identify. To further complicate the matter: fifteenth-century Catalan "pasta" meant a combination of flour and oil.[22] Also, English "paste" seems to have contained butter or butter and eggs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[23]

It would seem that Santich's method of tracing these words is not enough. Can we test her theory by looking at ethnonymic pie recipes, then? Do the

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and the Roman Army: Travel, Transport, and Transmission (with Particular Reference to the Province of Britannia," in *Food on the Move: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1996*, ed. Harlan Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1997), 93.

[18] Kirk Ambrose, "A Medieval Food List from the Monastery of Cluny," *Gastronomica* 6, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 16. "Pro signo panis sigalini et, qui torta vulgariter appellatur, iterum generali signo premisso hoc adde, ut crucem per medium palme facias pro eo, quod id genus panis dividi solet per quadrum. Pro signo tortule, que preter solitam libram datur in quinque principalibus festis, duos digitos, qui pollicem sequntur, paululum divisos pone oblique super duos alteros digitos eorum similes de altera mau [!] similiter divisos."

[19] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "tart, (*n*)."

[20] "Pulmentum quod vulgo tortam appellamus et hoc nomen a tortis et concisis herbis: ex quibus fere sit accepisse putarim […] Totam [!] igitur sive illa pythagorea [!] sit sive gallica [!] deinceps appellabimus." *Platyne De Honesta Voluptate* (Cividale di Friuli, 1480), accessed June 5, 2020 at https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2011thacher64760/?sp=134.

[21] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 66.

[22] *Libre del Coch*: "Et après fes pasta qui sia feta de bella farina e pasta-la ab oli qui sia molt fi," cited by Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 72.

[23] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "pie paste": "?1578 W. Patten *Let. Entertainm. Killingwoorth* 49 Butter for theyr pastiez, and pyepast." "1688 R. Holme *Acad. Armory* iii. iii. 84 Pie-paste, is fine Flour, Butter, Eggs, Kneaden, or Moulden together."

numerous recipes for varieties of "Italian pies" reveal traces of this innovation and spread in European cookbooks? As we shall see, the expression "Italian pie" is a bit of a misnomer, except for in the German cookbooks. Most recipes of this group claim to originate from one Italian regional cuisine or the other.

Parma Tarts,[24] and a Tart from Romagna

Outside Italy, we find the first recipes for "torta premissana" and "tourtes Parmeriennes" in the fourteenth-century French *Modus viaticorum*[25] and in the Vatican MS of the *Viandier,* respectively. The *Modus viaticorum* instructs the cook to make a thick crust, "spissas crostas," out of pastry, "de pasta bene mazerada," and paint it with egg yolks, "dabis cum modulis ovorum." This is to contain a filling made with pre-cooked and deboned hens, cooked and chopped fat pork and salted meat, cheese, and egg yolks, flavored with ginger, pepper, cloves, some mint and marjoram, and parsley.[26] The second recipe for "torta parmissa" asks for "sal oleum sucre et fac tuas crostas de pasta dura," salt, oil, and sugar in the stiff crust for a filling of various greens, de-boned, cooked fish, and eels (flavored with pepper and saffron). Alternatively, that salt, oil, and sugar could go into the filling of greens and fish.[27]

While the *Modus* presents two, widely different recipes for the same "torta premissana" and "torta parmissa," both are, apparently, elaborate concoctions.

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[24] Cf. Tom Jaine on the possible Babylonian and Egyptian origins of Parmesan pie in Alan Davidson and Tom Jaine, eds, *The Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), s.v. "Parmesan pie," citing Anna Martellotti, "The Parmesan pie: part 1" and "The Parmesan pie: part 2," *Petits Propos Culinaires* 59 (1998): 7–14 and 61 (1998): 7–15 (which I was unable to consult).

[25] BNF Paris MS, Latin 8435, 27v–28r, accessed May 17, 2020, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10036651f. Published edition: Carole Lambert, "Trois réceptaires culinaires médiévaux: Les Enseingnementz, les Doctrine et le Modus. Edition critique et glossaire détaillé" (unpublished PhD diss., University of Montreal, 1989), which I was unable to consult.

[26] "Si vis facere torta premissana decoque carnem porci recentem pinguem et carnem salsam Recipe gi[ngibre], pe[bre], giro[fle] mo[le] cum mente et modicum maiorane et julverti mo[le] totum cum caseo et dum cum madulis ouorum accipe postmodum carnem fractam minuter et dismembra ipsas gallinas coctas et coniunge totum deinde habeas de pasta bene mazerada et fac spissas crostas et dabis cum modulis ouorum," *Modus viaticorum.* (See note 25 for the MS.)

[27] "Si vis facere torta parmissa Recipe grelecos caulium et spinargia et borages et bladas et julvertum et de qualibus tenerimum quod inueniri poteris et parbollys hoc totum deinde Recipe piscem coctum mundum a ossibus et habeas pe[brum] sa[fran] mole cum pomis paratis post modum habeas piscem et herbas et mole totum et pone sal oleum sucre et fac tuas crostas de pasta dura deinde Recipe anguillam et fac de ipsa partes et fac tuum hey lieg… de l… pars supra crostam et asperge ipsas partes cum aqua crocea et coque," *Modus viaticorum.*

And both defy Santich's distinctions to some extent. On the basis of a chicken pie recipe from the *Ménagier*, she posited that the old-fashioned pies contained raw, whole meat, which would have needed long hours of baking, "by which time the pastry would be tough, hard and inedible."[28] As opposed to this, the new "tortes" were filled with a mixture of various pre-cooked meats, vegetables, eggs, cheese, spices and other flavorings, "which required very little cooking."[29] The two recipes for "torta premissana" and "torta parmissa" certainly instruct the maker to prepare this second kind of filling.

According to Santich, the shorter cooking time for the new "tortes" also meant that their rich crust could be "endored" with eggs or saffron and sprinkled with sugar and spices. She adds, emphatically, "[t]hat this type of pastry was intended for consumption is indisputable; the sugar and spices scattered over the top crust were too valuable to be discarded."[30] However, the first recipe for "torta premissana" instructs the cook to make a thick crust (thick enough to hold the filling?)[31] *and* "endore" it with egg yolks. Also, the second recipe for "torta parmissa" requires a final wash of saffron and water on "ipsas partes," those previously mentioned pieces of eels or crust (depending on our interpretation of the recipe). Should we take this as evidence that the crust was intended to be eaten? Or rather as evidence of conspicuous consumption?

These contradictions are even more palpable in the *Viandier*'s recipe.[32] On the one hand, the pastry case should be thick enough to hold the filling and raised

[28] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 69.
[29] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 73.
[30] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 72.
[31] Cf. Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 70.
[32] "Tourtes Parmeriennes Prenez chair de mouton ou de veau ou de porc, et la hachiez competemment; puis fault avoir de la poulaille, et faire boullir, et despecier par quartiers; et fault cuire ledit grain avant qu'il soit hachié, puis avoir poudre fine et l'en espicier très bien raisonnablement, et frire son grain en sain de lart, et, après, avoir de grans pastez descouvers, et qu'ilz soient plus hault dreciez de paste que autres pastez et de la grandeur de petitz platz, et faictz en manière de creneaulx, et qu'ilz soient fortz de paste affin qu'ilz puissent porter le grain; et, qui veult, on y met du pignolet et du roisin de Corinde meslez parmy le grain, et du succre esmié par dessus, et mettre en chascun pasté iii ou iiii quartiers de poullaille pour fichier les bannières de France et des seigneurs qui seront en la presence, et les dorer de saffren deffait pour estre plus beaulx. Et qui ne veult pas tant despendre de poullaille, ne fault que faire des pièces plates de porc ou de mouston rosty ou boully. Et quant ilz sont rempliz de leur grain, les fault dorer, par dessus le grain, d'un petit d'oeufz bastuz ensemble, moyeulx et aubuns, affin que le grain se tiengne plus ferme pour mettre les bannières dedans. Et convient avoir du fueil d'or ou d'argent ou du fueil d'estain pour les dorer avant les banières.
Pour faire tostées dorées, prenez du pain blanc dur et le trenchiez par tostées quarrées, et les rostir ung pou sur le grail, et avoir moyeulx d'oeufz batuz, et les envelopez très bien dedans iceulx

higher than other pies. The instruction to form crenellations in the pastry makes sense when it appears that the filling will partly bear the banners of France and of the noblemen present. On the other hand, the elaborate filling is made of cooked and quartered chickens, or roasted or cooked pork or mutton pieces, which sit in a mixture of fried mutton, veal, or pork hash. This "tourte," supposedly of Parma or Parma style, might be, in fact, an imitation of a French castle, designed to be wondered at and eaten by royal and noble guests. If this is so, the lack of a top crust will mean that the "endoring" with eggs and saffron, and the (optional) scattering of pine nuts, Zante currants, and sugar will only reach the meat filling. In fact, the recipe tells us that the added eggs will help the meat to stick together ("affin que le grain se tiengne plus ferme"). Should we interpret this as evidence that the bottom crust served as a bowl out of which the guests removed and ate the meat?

At the end of this recipe, we find instructions for making golden toast—something similar to twentieth-century French toast, in fact. These instructions at the end of a pie recipe might be interpreted to mean that the golden toast was intended to serve as sops. The guests might have picked up these glorified pieces of bread to spoon up the spiced meat hash and eat it with. In that case, the crust need not have been eaten. No wonder the recipe does not specify the ingredients for the crust. It only has to be strong and raised high.

Decades later, Master Chiquart dictates how to make a "tortre parmysine," which is no less elaborate and complicated as the *Viandier*'s version. His extremely detailed description helps in getting a much clearer picture than with many other cookbooks' recipes. For a flesh-day supper,[33] which is also a large feast, he recommends using the meat of three or four pigs, three hundred pigeons, two hundred chicks or one hundred young capons, and six hundred small birds of, apparently, another kind. All this meat should be cooked, the pork should be chopped small, and the birds should be quartered, then sautéed in lard. Master Chiquart instructs the cook to have also six pounds of figs, dates, pine nuts, and prunes each, plus eight pounds of raisins. These fruits and nuts, chopped small,

moyeulx. Et avoir de bon sain chault et les dorer dedans sur le feu tant qu'elles soient belles et bien dorées, et puis les oster de dedans la paelle, et mettez ès platz, et du succre dessus." Vatican MS of the *Viandier*, see Jérôme Pichon and Georges Vicaire, eds, *Le Viandier de Guillaume Tirel dit Taillevent* (Paris: Techener, 1892), 261–262.

[33] "Pour le soupper: roustz de toutes manieres, ung buchat de connins, tortre parmysine, et la daudine des oyseaux de riviere, et ung boulli lardé." Terence Scully, ed., "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart, 1420 (Ms. S 103 de la bibliothèque Supersaxo, à la Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais, à Sion)," *Vallesia* 40 (1985): 101–231, 155.

are added to the hashed pork, along with sage, parsley, hyssop, and marjoram, plus a mixture of a quintal of cheese and six hundred eggs. This flavored puree of pork, cheese, eggs, herbs, fruits, and nuts will make the filling, but it needs to be cooked and stirred over a fire first. Spices (ginger, "poudre fine," grains of paradise, saffron, cloves) and sugar will be added to the filling only when it has been cooked.[34]

So, Master Chiquart's Parma tart has the elaborate, pre-cooked filling that, according to Santich, new-fashioned "tortes" should have. However, the description of the tart's assembly provides other details, too. Here, the crust is not made of dough or paste; it is composed of "nebles ensucrees," sugared wafers. The tart will be baked in "casses ou conchetes de terre," pans or earthenware vessels, which should be lined with lard first. Then, Master Chiquart instructs the cook to make the bottom crust by laying down four or five layers of wafers. The spiced, sweetened pork mixture and the quartered birds should be also layered but without any crust between the layers, it seems. Finally, a top crust should be put on in the same way, using four or five layers of wafers, and some cold lard put on top before sending it "au four qui soit bien trempé," to a well-heated oven.[35]

The use of an earthenware vessel and a hot oven reads like a combination of Italian and continental methods for baking. Maybe this is the reason why Master Chiquart has advice also for saving a ruined product. Although lard may have functioned as a protective cover at the bottom and a softening additive for the

[34] Scully, "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart," 156–158.

[35] "Et sy faictes que vous ayés de belles casses et nectes, ou se vous trouvés conchetes de terre belles et nectes si en prennés tant que mestier en haurés pour faire vostres tortes parmeysines en tant grant quantité que vous en hayés de /47r/ remenant; et puis quant vous haurés vostres casses ou conchetes de terre belles et nectes si faciés que vous hayés .xx. ou .xxxm. de nebles ensucrees, et puis prennés vostres casses ou vostres conchetes et prennés du lart en quoy vous avés frit vostres oysellons et la poullaille si mectés dedans vostres cassetes ou conchetes de terre, et puis prennés vostres nebles et si mectés en chescune casse ou conchete de terre sur les fons et en l'environ ung lit des dictes nebles en tant qu'il en ait .iiii. ou .v. l'une sur l'autre; et sur lesdictes nebles si prennés de ladicte farce et en faictes ung lit, et puis dessus la farce sy mectés des oysellons et les mectés cza et la et non pas ensemble; et si mectés en my de deux oysellons ung quartier de pijons et d'autre part ung quartier de poullaylle en [my] de deux oysellons, et face cecy en maniere que des oysellons, quartiers de pijons que de quartiers de poullaille, soit fait bien et adroit ung /47v/ lit sur le lit de la farce ja posee; et dedessus ce lit fait de oysellons, quartiers de pijons et quartiers de poullaille si se face ung autre lit de la dicte farce, et dedessus ce lit fait de farce si mectés nebles sus par le mode et maniere qui est dist dessus comme elles sont mises sur le fons de la dicte casse ou conchete de terre; et, estre ce fait, qu'elle soit couverte bien et appoint des dictes nebles. Si prennés du lart froit et mectés par dessus, et puis mectés vostres tortes au four qui soit bien trempé." Scully, "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart," 158.

top crust, the pastry could still get burnt. In that case, advises Master Chiquart, scrape off the burnt pieces and have spinach and chard leaves at hand to replace the top crust. Only then will the pie be gilt and sprinkled with sugar. Just as with the *Viandier*'s version, this Parma tart should be decorated with the banner of the lord to whom it is served.[36]

In a controversial way, Chiquart's Parma tart has the characteristics of both the old-fashioned pies and the new "tortes." On the one hand, it is baked in an oven and it can get burnt. On the other hand, it has an elaborate, pre-cooked filling, its crust is made of sugared wafers, softened with lard, and it is "endored" (with gold leaf, no less) and sprinkled with sugar before serving. All these details, but especially the use of gold leaf, make it highly unlikely that the crust should have been thrown away. Indeed, we have seen that Master Chiquart advises scraping off the burnt, inedible parts of the crust.

Do these French royal and princely *pièces de résistance* have any forebears in Italy? What was "torta" like in Parma? In stark contrast to this French recipe, we find mention of a dire concoction in the local chronicles. In the year 1247,[37] the *Chronicon Parmense* adds that, at the same time, there was a famine. Inhabitants of Parma ate linseed bread, raw greens, roots, and fruit, and "there were *turtae* with two, four, or five crusts."[38]

Instead of a local recipe, we may take this as an indication that "turta" was as common in thirteenth-century Parma as bread. This description of "turta" as having multiple crusts or layers is also a new feature compared to the fourteenth-century French recipes; and may be interpreted as a tart without filling. In other

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[36] "Et si soyés bien advisés que quant elles cuiront que vous ayés de feulles d'espinars et de blectes bien nectoiés et lavees affin que, se les dictes nebles brullent riens, que vous en meisiés par dessus. Et puis traisiés vostres tortes parmeysines et les rasclés bien et appoint en tant qui n'y demeure riens de brulé, et puis les mectés en beau platz; et, elles estans en platz, si prennés vostre or party et le mectés par /48r/ dessus vostres tortes parmeysines en maniere d'un eschaquier, et de la poudre du succre par dessus. Et quant l'on en servira, que sur chescune torte soit mise une banderete des armes d'un chescun seigneur qui de cestes tortes parmeysines sera servi." Scully, "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart," 158–159.

[37] Cf. Capatti and Montanari, "Introduction: Identity as Exchange," xvii, for dating it to the year 1246.

[38] "Item eodem tempore fuit fames valida in Civitate Parmae, ita quod panis factus ex farina sementis lini comedebatur pro bono & optimo pane. Et fiebant turtae in duabus crustis, quatuor, & quinque. Herbae crudae, radices, & fructu comedebantur ibi plenarie, & multi propter famem cum familiis eorum recedebant de Civitate, & ibant ad standum alibi." My translation. See Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno aerae Christianae quingentesimo ad millesimumquingentesimum*, vol. 9 (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1726), 772–773.

words, only the shadow of its former self, a dish whose essential component should be its rich and tantalizingly complex filling, not its crust(s).

But it is another royal recipe,[39] the one found in the *Liber de coquina*, that describes what truly Italian "torta parmesana" was like. The version in MSS A and B[40] must have been difficult to make and fit for a king, just as the last sentence reminds us. It is a complex pastry consisting of six levels of various fillings. It would seem that there is no pastry between the layers of filling, only a sprinkling of dates and spices. "Lastly," the recipe notes, "take clean white flour and make a strong paste with it. Then, shape it so that it would fit the earthenware vessel, and with a spoon, put some flour between the paste and the earthenware vessel. Then, paint the paste with the broth of the foresaid chickens and make several levels in the foresaid paste… Then, cover it all with paste and put it over coals and an

[39] Capatti and Montanari, *Italian Cuisine*, 7, mention "the Angevin kingdom of Naples."

[40] "V. 6. De torta parmesane: ad tortam parnesanam, accipe pullos bene depilatos et incisos uel demembratos et suffrige eos cum cepis bene cisis cum lardo in bona quantitate. Et decoctis ipsis pullis, pone desuper species trittas cum sale ad sufficientiam. Accipe etiam herbas odoriferas in bona quantitate, tere fortiter et super pone de safrano. Postea, accipe uentrem porci; elixa fortiter; excoria eam, in pinguedinem eius fortiter percute cum cutello et misce cum herbis predictis et aliquantulum de caseo grattato et distempera cum ouis. Et fac inde rauiolas albos. Et si in eisdem addideris petrosillum et alias herbas odoriferas, potes facere rauiolas uirides. Item, accipe amigdalarum mondatarum aliquam quantitatem et tere eas fortiter. Et diuide per medietatem, in quarum una parte pone de speciebus in bona quantitate et in alia ponas zucaram et de utrisque facias rauiolos semotim. Item, accipe budella porcina bene pinguia lota et imple ea de bonis herbis et caseo et lixa. Item, recipe presucum et ettiam salcicias et inscinde subtiliter et oua fracta commisce cum eis et ibi pone pullos prius dictos et sepe misce cum cocleari, donec sit spissum. Postea, remoue ab igne et assapora cum sale. Vltimo, recipe farinam albam mondatam et fac inde pastam solidam. Postea, forma ad modum testi et appone farinam parum inter pastam et testum cum cocleari. Postea, de brodio dictorum pullorum inunge pastam et facias in predicta pasta plura solaria. In primo solario pone carnes pullorum; in secundo solario pone rauiolos albos et saporem desuper; in tertio solario, pone presuccum et salcicias; in .4o. solario, de eisdem carnibus; in .5o. solario, de ceruellatis; in .VIo. solario, de rauiolis amigdalarum; et sic deinceps si habeas fercula. Et in quolibet solario, pone dactilos et species ad sufficientiam. Postea totum cooperis pasta et pone super prunas et testum desuper. Et postea, cooperi de prunis super et subtiliter et frequenter dictam tortam discooperis et unge cum lardo. Et si forte frangatur dicta torta, accipe pastam subtiliter operatam et balnea cum aqua et pone super fracturam et pone testum calidum desuper. Postea, quandoque uidebitur esse cocta, porta coram domino cum magna pompa." Thomas Gloning, "Liber de coquina." Based upon: Mulon, Marianne, "Deux traités inédits d'art culinaire médiéval." in *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifi ques. Année 1968: Actes du 93e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes tenu à Tours.* Volume I: *Les problèmes de l'alimentation* (Paris 1971), 369–435. The text of the Liber de coquina on pp. 396–420. Accessed at https://www.uni-giessen.de/fbz/fb05/germanistik/absprache/sprachverwendung/gloning/tx/mul2-lib.htm.

earthenware [lid] over it. And then, cover it with coals from above and in a subtle way and often take off [the lid] and paint it with lard."[41]

The elaborate, multi-leveled filling would certainly fit Santich's distinction between "pastez" and "torte." And yet, the paste proves a puzzle. It needs to be strong, certainly, to withstand the weight of all the filling. We get no further details as to its ingredients; it might be just flour and water. But it receives very careful treatment. I suspect that the flour spooned in between the pastry and the baking vessel would act as a protective cover so that the surface of the pastry would not be burnt. Moreover, the finishing touches of chicken broth and lard should add some softness to the paste.

But most importantly, this pastry is baked in the Mediterranean manner, under a lid, between coals, which makes for a gentler baking. Santich describes the difference between the Northern French method of baking in an oven, and the Mediterranean way of baking under a "testo."[42] The implications of using a *testo* would, however, mean that the pastry would not get burnt so easily. Sally Grainger has even found a similarity in making the crustless, ancient Roman *patinae* and medieval pies. Although she is also of the opinion that medieval "torte" shells were not necessarily eaten,[43] the slow and gentle cooking in the special earthenware vessel certainly did not burn the crustless *patinae*.

If not direct evidence, this certainly goes some way against her assumption that strong pie paste must necessarily have been thrown away. In fact, we will see that German cookbooks and the sixteenth-century Transylvanian cookbook, which I have cited at the beginning of this chapter, have the same instructions for baking in a special vessel and painting the paste with lard or butter. This may also prove the international (French and German) popularity of the *Liber de coquina*.[44] The other versions of the *Liber*'s recipe for "torta parmesana" in MSS V,[45] S,[46]

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[41] My translation.

[42] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 72–73. Cf. Santich, "*Testo, Tegamo, Tiella, Tian*: the Mediterranean Camp Oven," in *Oxford Symposium on Food & Cookery 1988: The Cooking Pot*, ed. Tom Jaine (London: Prospect Books, 1989), 139–142.

[43] Sally Grainger, "The *Patina* in Apicius," in *Eggs in Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium of Food and Cookery 2006*, ed. Richard Hosking (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2007), 76–84.

[44] Capatti and Montanari, *Italian Cuisine*, 8.

[45] MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1768, 174v–175v, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1768.

[46] Sankt Florian, Codex XI. 100, in Melitta Weiss Adamson, "Mediterranean Cuisine North of the Alps," in *Kunst und Saelde: Festschrift für Trude Ehlert*, ed. Katharina Boll and Katrin Wenig (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2011), 246–247: "[fol. 216ra] 1. Ad faciendum tortam parmesanam [A v 6, B v 6, C 47, M 1 I, T 122, V 80] Accipe pullos bene depilatos et incisos uel demembratos

and Z[47] are not much different from each other, except that the Sankt Florian and Bologna copies sensibly omit the final instruction to present His Highness with the "torta."

In the Biblioteca dell'Università di Bologna MS 158, where fol. 93r–102r contain MS Z of the *Liber de coquina*, the preceding fol. 86r–91v preserved a fragment of another fourteenth-century cookbook. The index of this *Frammento* lists a recipe for "torta parmigiana." Unfortunately, the text itself ends after recipe CXXVII ("Se vuoli rinfuso"), and the recipe for Parma tart, which should follow, was not included.[48] However, another fourteenth-century Italian recipe indicates that regional Italian Parma tarts might have been similar to the one described in the *Liber de coquina*.

The fourteenth-century collection called *Libro per cuoco* (*Anonimo Veneziano*), found in Biblioteca Casanatense MS 225, has a recipe for a "good Parma tart." For twenty-five persons, eight pounds of pork, twelve new and six hard cheeses,

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et suffrige eos cum cepis bene tritis et cum lardo. in bona quantitate et decoctis illis pullis ad sufficientiam pone desuper species quod sufficiant et de sale / accipe etiam herbas odoriferas in bona quantitate et tere fortiterer [!] et super pone de Croco Accipe ventrescam porcinam et lixa fortiter et excoria eam et appone medullam siue pigwedinem eiusdem et percutias cum cutello spisse et fortiter et misce cum herbis predictis et cum aliquantulo de caseo gratato et accipe de hijs aliquam quantitatem et facias inde rauioloos albos. Accipe petrocillos et alias herbas odoriferas et caseum recentem et fac inde rauiolos virides et omnes superius dictas distempera cum ouis / / Accipe etiam amidalarum quantitatem mundatarum et tere ea [A v 6, B v 6, V 80 *eas*] fortiter et diuide per medietatem in quo vna parte ponas de speciebus in bona quantitate. Et in alia ponas zuccarum de vtrisque quantitatibus facias rauiolos semotim Recipe oua et fac ea plena Accipe etiam budella porcina bene pingwia et lota et imple ea de bonis herbis et caseo et lixa bene / / Recipe presucum crudum et incide subtiliter et sal similem [M 1 i *salcizias simili modo*] facias et ova fracta uel trita uel dilazata et misce cum quantitate herbarum primo superius dictarum et distemperato hec misce cum pullis predictis et in vase [Following *in* is deleted.] pone in prunis et misce frequenter cum cocleari donec sit spissum et postea distrahe ab igne et apporta de sale recipe farinam mundam et albam et fac inde pastam solidam et fac inde formam admodum teste et appone farinam paulisper inter pastam et testam et cum cocleari recipe de brodio predictorum pullorum et invnge eam pastam et facias in predicta pasta solarium carnium ipsorum pullorum In secundo solario pone rauiolos albos et saporem desuper. Et in tertio Solario pone persucum et sal [M 1 i *salicas*, V 80 *salcicias*] / In quarto solario de eisdem carnibus. In quinto de rauiolis amigdalarum et in quolibet solario. [fol. 216rb] ponantur daptile et etiam pone desuper de predictis carnibus et sapore in quolibet solariorum ponas species ad sufficientiam postea ponas pastam desuper quod. sufficiat et habeas prunas et frequenter discoperias et invnge cum lardo et si forte frangeretur torta predicta accipe pastam subtiliter operatam et balnea eam cum aqua et pone super fracturam et ponas testam calidam desuper et comede etc."

[47] Francesco Zambrini, ed., *Il libro della cucina* (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1863), 59–61: "De la torta parmesana."

[48] Olindo Guerrini, ed., *Frammento di un libro di cucina del sec. XIV* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1887), 17.

six chickens, four capons, twenty-four eggs, and one pound of dates are used, along with twenty-six and a half pounds of "sweet spice," and various herbs. If nothing else, the large number of persons and the comparatively great quantity of spices (more than one pound per person) indicates that this pie must have been extraordinary and, maybe, intended for a feast. At the end of the recipe, it is even pointed out that the pie "needs to be … heavy with spice." Just as in the recipe for "torta parmesana" in the *Liber de coquina*, the cook is instructed to make white and green *ravioli* with some of the cheese, eggs, and herbs. These *ravioli,* the dismembered chicken, and the meat puree made with pork appear to make up the filling of the pastry, in different layers, just as in the recipe in the *Liber de coquina*. We are not told how to make the crust, only that the tart "needs to be yellow, and fat with lard." The recipe adds that it can be baked in a copper or earthenware vessel.[49]

Was a hard crust intended or assumed, similar to the one in the *Liber de coquina*? Or should we take the words "yellow, and fat with lard" as an indication that this was a new-fashioned tart, using crust with added lard and saffron? The same Venetian cookbook also has a recipe for "torta de Romania," which specifies that its crust has to be thin and yellow.

But this "torta de Romania" provides an interesting comparison to all the other Italian and "Italian" recipes, since the name does not appear in any other cookbook. According to this recipe, a "tart from Romagna" for twelve persons is made with six chickens, four fresh or aged cheeses, twelve eggs, thirty dates, a pound of raisins, a pound of sloes, half an ounce of cinnamon strips, half an ounce of ginger, an eighth of an ounce of cloves, half an ounce of saffron, two ounces of pine nuts, and four ounces of "sweet yellow spices." The quantity

[49] "CXII. Torta parmesana bona. Torta parmesana per XXV persone. Toy octo libre lonza de porcho e toy XII casi freschi e toy VI caxi passi e XXVI e meza libra de specie dolze e VI polastri e quatro caponi, e toy la lonza del porco, alessala bene e quando l' è cocta batilla e batilla con essa quantità de menta e de petrosemolo; e toy VI caxi freschi e XXIIII ova de quelle che tu ay e lardo insalato tanto che basta e ben batuto, e specie e zafarano assai e de queste cosse fa un bon batuto e ben zallo. E tolli do caxi freschi e biancho d' ova e pestalo e fane rafioli bianche infina a VIIII con croste de pasta, e toy do caxi freschi e uno passo e menta e petrosemolo e pesta insieme e fane XII rafioli verdi. Toy IIII caxi e fane belle fette per traverso e toy li polli e smenbrali e fay de uno menbro doy e mitilli a friger in lardo insalato e ben distruto e ben collato e specie dentro a sofriger e anchora .I. datalli bene festugati de cinamo e de zenzevro e garofalli e miti questi rafioli a lessare in aqua; quando sono trati fuora polverizialli de specie dolze, o miti dentro a solo e poni crosta di sopra. Questa torta vole essere zalla e ben grassa de lardo e ponderossa de specie, e posse fare per piú o per meno persone e se tu la fa in testo de ramo, la vole pocho foco; in testo de terra ge volo assai foco." Ludovico Frati, ed., *Testi antichi di gastronomia: Libro di cucina del secolo XIV* (Livorno: Arnaldo Forni, 1899), 57–58.

of spice, and especially of cloves, seems more sensible than the one given for, previously, Parma tart. Although some of these ingredients are different (and may represent a different, regional taste), the methods seem to be just the same. As with Parma tart, the cook is instructed to make *ravioli* and dismember the chicken. Along with the fruits, nuts, and spices, these will be layered upon a thin bottom crust, "crosta sutille in lo testo." Its top crust should be also thin, "sotille," and yellow.[50]

Given these instructions, it would seem that Northern Italy started using enriched crust earlier than Naples, whose practices the *Liber de coquina* documents. But all the Italian tarts appear to have been complex, multi-layered concoctions.

Parma Tarts, Lombard Tarts and Custards

Such complex and refined pastries might have been tantalizing for commoners, as well. We find the first recipe for "tourtes Pisaines" or "tourtes Lombardes" in the *Ménagier de Paris*. In the book, a set menu for a flesh-day dinner recommends Pisan or Lombard tarts as a second course. They are called Lombard tarts "in several places," adds the author, because Pisa is in Lombardy. These contains chicks in the filling,[51] which seems to resemble the Italian recipes' way of adding chicken pieces. However, the *Ménagier*'s meaning of this will become apparent only in its recipe for chicken pie.

According to the *Ménagier*, ordinary chicken pie is made by laying the chicken in paste, on its back, with its breast upwards, covering its breast with large pieces

[50] "CXIV. Torta de Romania. A ffare torta de Romania per XII persone, togli VI polastri e 4 caxi freschi o passi e XII ova e XXX datali e una libra de uva passa e una de sosina e meza onza de cinamo intriego e meza onza de zenzevro e mezo quarto di garofalli e mezo de zafarano e do onze de pignoli mondi e quatro onze de specie dolze ben zalle; toy questi polastri ben lavati e smenbrati e mitili a sofrigere in lardo distruto e colato e la prima volta che tu li meti con li polastri sea specie dolze, e toy lo caxo fresco che tu ay e fa rafioli quanti ne pol ensier e lessali in aqua. Quando sono cocti polverizage de spesie fine e quando li polastri sono sofriti assay mitige uno meiole d' aqua, e quando sono apresso cocti, metige uno caxo strito e colato e VIII rossi d' ova e cinamo e zenzevro rosso; toy garofalli e pignoli mondi e uva passa bene lavate e di specie e zafarano assay e guarda queste cosse del tropo foco tanto che siano ben cocte e mitige de la crosta sutille in lo testo, e meti queste cosse dentro e rafioli e ogni cossa dentro a solo; e poni una crosta de sopra sotille e ben zalo. Questa torta vuol poco foco e sono a coxere may le croste a incorporare lo batuto, etc." Frati, *Libro di cucina del secolo XIV*, 60–61.

[51] "…d'oiselets tourtes Pisaines (*id est* de Pise en Lombardie, et dit-l'en tourtes Lombardes, et y a des oiselets parmi la farce, et en plusieurs lieux cy-après dit tourtes Lombardes)." Jérome Pichon, ed., *Le Ménagier de Paris, traité de morale et et d'économie domestique composé vers 1393 par un bourgeois Parisien […]* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles François, 1846), 93.

of lard, and covering it (with more paste?).[52] This is also the recipe Santich primarily bases her theory on.[53] But, the *Ménagier* goes on, chicken pie "à la mode Lombarde" is also made by larding a chicken and covering it with paste, except one now adds beaten egg yolks and whites, verjuice, and powdered spice, as well.[54]

Note that we get no instructions as to the ingredients of the paste or the preferred baking method. Neither are the chickens pre-cooked (they are just cleaned). If Santich is right and ordinary chicken pie represents the old method, one suspects that the *Ménagier*'s recipe for Lombard chicken pie is just a poor, commoner's imitation of the genuine delicacy. Here, the filling is nowhere near the elaboration required in "torta parmesana." If anything, it rather resembles the fourteenth-century recipe for simple chicken or bird pie, "copum de pullis" from the *Liber de coquina,* made with stiff paste.[55] It is even possible that the *Ménagier*'s recipe used the appealing name of the new "tortes," but made do with an old pie.

The fact that the *Ménagier*'s "tourtes Lombardes" are also recommended as a fourth course in a fish-day dinner adds to the mystery.[56] If, similar to the two recipes found in the *Modus viaticorum*, there was also a fish-filled variety of Lombard tart, the *Ménagier* does not give us the recipe for it.

Since Master Chiquart has an alternative, Lenten recipe for "tortres parmeysines," it is indeed likely that two pies made with different fillings were still called Parma tart. Because Master Chiquart recommends this one also for a supper course (just as he did with the meat-filled version), it seems that the difference was perceived as simply functional. "For the supper of those who do not eat meat … Parma tarts," writes Master Chiquart.[57]

In fact, the same fruits, nuts, herbs, spices, and sugar are used for making "tortres parmeysines de poyssons." One just needs to exchange pork for tuna or

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[52] "Poucins soient mis en pasté, le dos dessoubs et la poictrine dessus, et larges lesches de lart sur la poictrine; et puis couvers." Pichon, *Le ménagier de Paris*, 185.

[53] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 69.

[54] "Item, à la mode Lombarde, quant les poucins sont plumés et appareillés, aiez oeufs batus, c'est assavoir moyeux et aubuns, avec vertjus et pouldre, et mouillez vos poucins dedans: puis mettez en pasté et des lesches de lart comme dessus." Pichon, *Le ménagier de Paris*, 185.

[55] MSS A and B: "23. -- De copo auium: ad faciendum copum de pullis uel aliis auibus, depluma et monda eos; et demembrentur uel integre remaneant; sed magis proprie sunt demembrate. Postea, accipe pastam albam ualde duram et fac formam copi et ibi pone aues predictas cum agresta non tritta, safrano et speciebus trittis et paruo de aqua frigida et paruis larcellis. Postmodum claudatur de pasta desuper et coquatur in furno uel testo. Et da comedere." Gloning, "Liber de coquina."

[56] Pichon, *Le ménagier de Paris*, 102.

[57] "Pour le soupper de ceulx qui ne menguent point /65r/ de char: le poisson blanc en lieu de roust, ung broet de verjust sur le poysson frit, les tortres parmeysines, le poisson frit et le saupiquet sus, et ung boullir lardé de grosses tenches." Scully, "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart," 170.

carp, pike, and eels; oil for lard; almond milk and "amidon" for cheese and eggs. The making of the crust is not described. But the final instructions are certainly interesting. Before the tarts are covered and sent to the oven, the cook has to put in three or four pieces of pre-boiled and fried eels. This has to be done "l'un cza et l'autre la, entant qu'ilz ne soient point ensemble,"[58] the same phrase that Master Chiquart has already used for sticking the birds in the pork hash used in his previous recipe for Parma tart. So, the exchange of quartered birds for eels still preserves the visual design of the Parma tart. Maybe this is the reason for the same name?

And yet, a few of the recipes for Lombard tarts or (according to the English way of naming them) custards are for meatless and fishless pies. For example, in

[58] "Or je, Chiquart, vueil donner a entendre a celluy qui sera ordonné a fayre les tortres parmeysines de poyssons, qui prenne les ventreches de tons s'il est en lieu ou il puisse avoir poissons de mer, et si non qu'il prenne tant plus de celluy de eaue doulce, c'est assavoir grosses carpes fendisses, grosses anguilles et lucz gros fendis, et de cela prenne tant grant quantité que il lui sera ordonné a faire desdictes tortes; et prennés de raisins confitz, prunes, figues, dactes, pignions, et de cela prennés d'une chascune ce que luy semblera de prendre selon la quantité desdictes tortes; puis, pour lesdictes tortres, qui soient despiecés, nectoiés et lavés et mis cuire bien et nectement ; et, estre bien cuis, si le tirés hors sur belles et nectes tables ou postz et qui soit estaillés des ossees et des arrestes tresbien et appoint affin qu'il n'y demoure nulz ossellez, et si les chapplés bien et minument; et les raisins dessusditz soient tresbien espicollés, le pignions tresbien nectoiés, les figues, prunes, et dactes soient taillees par minuz dees; et, toutes ces choses ainsi faictes, fors le grein, soient tresbien lavees en vin blanc et esgoutees, et puis les meslees avecques le grein du poisson dessusdit. Et encour plus fault avoir, selon la quantité desdictes tortres que avés a faire, que vous hayés de percy, de margellaine et de salvi, et d'une chescune herbe et de ceste herbe la quantité selon la force d'une chescune, c'est assavoir du percy mais et des autres mains; et qu'elles soient bien nectoyees, lavees et tresbien achiees et puis les mesclés avecques le grein dessusdit. Et, estre ce fait, ayés de bel oyle cler et nect et bien affiné et puis ayeés une belle poille grande et necte et soit assise sur beau feu cler et tout cela mectés dedans, et que vous ayés ung bon compaignion atout une belle, grande et necte cuillier qui mene tresbien et fort par ladicte poile; et faictes que vous haiés vostre lait d'amendres bien espés et coulés par l'estamine, et de l'amidon grant foyson selonc la quantité des tortres que vous avés et mectés tout dedans pour le lier; et puis mectés voz espices parmy vostre grein tousjours en broiant et menant parmy la poile, c'est assavoir gingibre blanc, granne de paradis et du poyvre pou, et du saffrant qui lui donne couleur, et du giroffle entier et du succre pisié en poudre grant foyson, et du sel pour raison. Et faictes que vous partissiés ait fait bien et appoint les crotelletes desdictes tortes et, estre faictes, si prennés de la farce dussusdicte et mectés en chescune ce que s'en devra faire. Et puis faictes que vous haiés tres grande quantité de bons et beaux trençons d'anguilles belles et bonnes qui soient bien et appoint cuictes en eaue et, estre cuictes, mectés les frire et essuier en de bel oyle et necte; et, estre frit, si en tirés dehors les arestes; et puis en une chescune torte si en mectés troys ou .iiiie. tros, l'un cza et l'autre la, entant qu'ilz ne soient point ensemble; et puis couvrés les tortres et mectés ou four et, estre cuictes, mectés les par voz platz et en alés servir." Scully, "Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart," 171–172.

the fifteenth century, *Le vivendier de Kassel* details how to make a filling with eggs, cheese, sweet cream, and wine, flavored with cinnamon and sugar.[59] Since the English word *custard* (which means a concoction of just milk, eggs, and sugar now) derives from the French *croustade* and Italian *crostata*, both meaning "pie,"[60] the evolution of the English word's meaning may reflect the changes in the English pie's content.

The fifteenth-century Harleian MS 279 has a recipe for "crustade lumbard," which is filled with just a mixture of cream, eggs (both the yolks and whites), bone marrow, dates, and prunes, flavored with parsley, sugar, and salt.[61] In the same collection, the previous recipe for "crustade" is, actually, closer to the Parma tarts we have discussed so far, because it contains pieces of boiled veal "couched" in the egg-based filling.[62] And yet, this "crustade lumbard" is not Lenten fare, because the recipe notes to omit the eggs and marrow, "ȝif it be in lente."

Another fifteenth-century collection, in Harleian MS 4016, includes a very similar recipe for "custard lumbarde,"[63] and a recipe for "custarde" (also with

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[59] Bruno Laurioux, ed., "Le vivendier de Kassel," in Bruno Laurioux, *Le Règne de Taillevent: Livres et pratiques culinaires à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 305: "Pour faire une torte lombarde. Prenez oes fres, fin fromage fondant, gratté ou hachié menu ou par dez quarez, cresme doulce et vin, canelle et chucquere; batez tout ensamble puis ayez bure fres, fondu chault, mettez dedens, en retournant dilligemment qu'il narde."

[60] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "custard (*n.*)" and "† crustade (*n.*)."

[61] "xvij. Crustade lumbard. —Take gode Creme, & leuys of Percely, & Eyroun, þe ȝolkys & þe whyte, & breke hem þer-to, & strayne þorwe a straynoure, tyl it be so styf þat it wol bere hym-self; þan take fayre Marwe, & Datys y-cutte in .ij. or .iij. & Prunes; & putte þe Datys an þe Prunes & Marwe on a fayre cofynne, y-mad of fayre past, & put þe cofyn on þe ovyn tyl it be a lytel hard; þanne draw hem out of þe ouyn; take þe lycour & putte þer-on, & fylle it vppe, & caste Sugre y-now on, & Salt; þan lat bake to-gederys tyl it be y-now; & ȝif it be in lente, lef þe Eyroun & þe Marwe out, [leaf 40, back.] & þanne serue it forth." Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, 51.

[62] ".xvj. Crustade.—Take vele, an smyte in lytel pecys in-to a potte, an wayssche yt fayre; þan take fayre water, & lat yt boyle to-gedere with Percely, Sawge, Sauerey, & Ysope smal y-now an hew; & whan it is on boylyng, take pouder Peper, Canell, Clowys, Maces, Safroun, & lat hem boyle to-gederys, & a gode dele of wyne þer-with. Whan þe fleyssche is y-boylid, take it fro þe broþe al clene, & lat þe broþe kele; & whan it is cold, take Eyroun, þe whyte & þe ȝolkys, & cast þorw a straynoure, & put hem in-to the broþe, so many þat þe broþe be styf y-now; þen make fayre cofyns, & cowche .iij. pecys or .iiij. of þe fleyssche in a cofyn; þan take Datys, & kytte hem, & cast þer-to; þan take pouder Gyngere, & a lytel verious, & putte in-to þe broþe & Salt; & þan putte þe broþe on þe cofyns, bake a lytel with þe fleyssche or þou putte þin lycoure þer-on, & lat al bake to-gederys tyl it be y-now; þanne *take [supplied by ed.]* yt owt, and serue hem forth." Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, 50–51.

[63] "Take good creme, *and ffoiles of [deleted in MS]**. and yolkes And white of egges, and breke hem thereto, and streyne hem alł þorgh a straynour tiłł hit be so thik that it wołł bere him self; And take

veal). This recipe for "custard lumbarde" also offers an alternative for Lent—the eggs and marrow should be exchanged for imitation cream, made with almonds. Both recipes for Lombard custard need a crust "y-mad of fayre past," and blind baked until it gets "a lytel hard" (as the recipe in Harleian MS 279 puts it). This combination of filling and crust seems to contradict Santich's distinction between the characteristics of the old pies and new "tortes."

The Wagstaff Miscellany (Beinecke MS 163) also has a recipe for "crustad lumbard," which reads like a combination of English and continental recipes. As we have seen with the French recipes, Parma tarts (but certainly not Lombard pies) are usually filled with a puree in which larger pieces of meat or fish are set. In this English recipe, a "syrip" is made with cream (of cow's milk) and egg yolks, flavored with spice powder, sugar, and salt, colored with saffron and red sandalwood. The cook is instructed to "set … yn ther own syrip" dates, bone marrow, rabbits, and small birds parboiled in broth, cloves, mace, raisins, and pre-fried pine nuts.

During Lenten time, the cook needs to exchange the cream and eggs for a thick almond milk. Interestingly, this Lenten version of the recipe does not use eel pieces (or other fish) instead of the meat pieces, but whole pears, boiled, filled with the same spice mix as used for the dates, and (optionally) even battered and fried. The substitution for pears is an English touch on the recipe. Certainly, the recommendation to gild the pear stalks is a curious one.[64] The sight of the gilt stalks sticking out of the custard would have been spectacular. Since, however, stalks are inedible, this seems to contradict Santich, according to whom gilding and "endoring" indicates that the part was intended to be eaten.

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faire Mary, And Dates, cutte in ij. or iij. and prunes, and put hem in faire coffyns of paast; And theñ put þe coffyñ in añ oveñ, And lete hem bake tiłł thei be hard, And theñ drawe hem oute, and putte the licoure into þe Coffyns, And put hem into þe oveñ ayeñ, And lete hem bake till they be ynogħ, but cast sugur and salt in þi licour whañ ye putte hit into þe coffyns; And if hit be in lentoñ, take creme of Almondes, And leve the egges And the Mary." Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, 74.

[64] "Make large cofynys take datys pyke out the skynnys & yf thu wilte thu may cut thy datys or els stop hem with blanch poudyr with yn & do ther to grete gobets of marye & couch ther yn rabets with the marye & small bryddys perboylyd well in fat broth & couch in þer to clovis macys reysons of corauns & fry pynes & strew þeron & set hem yn ther own syrip of creme of cowmylke yolkes of eyron & good poudyr sygure saundres safron & salt fyl hem ther with and on fisch days boyle wardons tendyr or othir perys pare hem & hole hem at the crown fil hem full of blaunch poudyr & turne yn the poudyr of gynger that the poudyr lese ther yn & set hem in cofyns & the stalkes vpward & yf thu wilte thu may turne hem that they be hid yn bature & fry hem or thu couch hem let no flesch come ther to make thy syripe of thicke mylke of almondys make vp thy crustardys as thu dedyst on fisch days when they be bake yf thu wilte thy may gylte the stalkys of the perys & syve hem forth." Fol. 71r, accessed June 5, 2020, https://brbl-zoom.library.yale.edu/viewer/1013048.

In Holkham MSS 674, another fifteenth-century English recipe for "custad lombard," also uses dates, marrow, and small birds parboiled in broth, cloves, mace, raisins, and pre-fried pine nuts. However, the procedure seems to be the other way around. These larger pieces are put in the crust first, then the cook is instructed to pour upon them a "coup" of cream and egg yolks, flavored with spice powder and salt, colored with saffron and red sandalwood. On fish days, these are to be exchanged for pears filled with a spice mix and a "coup" of imitation cream made with almonds. Again, the pear stalks should be gilt.[65]

Apparently, fifteenth-century English cooks and their lords liked a much more liquid filling for the puree that encased the characteristically large pieces in a Parma tart. Made with just milk and eggs, it seems to be the ancestor of modern English custards. Indeed, it would have been so runny as to require an old-fashioned pie crust to hold the liquid until it set. While this custom constituted a difference between English and French or Italian recipes for the same tart, using milk for a filling and a stiff crust were already used by the *Liber de coquina*. However, in the fourteenth-century Italian cookbook and its copies, this pastry was called *copum* or *pastillum* "made with milk."[66] According to Santich, the Italian words *pastero*, *pastello*, and *coppo* meant an old-fashioned pie.[67] As we have seen, the same old-fashioned milk pie, combined with the visual design of French "Parma" tarts, could be called, a century later, a Lombard custard by several English cookbooks.

As opposed to these English recipes, a fifteenth-century Dutch version of Lombard tart seems to have been made with solid ingredients. Found in the University Library of Gent MS 1035, and titled *Wel ende edelike spijse* by its editor

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[65] "To mak custad lombard mak a large coffyn then tak dates from the stones tak gobettes of mary and smalle birdes and parboile them in salt brothe and couche ther in then tak clowes mace and raisins of corans and pynes fryed and strawe ther on and sett them in the oven to bak and luk ye haue a coup of cowes creme yolks of eggs good pouderes saffron sanderes and salt then fill the coffins ther with, and on fishe daies boille wardens or other peres paire them and hole them at the crown then fill them full of blaunche poudur and torn them in blaunche poudur and skoche them all about that the pouder may abid ther in then set the stalks upryght and ye may mak your coup of creme of almondes and shak up your custad as ye did of flesche and when they be bak gilt the stalkes of the peres and serue them." Mrs. Alexander Napier, ed., *A Noble boke off cookry ffor a prynce houssolde or eny other estately houssolde: reprinted verbatim from a rare ms. in the Holkham collection* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), 53–54.

[66] MSS A and B: "III. […] 4. – De copo siue de pastillo de lacte: ad copum de lacte, accipe pastam duram et fac copum sicut panem unius pastilli; et pone in furno parum, ut aliquantulum dure fiat. Deinde, accipe lac cum ouis batutis simul mixtis et safranum et proice in dicto copo, sed non multum impleas. Et decoque competenter et comede." Gloning, "Liber de coquina." MS V, fol. 185r–v, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1768.

[67] Santich, "The Evolution of Culinary Techniques in the Medieval Era," 68.

and translator Christianne Muusers, the collection includes a recipe for "tart from Lombardy." Its filling seems to defy the medieval custom of separating meat from Lenten fare, because it is made by layering pike, pork ribs, and capons, cooked in water and chopped, with candied spices. As to how its paste should be made, Muusers translates, "make a cup of dough, well deep (or: high?) as if it were meant for a [raised] pasty." This, and the final instruction to "pour boiling fat over it"[68] reads as a somewhat simpler or rudimental, but just as luxurious, version of the *Viandier*'s and Master Chiquart's Parma tarts.

It appears that in France, Lombard tart underwent even more radical changes. An updated and re-edited version of the *Viandier*, printed in 1555, in Lyon,[69] gives two recipes for "tortue de lombardie." The first recipe instructs the cook to make a mixture out of new cheese, egg yolks, and cream, flavored with marjoram. Instead of a bottom crust, a mere sprinkling of flour is used in an iron vessel well lined with butter. The cook should pour the raw filling upon this layer of butter and flour, cover with another vessel, and set it in the embers. This is, in fact, a version of the Italian *testo* method, because embers should be put upon the top vessel, too. The recipe warns the cook to take care that the "tortue" should not get burnt. While the final sprinkling of rose water and sugar makes this an elite dish,[70] the lack of a crust moves it farther away from medieval "tortes" and closer to ancient Roman *patinae*.

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[68] ".x. Omme te maken taerten van lombaerdien die neemt snouke in water ghezoden Ghesneden in cleenen sticken zwijnen rebben Capoene in water ghezoden wel vercoelt ende dan hebt dragye ende maect eenen cop van deeghe wel diepe als oft ware teender pasteyen doeter in een bedde van dragien dan van snouken dan van capoenen bouen ende worpter wallende smout vp" (Fol. 2v; Muusers' edition and English translation accessed June 2, 2020, https://www.coquinaria.nl/kooktekst/Edelikespijse1.htm#1.10).

[69] *Livre fort excellent de cuysine très utille et proffitable, contenant en soy la manière d'abiller toutes viandes, avec la manière de servir* ès *banquetz et festins, le tout veu et corrigé oultre la première impression par le grant escuyer de cuysine du Roy* (Lyon, 1555). We find the colophon at the end: "Cy finist le livre de cuysine nouvellement imprimé à Lyon par Olivier Arnoullet, le IX. jour de mars CCCCC LV." Accessed June 7, 2020, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626163t/f7.image.

[70] *Livre fort excellent,* [iii]. "Tortue de lombardie. Pour faire vne tortue de Lōbardie a la poille prenez de la mariolaine et la broyez en vng mortier. Et vng fromaige tout nouueau faict mettez y dessus moyeulx doeufz et vng peu de cresme pour le faire prēdre et les broiez bien fort ensemble en vng mortier – puis prenez vne poille de fer et lengressez bien de beurre et quāt elle fera bien engressee iectez le beurre hors & puis ayez de la belle farine & la semez tresbien en vostre poille & alors iectez en icelle poille vostre faict & le mettez sur cendres chauldes. Et couurez bien icelle poille dune aultre ou dung bassin & mettez du feu par dessus & gardez quelle ne bruste. Puis les lauerez par les costez de beurre – affin quelle ne tienne a la poille – puis quant elle fera cuicte mettez les en vng plat seme de belle eaue rose et grant foyson de sucre dessus."

The second, alternative recipe in the *Livre fort excellent* uses different ingredients and methods. Resembling English tastes, beef marrow is cooked and mixed with breadcrumbs and egg yolks. Flavored with cinnamon and a lot of sugar, this will be the filling for what seems like a common pie. As opposed to the previous recipe for "Tortue de lombardie" in the book, now "a little of your paste" (of unknown composition) is baked over a gentle fire in a vessel previously lined with butter or lard. Although this one, also called "tortue de lombardie," receives a final sprinkling of sugar, the two recipes stand in stark contrast to each other in the book.[71]

Italian Pastries and Tarts, a Genoan and a Bolognese Tart

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German cookbooks invariably use names such as "pastries made in the Italian way," or "Italian tart." The only exception to this, it seems, is the cookbook of Sabina Welserin, who included a recipe for "Genoan tart." She does not give the ingredients for the crust. Her filling, however, is unique, and may be genuinely Italian, as it contains chard or spinach, cheese, and milk.[72]

Welserin's recipe for "Italian tart" is even more curious. She instructs the cook to make a filling with twelve pears, baked and mashed with sugar and twelve eggs. "Make a thin dough with eggs," she continues, "pour in the hot pan, and let it cook, until it is firm." Now the filling should be poured in and baked.[73] On the face of it, her "Italian tart" resembles rather a pancake or a French *clafoutis*.

About a decade later, in 1566, a cookbook printed in Frankfurt published a different recipe for "pasteten auff Welsche art." The pastries' filling seems to

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[71] *Livre fort excellent,* [vi]. "Tortue de lombardie en aultre maniere. Pour vne tortue de lombardie – prenez de la mouelle de beuf fort boully & puis le haches bien deslye pour les espices de la canelle et grant foison de succre hachez auec la mye de pain & moieux deufz & hachez tout ensemble – puis fondes du beurre ou du sain de porc en vne poelle mettes vng peu vostre paste dedās la poille sur charbons et puis le descendes aulcuneffois quelle ne tienne a la poille - & si elle tient aulcunemēt si lengresses dung peu de beurre. Et la seruez toute chaulde & a le seruir mettes du succre dessus."

[72] "Ain jenaweser torta zú machenn Nempt 36 lott mangoldt oder spinetkraút, 6 lott geriben kesß, 5 lott bamel, 12 lott gerente milich, das keslin darúon, vnnd das kraút brien, aúch klainhacken vnnd als vnnderainanderrieren vnnd ain torta daraús machen mit ainer deckin/." Gloning, "Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin (c. 1553)."

[73] "Ain welschen torten zú machen/ Nim 12 regelbiren vnnd brats gar behendt aúff ainer gar reschen glút, bis die schelff verprent wirt vnnd das ander lind wirt, darnach treibs dúrch vnnd thú zúcker, zimerrerlach darein vnnd 12 air/ mach ain tinn taiglin an mit airen vnnd geúsß jn die haisß torttenpfannen vnnd lasß bachen, bis es hert wirt, vnnd geús den zwer darein vnnd lasß bachen." Gloning, "Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin (c. 1553)."

be made in the same way Parma tarts and Lombard custards were made, since a mixture of three eggs, chicken broth, milk or wine, salt, and chopped parsley should hold roast chicken or other birds, roasted or cooked pears, and sausage. The wheatmeal crust should be hard, but the earthenware vessel used for baking should be lined with butter. It would seem that German cooks found a way (or borrowed from Italians) to make hard paste edible, since the recipe emphasizes that "the hot butter should reach the bottom," and "sink in." The cook is warned that "the crust should not get burnt."[74]

We find nearly the same recipe in a 1530 cookbook printed in Augsburg.[75] The book is a translation of *De honesta voluptate* by Bartolomeo Platina, but the German recipe does not seem to correspond to any of Platina's "torta" recipes.

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[74] "Pasteten auff Welsche art zu machen. KNitt Weitzen Mehl/ vnd stoß es hart/ mach einen Hafen daraus in ein ander [<einander] verglast scherben gerecht/ thu warme Butter darzwischen/ klopffs gar wol zum teig/ füll drein Eyer/ Hünerbrüh/ Milch oder Wein/ würtz ab/ Saltz/ vnd gehackte Peterlin/ thu gebrahten Hüner vnd Vögel geschicklich auch darein/ desgleichen Fleisch/ Birn/ oder derre Würst/ alles gebrahten oder gesotten. Also setz du den Hafen zu einer Gluot/ on rauch/ je lenger je neher/ geus je ein wenig buttern in Scherben/ das der Teig nicht anbrenne/ wenn die füll backt/ reib die scherben offt vmb/ das es gleiche hitze hab/ geus je ein halben löffel Buttern daran/ so hat sie messig feucht/ stich je mit eim Höltzlin [Hötzlin] bis an Boden/ das die heisse Butter zu grund gehe/ so wird die füll hart/ darnach thu es vom fewr/ wenn die Butter eingesuncken/ so heb den Teighafen aus in ein Schüssel/ trag es so verdecket für. Wenn du den Scherben ansetzest/ bedeck jn mit einer warmen Pfann/ die so weit sey/ das sie die Scherben vnd Teighafen begreiff/ oder mach ein blat vom Teig/ daraus der Hafen gemacht ist/ vnd decks darüber. Oder zwecks auff ein Bret/ das da nicht zerfalle/ vnd lug dazu wie sich die füll setzt/ vnd das der Teighafen nicht anbrenne." Thomas Gloning, "Koch vnd Kellermeisterey 1566," accessed June 5, 2020, https://www.uni-giessen.de/fbz/fb05/germanistik/absprache/sprachverwendung/gloning/tx/kochkell.htm.

[75] "Pasteten auff Welsche art zumachen. Knit weytzen mehl vnd stoß hart / Mach ein hafen drauß in einander verglast scherben gerecht / thu warm butter dazwischenn / klopff gar wol zuo einer fülle drein / eyer / hünerbrü / milch oder wein / würtz ab / saltz vnd gehackten peterlin / thu gebraten hüner vnd vögel geschicklich auch darein / des gleich fleisch / biren oder dürre würst alles gebraten oder gesotten / Also setz den hafen zu einer glut on rauch / ye lenger ye näher / Geuß ye ein wenig buttern in scherben / daz der teig nit anbrinn / wenn die füll bacht / reib die scherben offt vmb / daz er gleich hitze hab / geuß je ein halben löffel butterdran / so hat sy messig feuche / stich mit eim höltzlin biß an boden / das dye heyß butter ȝegrunndt gehe / so würt die fül hert / Darnach thus vom fewr / wenn der butter eingesuncken / so heb den tayghafen auß in ein schüssel / Trags so verdeckt für. Wenn du den scherben ansetzest / bedeck yn mit einer warmen pfann / die so weyt sey das sie die scherben vnd tayghafen begreyffe / oder mach ein blat vom teyg darauß der hafen gemacht ist / vnd decks drüber / Odder zwecks auff ein pret das da nicht zerfalle / vnd lug dartzu wie sich die füll setze / vnd das der tayghafen nicht anprenn." *Von allen Speisen und Gerichten*, accessed June 5, 2020, https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00022997/image_31 and https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00022997/image_32.

Platina does have a recipe for "torta Bononiensis," but his Bolognese tart does not contain any meat. Filled with a mixture of cheese, eggs, lard or butter, and herbs,[76] it is different to German recipes for "Italian pies." It can be said that only Sabina Welserin's "Genoan tart" bears some resemblance to it.

Around 1490, a cookbook printed in Nürnberg gives another recipe for "basteten … nach welschem sitten." The pastry case is made with wheaten flour and cold water only; it should be quite hard. It is baked in an earthenware vessel which is lined with butter beforehand. Again, its filling is made with eggs, chicken soup, milk or wine, spices, parsley, roast or parboiled chicken, roasted pears, and sausage. This recipe warns that the butter should "sink in," and that it should be served for a king or a prince.[77]

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[76] "Torta Bononiensis. Tantum pinguis casei quantum in alba *[sc. torta, ie., libram ac semissem casei]* posui concides ac conteres. Trito, bletas, petroselinum, amaracum, lotum concisum, ova quatuor bene disfracta, tunsum piper, parum croci, multum liquaminis, aut butyri recentis addes, miscebisque manibus, ut unum prope corpus fiant. Hanc item in textum subcrustatum ad focum pones. Semicocta, quo coloratior videatur, ovum cum croco disfractum suffundes. Cocta putato, ubi superiorem crustam levaverit. Haec & superiore deterior est." *Platyne De Honesta Voluptate* (Cividale di Friuli, 1480), accessed June 5, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2011thacher64760/?sp=134 and https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2011thacher64760/?sp=135.

[77] "Jtem basteten zu machen nach welschem sitten. Nym gut weytzen melb dz knit mit kaltem wasser den buch unter dem henden dz er sich laß welgen den leg in einem morser und stoß in gar wol dz er hert werd und würff ye ein steüblein melbs dar zu und wen dz melb üzert wirt so thu in auß und mach ein hafenn darauß in ein alten hafen scherben oder in einem üglesten scherben dz teig und hafen ein weite haben. Der teig eingesetzt den scherben eben gleich mit einem warmen milchschmalz zwischen dem scherben und den teighafen. Nun gehort ein fül darein von ayren. hünerbrw. milch oder wein gar wol geklopfft durch ein ander mit gutten wurtzen abgemacht auch mit saltz und gehackten peterling. dz thu alles in den selbigen teighafen. Vnd stoß auch gebraten oder zu gerust walt vogel darein: Oder gebratten hünner oder gesotten. Jtem die selbigen hüner und auch gebraten zu leg schon also. von geliden zu geliden gantz und gerecht und stoß die auff gericht darein oder von gebraten fleysch oder gebraten birnen oder dür würst gebraten oder gesotten. des geleichenn was du hast. und wen der anstoß geschicht so setz den scherben zu einer roschen gludt on rauch. des ersten feer herdan und ye baß und baß hin zu so begint die füll weiß sein und der teighafen riechen. so geuß ye leicht zu dem teighafen warms milchschmaltz dz der teig nit an den scherben bund. und wen die fül wirt bachen so reib den scherben offt umb das er geleich hitz hab und geuß yeleicht ein halben loffel vol schmaltz an die fül dz die ful die feuchten hab wol zu massen mach ein sauber hultzen spißlein den stos yeleicht in hafen biß an den boden das dz heiß schmaltz zu grundt gee so wirt es bratzlen und sieden biß die fülle hert werde so ist sein genug. So setz es von dem feuer und las das schmaltz einsincken heb den den teighafen auß dem scherben in ein weitte schussel und bedeck in mit einer sauberen schusseln trag in also zu tisch einem konig oder einem fürsten Ich geschweig dem gemeinen man und armer leut die auch gerne darauß essen mocht in ein dych werden. Auch merck wen man den scherben zu dem feür setzt so bedeck in mit einer warmen pfannen die so weit sey das sie den scherben und teighafen woll begrif. Hastu der nit so mach ein

A "Lumber-Pie" and the Lady Lasson's Pie Crust

If there is a common feature of all the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century recipes treated so far, it should be the fact that not many of them give specific instructions for making the crust itself. It would seem that the idea of an "Italian" pie was made up of its filling: a variety of expensive ingredients, and an exciting contrast of textures achieved by combining a soft meat puree or custard with more substantial and solid pieces of meat or fruit. Meanwhile, the cook was free to devise his or her own paste, depending on custom and availability of ingredients.

This understanding of the obvious nature of pie paste continued well into the seventeenth century. When Robert May included a recipe "To make a Lumber-Pie" in his *Accomplisht Cook*, he specified only to "have a pie made and dried in the oven."[78] Ivan Day has identified this "name [as] a corruption of Lombard Pie."[79] Indeed, the "little sausages" in its filling (made with mincemeat, suet, egg yolks, cream, bread crumbs, sugar, herbs, and spices) are quite reminiscent of the *ravioli* found in the pie recipes from Italian cookbooks. However, it is still not clear if its crust was intended to be palatable or rather structural only.

In fact, one of the first historic recipes for a recognizably modern pie crust seems to have nothing to do with Italy. *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened*, published in 1669, has just such a recipe. Although ostensibly compiled from the writings of Sir Kenelm Digby, who lived from time to time in Italy, Spain, and France on account of his Catholic faith,[80] the book does not mention Italy here. Rather, it recommends the (new-fangled?) recipe by its aristocratic inventor. The words suggest that by that time, making a hot water crust might have been the usual method. Or, judging by a recipe in the Lady

blat von dem teig da der haffen außgemachet ist und deck das blat daruber oder zwick es auf ein bret das da nit zu fal und lug dar zu wie sich die fül setz und dz der teighafen nit bryn." *Kuchemaistrey*, accessed June 5, 2020, http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/276-quod-2/start.htm?image=00046.

78 "Take some grated bread, and beef-suet cut into bits like great dice, and some cloves and mace, then some veal or capon minced small with beef suet, sweet herbs, fair sugar, the yolks of six eggs boil'd hard and cut in quarters, put them to the other ingredients, with some barberries, some yolks of raw eggs, and a little cream, work up all together and put it in the caul of veal like little sausages; then bake them in a dish, and being half baked have a pie made and dried in the oven ; put these puddings into it with some butter, verjuyce sugar, some dates on them, large mace, grapes, or barberries, and marrow - being baked, serve it with a cut cover on it, and scrape sugar on it." Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook, or the Art & Mystery of Cookery* (London, 1685).

79 Ivan Day, "Bake Metes and Mince Pies." Accessed January 27, 2021, https://www.historicfood.com/Pie%20recipe2.htm.

80 Anne Macdonell, "Introduction," in *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Knight opened*, ed. Anne Macdonell (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1910), xvii–xxx.

Fanshawe's seventeenth-century household account and recipe book, it might have depended upon the season being summer or winter.[81] Compared to that, the Lady Lasson's innovation of using "cold water" and "raw Butter" must have been revolutionary.[82]

Conclusion and Further Questions

The dichotomy posited by Barbara Santich between the old pies and new-fashioned tarts has proved a useful start. However, the recipes for Parma, Romagnan, Genoan, Bolognese, Lombard tarts and custards, and Italian pastries recorded in Italian, French, English, and German cookbooks show a much more complicated picture. The places to which these ethnonymic recipes refer are all found in Northern Italy. Thus, it is possible that these recipes preserved regional customs and innovations (e.g., the invention of enriched crust, or the custom of combining a variety of ingredients for the filling), which the merchants of these cities might have shared with their French, English, and German business partners or customers. Nearly all the recipes require complicated methods and a large number of luxury ingredients, which would have made these dishes ideal for feasts and representation.

However, it is also clear that a Lombard custard made in England was different to a Lombard tart made by the Dutch. Depending on what was locally available or customary, and which ingredients seemed to represent "Italian"-ness, widely different concoctions could convey the image of luxuriously rich Parma, Bologna, Lombardy, or even Italy to local consumers. It would seem that the use

[81] "To make pasty crust. A ffan + Take as much flower as is proportionable to 6 pounds of butter for a Buck, & 5 for a doe, put therto 16 eggs, cut your butter into the flower, then with a Rowling pin worke it very well together; if in summer, then with cold water: if in winter, with warme. 6 howers is the ordinarie time for baking of fallow, 8 for red deere." "Wellcome Collection: Fanshawe, Lady Ann (1625-1680) (MS7113)," fols. 145r-v, accessed March 7, 2021 at https://fromthepage.com/folger/emroc-transcribathon-2021/fanshawe-lady-ann-1625-1680/display/1680903 and https://fromthepage.com/folger/emroc-transcribathon-2021/fanshawe-lady-ann-1625-1680/display/1680904.

[82] "MINCED PYES. My Lady Lasson makes her finest minced Pyes of Neats-tongues; But she holdeth the most savoury ones to be of Veal and Mutton equal parts very small minced. Her finest crust is made by sprinkling the flower (as much as it needeth) with cold water, and then working the past with little pieces of raw Butter in good quantity. So that she useth neither hot water, nor melted butter in them; And this makes the crust short and light. After all the meat and seasoning, and Plums and Citron Peel, &c. is in the Coffin, she puts a little Ambered-sugar upon it, thus; Grind much two grains of Ambergreece and half a one of Musk, with a little piece of hard loaf Sugar. This will serve six or eight pyes, strewed all over the top. Then cover it with the Liddle, and set it in the oven." Macdonell, *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Knight Opened*, 156.

of enriched pastry or multi-layered fillings was just one of those methods used to achieve this purpose. When, in the sixteenth century, Bartolomeo Scappi made a difference between *pasticcio*, *crostata*, and *torta*,[83] it might have been just a *post facto* effort to try and find something systematic in the bewildering array of temporal and regional customs and nomenclature. Almost a century later, yet another exotic name crops up in English cookbooks for a similarly complex combination of filling and crust. It remains to be seen if the many recipes for "Florentine" tried to convey the image of Florence by re-making and re-naming the old dish.

[83] Capatti and Montanari, *Italian Cuisine*, 60.

"WHY IS THIS GAME SO (DAMN) HARD?" THE TENUOUS BALANCE BETWEEN SIMULATION, HISTORICITY, AND PLAYABILITY IN MEDIEVAL STRATEGY VIDEO GAMES

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

I still remember the first time that I played *Age of Empires*. It was during my eleventh birthday and my parents had bought for me and my twin brother a collector's edition of *Age of Empires* and *Age of Empires II: Age of Kings*. I spent many hours playing both games; it was my first encounter with words like heresy, feudalism, crusade and to historical characters like Frederick Barbarossa, Montezuma, Oda Nobunaga, among many others. It would hardly be an overstatement to claim that one of the reasons, if not the main one, as to why I am a historian today is because of my fascination with *Age of Empires* and many other historical video games. As expected, I learned many things about the past (both classical and medieval) by playing these games. However, imagine my surprise when I started studying history as an undergrad and realized that many of the things that these games had taught me were factually wrong; some were minor issues (like the fact that a phalanx was a battle formation and not a type of soldier as in *Age of Empires*), others were major historical inaccuracies (like the Mongols making it all the way to the Atlantic Ocean in the Genghis Khan campaign in *Age of Empires 2*).

The study of video games as a mechanism to communicate historical knowledge has gained considerable scholarly attention in recent years. Several authors have analyzed how this particular media could be related to historical reenactment,[1] historical simulation and "hyperreality,"[2] the clashing of the modern and the past in video games,[3] and the similarities between historiographical

[1] Vanessa Agnew, "History's Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (September 2007): 299–312; Brian Rejack, "Toward a Virtual Reenactment of History: Video Games and the Recreation of the Past," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (September 2007): 411–425.

[2] Andrew Elliot, "Simulations and Simulacra: History in Video Games," *Práticas Da História* 5 (2017): 11–41.

[3] Daniel Kline, "Introduction: 'All Your History Are Belong to Us': Digital Gaming Re-Imagines the Middle Ages," in *Digital Gaming Re-Imagines the Middle Ages*, Daniel T. Kline (New York: Routledge, 2014), 15–30.

representation and virtual simulation.[4] This last topic is particularly relevant for this paper. If historiography is subject to peer review and gradations of historicity, can we ask the same of virtual historical simulations? The historical accuracy of a video game is a question relevant for both academics and developers. As Martin Bostal has shown, developers' claims to historical precision are used for marketing purposes, as was the case with the Czech game *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* (Warhorse Studios, 2018).[5] However, the question still remains: what makes a video game historically accurate? Or to put it in less absolute terms: what determines the fact that some games are more historically accurate than others? One of the reasons as to why this is a difficult question to answer is because of the very nature of video games.

Different from a television show or a movie, no action can take place in a video game without the agency of the player. The person sitting on the other side of the screen is more than a mere spectator, he/she is a fundamental part in the events being represented by the game, in the words of a Spanish scholar: "what this medium proposes is the contingency not to suppose anything, but rather to see and provoke it […] We play at being gods."[6] Nevertheless, the actions that a game asks of a player vary wildly from one game to the next depending on the genre, the historical period, and the franchise. What a player does in a game set in the ancient world like in the strategy video game *Imperator: Rome* (Paradox Interactive, 2019) is very different from an early modern game like *Empire Total War* (The Creative Assembly, 2009) or *Assassin's Creed Unity* (Ubisoft, 2014), which takes place during the French Revolution. This is possible because video games offer more than a representation of the past: they offer a simulation of it. To simulate something, as defined by Gonzalo Frasca, is "to model a (source) system through a different system which maintains to somebody some of the behaviors of the original system."[7] Frasca's example of a flight simulator nicely explains this

[4] Rolfe Daus Peterson, Andrew Justin Miller, and Sean Joseph Fedorko, "The Same River Twice: Exploring Historical Representation and the Value of Simulation in the Total War, Civilization, and Patrician Franchises," in *Playing with the Past: Digital Games and the Simulation of History*, ed. Matthew Wilhelm Kapell and Andrew B.R. Elliot (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 33–48.

[5] Martin Bostal, "Medieval Video Games as Reenactment of the Past: A Look at Kingdom Come: Deliverance and Its Historical Claim," *Tendencias y Debates: XIV Congreso de La Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, Universidad de Alicante 20–22 de Septiembre de 2018*, coord. Mónica Moreno Seco, ed. Rafael Fernández Sirvent and Rosa Ana Gutiérrez Lloret (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2019), 380–394.

[6] Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, "The Other Possible Past: Simulation of the Middle Ages in Video Games," *Imago Temporis, Medium Aevium* 5 (2011): 301.

[7] Gonzalo Frasca, "Simulation versus Narrative: Introduction to Ludology," in *The Video Game Theory Reader*, ed. Mark J. P. Wolf and Bernard Perron (New York: Routledge, 2003), 223.

definition: we have the original system (an airplane), which is modeled through another system (computer software) so that the behavior of the original will be reproduced in the simulation (if I push the center stick forward the airplane will go down towards the ground).[8]

Simulation allows for player agency in video games, and gameplay allows the conveyance of messages related to the historical period that the game simulates. As Ian Bogost has stated, games are based on a series of rules that drive the action. In the case of video games, these rules are set by the developers in order to let the player know what he/she can or cannot do. Not only that, but through a system of reward and punishment the developers can incentivize one behavior over another and, in this way, communicate a (sometimes highly ideological) message to the player through the act of play.[9] Bogost defines this process as *procedural rhetoric*, the process by which "arguments are made […] through the authorship of rules of behavior, the construction of dynamic models."[10] This process can be seen also outside of video games. Think about crime in our societies. When a state determines that if somebody commits a murder such a person should be arrested, prosecuted, and put in jail if judged guilty and sentenced, it is making a clear rhetorical statement: murder is undesirable for society. Of course, this is explicitly written in the law, but the behaviors and processes that take place out of such an event strengthens this basic message. Video games, because they simulate systems found in reality, work in a very similar fashion.[11]

Keeping these categories in mind, it is important to make a distinction between two main types of historical video games; these are not meant to be exhaustive, but for the purpose of this paper they are useful in order to consider how video games communicate historical knowledge. On the one hand is what I call scripted video games. These games are characterized by being heavily narrative oriented, rather linear, with strong individual characterization, focused on characters and events and very low procedural rhetoric. Games like *Assassin's Creed* (Ubisoft, 2007) and *Dante's Inferno* (Electronic Arts, 2010) fall within this category. In *Assassin's Creed* the player controls Altaïr, a fictional assassin in Palestine during the Third Crusade (1187–1192). The purpose of the game is to explore the various cities in the area

[8] Frasca, "Simulation versus Narrative," 223.

[9] Ian Bogost, "The Rhetoric of Video Games," in *The Ecology of Games: Connecting Youth, Games and Learning*, ed. Katie Salen (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008), 120–122.

[10] Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007), 29.

[11] Bogost exemplifies this point with the case of *The McDonald's game*, see Bogost, "The Rhetoric of Video Games," 29–31.

(Damascus, Acre, and Jerusalem) in order to carry out the selective assassination of Templar operatives in the area. The gameplay is heavily based on the use of stealth to carry out these assassinations and the acrobatic exploration of the cities in order to escape, while the historical processes and dynamics are exposed to the player through visuals and exposition. I claim that *Assassin's Creed* is a game with little procedural rhetoric because the gameplay has little to do with the simulation of past social dynamics, with the possible exception of the stealth mechanic, which somehow simulates the historical assassins' *modus operandi*. Besides this, the game is rather linear, with one single possible ending and with a strong focus on the games' narrative and the events of the Third Crusade.

Characterization is another key element in this type of game. As Dorothee Hefner, Christoph Klimmt, and Peter Voderer have shown, identification of the player with the in-game character is an important element in video game enjoyment. According to these authors, players would rather identify with characters who possess characteristics that they wish they had (for example, playing as James Bond presents the player as a tough, clever, resourceful secret agent who is also a ladies' man), or with those ideological backgrounds that resonate with them; this process is called wishful identification.[12] If we extrapolate this idea to games like *Assassin's Creed* or *Dante's Inferno,* it is easy to understand why these games tend to rely on medievalisms and anachronisms that have little or nothing to do with the Middle Ages. The use of stereotypical images facilitates character identification with the player, since it enables him/her to associate with the main hero's desirable and often anachronistic traits, while the villains can be more easily demonized. This can be seen in the cases of the dictatorial Templars in *Assassin's Creed* and the stereotypical greedy and cruel nobleman and the corrupt priest in *Dante's Inferno.*

On the other hand, is what I call non-scripted video games. These are games in which the only thing determined are the game mechanics and the objective, but how to achieve this objective is up to the player. As any person familiar with video games can imagine, strategy games fit into this category. In these games, the player normally controls a kingdom instead of a character, hence the gameplay focuses on the management of larger social dynamics like religion, politics, economics, culture, etc. These games rely heavily on procedural rhetoric to simulate the medieval past because the simulation demands that these social dynamics reflect past institutions; however, this comes with a price. I will argue in this paper that

[12] Dorothee Hefner, Christoph Klimmt, and Peter Voderer, "Identification with the Player Character as Determinant of Video Game Enjoyment," in *Entertainment Computing – ICEC 2007 6th International Conference, Shanghai, China, September 15–17, 2007*, Proceedings, ed. Lizhuang Ma, Matthias Rauterberg, and Ryohei Nakatsu (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 39–48.

although non-scripted strategy games have a higher potential to communicate accurate historical knowledge, the simulation of complex social macro-dynamics means that the more accurate a game tries to be, the more difficult it is to play, which at the same time can scare away non-hardcore gamers leading them to more inaccurate but more accessible titles. In order to prove this idea, I will compare the procedural rhetoric around feudalism, warfare, and religion of three strategy medieval video games: *Age of Empires 2: The Age of Kings* (Microsoft, 1999–2021, hereafter AoE2), *Medieval 2 Total War* (The Creative Assembly, 2006, hereafter M2TW), and *Crusader Kings 2* (Paradox Interactive, 2012, hereafter CK2) and see how it relates to the gameplay learning difficulty of each title.

Feudalism: Nobles and Nation-States

The series of personal relations between lords and vassals, in which the former offered protection in exchange for the service of the latter, configured most of the social relations in the Middle Ages; because of this, it seems proper to begin this analysis with the way in which feudalism is portrayed in these games from the perspective of procedural rhetoric. Despite its centrality to medieval society, only CK2 makes a true effort to translate feudal social relations into a concrete gameplay mechanic, which heavily impacts the game's learning curve. This is understandable because, as will become clear in the analysis of these three titles, although all are strategy games, each one focuses on a specific element of medieval society, which at the same time alters the overall gameplay.

As Jason Pitruzzello has already noted, the *Crusader Kings* saga breaks from other medieval strategy games in feudalism's centrality to the gameplay. While games like AoE2 fall into heavy anachronisms in the way they portray feudal relations,[13] a point that will be further illustrated below, CK2 takes feudalism as the corner stone of the whole game. CK2's map is divided into feudal entities, counties being the smallest one, followed by duchies, kingdoms, and empires. The action in the game revolves around these feudal units and the families that control them in a timespan of seven centuries (from the eighth to the fifteenth century), in which the player controls the successive heads of said family. So, for example, if the player chooses to play as the king of England, in the year 1066, he/she will play as William the Conqueror for a period of time. Once this king dies, the player controls his immediate heir, who until this moment was controlled by the AI. The

[13] Pittruzzello, "Systematizing Culture in Medievalism: Geography, Dynasty, Culture, and Imperialism in Crusader Kings: Deus Vult," 44.

game ends once the player reaches the final date (end of 1453) with his family still surviving (a win), or if the dynasty runs out of heirs (a loss).

The key point is that the player controls the king of England and not the Kingdom of England. All actions revolve around individuals, which is central to the way in which feudalism configured the organization of medieval society. Other strategy games, such as AoE2 and M2TW, are based on either civilizations or kingdoms which, for all practical purposes, play as centralized modern nation states, which deprives these games of the core social institution of medieval political life.[14] CK2's central mechanic is the *opinion system*, in which all characters have a particular opinion of each other based on personal biological and moral traits, such as physical deformities, the seven deadly sins, and cardinal virtues. The opinion that one ruler has of others affects how likely he/she will accept treaties, alliances, pay taxes, contribute with feudal levies, etc. The player has some control in the way in which these traits develop through events like pilgrimages and battles, by marrying other characters with desirable physical traits, and by raising the family's children under wardens with characteristics that are deemed favorable. For example, it is useful to assign an experienced soldier as the ward of the kingdom's heir since this increases the likelihood that the next king will be a great warrior. Other traits develop randomly as part of the life of the ruler, who can become pious, cynical, or insane. Each one of these decisions heavily affects the political stability of the kingdom, since a cowardly or a deeply vicious ruler will have more trouble controlling his vassals, who might end up rebelling and deposing the player's dynasty from the throne.

This core gameplay mechanic means that the player must consider all possible implications of every decision that he/she makes. Two examples will help explain this point. Armies and money in CK2 heavily depend on feudal relations and the passing of laws. On paper, a law that states that nobles, cities, and bishops must pay a high level of taxes and contribute large number of soldiers to the king's armies allows the player to access a high level of resources. However, because of the way in which the opinion system works, this may not be the best approach since increasing taxes and levies will mean that the vassals' opinions of the king will diminish (harsh feudal taxation will incur a -30 in vassals' opinions, while small taxation will only lead to a penalty of -10). If a subject dislikes his/her ruler enough, he/she will deny those resources to the crown independently of what the law says. This is a key dynamic from a procedural rhetoric perspective, since it encourages the player to focus on the personal relations between lords

[14] Gregory Fedorenko, "The Portrayal of Medieval Warfare in Medieval: Total War and Medieval 2: Total War," in *Digital Gaming Re-Imagines the Middle Ages*, ed. Daniel T. Kline (New York: Routledge, 2014), 61.

and vassals—which were much more important to medieval rulers who had to depend on their vassals' loyalty due to the decentralized nature of feudal political institutions—instead of passing unpopular and, in the end, ineffective and harmful laws.

Another interesting example is the way to deal with hated and rebellious vassals. Powerful nobles who dislike the king can plot with other nobles to assassinate him, to call for a rebellion to change a particular law they do not like or to depose the king all together. This situation creates an interesting gameplay problem since the king's strength is heavily dependent on his vassals, who might be the very ones rebelling. An initial impulse might be to revoke the titles of rebellious vassals, but this measure would be seen as tyrannical by other nobles, which would decrease their opinion of the player by -15, and can further deny him the resources to deal with other disloyal subjects. As Bertrand Lucat and Mads Haahr have noted, these gameplay paradoxes are very successful in communicating the ruthless nature of medieval politics in which monarchs, in order to keep their power, had to rely on cruel, risky, and sometimes immoral actions, such as assassination, defamation, or betting it all on an open battle in the hope of defeating the rebellion, which could include the execution of family members with a claim to the throne. Furthermore, it creates a moral relativism to the exercise of authority that other games lack.[15] In this sense, the simulation of feudal relations through the opinion system influences the narrative of the game at all levels, from high kingdom-level politics, to family decisions, which could include whom to marry, how many children to have, or how to raise the future king. Therefore, CK2 "creates a compelling historical sense of time as well as a jarring, entertaining and emotionally potent representation of the medieval era and its politics."[16]

This simulation of the feudal system comes at a price for the player. In comparison to AoE2 and M2TW, CK2 is a very difficult game to play, which is something of a trademark of Paradox Interactive's grand-strategy titles like *Imperator: Rome, Europa Universalis,* and *Hearts of Iron.* This is due to the way in which simulation/representation relates to procedural rhetoric. Historiography seeks to understand the past through the research of sources and the writing of a narrative that makes sense of past events, societies, and institutions. It seeks to explain to a modern reader how past societies worked, even if said reader is wholly

[15] Bertrand Lucat and Mads Haahr, "Ideological Narratives of Play in Tropico 4 and Crusader Kings II," *Digital Games Research Association* 12 (2015): 1–15.

[16] Lucat and Haahr, "What Makes a Successful Emergent Narrative: The Case of Crusader Kings II," 260.

unfamiliar with past civilizations. Simulation seeks to give the player an experience analogous to those that people in the past might have experienced by creating a virtual context and models of behavior.[17] Both share an apparent common goal: to immerse the reader/player in a past time that might be fully alienating to a modern person. By making feudalism the key feature, CK2 introduces the player into a political system completely different from the modern nation-state and has the responsibility to create a series of mechanics that makes this society understandable and intelligible for modern players. CK2 and Paradox Interactive games in general include a series of interconnected complex decisions that most historical games avoid in order to make them more readily available by sacrificing historical accuracy and nuance, which explains their steep learning curve. Any quick search on YouTube for tutorials on CK2 confirms this premise, with the most thorough being multi-part tutorials that last several hours.[18]

A way in which M2TW and AoE2 keep political relations simple is by getting rid of feudalism, with the exception of some odd mechanics and cinematics. In M2TW each kingdom operates as a centralized nation-state; the player controls the cities, armies, generals, and special agents (diplomats, spies, priests, and assassins), who move around a map of the Mediterranean from Scotland to North Africa, and from Spain to Mesopotamia. Because the financial and political control of the faction is done from a God-eye perspective, there are no internal disputes like in CK2 and diplomacy between kingdoms works as national-level treatises (in CK2 for instance, all alliances are personal and sealed through marriage, every alliance dissolves once one of the rulers dies). Feudalism, therefore, plays little to no role in the gameplay, with the exception of disloyal generals who just join the "rebel faction," without threatening the internal political stability of the kingdom. This lack of emphasis on feudalism makes the game easy to learn and manage, with players only having to worry about upgrading the cities and castles so they can make enough income in order to recruit and keep armies.

AoE2, being the easiest to play, gets rid of feudalism all together as a game mechanic; there are no technologies that might reflect any feudal-related social dynamic. However, feudalism is used as a narrative tool in the campaign-

[17] Peterson, Miller, and Fedorko, "The Same River Twice: Exploring Historical Representation and the Value of Simulation in the Total War, Civilization, and Patrician Franchises," 40.

[18] Some examples of these can be seen in the following YouTube playlists: "[CK2] Crusader Kings 2 Tutorial for New Players," last modified September 6, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAvJJuv1hvM&list=PLH-huzMEgGWBBUYoAjpLxFkbgFw19CeA_; "Tutoriales de Crusader Kings 2," last modified April 30, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=64hT42AEQ68&list=PL2A4e1_2ossmHJJTeb0kLVLFAzkd0Sr4H.

mode of the game, where the player explores the lives of important medieval figures. In these cases, the portrayal of feudal relations falls into the medievalist stereotypes common in scripted games, the hero is shown as the incarnation of an anachronistic national identity, while being juxtaposed with evil nobles who work towards the fulfilment of their personal ambitions. One example will suffice to illustrate this point. In the Joan of Arc campaign, the player follows the French heroine from her first meeting with the future Charles VII until the final French victory at Castillon in 1453. Each of the six scenarios include an introductory and closing cinematic in which the story is explained to the player. In the scenes, Joan is portrayed as a bastion of virtue and bravery, values that are extrapolated to the medieval "French nation," while her enemies are shown as cruel, hypocritical, and treacherous; this includes the nobles at the king's court. The rivalry between Joan and France's feudal nobility is stated early at the end of the first scenario, where they are described as fat and whispering; it is later said that they were jealous of Joan's influence at court and acting as evil advisors in order to destroy her. Finally, the whole scenario puts constant emphasis on the "national" nature of the French cause during the Hundred-Year's War, with soldiers becoming "heroes and patriots," and people fighting "not for insolent lords or ladies, but for France."[19] This constant condemnation of feudal nobles in favor of the "nation" reinforces the idea of the greedy medieval nobility that is willing to sacrifice national interests in favor of self-benefits, a common literary feature since the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[20] This "nation vs. nobility" narrative can also be found in Frederick Barbarossa's, El Cid's, and William Wallace's campaigns.[21]

Warfare: Accuracy and Authenticity

M2TW, as the title implies, is a game about war. The game is divided into two parts: firstly, a turn-based campaign map in which the player manages cities,

[19] The cinematics can be seen in the following video: "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition Joan Of Arc Cutscenes (2019)," last modified November 15, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gdbVFZBh2lI.

[20] For a further discussion on the influence of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution on the invention of the Middle Ages see Jacques Heers, *Le Moyen Âge, Une Imposture* (Paris: Perrin, 1992).

[21] In order to see them, see the following links: "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition William Wallace Campaign Cutscenes 2019," last modified November 20, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BU_MTfQcluE; "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition El Cid Campaign Cutscenes (2019)," last modified November 15, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2lP8ciOlz5c; "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition Barbarossa Campaign Cutscenes (2019)," last modified November 19, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r3o3EiYH9QM.

castles, agents, and armies as explained in the previous section; and secondly, real time large-scale battles in which the player controls battalions of soldiers in order to rout or kill the enemy army either in the open field or in large sieges. Therefore, the game's key mechanics revolve around the recruitment and sustainment of armies and coming with the best strategy to be victorious on the battlefield. The game features various kingdoms of Europe, the Middle East, and eventually America, but the core dynamic is the same for all factions. Due to the centrality of the battlefields, the game takes heavy inspiration from cinema in order to immerse the player into the chaos of medieval warfare. Various authors have pointed out the relation between video games and movies. Jerome de Groot has shown how games based on World War II like *Call of Duty* and *Medal of Honor* take inspiration in their esthetics and dialogues from films like *Saving Private Ryan* (1998).[22] Video games staged in the Middle Ages are not alien to this influence; the "national hero" vs. stereotyped medieval characters, like those prevalent in AoE2 campaigns, are present in medieval films such as *Braveheart* (1995), *The Messenger* (1999), *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), and *Robin Hood* (2010). This influence can be further grasped beyond characterization, it is also present also in the esthetics and ambience found in video games. In order to illustrate how M2TW communicates knowledge about medieval warfare from a procedural rhetoric perspective and takes inspiration from the film-making industry, I will focus this section on two mechanics: recruitment and battlefields (both open battles and sieges).

In M2TW the player controls two types of settlements: cities and castles. Although both can recruit soldiers, they are supposed to fill specialized roles. Cities recruit weak soldiers but serve as the economic backbone and breadbasket of the armies, while castles do not produce much income but recruit the more specialized units. Both types of settlements can grow as the turns go by, expanding their size, income, and recruiting capabilities; hence, units are available depending on the type of settlement, its size, and the buildings that it contains. Furthermore, some units are more readily available than others within the recruitment roster. For example, in a fully upgraded citadel a player will be able to recruit a maximum of four battalions of heavily armored dismounted English knights before having to wait a predetermined amount of turns to be able to recruit them again. Meanwhile, lesser quality units like billmen are more readily available with a maximum of six battalions, which replenish more quickly. This guarantees that for most of the game the player will control armies of low and mid-tier units, accompanied with a few battalions of specialized archers, infantry, and cavalry. When comparing M2TW

[22] Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 133–139.

with other *Total War* titles that lack this dynamic, it becomes clear that this was an intended decision based on historical facts on the part of the developers. Most medieval armies were rather small, mostly made of local and relatively poorly equipped levies, with a few nobles and professional troops like mercenaries who were trusted to win the battle. The fact that elite soldiers in M2TW are blocked behind the recruitment mechanic and their high recruitment and upkeep cost push the player towards armies relatively similar to those present during this historical period. The player can dedicate himself to having elite-based armies, but the game penalizes this by heavily draining the kingdom's finances.

The battle mechanics equally communicate a series of interesting historical facts. All units in M2TW have different stats, abilities, and weaknesses that match one another in a rock-paper-scissors manner: heavy infantry is good against other infantry units, spearmen defeat cavalry, cavalry defeat archers and non-spear infantry, while archers are good against most units as long as they do not engage in *melee*. There are further subcategories to this broad mechanic. For example, poorly equipped billmen are excellent against heavily armed troops due to their odd weapon, the billhook, which is efficient against armor granting that they are not attacking directly but flanking these units; units with blunt weapons like axes or maces that could break the bones beneath armor also share this feature. The terrain plays a further fundamental role: forests will help hide units or offer protection against arrow fire, fighting downhill offers an offensive boost, mist and rain will make ambushes easier, bridge battles offer a strong defensive position, and night battles will grant an advantage if the army has a general who has the ability to carry out night attacks. Generals are key for victory since they provide morale for the army and the death of a general in battle (or worse, the king) can lead to a massive riot dooming the whole force, even if the army itself has not been fully defeated, as happened at Hastings in 1066. Likewise, sieges unlock a series of historical dynamics. An army attacking a city or a castle will only be able to make an assault if it has siege equipment that can be built on-site (like ladders, rams, and siege towers), or can be brought with them (like catapults, scorpions, and trebuchets), although they hinder the army's movement every turn. Cities and castles can also be starved into submission if they are sieged for a determined number of turns (this is determined by the settlement's size), in which case the defendants can try to sally out in an attempt to break the siege or send a relief force. In summary, M2TW's battles demand that the player considers the many factors that a medieval general would have to take into account such as number and type of troops, terrain, and morale.

This does not mean that M2TW's battles are fully historically accurate. As Gregory Fedorenko has pointed out, the centrality of battles in the game is at the same time one of its more history-driven and anachronistic features. The main reason for this is that open battles like Agincourt were relatively rare during the Middle Ages due to the high human costs that they could carry. Sieges and *razzias* constituted the main activities of medieval warfare and when battles did take place, they were normally the result of sieges, or a final desperate throw of the dice.[23] Despite this clear historical error, neither the game nor its battles break the immersion of the game, if anything they highlight it; why is this the case? In his book about the portrayal of the Middle Ages in cinema, Andrew B.R. Elliot discusses the difference between accuracy and authenticity. Elliot claims that it is unfair to criticize movies for being inaccurate when historical accuracy has never been their main purpose. Instead, what film offers is an authentic experience of the Middle Ages; this means that the setting "feels" medieval, a feat that has been made easier by the technological advancements in filmmaking, even if there are elements that are historically wrong. The logic behind this is *reception theory*, the idea that filmmakers keep in mind what the audience is expecting to see through preconceived ideas of what "the medieval world is," and they try to deliver on these expectations, which are built and reinforced through repetition in the entertainment industry. In this way, something that may not be accurate becomes authentic.[24] Hence, we end up in a situation of "hyperreality" as defined by Jean Baudrillard, in which the simulation ends up replacing reality altogether, becoming "more real" than the original system from which it came.[25]

This is even more prominent in the case of video games due to their interactive nature. Here the player is more than a passive spectator; he/she actively participates in the construction of the authentic medieval world through his/her actions, in what Daniel Kline has called participatory medievalism. This authenticity is a combination of historical facts and predetermined ideas from the player taken from the larger entertainment industry. Consider the case of William Wallace and *Braveheart*. Despite being a highly inaccurate movie, its commercial success molded and established the idea of the "noble-savage" Scot facing

[23] Fedorenko, "The Portrayal of Medieval Warfare in Medieval: Total War and Medieval 2: Total War," 54–58.

[24] Andrew Elliot, *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World* (London: McFarlanda & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2011), 206–222.

[25] Elliot, "Simulations and Simulacra: History in Video Games," 29–31; Brent Moberly and Kevin Moberly, "Neomedievalism, Hyperrealism, and Simulation," in *Studies in Medievalism XIX: Defining Neomedievalism(s)*, ed. Karl Fugelso (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 12–15.

superior forces under the tyrannical English king. As Elizabeth Ewan pointed out when the movie premiered, no Scot would either be wearing kilts or have his face painted in woad-blue in the thirteenth century,[26] yet this is the image of William Wallace reproduced for many years in popular media. In fact, both M2TW[27] and AoE2[28] depict Wallace and his Scottish forces in this fashion, although the final release of the latter in 2019 corrected the style in the improved cinematics of the William Wallace campaign. This does not mean that developers are uninterested in historical accuracy. Despite the fact that the main objective of video games is to entertain and not to teach, developers keep historical accuracy in mind both as a merchandising tool and as part of an authentic medieval world, as the examples of sound procedural rhetoric suggest.

Therefore, we have the very interesting case that although M2TW conveys a strong procedural rhetoric in its battles, it mostly relies on authenticity and not accuracy to immerse the player into the game. As in a medieval movie, armies in M2TW are uniformed to make them easier to recognize and move in an organized fashion; the music changes according to the mood of the engagement (be it deployment, marching, fighting, victory, or defeat) and the freedom of the camera allows the player to get right in the action as if he/she was watching a movie. All of this despite the key fact that large open battles were an oddity in the Middle Ages, but the player expects to see them due to the strong influence of the entertainment industry, most relevantly filmmaking. Battles need to be this way not because they were such in the past, but because the player has come to expect them in a medieval game that is called "Total War," since these non-obvious anachronisms do not break the authenticity of the setting. This is true for M2TW, as it is also for other medieval games like *Assassin's Creed II* as analyzed by Douglas Dow.[29]

In the same way that CK2's core gameplay is harder than AoE2's and M2TW's, warfare is more difficult to manage in the latter than in the first two. Because the focus in CK2 is feudalism, warfare is practically out of the control of the player. While the player can influence the number of soldiers he/she

[26] Elizabeth Ewan, "Braveheart and Rob Roy," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1219–1221.

[27] For the M2TW depiction see "Medieval 2: Total War - William Wallace Event Video," last modified April 1, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hj7xFuKAOmY.

[28] The original version of the Wallace campaign can be seen in the following video: "Age of Empires 2 HD William Wallace Campaign Cutscenes (English Ver.)," last modified July 14, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJwpw2VxmjI.

[29] Douglas Dow, "Historical Veneers: Anachronism, Simulation, and Art History in Assassin's Creed II," in *Playing with the Past: Digital Games and the Simulation of History*, ed. Matthew Wilhelm Kapell and Andrew B. R. Elliot (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 215–232.

can recruit and to whom he/she declares war, these are attached to the opinion system and the relations of vassalage within his/her kingdom. The player has little say in which type of units he/she can recruit, or even in how many of them are available. Likewise, once two armies meet on the battlefield, the only thing the player can do is select good generals to command his/her forces in order to boost them, but the game auto-resolves the encounter by considering the number and quality of the soldiers. However, most of the time the army with the highest number of soldiers wins, which takes strategic deployment out of the equation. A player can easily win all his/her wars just by keeping loyal vassals and recruiting *en masse*, disregarding other types of strategic considerations.

AoE2's warfare mechanics lay somewhere between these two titles. In AoE2, the player controls a civilization on a determined map that holds four types of resources: food, wood, gold, and stone. The player uses villagers to gather these resources, which in turn are used to construct buildings, research technologies, and raise armies to defeat the enemy either by destroying their base or by completing a set of objectives. Cheaper and weaker units demand more abundant resources like wood, while heavier, more elite units require gold. In terms of procedural rhetoric, AoE2's main strength relies on the various civilizations and the buffs that they offer to determined units, which leads each civilization to play in a different fashion. For example, the Mongols favor the recruitment of mounted archers and siege equipment since their mounts are faster than those of other civilizations, their archers have exceptional accuracy, and their siege equipment moves 50% faster. Meanwhile, civilizations like the Franks or the Teutons are more reliant on heavily armored knights and infantry. Nevertheless, because in AoE2 the battle and resources map is the same, and because the player controls bulks of individual soldiers, the game falls into odd, inaccurate scenarios like in the case of soldiers attacking buildings with their swords until they are destroyed (the player is encouraged to use siege equipment, which is more efficient, but there is nothing preventing soldiers from potentially destroying a wall by hand), while limiting the complex procedural rhetoric regarding warfare in comparison to M2TW (because the individual soldiers that the player controls die relatively quickly, it is much more difficult to maneuver strategically on the battle map).

Religion: Stereotypes and Stability

Medieval religiosity is probably one of the most misunderstood features of this society. Many movies have reinforced the idea of the Middle Ages as a period filled with superstition with a Catholic Church that held an almost tyrannical control over intellectual life. Films like *In the Name of the Rose* (1986), which portrayed

churchmen as dogmatic, cruel, and ruthless in their witch-hunts and control on people's thoughts, or *Kingdom of Heaven* (2015), which showed the crusade as little more than a hypocritical religious justification for pillaging and killing, have further reinforced this stereotype.[30] Despite the fact that scholarship has debunked many of these preconceptions, as, for example, Christopher Tyerman does when he recalls the various purposes that the Inquisition served in southern France after the Albigensian Crusade,[31] the idea of an intellectual Dark Age still permeates much of the way in which the Middle Ages are depicted in popular media. This does not mean that medieval religiosity could not be intolerant, bigoted, or cruel, just that it is more complex than this "tool of control" image that is prevalent in films. Video games, as is to be expected, are not free from this phenomenon. Already in the introduction I have pointed out how scripted games rely on these images in order to advance their plot, but it is worth asking how non-scripted games can communicate historical information about this often misunderstood feature of medieval society.

Because AoE2 shares characteristics of both scripted and non-scripted games, it is the the title that more easily falls into the pitfall of the "Dark Middle Ages" in comparison with the other two, with a central hero that is often shown as rational or chivalrous in contrast to the superstitious ideas of religious zealots. In the Montezuma campaign,[32] for example, Cuauhtémoc constantly complains that the priests' answers to the troubles of the empire are more human sacrifices, stating that such "was always their answer," which indirectly implies that this blindness played a central role in the Spanish conquest of Mexico.[33] Likewise, the crusaders are shown as cruel fanatics and hypocrites in the Saladin campaign,[34] and in the Barbarossa story the pope is antagonized by the hero of the story with little to no context as to what the Investiture Controversy was about. In these

[30] For a more thorough analysis of the portrayal of the medieval clergy in film see Elliot, *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World*, 113–145.

[31] Christopher Tyerman, *Las Guerras de Dios: Una Nueva Historia de Las Cruzadas* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2007), 765–766.

[32] Joshua D. Holdenried and Nicolas Trépanier, "Dominance and the Aztec Empire: Representations in Age of Empires II and Medieval II: Total War," in *Playing with the Past: Digital Games and the Simulation of History*, ed. Matthew Wilhelm Kapell and Andrew B.R. Elliot (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 107–119.

[33] The cutscenes can be seen in the following video: "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition Montezuma Campaign Cutscenes (2019)," last modified November 19, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nbleU1HL-xk.

[34] The cutscenes can be seen in the following video: "Age of Empires 2 definitive edition Saladin Campaign Cutscenes (2019)," last modified November 15, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rA50Ncf8dbs.

campaign scenarios, medieval religiosity serves the same purpose as in games like *Assassin's Creed* and *Dante's Inferno*: it is a narrative tool to make the hero (who is presented as contrary to this blind religiosity) more appealing to the player by offering an openly distorted or simplified version of these historical processes.

In terms of procedural rhetoric, we see variations among the three titles that are directly related to the difficulty of the gameplay. AoE2 works in a very straightforward fashion: gather resources and invest them in soldiers and buildings. This basic premise allows the player to easily learn how to play but hinders the procedural rhetoric capabilities of the title; religion is a good example of this. In AoE2, religion plays two roles. First, it is a way of improving the player's units. The game's main religious building is the monastery, which allows the player to recruit monks, who heal ally units while converting enemies to the player's side, and allows for the research of religion-related technologies. Despite the names of these technologies such as "fervor," "redemption," "faith," and "atonement," which offer buffs to the monk as a unit (making him more resistant, faster, or allowing him to convert enemy buildings and other monks), they communicate little to nothing about the historical processes behind the development of medieval religiosity. The only possible exception is the technology "heresy," which means that a unit once converted will die instead of changing sides. This is an interesting approach, since unrepentant heretics were burned by the secular authorities in Western Europe and having the unit die can reflect this idea. However, the fact that this technology is available to non-Catholic civilizations like the Cumans, Mongols, Aztecs, Ethiopians, and Vikings[35] can only be explained as a game-design decision: historical accuracy is sacrificed for the benefit of easier and more balanced gameplay, which guarantees that the player will have little problem playing the various factions because they all potentially share the same buildings and technologies. This leads to the curious case of civilizations like the Khmer, Tatars, Vietnamese, Malians, Goths, and Huns building monasteries and universities, and recruiting western-like monks with tonsures and all. Second, religion can be used as a source of income by using monks to capture relics and placing them in the monastery. Once protected, the relics will start generating gold for the player; the more relics captured, the more gold is produced. This is a clear parallel to the medieval practice of pilgrimage, through which important monasteries could raise large amounts of income by promoting a saint's worship.

M2TW and Ck2 incorporate religion in a more substantial fashion, which is also a reflection of their more complex and difficult gameplays. In the case of the

[35] One could claim that for the case of the Vikings we are talking of soldiers that were willing to die before converting to Christianity, but in this case, we are talking about pagans and not heretics.

former, religion plays a big role in the campaign map as a way of keeping public order. Each settlement in M2TW can potentially rebel if public opinion is low enough. Various elements influence the player's control over a settlement, with the size of the garrison and religious differences being the most important. The player can build religious buildings (like cathedrals, abbeys, and chapels) and recruit priests in order to convert the local population. Keeping religious uniformity is particularly important for Catholic factions. Around the map the player can find heretics and witches that spread unorthodox ideas; these can be dealt with by using priests to denounce and burn them, although those with low piety will likely become heretics themselves, further deepening the problem. If kept unchecked, these heretics can convert the population, which brings the further penalty that the pope will take the issue into his own hands by sending inquisitors to the area. These inquisitors are very efficient at getting rid of heretics, but they can also target the player's generals and other agents and end up burning them at the stake; getting rid of these inquisitors is particularly difficult since it can only be done through assassination.

The "heresy → public order → Inquisition" mechanic nicely communicates some of the ways in which religion and politics were combined in the Middle Ages, as in the case of the Albigensian Crusade. Once Catharism was apparently rampant in the Languedoc with the suspected collaboration of the local nobility, Innocent III decided to launch a crusade in 1209, followed by the establishment of the Inquisition in 1229. By 1330, all organized Cathar heresy had been rooted out in the region, together with the nobles that had supported it.[36] The parallelisms are obvious, showing the care that the developers took to make medieval religiosity accurate, authentic, and playable. The crusade mechanic also reflects this. If a Christian kingdom has a good relationship with the papacy, the player can try to convince the pope to launch a crusade against a specific settlement (this mechanic is central to the gameplay since all Catholic factions share the capture of Jerusalem as a campaign objective). Crusades allow players to recruit cheap, large armies that move very quickly around the map, but soldiers will desert if the player takes too long to attack the crusade's objective. This allows for interesting strategy options, since a player can "abuse" the crusade mechanic in order to attack desirable objectives belonging to Muslim or excommunicated Catholic factions. The way crusades work in M2TW is a call to the late crusades, in which monarchs would try to use their influence to access crusade-related funds, backed by the papacy, to attack their non-Catholic neighbors, as Louis the Great did in the fourteenth century.[37] The fact that

[36] Tyerman, *Las Guerras de Dios: Una Nueva Historia de Las Cruzadas*, 711–770.

[37] Norman Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades, 1342–1382," *Slavonic and East European Review* 62, no. 2 (April 1984): 192–208.

in M2TW crusades work this way from the eleventh century (the time period when the game begins) is a compromise made in the benefit of gameplay, showing once again the occasional prevalence of authenticity over accuracy.

Finally, in CK2 religion is attached to the opinion system. In this case, the Investiture Controversy plays a central role. If the player has ruled that in his/her kingdom investiture is free, then he/she will be able to appoint bishops to the various bishoprics in his/her kingdom. It is important to have grateful bishops, since if the opinion that these characters hold of the pope is higher than that of the player, then the income of said region will go to Rome instead of the royal treasury. By appointing his/her own bishops, the player can make sure that they will remain loyal to the crown. However, keeping a free investiture instead of a papal one will most likely lead to excommunication, which will negatively affect the opinion that all Catholic characters have of the player, with the consequences already outlined in the first section of this paper. The parallelisms with the historical Investiture Controversy are obvious, kings wanted to keep investiture in their hands both as a way of having access to Church income and as a manifestation of authority, which more often than not led to excommunications, direct conflict with the papacy, and even crusades launched against these rulers like the case of Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX in the thirteenth century.[38] Once again, the reason why CK2 and M2TW are more successful than AoE2 in translating medieval religious elements is due to the already very complex level of simulation in order to more accurately communicate historical knowledge.

Conclusion

I began this paper by asking what makes some video games more historically accurate than others. Although this is not an easy question to answer because of the many elements that video games use to communicate knowledge (visual elements, narrative, music, dialogues), gameplay mechanics may be the most unique feature of this genre, and procedural rhetoric can help us see the historical claim behind each game. Throughout this study we have seen that there is a relationship between historical accuracy, procedural rhetoric, and gameplay difficulty. Since simulations want to recreate the dynamics of past societies, the more accurate the game, the more complex it is to play. In this way, M2TW is more difficult to learn how to play than AoE2, while CK2 has the most complex gameplay of all three due to its thorough

[38] For an overall survey of the Investiture Controversy see: Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

simulation of feudal relations. The key point here is that both accuracies and inaccuracies in these games are the result of conscious development decisions. The reason why AoE2 ends up allowing the Aztecs to build European-like universities is to keep the gameplay simple and accessible to all players, while playing a Christian king in CK2 will offer a different experience (although not a radically different one) from that of a Muslim sultan or the Orthodox emperor of Constantinople. Since past societies feature characteristics that can be radically different from our daily experience, game developers have to find ways to make these societies accessible and intelligible to modern players; sometimes this accessibility comes at the cost of accuracy even if the game remains "authentically medieval."

These considerations bring forth the issue of how productive it is to judge historical video games strictly by their accuracy. Following Elliot's position, I argue that approaching games from this narrow perspective does a disservice to a media that has never had historical precision as its main goal. Instead, video games can be useful tools to communicate historical knowledge in an engaging and fun way, while also giving us glimpses of how modern societies imagine the past; this is true for all forms of video games that somehow deal with history. Although I argue that non-scripted games are better equipped to communicate historical knowledge through gameplay mechanics than more linear ones, games like *Assassin's Creed Unity* can still teach a player about the way that people dressed and lived in France in 1789 and the causes that led to the French Revolution, even if this is done mostly through visuals and dialogue instead of gameplay. Video games offer a broad range of perspectives into the past, and the effort of recent scholarship to delve deeper into the ways in which this media can be used for the communication of history is commendable, although there is still much to investigate. The core question here is how to make our research more available to a larger audience. Although it is true that video games and films cannot replace scholarship, these media can familiarize more people with sound historical research. In the words of Jiménez Alcázar: "The severe problem will not reside in the production of historical discourse but in its dissemination. And an undisclosed history, without consumer, is useless."[39]

[39] Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, "Cambio de Época versus Época de Cambios: Medievalistas y Nuevas Tecnologías," in *¿Qué Implica Ser Medievalista? Prácticas y Reflexiones En Torno al Oficio Del Historiador*, ed. G. Rodriguez and A. Vanina (Mar del Plata: Universidd Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2012), 52.

PART 2

Klaniczay 70

CELEBRATING GÁBOR KLANICZAY'S 70TH BIRTHDAY

In the winter of 2019, a large-scale "conspiracy" was rolled out to celebrate Gábor Klaniczay's 70th birthday. Spearheaded by Ottó Gecser, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende, and Dorottya Uhrin, both at ELTE and CEU, preparations were made for an international conference in September 2020, to be attended by Gábor's colleagues and friends from all over the globe. However, all plans were put on hold due to the pandemic. For a while it was hoped that the conference can proceed as planned, so the collaborators met every Tuesday morning during the lockdown in March and April and continued to organize the event. It was so much fun! When we realized that hosting an international event in September was impossible, we changed the schedule and decided to hold the conference in January 2021, and an online celebration closer to the actual date of Gábor's birthday in the summertime. Although the second wave of the pandemic washed away our hopes for a 2021 conference, the summer celebration was held with great success. We threw a festive online party on July 17 where the deans of CEU and ELTE paid their respects, followed by Carlo Ginzburg, László Kontler, Natalie Zemon Davis, József Laszlovszky, and Patrick Geary, praising Prof. Klaniczay's achievements in various academic fields. Short surprise games between the laudatory speeches included a quiz on Gábor's life and works, word clouds based on his papers and books, a poem of praise written in Latin, and video messages from his students who greeted him in their own languages. When celebration in person is impossible the online format has its advantages: this way, all friends, colleagues, and students from around the world were able to join in and say a few words. We wish him many happy returns and similar joyful occasions in the future, and hope that we can raise our glasses to him in a personal gathering very soon.

Dorottya Uhrin

PROGRAM ON JULY 17, 2020

18:05–18:20	Welcome greetings: Michael Ignatieff (CEU), Gábor Sonkoly (ELTE), Balázs Nagy (ELTE, Department of Medieval History)
18:20–18:40	Carlo Ginzburg, "Gábor Klaniczay and the study of witchcraft"
18:40–18:50	Quiz: Gábor70 (hosted by Dorottya Uhrin), in two instalments
18:50–19:05	László Kontler, "Gábor Klaniczay the intermediary: scholarship in Hungary and the world"
19:05–19:20	Natalie Zemon Davis, "Doing history at seventy years"
19:20–19:25	Miri Rubin, "Gábor: an appreciation"
19:25–19:35	Gábor70 word cloud (hosted by Dorottya Uhrin, commented by Gábor)
19:35–19:50	József Laszlovszky, "Gábor Klaniczay as a founder and friend"
19:50–20:05	Patrick Geary, "Gábor Klaniczay and the uses and abuses of the Middle Ages"
20:05–20:25	Film montage: greetings from Gábor's students and more (prepared by Dorottya Uhrin)
20:25–20:30	Sebastian Krasnovsky et al., "Ad Gabrielem"
from 20:30	Dance and fun, open floor for personal greetings from the audience and for Gábor to respond

LAUDATIO IN THE FORM OF A LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

László Kontler

Dear Members of the Selection Committee,

it is with great pleasure that I am expressing my strong and unqualified support for the admission of Gábor Klaniczay in the august society of Septuagenarian Brokers of Knowledge in the Humanities.

I have known the candidate since a bright late summer day of 1982 when as a senior undergraduate student I entered the sacred Room II.41 in the former building of Arts and Humanities of Eötvös Lóránd University in Budapest (since then, restored to the Piarist Order) overlooking the Danube and Elisabeth Bridge. That was the office of Madame Professor Éva Balázs, grand dame of medieval and early modern historical studies in Hungary, where I was arriving for a consultation. There was a good-looking young man, 8–10 years my senior as I estimated, in lively conversation with my supervisor. He was wearing a sunburnt red T-shirt, loose black trousers and (as I was to learn later, inevitable) mendicant style sandals. Cool, I said to myself.

We were introduced. "So, this is him," I thought. He had been known to us, aspiring would-be historians in the "Student Circle for Universal History of the Feudal Period," by reputation. (Mind the language: this is the late 1970s and early 1980s in state socialist Hungary.) Gábor had been a *spiritus movens* of a previous generation of the same circle, whose example I and my classmates were relentlessly urged by Professor Balázs to follow. "Following" meant several things: being open-minded to recent developments in international historical sciences (which *was* possible in Hungary, albeit in not straightforward ways, in those times), engaging in academic socializing and comradeship, and preparing for a life of commitment to research, writing, and teaching in history as the par excellence interdisciplinary field in the humanities.

I and my colleagues had already had opportunities to see how this combination worked in the case of young Gábor Klaniczay. We had on our bookshelves a volume of "Studies on the Cultural History of the Feudal Period," which he co-edited and authored with fellow members of the student circle mentioned (nearly all of whom later became well recognized historians in Hungary or abroad), including his own article on twelfth- through thirteenth-century movements of heresy and their relationship to the textile industry. We also had on our reading lists his excellent translation of Jacques Le Goff's *Les intellectuels au Moyen Age*.

There was also his editorial work for *Világosság* ("Light")—according to the imprint, a monthly journal "of the materialist world view," which brought articles of a generally high intellectual quality on a broad spectrum of international and Hungarian topics in philosophy, social sciences, and the humanities.

Each of these were acts of brokerage, betraying a sensitivity for relevance, an eagerness to work across disciplinary boundaries in the humanities, and an ambition to keep abreast with the wider world even amidst the obvious limitations of the circumstances. True, he had opportunities that were quite exceptional by contemporary standards: he was fortunate to spend an entire year in the emblematic 1968 in France, where he would return for another lengthy period after finishing his university studies to work under the foremost medievalists of the time. But the opportunities were expanded and turned by him to the best of purposes. By the time he returned to the university—for that was the point of the meeting with Madame Balázs mentioned above—as a visiting instructor and then as an assistant professor, the historian well versed in sociology, anthropology, ethnography, and art history was in heavy armor, ready to make converts in his native land for the historical study of culture and mentalities, symbols and representations, and much more.

The keywords in my extant notes from the seminar course Gábor offered in the Spring Term of 1983 on "Popular Culture and Elite Culture in the Middle Ages" range from ritual and the body through homily and tale to carnival and laughter—highly idiosyncratic in the curriculum of our university in the early 1980s but forming a system in his rendering. One of the highlights of the course was the meeting of 1 March, when Gábor resumed the topic of his 1974 article on movements of heresy, one of the themes being dress and other externalities as a "symbolic system" emphasizing distance from the official, institutionalized Church. In an interview he gave sixteen years later to *Sic Itur ad Astra*, the History student journal of ELTE, he said about his formative years: "I fought my own battles in the field of symbols. My hair was beating my back, from time to time I also grew a beard, and I very much liked debating why this was important. So much so that in my historical research I also studied why heretics found it important to wear torn dress, to go barefoot, and to have long hair and a beard. I was somehow always intrigued to think that there is a sort of a system in this." In the same interview, he revealed the broader context: "At that time I felt that I was unable to relate emotionally to the culture of, say, between 1600 and 1960 … with the same warmth as to that before 1600 or since 1960. Or, these periods were more exciting for me in this oppositional or counter-cultural perspective." I must confess that such close imbrications between his academic work and his

personal life preferences and choices were not entirely clear to his students at the time. What we knew was that it was fun to see the professor show up at concerts of independent rock groups and other scenes of Hungary's "alternative public sphere." Also unclear to us at the time, though fully logical, was his association with Hungary's political underground or the democratic opposition to the Kádár regime.

Nevertheless, this brings me to the point that while our candidate is a widely recognized medievalist historian, there is an important aspect of Gábor Klaniczay's scholarship that often goes unnoticed: his contributions to the study of counter-culture and (one might say: versus) fashion in historical as well as contemporary contexts. The latest manifestations of this resilient subtext in his career are recent courses he co-organized for students at CEU on counter-cultural movements in East-Central Europe between 1960–1990, but the lineages also go back to the late 1970s when he taught classes to future fashion designers on the sociology of fashion at the Budapest College of Applied Arts and co-edited a volume of studies on the subject. The possibilities and limitations of framing and representing cultural alternatives, and the chances of these to resist and survive domestication by the mainstream, have been persistent preoccupations in Gábor's work from his very first authored book, *On the Margins of Civilization* (Hungarian, 1990), featuring medieval and early modern heretics, witches and vampires, to a volume on *Counter-Culture in the Seventies and Eighties* (Hungarian, 2004), with essays on subjects ranging from hippies, Andy Warhol, and David Bowie to the iconic Hungarian rock bands (significantly named) Balaton and Trabant, and beyond.

The permeability of the boundary between the elements and agents of marginal(ized) and mainstream culture even in ideologically "closed" societies—a case in point is Saint Francis—awakened Klaniczay's interest in the mainstream counterparts of the marginal figures that had been in the focus of his early work. His turn to the topic of sainthood—in particular, holy kings, princes, and princesses—and the increasingly important place of Hungarian and other Central and East European topics in his work went together with ever more systematically exposing himself to other historical cultures besides the early inspiration drawn from theoretically flamboyant French scholarship. As a one-time major in English studies besides history, he was always attracted to the "no-nonsense" attitude of Anglophone research, and also became influenced by German historical studies, with their emphasis on precision, comparative horizons, and traditions of *Ostforschung*. Fellowships in New York, Berlin, and California, newly forged ties with colleagues in Central and Eastern Europe, a book about to be published in Cambridge/Princeton and then in Berlin—not the order of the day for historians

working beyond the Iron Curtain: all of this prepared him well for assuming the role of the ambassador of Hungarian historical studies in the world, and of the world in Hungary, at a time when history as we lived it presented hugely enhanced opportunities to play this role with maximum benefit.

As a Hungarian patriot and a cosmopolitan academic, around 1990 and ever since then Gábor Klaniczay has spared no effort to build and run institutions designed to help bring academic work in the humanities in Hungary and the region into conversation with the wider world, to strengthen the standards of critical and self-reflexive scholarship in cultivating these fields, which also meant liberating them from remnants of ideological and political constraints. The program and then Department of Medieval Studies at CEU has received, and is receiving here and now, a great deal of attention, and rightly so as perhaps the most unique, most lasting, and most impactful of these ventures. But there have been plenty of others. While still working at the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the early 1980s, Gábor was a member of a group of historians who—*à la Annales*—brought their fellows into discussion with ethnologists, art historians, and archaeologists, and later founded the István Hajnal Circle (named after a great Hungarian scholar of European history from the first half of the twentieth century), dedicated to the cultivation and dissemination of fresh international approaches particularly to social and cultural history in Hungary. In 1989, Gábor co-founded and for many years co-edited the quarterly review *Budapesti Könyvszemle* (*BUKSZ*), consciously and explicitly modelled after the *New York Review of Books*, publishing longer critical essays and individual books reviews in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities, providing a platform for dialogue and debate. For several years after 1990, he co-directed a newly established program in historical anthropology at ELTE, where he also maintained a professorship at the Department of Medieval and Early Modern European History (even chairing it for a while). The creation of the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library—a unique research tool for Hungarian students and scholars to keep pace with international developments in the field—is a product of these years, which also saw a steady succession of international guests at ELTE belonging to Gábor's network. That network itself became hugely expanded, since—besides, and perhaps above, all of this (except CEU)—he threw himself avidly into the activities, events, and programs at the Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Studies, established in 1992 and directed as rector by Gábor between 1997–2002 (and again in an interim period during 2008). As rector, he was not a mere administrator but a peripatetic scholar, engaging substantively with most of the fellows and co-authoring and co-editing important works with several of

them; and, again, a broker working painstakingly for realizing the mission of the institution as a knowledge center geared to integrating the best of regional and Hungarian scholarship with cutting edge international research.

Gábor Klaniczay is a passionate man. He is especially passionate about his profession, about its relevance to our present predicament, about standards of scholarship, about creating opportunities to widely cultivate them. He is passionate in debating these things. But I only saw his passion leading him to lose temper in situations when he felt that narrow-mindedness or evil intention was undermining the principles supporting these values. He is a widely recognized member of the international academic community, acknowledged by awards and memberships in prestigious bodies in various countries. But as far as I am aware, a lifetime of strenuous efforts and multifarious and productive contributions to the internationalization of scholarship in the humanities have never earned him, apart from a prize by the Mayor of Budapest for facilitating academic exchange as the rector of Collegium Budapest, any official decoration in his native land. Nor is this, unfortunately, very likely to happen in the near future, for reasons beyond any of those assembled to celebrate him now. By way of a modest compensation, let me reiterate my enthusiastic support for his inauguration as a member of the society of Septuagenarian Brokers of Knowledge in the Humanities.

Many Happy Returns!

DOING HISTORY AT SEVENTY YEARS

Natalie Zemon Davis

It is a joy and an honor to share this birthday celebration with Gábor Klaniczay and to salute his many gifts. My only sorrow is that our beloved János Bak is not with us to add his congratulations. In opening my thoughts, I ask myself can Gábor be only seventy years old? His contributions to historical scholarship—a cornucopia of publications and editions—are enough for several lifetimes of a historian. Gábor and I first met, as I recall, in 1986, when he was on fellowship at Columbia University in New York, and then were together in late 1988, when I came to Budapest and visited him at Eötvös Loránd University. I learned of the remarkable essays he had been publishing, which would appear in English translation two years later as *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformations of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.*

By then, of course, the Communist regime in Hungary was beginning to change and by 1989 Gábor was founding vanguard projects, such as *Budapesti Könyvszemle,* the *Budapest Review of Books.* But already during the years of the Cold War, the young Gábor had found paths to creativity. Back in the United States, I myself, a desperate partisan for peace and for cultural exchange that would rend the so-called Iron Curtain, had been rejoicing in the publications of Bronislaw Geremek in Warsaw and Aron Gurevich in Moscow. It seemed to me that their accomplishment, like Bakthin's carnivalesque laughter, was distinctively linked to the Marxist culture in which they had been formed and against which they were reacting with such originality. Now the next generation was taking the scholarship in new directions, with Gábor Klaniczay among the vanguard.

Gábor was drawing from multiple sources. First, from teachers in his own Socialist land, where (as he said in a reminiscence written in 2011) "medieval studies … had not been as neglected as one might think."[1] Through them, he had been introduced to a comparative approach to Hungarian history. (I mention Éva Balázs among those teachers, as I recall her delight in Gábor's accomplishments.) The long tradition of ethnographic research in Hungary was also a resource to which Gábor was able to turn. Then came his studies in Paris in 1976. Associated both with the *Annales* school of Jacques Le Goff and with the program in medieval

[1] Gábor Klaniczay, "Studi medievali in Ungheria dopo il 1989 nel contesto dell 'Europa Centrale," in *Santità, miracoli, osservanze nel Medioevo. L'Ungheria nel contesto europeo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull 'Alto Medioevo, 2019), 45.

poverty and spirituality of Michel Mollat and André Vauchez, he widened his sense of the themes and methods available to the historian. Soon after, he was plunging into the new work in anthropology, especially that associated with Victor Turner and his theories of ritual, structure and anti-structure. Perhaps such theories could serve the medievalist as well.

To this initial heritage and training, Gábor added his own remarkable findings in medieval manuscripts and material culture and developed theories of his own— theories that have reshaped the way we think about religious culture and rulership in medieval times. From this wealth of scholarship, I want to comment here on two themes: first, on the fruits of Gábor's anthropological approach for understanding the cultural uses of our natural surroundings and the human body; and secondly, on the implications of Gábor's work on sacrality and rulership for the study of women and gender.

Early along, Gábor took the notion of medieval "popular religion" in an anthropological direction, defining it as part of "popular culture," that is, "an orally transmitted, ritually regulated, community–bound culture." Within that frame, he took two geographical sites in medieval Buda and examined their cultural meaning— that is, as sacred sites[2]. One was Mount Saint Gerard, or Gellert Hill as it is called today, rising dramatically above the Danube. Already in the fourth century before Christ, ancient Celtic inhabitants were creating sanctuaries there for their gods. By the late thirteenth century, the Mount was the haunt of the Venetian Saint Gerard, who had played a central role in spreading the Christian faith in Hungary and had then been killed during an uprising of well-born pagans in 1047. He was canonized not long afterward, his life inspiring a trail of legends, in the most important of which, so Gábor tells us, "the simple place of his death became the instrument of his martyrdom." The pagans stoned Gerard, put him in a barrel, and tossed it from the top of the mount. When he was still found alive at the bottom, they dragged his body over the rocks and threw him into the Danube. Eventually, the Mount was given his name.

Gábor linked this sacralization to the cult of saints, so characteristic of Christian Europe during the thirteenth century, but more important, he showed sacralization to be a central feature in urban development. Pest was emerging as a commercial center at the very same time. Not only did a Dominican convent nestle down in Pest itself, but the town sustained a relation with the sacred space

[2] Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe,* trans. Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 2–3. "Il Monte di San Gerardo e l'Isola di Santa Margherita: gli spazi della santità a Buda nel Medioevo," in *Santità*, 237–260. This essay was originally published in 1990 in Italian.

at its borders. Rather than sacred space simply yielding to commercial space, they remained in sustained relation with each other.

Gábor's quest for cultural meaning has also taught us much about the historical uses of the human body and its liminal states. Already in an early essay on popular religion he wrote of the contrast in medieval Hungary between "fashionable beards and heretic rags."[3] He went on in later work to examine the powerful appeal of stigmatization— the reception of the wounds of Christ on a person's hands, feet, and side— both to the religious practitioner and to those who knelt in devotion before a person so blessed. As in the work of Miri Rubin and Caroline Bynum, the historian's question was not whether such an event was possible, but how stigmatization established holiness for those who could exhibit their wounds and how its authenticity figured in struggles for authority and prestige. Margaret of Hungary is once again a prime example, especially as recalled in fourteenth-century Italian texts and paintings, which then became part of her legend. "Fervently praying" and "in ecstasy," Margaret was seen by her cell-mate to rise above the ground. Christ appeared to her in angelic form and imprinted her with his wounds, so she confessed in secret to her sister religious. The secret became widely broadcast, and was a boon for the Dominican order, which welcomed such a mark of divine grace for one of its own, and, as Gábor put it, also "helped the saintly Hungarian princess keep her hold on the popular imagination."[4]

Gábor's research and publication expanded over the years into the study of witchcraft and vampire legends at one end of the scale and royal dynastic cults at the other. (Indeed, we might call his scholarly reach miraculous and a sign of favor from the Muses!) Throughout, both men and women have been at the center of interest. Not only did the subject of witchcraft or the royal household require the inclusion of women, but also Gábor used gender in the course of his historical analysis. Thus, in describing the workings of Christian kingship in medieval Hungary and central Europe, he presented both the just king, the *rex iustus*, who might, like Stephen, even become a saint; and the royal women, upon whom fell the major responsibility for guaranteeing the sanctity of the dynasty. Princess Elizabeth of Hungary set the model in the opening years of the thirteenth century. Widowed young, she lived the rest of her short life nursing lepers and mortifying her flesh, and was canonized soon after her death. Princess Margaret was among the royal women to follow Elizabeth's example, reversing the symbols of high status through wearing the plainest of garments and performing the most menial

[3] "Fashionable Beards and Heretic Rags," in *Uses*, 28–50.

[4] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 375–77.

of tasks. As Gábor put it, "instead of making ostentatious displays of riches, saintly princesses fashioned celestial courts as symbolic counterpoints to male-dominated secular courts." By the fourteenth century, the wish for a canonized member was so strong among the royal dynasties of central Europe that they always made sure that some of their young women were devoting themselves to ascetic spirituality.[5]

In short, in the course of his pioneering work on styles of rulership in central Europe, Gábor was introducing the new modes of gender analysis, all the better because they were firmly contextualized in time, place, and language.

Gábor's achievements go well beyond these— in new themes for research; in the many volumes he has edited on his own or with others; in his collaboration with scholars such as the anthropologist William Christian, Jr. on the role of dreams and visions in the historical past; and in his encouragement to a raft of younger scholars, through the Collegium Budapest and the university. I imagine Gábor as fashioning a celestial court of scholars, as they seek to uncover the secrets of the past and as they turn the world's platitudes upside down amidst the laughter of discovery. Happy birthday, dear Gábor, and may you do history for many years ahead.

[5] Gábor Klaniczay, "Legends as Life Strategies for Aspirant Saints in the Late Middle Ages, *Journal of Folklore History* 26, no 2 (1989): 151–171, and especially *Holy Rulers*, chap. 5, "Saintly princesses and their 'heavenly courts'".

GÁBOR: AN APPRECIATION

Miri Rubin

I have been invited to offer a few words, and since Carlo, László, and Natalie have done so well in describing Gábor's intellectual journey and achievements, I shall share here what I have learned from Gábor over the years, even beyond his scholarship. Because Gábor, for me, is an example of how to make and live a good life.

The beginning was not auspicious. I met Gábor in the early 90s in Oxford, where he spoke in the seminar I co-ran with Robin Briggs at All Souls. On the morrow, we were to make our way to Cambridge where I lived, and where an exciting encounter awaited him, with R. W. Scribner, and his seminar. But that day was one of those very rare—and hence terribly disruptive—snow days in England, when everything comes to a halt. So we found ourselves on the train together, a train that was cold, delayed, and crowded; we were hungry and sat there waiting for it to move, and Gábor became more and more grumpy, really grumpy, as he saw his precious time in England wasted. My impression of him hence could only improve. And it did—mightily—for our shared interests meant that we met regularly over years, at conferences in many countries, and in each Gábor seemed to speak the local language fluently. Through Gábor I also became a friend of his and our beloved CEU community, and that has been a privilege indeed.

What do I mean by living the good life: it does not mean a life without hardship, danger, or anxiety. But it does mean two important things, I think, which Gábor embodies: the personal and the political, each cared for and nurtured. The personal, first. Gábor is a man for deep friendships and love. And Gábor the scholar arises from Gábor the man, who is happiest in his book-lined home, serving meals—with Mari of course—to friends old and new. Food, and dance and chat, and laughter—all of these, around him in spaces he makes into places of safety and acceptance, which give strength and inspiration to all those fortunate enough to enter them.

And the political. Gábor has always been one for civic mobilisation, for service and for leadership. His striving for the common good, ranges from his student days, with his underground translations into Hungarian of humane texts, to the more recent demonstrations in Parliament Square against laws—some of which have affected CEU so dramatically. And along the way his exemplary history made him a leader in post-Communist Hungary in the formation of a

liberal-minded scholarship in central and eastern Europe and beyond. This was academic activism thoroughly imbued with civic commitment.

We can all think of admirable people who are indomitable fighters for justice; we can think of others who are warm and loyal friends, other still, impress with truly intellect. But the combination of all three in one utterly charming individual is a miracle indeed.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY AND THE USES AND ABUSES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Patrick Geary

The American author William Faulkner, in his novel *Requiem for a Nun*, wrote that in the South, "The past is never dead. It's not even past." Certainly the recent events that began in the United States with the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police and then spread first across our nation and then across the globe, with demands that monuments to racists and imperialists be demolished, demonstrated forcefully that Faulkner's dictum is not limited to the American South. The past, in the form of slavery, colonialism, and deeply rooted racist ideologies is very much alive throughout the world. However, there are few areas of the world in which the past is so much a part of the present as in Central Europe, and the struggle to control the past, to speak the past for the present, continues unabated. However, Gábor is not a professional politician or polemicist. He is an historian, seeking, in the words of the great Annaliste historian Lucien Febvre, "to recompose by thought, for each of the eras it studies, the mental material of the people of that era; to reconstitute, by a powerful effort of both scholarship and imagination, the universe, all the universe: physical, intellectual and moral of each of the generations that have preceded."[1] We have head from Carlo Ginzburg and others about his work on magic witchcraft in the Middle Ages;[2] we know his extraordinary work on the sacrality of royal lineages across Europe and particularly in Central Europe;[3] we know his on-going studies of the longue durée of bodily effects of visions, that is the relationship between the physical and the mental.[4] All of these testify to Gábor's deep commitment to the Annales traditions of his French mentors.

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[1] Lucien Febvre, *Combats pur l'histoire* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1965), 334.

[2] Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformations of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* translated by Susan Singerman, ed. Karen Margolis (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 5. *Witch Beliefs and Witch-hunting in Central and Eastern Europe*, Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs, eds. (Conference in Budapest, Sept 6–9, 1988), Special Issue of *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica. An International Journal of Ethnography*, 37 (1991/92); *Witchcraft and Demonology in Hungary and Transylvania*, Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs, eds (London – New York: Palgrave – Macmillan), 2017.

[3] Especially Gábor Klaniczay, *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek* (Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2000), in English: *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe,* translated by Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[4] Among others, "Louise Lateau et les stigmatisées du XIXème siècle entre directeurs spirituels, dévots, psychologues et médecins," in: *Discorsi sulle stimmate dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea - Discours*

Nevertheless, precisely because a careful and respectful recomposition of the physical, intellectual, and moral universe of the past is important to him, he has, at critical moments, turned his attention from recovering this past to protecting it from those who seek instrumentalize a distorted image of the past for present ideological ends.

Of course, much of Gábor's basic scholarship is in fact is an implicit rejection of the manipulation of the past. Simply by historicizing the process by which sacrality came to be associated with certain dynasties or by examining how supernatural power has been structured and used in specific circumstances he implicitly undermines contemporary attempts to marshal legends or religious institutions for contemporary ideological purposes. There are however other instances when a practicing historian, in the words of Fustel du Coulonges, must stop his studies to respond to the misuse of history, and Gábor has done this periodically through his long career. Gábor has responded in particular to the distortions of a Central European past, but he has done so in a manner that remains integral to his work as an historian and his extraordinary capacity for collaboration.

Since his earliest publications on the ideological reading of dress and fashion, he has been acutely sensitive to the power of non-verbal, symbolic communication and the power of myth and symbolism.[5] In the years since the founding of the department of Medieval Studies in the Central European University, he has had the opportunity, indeed the necessity, to reflect periodically on the appropriations of the Middle Ages both in the nineteenth century and in the present. He has done so in some of his own publications, but even more through collective, collaborative projects that he has directed. I would like to highlight a few of these today.

Already in 1999–2000, together with Sally Humphries, Gábor organized a series of research seminars at the now sadly abolished Collegium Budapest on the historical development of the humanities in the context of national heritages. This was a broadly focused project that resulted in a series of publications on national canons, intellectuals and the politics of the humanities.

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sur les stigmates du Moyen Âge *à l'époque contemporaine*, a cura di Gábor Klaniczay, *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 26 (2013), 279–320; also his "Bodily Signs of Divine Presence. Medieval Christianity in Comparative Context. Signes corporels de la présence divine: la Chrétienté médiévale dans un contexte comparatif," in: *International History Prize Awarded to M. Gábor Klaniczay. Discours, texts* (Moscow: Comité International des Sciences Historiques. International Committee of Historical Sciences, 2017), 25–45, 46–66.

[5] "Öltözködés és ideológia a középkorban," *Valóság* 8 (1978), 35–50; "Miért aktuális a divat?" in: *Divatszociológia* vol. 1, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Katalin S. Nagy (Budapest: Membrán, 1982), 7–34.

In 2003, taking advantage of the deep knowledge of current and former students from across Central Europe, he organized a series of events that focused on the increasing manipulation of the middle ages for contemporary ideological purposes. The first was an exhibition with the punning title MEDIEVAL/EVIL --- KÖZÉPKOR/KÓRKÉP that focused on manipulation of the medieval past in contemporary Central Europe. In connection with the exhibition, the department sponsored a day-long conference on the manipulation of the Middle Ages in Post-Socialist East-Central Europe as well as a summer University course "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe: From Heritage to Politics." In his opening address at the conference, Gábor spoke in particular on how post-Communist states were increasingly engaging with a newly militant and revanchist Church to promote a sense of historical roots that would strengthen state structures and create an ideology resonant with tendencies recuperated not from the Middle Ages but rather from nineteenth-century romantic nationalism.

He developed these themes subsequently, in lectures such as one he gave at UCLA in 2006 entitled "The Return of the Middle Ages in Post-Communist East-Central Europe," and then in an exhibition and series of lectures and films focused on the explosion of interest in real and imagined pasts, especially medieval pasts, since 1989, from Estonia in the north to Bulgaria in the south at the University of California, Berkeley that he organized in collaboration with the Berkeley historian Randolph Starn. The exhibition, entitled "The Contagious Middle Ages in Post-Communist East Central Europe," was a particularly powerful invocation of how nationalism, religious revival, political agendas, myth-making, all played a part in the sometimes constructive but often dangerous re-creation of a medieval past for the region's future. In the same year, in collaboration with Ernő Marosi and Ottó Gecser, he published a volume of essays, *The Nineteenth-Century Process of "Musealization" in Hungary and Europe*, that explored the cultural and ideological parameters of collecting, labeling, displaying, in effect, inventing the past through material artifact preservation and exhibition.[6]

Gábor recognized that the mobilization of a mythic middle ages for presentist agendas in the region has consisted less in a recuperation of ancient and medieval history than in the rehabilitation of nineteenth century romantic nationalist historiography in the twenty-first century. Thus, much of his focus on the uses and abuses of the past has involved a renewed understanding of nineteenth and early twentieth century historiography, traditions largely swept

[6] *The Nineteenth-Century Process of "Musealization" in Hungary and Europe*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Gábor Klaniczay and Ottó Gecser, Collegium Budapest Workshop Series, No. 17 (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2006).

aside both in the socialist period and, outside of the region, by advances in international scholarship. With Michael Werner and Ottó Gecser he organized a focus group at the now-liquidated Hungarian Institute for Advanced Study on the uses of Ancient history in the region during the nineteenth century and subsequently edited an important series of studies on ancient history in the region under the title *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures* (2011). Examined from the perspective of *histoire croisée,* these essays explore how multiple perceptions of antiquity that have shaped modern European cultures and national identities.[7] He followed up this nineteenth-century study of the construction of antiquity a few years later in collaboration with David Morvin and Elżbieta Olechowska with a volume of essays on Greek and Latin Classics behind the Iron Curtain.[8]

The obvious move from Antiquity to the Middle Ages came with a second focus group at the Collegium Budapest in 2008/9 that Gábor organized with an American colleague on medievalism, archaic origins and regimes of historicity. Two collected volumes resulted from this focus group, one of the last to be held before the Hungarian state crushed the Collegium, both of which Gábor edited, the second in collaboration with our recently deceased and greatly missed János Bak.[9] As Gábor explained in the introduction to the first of these volumes:

> The essays focus on three significant aspects of this search for alternative identities: the first is the construction of new national master narratives, the elaboration of national origin myths; the development of historically structured linguistic reforms to create national languages and project them into the past… The second might be termed the search for the true relics of the medieval past through archaeology, monument preservation, art history and ethnography… Finally the authors consider the history of institutions that framed, enabled, and directed these forms of cultural expression.[10]

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[7] *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner and Ottó Gecser (Frankfurt – New York: Campus Verlag, 2011).

[8] *Classics and Communism: Greek and Latin Classics behind the Iron Curtain*, ed. György Karsai, Gábor Klaniczay, David Movrin and Elżbieta Olechowska (Budapest, Ljubljana, Warsaw: University of Ljubljana, 2013).

[9] Gábor Klaniczay and Patrick J. Geary, eds, *Manufacturing the Middle Ages. Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Patrick J. Geary, Gábor Klaniczay and János M. Bak, eds, *Manufacturing a Past for the Present. Forgery and Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[10] *Manufacturing the Middle Ages*, 5-6.

Moreover, as he also wrote, within a nineteenth-century context, the emerging medievalism of the period was far from being regressive; the real function of the rediscovered or invented Middle Ages was rather a definition of modernity by historical imagery and historicist reasoning. It was only later, as the great European empires of the Ottomans, Romanovs, and Habsburgs began to fragment and Europe sleep-walked toward the Great War that the medievalism of the nineteenth-century began to turn into a weapon of the particularistic, antagonistic and ultimately destructive forces it became. "Medieval traditions," as Gábor eloquently phrased it,

> became a battleground at the end of the 20th century: the rising new nationalist movements in post-communist East-Central Europe wanted to use them for their political claims, while repressing or even destroying those of their neighbors. Criticizing the "uses and abuses" of medieval heritage, and reaffirming the universal humanistic principles of medieval culture became our mission – one could say: medieval foundations of modern "open society.[11]

Today, even as we celebrate Gábor on this important milestone, we cannot boast "Mission Accomplished." His beloved Central European University has been expelled by an increasingly totalitarian state. The Collegium Budapest, which he directed for four years and which supported his workshops on the relationship between past and present has been abolished. His efforts to restore a truer understanding of the deep past of the region by elucidating the nineteenth century origins of the contagion that falsified it are being rejected by powerful regional players who continue to revive and promote these nineteenth century fantasies for their own ends. However, while all of this gives us reason for regret, it is not a cause for despair. The process of interpreting the past is never ending, and good, critical history will always meet with bitter opposition. It was not by chance that Lucien Febvre entitled his collected essays, *Combats pour l'histoire* or that Georges Duby entitled his memoires *L'histoire continue*. These setbacks, these reversals, only demonstrate how important it is that Gábor does not rest on his laurels but rather that he continues to lead us in these combats for history. His work is far from over, history, his history, will continue, and we his friends, colleagues, and students will continue to look to him for many more years of making visible the past in the present.

[11] Gábor Klaniczay, "Reflections on the Present and the Future of the Department," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 26 (2020), 260–264.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES: A SUBJECTIVE WRITTEN SOURCE FOR THE FUTURE

József Laszlovszky

The Department of Medieval Studies at CEU is very much about Gábor. The last almost 30 years has been about living with, living in, and living for this department. The department is not simply an academic unit of a university: it was a dream, a dream which came true, a burden, a daily occupation, a lifestyle, and above all, a community. Therefore, on this festive day, I want to speak, and later in the written version write about three fine "F". words: about the founder, the friend, and in many ways, about the *fama*.

Concerning the *genre* of this text, it is a historical record of some events and stories, but much more a personal portrait of Gábor. I had the opportunity to greet Gábor on his sixtieth birthday with a scholarly study, which was thoroughly influenced by his academic oeuvre. The topic in focus of this article, which is crucial for Gábor's work as a medievalist, is the cult of Saint Margaret, the daughter of King Béla IV. That study came into existence because I had been dealing literally for decades with a story connected to the canonization of this saint. But I never had the motivation to write it up as a proper academic study. It was Gábor's work, friendship and his never-ending enthusiasm that forced me to put pen to paper, because I just felt the pressure that it would not be proper to greet him with "something", rather than with a study close to his interest, and—I hoped—up to his academic standards. So why should I write now in a different *genre*? In our academic field—medieval studies—we often complain about the lack of relevant sources, or very often about the typical situation that a sequence of events or historical period is only present in documents representing one side of the story. If Gábor was kind enough to greet me on my birthday with a very personal *laudatio,* I should offer a kind of historical account for the other side of the story. In the early years of this department, we always felt that we needed to table something decisive for the future. This how the various publications initiated by the department were born, and this how the present volume contains texts on Gábor, and for Gábor.

This *laudatio* is not an academic summary of Gábor's achievements, but a more personal contribution to a collection of short papers. Two of the three words I mentioned in the first paragraph appear to be obvious. Gábor was one of the founders of this department, and of course the founder of many other things. I regard him as a friend, and as a good historian, which I can easily provide

written evidence for. Concerning the third word, *fama*, I will come back to it in due course.

When working on the oral version of this *laudatio,* I was looking for words or terms relevant for Gábor, for his academic work and, in many ways, for his personality. Many words came to my mind related to saints or the cult of saints. Gábor's academic work cannot be understood without these scholarly topics, and of course the academic fields dealing with these historical problems cannot be understood without Gábor's contribution. So, I thought I should collect some phrases that describe this academic interest, but ones that are also relevant for my personal story about him. And I was glad to see that the 'wordcloud' created based on Gábor's numerous published studies confirms the importance of the following words.

The first word is *legenda*, or let's say 'legend' or 'legendary'. Gábor is definitely a legendary figure in our field, and in the community of scholars in general. In addition, this term is also very important in Gábor's academic output, not to speak of 'urban legends', which are not so far from his character either. But in his case, it is better to use the original Latin word, and in its original context. In the primary meaning, *legenda* is something everybody should read, because it offers an example to be followed. Of course, in the context of sainthood, what is to be read are the *vitae*, the lives and stories of saints and their extraordinary achievements, often peppered with supernatural elements. In short, legends are the textual manifestations of these extraordinary lives. But the *vitae* soon became *genres*, texts to be taken as examples of how to write about such things. Furthermore, legends are important aspects of monastic life, an academic field close to both of our hearts. In monastic life, *vitae* or legends are read on a regular basis, and on certain days of the year excerpts from these texts should be read because they are important anchors for the community. Therefore, on this festive day, I would also like to mention at least some texts, which are not connected to a saint, but texts which are written about certain saints, although not in the original hagiographic genre, but in a modern, scholarly genre.

Considering the various meanings of the word *legenda*, it is important not only in the wordcloud of Gábor's academic oeuvre, but also a very useful term that reminds me of some aspects of our friendship. My first meeting with Gábor, although not a personal one yet, started in the original sense of *legenda*. As I was a university student in the last years of my studies in archaeology and history at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) in the early 1980s, and probably also during my first years as a young assistant professor at the same university, I frequently heard from distinguished colleagues that "you should read this or that work by

the young Klaniczay." In those days, anybody dealing with the Middle Ages or with the Early Modern Period was familiar with the seminal works of the great Klaniczay, namely Tibor Klaniczay, Gábor's father. My distinguished colleagues, however, wanted to emphasize that the publications of the young Klaniczay were equally important. You had to know them if you wanted to be a good medievalist. And I have to say that immediately after familiarizing myself with some of his writings, I agreed that Gábor's work should definitely be included in the list of a medievalist, and not only because they were important, but also because they were interesting. I was truly impressed and, as somebody noted, they brought a very different character, a different voice. They were scholarly, but also interesting. And these two qualities were not necessarily connected in the field of medieval studies or, more generally, in Hungarian medieval history. This fresh voice opened up a number of new areas and demonstrated that there were many unexplored aspects of medieval life that had been ignored or could be interpreted in a novel way. The same scholar may be interested in fashion and sainthood, witches and legends. The topics can be studied at a very high scholarly level, often dealing with Hungarian aspects, but with a very impressive international academic background. In the Hungary of the early and mid-1980s this was new. Some landmark studies were born at the time that represented the contemporary legends in the original sense of the word.

My second, in this time real and personal meeting with Gábor tells a lot about him as well as about the period. I do not know to what extent this first personal meeting was legendary, but it has certainly been recorded in a text connected to a festive day. It was my sixtieth birthday, and the *Festschrift* that I received on that occasion. Gábor's contribution to this volume is about our first personal meeting, which happened in Krems, rather than in Hungary. There was at a conference organized by Gerhard Jaritz in Krems (*Genius loci*), and in the slowly changing world of the 1980s, we were both able to participate in that scholarly event. There was no CEU yet, but in retrospect it is clear that the conference played a role in the setting up of our department. There is no need to write at length about this encounter, as Gábor's eye witness account is easily available on the internet (which of course, was not available at that time).

The third, and probably most important meeting was connected to CEU. This was a meeting when we not only discussed academic questions in a scholarly circle, but we got to know each other in a particular type of experience which gained so much importance in the following years. That was the first (not yet departmental) excursion to Spoleto, Italy. We attended the first international conference of FIDEM, an important organization for medievalists, and this was

also the first time we were able to take with us some students of the Middle Ages. We visited together monuments, museums, churches and even research institutes in Italy and Austria. I can say that for some students of later years, this was perhaps the very first of a series of many legendary excursions. But legends were present there in other ways as well. It was the first time that I was able to listen to Gábor's short, and sometimes longer introductions, explanations, or interpretations of hagiographic stories, the life and cult of saints. And it was followed by innumerable similar occasions in Central and Eastern Europe, during our annual excursions taking us from Bavaria to Moldavia, from Ravenna to Cracow. His frequent ad hoc presentations at historic sites were like ready-made conference papers, with up-to-date references to secondary literature, and with many fascinating details. They were, like the previously noted publications, not only important and relevant for the site, the church, or the monument we were visiting, but also for any young, and not so young medievalist. Extremely intricate problems, such as canonization, stigmatization, veneration, or other problems labelled with strange Latin-English words were summarized in five, eight or ten-minute essays, presented in front of a fresco of Saint Ladislaus, looking at the relics of Saint Margaret, or ahead of visiting a nunnery in Prague. Anybody can read Gábor's excellent scholarly studies on these subjects, but I think it was from these stand-up summaries during our excursions that I have learned some of the most interesting lessons about the Middle Ages.

Legends stayed with us not only in the first years of the department's life, but also in later years. If one reads legends of saints, one recurrent element of their *vita* is the task impossible, or (literally) mission impossible. I am stressing this because the entire task, the entire process (even looking backwards) seemed like a mission impossible. The task, originally the dream, was that there could be a medieval studies program, representing world class academic work and teaching, and that it could be located in Hungary. This seemed totally unrealistic, and it was Gábor who stood behind this vision. He was certainly not alone, but without him it would have been impossible to realise the dream.

If we take a closer look at how the dream has been achieved, we find another aspect that is familiar from legends. Saints often have something important to share in order to make things happen that are vitally important for all at the given moment. It can be a cloak with a sword, and the problem is solved. What I have also learnt over the past almost thirty years is that Gábor likes sharing, for example, sharing with us his legendary circle of scholars. This is how János Bak returned to Hungary and with him Gábor invited the best scholars in this field. These scholars came to us still before CEU or as part of the process of

planning medieval studies at CEU. For example, János Bak, František Šmahel, Hans Belting, Aleksander Gieysztor, Ernő Marosi, Gerhard Jaritz attended the first planning meeting. Later the advisory board of the department with its regular meetings offered us a unique intellectual experience: Evelyn Patlagean, Jacques Le Goff, Robert Evans, and many other outstanding scholars were with us to discuss our program and plans. This happened because we learnt together how to share our international networks and how to make them interested in our enterprise. In this process, one of the most important elements was Gábor's willingness to share his network, and to help contact friends or colleagues. It was so simple, or at least looked so simple. I recall one occasion when I planned to travel to Paris. Gábor said to me in very simple terms: "You should call Jacques and tell him what is going on here now. I will send him an email, and you should just call him". And indeed it was easy: I called Le Goff and he knew about all the important developments at CEU, as he was in regular contact with Gábor.

I would also like to mention another aspect frequently appearing in legends. In order to achieve something, or to convince somebody to do a difficult task is not always thanks to miracles. Simple things like endurance, and perseverance, or sometimes a gentle push can do wonders. I recall so many occasions when I received a phone call from Gábor, occasionally late in the evening. It was always about something important that should not be forgotten. Therefore, it was always clear that if it was so important for Gábor, it should be important for the program, or for our plans. After such a call with this gentle push, there was no way to forget things. And in the long run, one can understand that this type of endurance, and perseverance is crucial to achieve a goal which seems a mission impossible otherwise.

Finally, in the legends we often read about a community, about building a community. This can be a monastic group, or some kind of celestial community. Gábor's work in the context of this department was very much about building a community. Of course, not a monastic or a celestial community. Because the people in this department, or those who were part of this program earlier are all different; sometimes they are strange with their ideas, styles, plans, and problems. But it was a priority from the beginning to build a community whose members would disagree on many points, but would be able to work together for a common goal. One of Gábor's most outstanding achievements has been to create and maintain this community. I know from experience, for example, from when I was head of department, that this often seems a mission impossible.

Having listed a good number of attributes for legends and for legendary figures, I will finish my greeting with a short story which might belong to the

sphere of urban legends. Obviously, one of the most important elements of a *legenda* is the miracle. The ultimate proof. According to an anecdote—or an urban legend—Gábor managed to perform a miracle at CEU. The story goes that there was an important meeting at CEU. Gábor was supposed to be attending but somebody reported to the gathering that he was going to be late for the meeting. It was also announced that he was in Cambridge, but would arrive in five minutes. And it happened, Gábor turned up within the next five minutes. According to some unconfirmed sources, his original message was "I am on the Chain Bridge" and if so, his arrival should not be regarded as a miracle, but we can leave this explanation for future discussion. So much about the *fama*. In conclusion, I have to admit that it often seems another miracle to me how Gábor can squeeze so many things into one day, and in the evening can still remember to ring somebody and remind them of something important.

PART 3

Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2019–2020

Gábor Klaniczay

As we could foresee, this was going to be a very demanding year, filled with ambivalent feelings. When I took over the Headship for the third time, my design was to invest all my energy to secure a safe passage for the Medieval Studies Department to Vienna, while securing that it could preserve a part of its activities in the context where it was born: in Budapest, using the resources built up in Hungary—the academic contacts, the ELTE-CEU Medieval Library, the local alumni network, the international student life merging into Budapest sociability. We had to accept the move to Vienna, because—despite all our efforts to comply with the new regulations the FIDESZ regime invented to prohibit CEU's teaching activities in Hungary—it became clear that Orbán would never sign the necessary agreement with the official American partners. But we did not give up the hope that a bi-campus mode of existence could be designed in this new situation. While the degree programs had to be translocated, many other scholarly activities (Open Society Archives, CEU Institute for Advanced Studies, a number of research programs, PhD studies) could and should remain in Budapest, in the impressive newly constructed university building, which also houses the excellent research library of CEU, used by large groups of scholars and students in Budapest. It was also clear that CEU's mission obliged us to resist the pressure of Orbán's autocratic regime, further animate the international discourse for academic freedom, and remain faithful to our identity, which incited a huge wave of solidarity and mass demonstrations among the students and the broader intellectual circles in Hungary when CEU's persecution started.

Looking back from a distance of almost two years to the strivings of 2019–2020, I have to draw a balance, with a bitter taste in my mouth. As for the organization of the transition, we were quite successful, but our propositions for maintaining a meaningful presence in Budapest and consciously designing a bi-campus structure for CEU (matured in ongoing discussions with many colleagues from different departments) were completely doomed to failure. The direction of CEU rigidly stuck to its decision to transfer all student-related educational activities to Vienna. And a university is there, where its students are located.

At the same time, a bi-campus existence became an ephemerous reality during this year: it was decided that a part of our students would spend an "experiential" term in Vienna and start using the Quellenstrasse premises, while the other half of our students would still study in Budapest. So, the first-year students of the one-year MA group, after having arrived in Budapest at the beginning of September, embarked on a spectacular departure on buses on September 15 to Vienna. The same happened to the students of the Cultural Heritage program in the Winter Term. The members of the faculty who taught classes for the Vienna-based students commuted to Vienna by train and had an overnight hotel reservation, while the others continued to offer courses in Budapest. It was quite a mess, especially because some Budapest-based students also wanted to take the courses delivered in Vienna, so we organized their participation online. On the whole, still, this was an exciting experience, trying to rebuild CEU in a new context, in exile. On October 22 we organized a self-introduction of our department to our Vienna colleagues—opened by Walter Pohl and Christina Lutter and attended by a large group of Vienna medievalists and students; this became a reassuring success. Towards Christmas, although we had to renounce our usual Christmas party because the student body was split in two, we thought that a new and interesting bi-campus experience was unfolding.

A very important dimension of our preparation for our Vienna future has been the accreditation of our programs in the Austrian system. Katalin Szende, Daniel Ziemann, Alice Choyke, Dóra Mérai, and József Laszlovszky worked very hard to ensure that our four teaching programs (One-year MA, Two-year MA, Cultural Heritage, and PhD) would correspond to the Austrian accreditation requirements, and a mighty burden was also on the coordinators, Csilla Dobos, Johanna Tóth, and Ágnes Drosztmér. The issue was very important; CEU had to have its teaching programs accredited by Summer 2020 in order to be able to begin the next academic year in Vienna. Luckily, the process has come together almost as quickly as planned.

Yet, there was a new, unpleasant surprise to come. In December and January when the first news arrived about Covid-19 from China, it all seemed rather distant. But in February, with the outbreak of the pandemics in Italy, then in Spain, France, the US, and Brazil, we realized that this could also reach Hungary and Austria. And it did reach Hungary and Austria very quickly, with the tempestuous outbreak of the first wave in March, canceling many important programs we had planned for the Winter Term and the Research Break, bringing panic and lockdown, and subsequently ruining the entire second half of the

academic year. Nevertheless, there are things to be remembered of our diverse academic activities.

Teaching Programs

We started our twenty-seventh academic year with the program directorship of Daniel Ziemann (Two-year MA), Katalin Szende (One-year MA), and Alice M. Choyke (PhD). Our student body this year had two large groups—one from Turkey and another from Hungary—but we had the usual spread in addition to them from the US and Mexico to China and India, from Russia to Italy and Spain, as well as Central Europe—Poland, Slovenia, and Croatia were also well represented. The research topics, as one can see from the titles of the defended theses listed in this volume, ranged in chronological terms from late Antiquity to the Renaissance and the early modern period, in geographical terms from Iceland to the Mongolian Empire and the Ottoman domains, from Byzantium to Poland. As for the themes, cultural and intellectual history sided with that of material culture, theology and hagiography with urban history, political symbolism of courtly societies with art history.

The Cultural Heritage Studies Two-year MA program, in its sixth year of existence under the direction of József Laszlovszky, welcomed incoming and continuing students from Africa, Asia, and Europe. Our traditional year-beginning Fall Field Trip targeted Veszprém, Somló, Szombathely, coming back by Lake Balaton, Fehérvárcsurgó, and Székesfehérvár.

The combination of the year's courses represented our traditional strengths and broad chronological coverage, such as "Early Christianity: From Messianic Sect to State Religion," "Saints and Mystics in Late Medieval Europe," "Pilgrimage, Pilgrims, and Pilgrims' Itineraries in the Middle Ages," "Dynastic States and Royal Courts in Early Modern Eurasian History (1450–1700)," "Reading Late Ancient and Medieval Autobiographies," "Hagia Sophia of Constantinople: Sketching a Political and Social History (532–1453)," "Mongol Empire in Eurasia and its Impact on Central Europe," "History of Daily Life," "Urban History and Culture: Exploring the City," and "Medieval Philosophy and Theology," to name a just few. Following the practice of the previous year, the Faculty Research Seminar in the Fall Term was connected to the "Introduction to Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies" course convened by Balázs Nagy; besides the public lectures given by our own crew (József Laszlovszky, Gerhard Jaritz, Baukje van Den Berg) we had a memorable lecture by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne.

Research Projects and Academic Events

Faculty members and students affiliated with our department worked on several ongoing projects throughout the year. In the reports of the previous years, my predecessor, Katalin Szende, already presented the two major ERC projects running with the involvement of our colleagues: *OTTOCONFESSION* (Confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire) with Tijana Krstić as Principal Investigator and *JewsEast* (Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean), hosted by the University of Bochum, with István Perczel as the leader of the sub-project on South India. Other collaborative enterprises include the *Medieval Animal Data-Network* (*MAD*) coordinated by Alice Choyke and Gerhard Jaritz, in cooperation with Ingrid Matschinegg from the Institute of Realienkunde attached to the University of Salzburg, and the *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, coordinated by Katalin Szende as PI and our alumna Magdolna Szilágyi as Research Fellow.

The academic events of the year started with a large conference on the *Economic Functions of Urban Spaces*—a congress of the International Commission for the History of Towns hosted by our department (September 18–20). A second large event was related to a two-year research and student exchange project supported by the German Academic Research Board (DAAD), a bilateral cooperation between Heidelberg University and CEU on the theme of *Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe*. After the previous year's events centered in Heidelberg, on October 17–19 we organized a workshop titled *Urban Societies in Border Zones,* enlarging the Budapest-Heidelberg cooperation to a triangle with our Prague colleagues. The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lectures had Carlo Ginzburg as guest this year, speaking on "Secularism and its Ambiguities" on December 2–5.

The Winter Term of 2020 started in a nostalgic mood: we knew that this was the last semester we would spend in Budapest. We still wanted to present a series of conferences and public lectures to make our last term memorable. We invited, among others, two of our excellent alumni: Beatrix Romhányi, professor at the Gáspár Károlyi University of the Reformed Church, and Ottó Gecser, professor at ELTE (Head of the Department of Sociology, but still faithful to medieval studies). We also won our one-time professor Ernő Marosi, the doyen of Hungarian art historians, for a public lecture, and we also had our Vienna colleague Christina Lutter present her VISCOM project in Budapest, together with our alumna, Judit Majorossy, also member of her team.

In January through March we also had as guest at our department the first winner of the fellowship bearing the name of János Bak (established on his 90th birthday), Mykhaylo Yakubovych, an expert on the reports of medieval Arabic travelers on Central Europe. His public lecture was made memorable by the personal appearance of János Bak, already gravely ill.

Pandemics

For early March we prepared a large conference with our Beijing colleagues on the *Silky Way* (a cooperation with Beijing Normal University, maintained since the early 2010s by Alice Choyke and Daniel Ziemann). For mid-March we planned a concluding conference for our DAAD cooperation with Heidelberg on the problem of *Borders and interactions: Monastic regions, cult centres and pilgrimages.* And we were preparing for the fourth large international conference of MECERN on *Networks in Medieval Societies,* planned to be arranged in Gdansk in April.

But the Covid-19 pandemic exploded in Hungary in mid-March and swept away all our plans: from March on everything had to be cancelled. The weekly Zoom events we organized, to keep the department together, could hardly compensate for the loss of personal contact with the students for the rest of the academic year. The courses had to move online and remained so even in the May Spring Session. For the first time since the foundation of the department we had to renounce our Spring Field Trip, planned for May, to Slovakia. Even the thesis defenses had to be arranged online, on Zoom.

A small consolation: the MA theses written in these difficult conditions were still of a good quality, as can be seen in the chapters selected to be published in the present *Annual.* Another consolation: by the end of June Covid-19 had started to diminish, we could organize a nice open-air end-of-the-year picnic on Margaret Island. We hoped then that the pandemic would soon be over, and this made us optimistic—we could not foresee the coming of the much more intensive second and third waves.

Faculty and Staff

In opposition to the previous years, there was not much change in this domain, except for the happy news that our MA coordinator Johanna Incze-Tóth gave birth to a son in January 2020 and left for maternity leave. Our efficient program organizer, PhD student Anastasia Theologou, also had to leave and dedicate herself to finishing her studies. Zsófia Göde, an alumna of CEU's Department of Philosophy became their replacement already in December, and she very

competently took over the tiresome and complex administrative duties and program organizing tasks. At the same time, Csilla Dobos also had an increased burden: she had to commute (almost bilocate) frequently between Vienna and Budapest for securing the basic conditions of our future transition.

The academic year ended with a tragic event. After months of serious illness, on June 18, our dear colleague, János M. Bak, passed away. We lost a close friend, a teacher of all of us, one of the founding fathers of our department, who was an active professor emeritus until the last moment of his life. His burial was a sorrowful occasion for his friends, colleagues, and former students from all around Central Europe and the broader world. But his legacy, as stressed by the obituaries published in the preceding volume of our *Annual*, will remain with us and support us in carrying on our teaching and research activities in the international academic world—ironically following his example, for a while (?) in exile from the country where we began.

NEW RESULTS REGARDING THE MONGOL INVASION OF HUNGARY AND ITS EURASIAN CONTEXT (2020)[1]

János B. Szabó – József Laszlovszky – Balázs Nagy – Dorottya Uhrin

Introduction

The second year of the research project was the continuation of the previously started field surveys, conference presentations, public lectures, and teaching. Members of the project team have published several articles, which widen the horizon of the research concerning the Mongol invasion and summarize earlier results. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has strongly affected earlier plans. We planned to continue the field surveys with metal detectors and underwater archaeological research, as we had done in autumn 2019,[2] but the emergency situation and the restrictions did not enable us to continue them. The long-planned and fully organized international conference in March was rescheduled to November as an online event.[3] However, only one field survey was conducted in August, when the Hungarian regulations and the weather allowed underwater archaeologists to carry out on-site research; the members of the project were forced to work in "home office." The ceramics that had been excavated earlier from the Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze archaeological site have been archaeometrically analyzed with a petrographic methodology; and the project members have published several articles, including a thematic issue of *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*.

New Studies and Results Concerning the Archaeology of the Mongol Invasion and the Interdisciplinary Research of the Battle of Muhi

The Winter 2020 issue of the online journal of *Hungarian Archaeology* includes several articles that discuss various aspects of the 1241–1242 Mongol invasion

[1] The four-year interdisciplinary research project started in 2018 and is supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office K 128880.

[2] The English summary of the first results was published in János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context. Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022)," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 26 (2020): 223–233.

[3] "The Mongols in Central Europe," Tatárjárás 1241, accessed March 3, 2021, http://tatarjaras1241.elte.hu/2020/11/26/the-mongols-in-central-europe-5/.

of Hungary, although from different perspectives and using different approaches. First among them is a preliminary study on the treasure from the time of the 1241 Mongol invasion,[4] whose photo appears on the title page of the journal. Research into archaeological traces of the Mongol invasion has long discovered that hoards consisting of coins, jewelry, and other valuables come to light in various parts of the country,[5] and the coins they contain connect these finds to the 1241–1242 attack. In other places, iron objects, predominantly agricultural tools, were hidden. They are usually discovered by accident rather than in planned archaeological excavations. Therefore, the finds from the Árpád period Abaújvár earthwork fortification of Abaúj County in July 2019 are very special. The coins, jewelry, and other unique objects—such as the textile remains woven with golden threads—as well as the importance of the fort in this period, made it worthwhile to briefly publish the first results, even though the processing of the finds is still ongoing. The site of Abaújvár is also known from the period's written sources, and archaeological investigation of this earthwork fortification has been underway for many decades. A little more than a year after its discovery, Mária Wolf and Csaba Tóth published their assessment of the site and the treasure itself, while Gábor Bakos and Enikő Sipos discussed the community archaeology aspects and restoration issues of the finds. The hoard consists of altogether 890 coins, four silver and one bronze buckle, two silver and two golden rings, two pairs of silver earrings, and three additional, drop-shaped earring parts, one silver ring that probably belonged to an earring, four golden knobs with gems, one piece of rock crystal that must have belonged to a ring or a pendant, a heavily worn Roman silver coin, a small metal artefact in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, and pieces of textiles interwoven with golden thread. Further archaeological finds that surfaced both in the excavation area and outside it suggest that this fort of the count was attacked by the Mongol army. The written sources as well as the archaeological testify that the fort survived the siege and may have served as an important hub in the actions of a counterattack, as indicated in a document from 1242. Further surveys inside the fort and in the rampart may contribute to a better understanding of the role this fort played in the history of the Mongol invasion.

Another highly important article about the hidden treasures connected to the Mongol invasion that demonstrates the find horizon of the invasion is published

[4] Gábor Bakos, Enikő Sipos, Csaba Tóth, and Mária Wolf, "A hoard from the period of the Mongol invasion, discovered in the Abaújvár fort," *Hungarian Archaeology* 9, no. 4 (2020): 52–61, https://doi.org/10.36338/ha.2020.4.3 (accessed March 3, 2021).

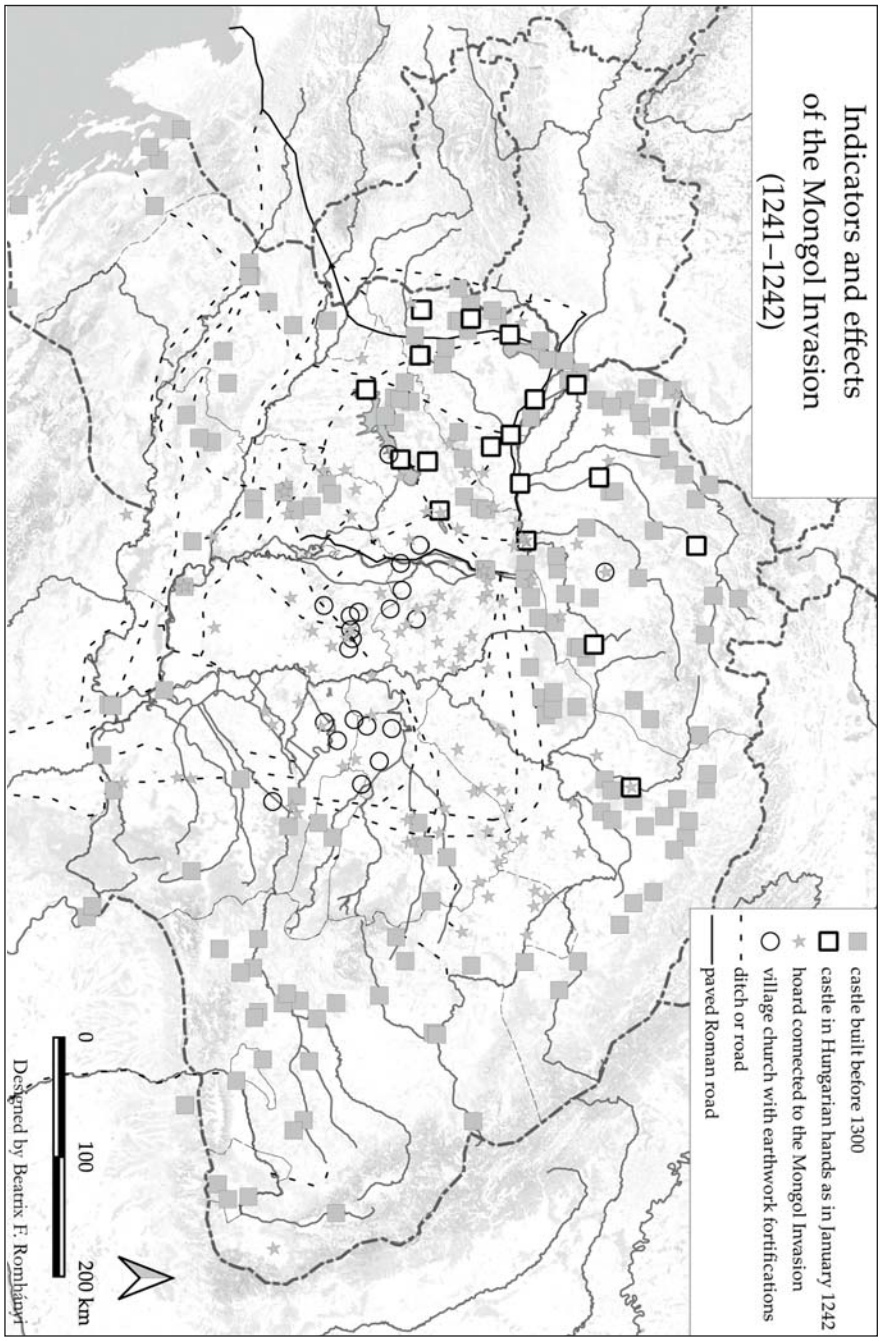
[5] See also the new study of Csaba Tóth, "A tatárjárás kori kincshorizontról" [About the Find Horizon of the Mongol Invasion], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 592–603.

in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*.[6] Roughly 100 to 150 coin hoards are currently known from the Carpathian Basin, most likely hidden during the Mongol invasion in 1241–1242. This coin horizon, which has been demonstrated in a complex way only in recent decades, covers the entire territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, although naturally, their geographical spread is not uniform. A typical coin hoard from this age (or a mixed treasure containing jewelry and hack silver) may consist of basically two groups of coins. Foreign currencies are mainly represented by twelfth–thirteenth-century *Friesacher Pfennigs*, but also contain *Wiener Pfennigs* as well as coins minted in Cologne and, to a lesser extent, in England. Hungarian coins almost without exception were minted by Béla IV (1235–1270) during the first phase of his reign; earlier Hungarian coins are rarely found. The existence of the find horizon raises a number of questions (spatial distribution pattern, hoards as indicators of the destruction during the invasion, contemporary money economy, economic historical aspects, foreign trade issues, etc.) the reinterpretation of which has only recently begun (*Fig. 1*).

Another article published in the Community Archaeology section of the *Hungarian Archaeology* journal (Winter 2020) also covers the period of the Mongol invasion and summarizes results from our research project.[7] József Laszlovszky and Tibor Rácz's article on one of the period's key sites, the Muhi battlefield, does not focus on the new finds, but on the insights gained from an interdisciplinary research project integrating the work of enthusiastic volunteer metal detectorists and the established field methods of battlefield archaeology. The identification of the site of the battlefield has contributed to a better understanding of the events of 11 April 1241. The course of events as we know it has been established through subjective written sources often based on indirect information. The identification of certain elements of the battle may provide new information, since it may be possible to reconstruct the tactical options provided to the leadership of the Hungarian and Mongol forces by the geographical circumstances and how the location influenced the outcome of the battle. Research in the Muhi battlefield has gained momentum through the assistance of volunteers associated with a number of museums, using metal detectors. In this article, the authors investigate the following questions: what kind of opportunities does community archaeology provide in the interdisciplinary investigation of an Árpád period (1000–1301)

[6] Csaba Tóth, "A tatárjárás kori kincshorizontról," 592–603.

[7] József Laszlovszky and Tibor Ákos Rácz, "Research Using Metal Detectors at the Battlefield of Muhi. Community Archaeology, Battlefield Investigation and Related Methodological Issues," *Hungarian Archaeology* 9, no. 4 (2020): 71–81, https://doi.org/10.36338/ha.2020.4.7 (accessed March 3, 2021).


Indicators and effects
of the Mongol Invasion
(1241–1242)
castle built before 1300
castle in Hungarian hands as in January 1242
hoard connected to the Mongol Invasion
village church with earthwork fortifications
ditch or road
paved Roman road
0
100
200 km
Designed by Beatrix F. Romhányi

battlefield, and what kind of practical and methodological problems are faced by research using metal detectors? Despite the logistical challenges, the chance of discovering the relatively small number of finds connected to the battle is increased by having a great number of people using metal detectors. One main reason for this is the fact that most volunteers with metal detectors demonstrate an active interest in military history. Many have been attracted to archaeology through collecting relics of the world wars, but the lecture series connected to our research project is also an attractive program for many of our volunteers.[8] Therefore, it is relatively easy to recruit volunteers for battlefield research. The conclusion of this article is that in addition to survey strategies, issues of organizing work with volunteers also require special attention. It is also shown that seventy-eighty people who participate in one fieldwork campaign cannot be treated as a single group; they must be divided into smaller units and given well-defined subtasks. A sufficient number of professional staff must also be provided. The work of each unit should be supervised by an archaeologist and the documentation is assisted by archaeology students. Since different volunteer organizations have developed different rules for how their members operate, the training of volunteers should reflect these rules, while being dependent on their numbers and previous training. The discovery of the Abaújvár treasure and the investigation of the Muhi battlefield highlight how fieldwork involving metal detecting surveys can contribute to a better understanding of a particular period.

Another important aspect of the archaeological studies of the research project is not connected to new field work, but to the complex analysis of archaeological finds from the period of the Mongol invasion. In addition to investigating the ceramics of Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze, the analysis of copper finds from the same site, using archaeological and metallographic methods, has been recently completed and published in a detailed article.[9] The site was located about 700 meters south of Hejőkeresztúr, on the current location of the M-30 motorway. The excavation was carried out in 1995–1996 and involved about 12,000 m². The uncovered settlement was richest in finds and objects from the late Árpád Age (late twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Based on the high number of finds, especially iron tools, it can be concluded that the settlement must have been abandoned very suddenly, potentially when its inhabitants were fleeing. The strongest likelihood is that this

[8] The lectures can be found on the YouTube channel of the project: 1241 Tatárjárás, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0g0VCgxNMVNWWUHQ_BcqCg.

[9] Mária Wolf and Péter Barkóczy, "Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze lelőhely réz alapanyagú leleteinek régészeti és archaeometriai vizsgálata" [Archaeological and Archeometric Studies of Copper Findings from Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 604–628.

was caused by the Battle of Muhi, which was fought close to this area. The finds represent a combination of tools from the settlement, as well as weapons left behind by soldiers in the battle. This paper describes the analysis of copper finds using archaeological and metallographic methods. These finds had very different purposes: Some of them were used as everyday tools (bowls and plates for scales), jewelry or pieces of apparel (rings and belts), furniture (door or chest parts), or as part of religious ceremonies. Some were impossible to identify; these are not typical of other excavations from the Árpád Age. Their detailed examination has revealed that their workmanship is inconsistent. Some of them were produced with simple methods, while others used more advanced technologies. This suggests that the village did not have its own metal workshop; the objects found had been produced elsewhere, but not all in the same place. Therefore, the conclusion is that there was busy commercial activity in the settlement, and the locals were affluent enough to buy cheap mass products, as well as more exclusive and high-quality products.

Connected to the ongoing historical-geographical investigation of the battlefield, József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy (from the Geography Department of Eötvös Loránd University) have published their results about the geographical changes of the area of Muhi.[10] Recent geographical surveys, geomorphological and hydrological studies combined with the historical-geographical interpretations offer a complex, multidisciplinary reconstruction of the environmental changes of the region and of the natural processes connected to the rivers (Sajó, Hernád, and Hejő) of the wider area. A new LIDAR survey, drone flights, and 3D surface elevation studies have demonstrated large-scale riverbed changes of the Sajó River with significant transformation processes of the floodplain areas of the three rivers. Based on this survey evidence and on the study of historical maps, the article discusses the locations of possible crossing points on the Sajó in the thirteenth century, which is a crucial question for the reconstruction of the battlefield. These geographical studies also serve as a basis for the large-scale community archaeology research (using metal detectors) of the project. The authors are presenting here the first results of a project aimed at improving

[10] József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy, "Új földrajzi, környezettörténeti és régészeti kutatások a muhi csatatéren és a Sajó mentén" [New Geomorphologic, Environmental History and Archaeological Research in the Battlefield of Muhi and along the River Sajó], in *Környezettörténet 3. Környezeti folyamatok a honfoglalástól napjainkig történeti és természettudományos források tükrében* [Environmental History 3, Environmental Processes from the Hungarian Conquest to the Present in the Light of Historical Sources and Scientific Evidence], ed. Gábor Demeter, Zoltán Kern, Zsolt Pinke, Beatrix F. Romhányi, András Vadas, and László Bíró (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont / Research Centre for the Humanities, 2021), 139–159.

our understanding of the environmental changes and landscape transformation processes of the area during the last eight hundred years. These results are also confronted with the broader historical context of the battle through a fuller analysis of surviving textual records and the most recent archaeological findings.

József Laszlovszky and Stephen Pow have used a wide range of methods and approaches in a recent study which offers a new reconstruction of the Battle of Muhi by focusing on two primary source accounts of Batu Khan ascending a hill shortly before the battle.[11] The two sources are not related to each other, and represent two fundamentally different source groups concerning the battle. By using a complex analytical approach, this article tries to identify the character and significance of the hill in question—something made difficult by the fact that there are no hills or mountains near the battlefield today. The attested purposes that Mongol rulers and troops had for ascending mountains are explored for clues. A hypothesis emerges according to which Batu probably ascended two different types of hill, one being a small mound (kurgan) of the type that characteristically dotted Hungary's landscape around the battlefield. The other hill, which he ascended for religious ritual purposes, was probably one of the more prominent features in the area of Szerencs about thirty kilometers from the site of the clash. Several earlier attempts to identify the hill are now revisited in this study with two different types of approaches. Combining a unique range of textual accounts with recent archaeological findings, we suggest a drastic and perhaps more accurate reinterpretation of the course of events leading up to the important battle than the interpretations proposed so far. Furthermore, by looking closely at the different narrative structures of the sources, we can identify attempts by medieval authors of Central European and Asian texts to contextualize this event within their general interpretations of the battle. Thus, the main arguments of this article cross real and figurative frontiers in contemporary accounts of the episode and in their modern interpretations.

To better understand this battle and the Mongol invasion of Hungary in general, it is important to be familiarity with the army of the Mongol Empire, which is given a complex analysis in Gergely Csiky's detailed study.[12] The Mongol Empire (*Yeke Mongol Ulus*) was the largest continental empire due to its efficient,

[11] József Laszlovszky and Stephen Pow, "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle," *Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8, no. 2 (2019): 261–289.

[12] Gergely Csiky, "A Nagy Mongol Birodalom hadserege a XIII. században" [The Army of the Mongol Empire in the Thirteenth Century], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 528–557.

complex, and well-organized army, which surpassed the former nomadic hordes composed mainly of mounted archers in its discipline, well-defined command-line, cooperation of its various branches including heavy and light cavalry, infantry, and artillery, its specially trained warriors drilled in encircling hunts, the combination of highly mobile tactical movements and an empire-wide logistical system (*yam*), the mass use of *corvée* labor, and in the application of the latest military innovations. Csiky's paper aims to present this military system through a description of its organization, manpower, tactical units, weaponry, equipment, military training, tactics, and strategy as well as the technical novelties used for sieges. Beyond the stereotypes frequently applied to nomadic armies, the contemporary descriptions witness an army building on steppe nomadic traditions, but combining them with technical, tactical, and strategical elements adopted from the neighboring and subjected civilizations, including China and Islamic Central Asia. Due to its highly militarized state ideology built on the notion of constant conquest by a world empire, the Mongol military system created the largest and most effective army in the thirteenth century, which contributed to the Empire's swift expansion, resulting in a large-scale devastation of huge territories, the extinction of populated cities, and mass deportation. At the same time, it formed the so-called *Pax Mongolica*, facilitating the spread of goods, ideas, people, and innovations in the huge area under the same polity.

Diplomacy and Historiography

An important aspect of the research—besides the reconstruction of the Battle of Muhi—is gaining a deeper understanding of the Eurasian context of the Mongol invasion. Several articles have been published about the diplomacy right after the invasion as well as about its later interpretations.

In his article, László Veszprémy analyses the memory of the invasion in the contemporary chronicles.[13] The Mongol attack of Eastern and Central Europe shocked Europe, especially after the bloody victories against the Poles and the Hungarians in April 1241. A large number of the chroniclers channeled the vision of total destruction, including the German annals, Hungarian chroniclers, and the most widespread handbooks, like the *Speculum historiale*, and the world chronicle of Martin of Troppau. A unique and controversial source is the work of the Armenian prince, Hayton, the "Flos historiarum," which gives a description of a Mongol

[13] László Veszprémy, "A tatárjárás: Magyarország ismét bekerül a nyugat-európai világképbe. Az elbeszélő források tanúsága" [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary: Hungary's Place in Contemporary Western Medieval Historiography], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 459–485.

defeat by the duke of Austria, during which, according to him—in contradiction to the historical records—the Mongol captain, Prince Batu, also died. For a long time, Hayton was labelled a liar, or at least a restless storyteller. However, the article argues that there was an independent Mongol—partly oral—tradition of the events of the war in Hungary that survived in Oriental sources. These Oriental, Arab, Persian, and Chinese sources (Ibn al-Said al-Maghribi, Abu al-Fida, Jovayni, Rashīd al-Dīn/Rashiduddin, History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church) may be recognized behind the fancy battle scene described by Hayton; the Mongol defeat at a certain bridge mentioned by Hayton may also be identified as the famous fight for the bridge at the Battle of Muhi in April 1241, as described by Thomas of Spalato.

Attila Bárány's article investigates the news, reports, relations, dispatches, and letters that reached the West concerning the 1241 Mongol invasion in Hungary and (partly) Poland. It also wishes to explore how the Christian princes reacted to the increasing number of exhortations to take up arms in the kingdoms at the mercy of the Infidel. The article offers an overview of what pieces and types of information were transferred, mainly to Germany, France, and England, in what ways and through what channels. How were the Western courts notified by personally affected rulers, like Otto, Duke of Braunschweig, and Wenceslas I, King of Bohemia? How did the news arrive in Paris or London through the wide network of the Church, especially the mendicant orders, and some individually concerned prelates, for example, the archbishop of Magdeburg? What and when did the West learn, in fact, of the Tatars' devastation in Hungary and Silesia? Who took it seriously from the outset, taking the defense efforts into their own hands, particularly after Pope Gregory IX died, and Emperor Frederick II was engaged in warring his Guelph adversaries in Italy? It is seen how some pillars of the crusading zeal, the duke of Brabant and Henry Raspe, made sacrifices on the altar of the *negotium Christi*. The study seeks to re-interpret the report that Henry II, Duke of Brabant, received in March. It has been long held in Hungarian historiography that the letter was written by Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, which, however, as the article demonstrates, is out of the question, since Hermann had died by that time, and the real writer was Henry Raspe, the new landgrave. Two articles investigate papal diplomacy and the questions of Franciscan envoys and missionaries. The study by Szilvia Kovács examines the relationships between the Latin West and the Mongol Empire after the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe (1236–1242).[14] The focus of the article is on the missionary activities of the members of the Franciscan Order. Kovács tries to answer the following questions: When and how did the Franciscan friars appear

[14] Szilvia Kovács, "A nyugati keresztény térítés kezdetei az Arany Hordában" [The Beginnings of the Latin Missions in the Golden Horde], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 572–582.

with missionary purposes in the territory of the Mongol Empire? How did they start to build their missionary network in the Golden Horde? Based on written sources, the author states that the missionaries appeared in the Mongol Empire in the 1250s, and their missionary institutions were founded in the 1280s.

Dorottya Uhrin's article examines the relationship between the reports of two Franciscans, i.e., Johannes de Plano Carpini and C. de Bridia, reviewing the history of how their works were created, and describing their manuscript tradition.[15] These reports are highly important, because the aim of the legation was not only to establish diplomatic relations between Europe and the Mongols but to acquire intelligence as well, which was crucial if an expected second invasion were to happen. For that, besides giving strategical data, the Franciscan authors characterized the cultural and geographical features that they encountered. The main difference between the reports of Carpini and Bridia is that the latter placed more emphasis on readability, compared to Carpini's factual mode of presentation. Bridia's goal was not to encourage action against the Mongols, but rather to demonstrate the divine punishment that afflicted Christians. Thus, he represented the Mongols more negatively than his colleague. The difference between the two versions of Carpini's work is largely a matter of style. While the first is a report for the pope, the second is a more colorful work, intended for an interested audience while also satisfying historiographical needs.

János B. Szabó's article analyses the historiography of the Mongol invasion in Hungary.[16] Modern historical literature has displayed some very interesting trends over a period of nearly a century and a half. The Mongol invasion of Hungary, an event that occupies a prominent place in Hungarian national historical consciousness, appearing even in Ferenc Kölcsey's National Anthem, has received surprisingly scant attention from professional historians. One possible reason has been the lack of historical problems requiring investigation. The invasion was very short-lived, and the Hungarian narrative sources were known very early. Apart from some scattered data, a long time had passed before the emergence of any sources that might present a challenge for research. Master Roger's contemporary report on the invasion seemed to have done all the work for subsequent historians, who could do little but reproduce his account. The

[15] Dorottya Uhrin, "Johannes de Plano Carpini és C. de Bridia útibeszámolói" [Reports of Johannes de Plano Carpini and C. de Bridia], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 583–591.

[16] János B. Szabó, "'Most rabló mongol nyilát zúgattad felettünk'. Historiográfiai vázlat a tatárjárás újabb kori Magyar történeti irodalmáról" ['Now the plundering Mongols' arrows / You swarmed over us.' Historiographical Sketch of Modern-Age Hungarian Histories of the Mongol Invasion], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 559–571.

narrative of the Mongol invasion has been of limited utility in public discourse, being used only rarely as a parable or as historical justification for current events. Perhaps the most prominent exploitation of its potential in this respect was by the post-1945 communist regime. The breakthrough finally came with the upsurge of Oriental studies in Hungary, which is ongoing and has restored the Hungarian events of the Mongol invasion to their international context.

Popularization of the New Results

One of the main goals of the project is to present the new results to the general public. The public lecture series "A tatárjárásról sok szemmel: régi kérdések, új válaszok" (About the Mongol Invasion from Several Perspectives: Old Questions, New Answers) started its fifth semester in 2021. The members of the project have been eager to present their research, with other distinguished scholars also attending the sessions and shedding light on diverse aspects of the Mongol invasion or the Mongol Empire. On a special occasion, Ambassador of Mongolia to Hungary Batbayar Zeneemyadar attended a roundtable discussion about the present-day image of the Mongol Empire. These lectures are available on the YouTube channel of the project.[17] Moreover, the new results have also been published in archaeological and cultural heritage magazines, such as *Határtalan Régészet* (Borderless Archaeology) and *Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok* (Castles, Palaces, and Churches). In these journals, we have summarized the main aims of the project, the possible outcomes, research methodologies, and presented recently found archaeological findings.[18] In connection with research methodology, the article published in the journal dealing with castles, palaces and churches, has presented the preliminary results of a new investigation of the spatial distribution patterns of place names with the suffix *-egyháza* (church) and of Romanesque village churches, both groups used as indicators for the impact and destruction of the Mongol invasion in 1241–1242 (*Fig. 2*).

[17] 1241 Tatárjárás, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0g0VCgxNMVNWWUHQ_BcqCg/videos.

[18] János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "Új régészeti eredmények a muhi csata kutatásában" [New Archaeological Findings in the Research of the Battle of Muhi], *Határtalan Régészet* 5, no. 1 (2020): 88–91; József Laszlovszky and Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a templomok" [The Destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the Churches], *Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok, Történelmi és örökségturisztikai folyóirat* 15, no. 2 (2019): 32–35.

Place names with egyház(a) suffix and the churches built of brick of Western Transdanubia
fehéregyház (white church)
feketegyház (black ~)
aranyegyház (golden ~)
veresegyház (red ~)
félegyház (half ~)
hímesegyház (nice/fenced ~)
kerekegyház (round ~)
kőegyház (stone ~)
diverse compositions
brick church
ditch or road
paved Roman road
0
100
200 km
Tervezte: F. Romhányi Beatrix

EDITION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN OF CAPESTRANO IN HUNGARY

György Galamb – Gábor Klaniczay

A research project directed by György Galamb (University of Szeged), with the participation of Ottó Gecser (Eötvös Loránd University), Péter Kasza (University of Szeged), Balázs Kertész (City Archives and Research Institute, Székesfehérvár), Gábor Klaniczay (CEU), Margit Szlancsok (Eötvös Loránd University), Zoltán Szolnoki (University of Szeged), Ferenc Sebők (University of Szeged).

International Background, Previous Research

The goal of the project is to publish in print the correspondence of the Franciscan Observant friar, preacher, and canon lawyer, John of Capestrano (1386–1456), in Hungary or with Hungarians, and thus make it fully accessible for historical research. There is a major demand for this, given that in the last decades, studies of the complex social, economic, ecclesiastico-political, and cultural significance of religious movements, with the Franciscan Observance among them, have gained prominence in historical research on the late Middle Ages both in Hungary and in other parts of Europe. Apart from sermons and biographies, the precious source material of the correspondence constitutes one of the most important sources for these studies.

The corpus of the correspondence of John of Capestrano (the letters written to him and by him) has been the object of a considerable amount of historical research. Of special interest is the correspondence that accompanied his ambitious preaching mission north of the Alps between 1451 and 1456. His itinerary led through Austria, Germany, Silesia, Poland, Bohemia, and lastly Hungary, where he organized a victorious crusade to resist the Ottoman attack at Belgrade. The correspondence related to his mission—almost 700 letters—constitute a precious source that throws light on the political, ecclesiastical, social, and religious history of this vast Central European region, owing to the diversity of the letters' writers and recipients in terms of rank and social position.

Relying on the work of his predecessors, Ottokar Bonmann has compiled an almost complete archival fund of these letters, stored at the Franciscan Institute of Saint Bonaventure, NY. The Italian historian Letizia Pellegrini, professor at the University of Macerata in Italy, has been striving for an up-to-date critical edition of this precious corpus of historical documentation for several decades. After

preliminary negotiations, together with Gábor Klaniczay, in 2012 in Dresden at FOVOG, he tried to persuade Gert Melville to take this on board. A planning workshop was organized at CEU in 2013, where an international group of CEU alumni showed interest in engaging in a collective work leading to this edition. This led to the submission of an ERC proposal for the complete edition of the correspondence of John of Capestrano in 2014, but it did not receive funding. Hence, the group of historians working on this topic—from those countries that John visited in the course of his activities as church organizer and preacher—came to the conclusion that it would be worth publishing the correspondence country by country, according to places of origin, but still as a coordinated venture. A workshop in Macerata in 2015 coordinated these plans.

As the first project, a workgroup was organized by Pawel Kras (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences), who won the support of the Polish National Research Center (Narodowe Centrum Nauki) for editing the Polish part of this corpus. He organized two conferences in Warsaw (in 2016 and 2017) and edited a volume of studies: Pawel Kras and James D. Mixson, eds, *The Grand Tour of John of Capistrano in Central and Eastern Europe (1451–1456). Transfer of Ideas and Strategies of Communication in the Late Middle Ages* (Warsaw–Lublin: Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Wydawnictwo KUL, 2018); and the first Polish volume of the critical edition of the Capistran correspondence in 2018: Gábor Klaniczay, Letizia Pellegrini, Filippo Sedda, and Ludovic Viallet, eds, *Corpus epistolarum Ioannis de Capistrano / Correspondence of John of Capistrano,* vol. 1, *Letters Related to the History of Poland and Silesia (1451–1456),* ed. Paweł Kras, Halina Manikowska, Marcin Starzyński, and Anna Zajchowska-Bołtromiuk, translated into English by Stephen Rowell (Warsaw–Lublin: Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Science, 2018). The present project for the Hungarian part started in 2018, with a workshop at CEU.

Key Problems, Specific Goals

John of Capestrano, an eminent figure of the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order, played a decisive role not only in the history of the Catholic Church and the Franciscan Order but in that of Hungary as well, and his significance cannot be ignored in the ecclesiastical and political history of France, Italy, and Central Europe either. The representatives of the Observant reform, and especially John of Capestrano, established relationships more extensive than before between several regions in Europe through organizing and propagating crusades and fighting heresies. Hence John's correspondence sheds light on the connections between Hungary and other Central European territories, Hungarian-papal relations, the

situation of Hungary in terms of church policy, as well as the attitudes of the Hungarian ruling circles and the papacy to the goals of the Observant reform. Moreover, it provides a cross-section of religious developments in Hungary concerning the interactions between Catholicism, Eastern Christianity, and heterodoxy, and the effects of Observant propaganda. John's activities catalyzed the aspirations of the Hungarian aristocracy in terms of religion and church policy and, at the same time, influenced the religiosity of certain groups of the petty nobility, the peasantry, and the populations of towns and cities as well. It is also not without relevance that this correspondence constitutes one of the most suitable source materials for the study of socio-political networks in late medieval Hungary and, through these, for the analysis of how the pursuit of political influence, propaganda, and individual aspirations functioned.

The primary goal of the project is the publication of the letters; the members of the team have been working intensively on the critical text of the letters. Editions so far have only been partial and are in need of corrections at various places. The task is urgent as the condition of the original letters mostly kept in Capestrano is deteriorating constantly—as was revealed during a visit of a group of staff from the Budapest Museum of Military History in 2006—thus the edition of letters not available in high-quality digital copies is prone to become impossible (cf. Miklós Sölch, "Kapisztrán Szent János levelezése a diplomatikai fényképgyűjteményben" [The correspondence of St. John of Capestrano in the collection of diplomatic photographs], in *Európa védelmében: Kapisztrán Szent János és a nándorfehérvári diadal emlékezete* [In defense of Europe: St. John Capestrano and the memory of the triumph of Nándorfehérvár], ed. Kálmán Peregrin and László Veszprémy, Budapest, 2013). Apart from this, there seems to be a chance to discover hitherto unknown letters as well.

The results of the ongoing activity of the group will be presented in a conference in Münster in August 2021. This might also allow links to be renewed with the Italian and Polish colleagues who started this entire project, and lead to discussing the ongoing prospects of work with Czech colleagues who also started a similar project in 2020, with the leadership of Antonin Kalous and Pavel Soukoup, editing the Bohemian and parts of the German correspondence, and planning to also examine the anti-heretical polemics and theological writings of John of Capestrano, written during his mission there.

Principles of the Editorial Work of the Team

Reasonability, a workable size of material, and cooperation with colleagues abroad require adding clear temporal limits to this project. Regarding the corpus

of letters to publish it is convenient to adjust it to the beginning of John's stay in Hungary. His first letter written in Hungary dates from 18 May 1455.

– From the letters written before this date, it is planned to publish his correspondence with persons born or holding office (ecclesiastical or secular) in Hungary.

– Between 18 May 1455 and John's death, on 23 October 1456, it is planned to publish all letters written or received by him.

The starting point of the work is constituted by previous editions and catalogues of the correspondence.

Collections of documents, more or less complete texts of letters:

– Pettkó, Béla. *Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal* [Correspondence of John of Capestrano with the Hungarians]. Budapest, 1901. Full texts (77 letters).

– De Ritiis, Alessandro. *Chronica Franciscanae Religionis.* L'Aquila, Archivio Nazionale, MS S 73.

– *Liber epistolarum.* Rome: Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, MS 2468. One hundred letters of John of Capestrano in copies from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

– *Opera omnia sancti Ioannis a Capistrano: riproduzione in fac-simile della "Collectio Aracoelitana" redatta da p. Antonio Sessa da Palermo (1700): mss. Nell'archivio del onvent francescano dell'Aracoeli – Roma.* L'Aquila: Provincia San Bernardino da Siena dei frati minori in Abruzzo, 1985.

– Document collections used by researchers thus far, primarily Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum* (1625–54).

– Digital copies of more than 300 letters from Capestrano in the Hungarian National Archives (DF 293373–DF 293684). Their list has been compiled by Miklós Sölch in "Kapisztrán Szent János levelezése a diplomatikai Fényképgyűjteményben" [St. John of Capestrano's diplomatic correspondence in the collection of diplomatic photographs]. In *Európa védelmében: Kapisztrán Szent János és a nándorfehérvári diadal emlékezete* [In defense of Europe: St. John of Capestrano and the memory of the triumph of Nándorfehérvár], edited by Peregrin Kálmán and László Veszprémy, 146–168. Budapest, 2013. Here there are six letters written between May 1455 and late October 1456 not mentioned by either Pettkó or Bölcskey.

– Kertész, Balázs. *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai* [The original documents of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary]. Budapest: Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2015. Six letters from John, three of which are without text due to their bad condition.

Catalogues:

– Bölcskei, Ödön. *Capistranói Szent János élete és kora* [The life and times of St. John of Capestrano]. Vol. 3. Székesfehérvár: Debreczenyi István Könyvnyomdája, 1924. Includes some letters but merely their regests, incipits, and explicits with several errors in the concordances, however.

– Chiappini, Aniceto. *La produzione letteraria di S. Giovanni da Capestrano*. Gubbio: Scuola tipografica Oderisi, 1927.

– Gál, Gedeon and Jason M. Miskuly. "A Provisional Calendar of St. John Capistran's Correspondence." *Franciscan Studies* 49 (1989): 255–345; 50 (1990): 323–403; 52 (1992): 283–327. On the basis of the Bonmann papers.

– The documents of Ottokar Bonmann collected and copied by Letizia Pellegrini at the St. Bonaventura University (in manuscript).

Together with some additional letters to be added to these collections on the basis of research in the archive of Capestrano, the project would involve the publication of ca. 100 letters, according to the modern principles of source editions.

The edition of each letter will have the following structure:

– Serial number, date, place of issue.

– *Regestae* in English and Hungarian (this contains the issuer and the addressee).

– Textual apparatus in English and Hungarian—this contains the physical description of the document (material, method of sealing but no description of the seal), current place of preservation, shelf mark, DL-DF reference (if applicable), earlier editions, the mentions in the earlier catalogues, and potential remarks about the edition of the letter in question (if any).

– Full Latin text of the letter.

– Multi-level critical apparatus with identified quotations, as well as philological notes in Latin and historical notes in English.

The planned volume will start with an introductory study that would outline the significance of the correspondence, the background of their survival, their previous research and editions, and the principles of the present edition. The book will end with indices of persons, places, subjects, and vernacular words. The proceedings of the international conference to be held in Szeged will also be published. It will contain the latest results of research on John's correspondence in its broadest contexts of European cultural, political, religious, and social history.

MEDIEVALISMS ON THE SCREEN: THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY, PHD ONLINE CONFERENCE

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

On January 6, 2021 the US Capitol building became the center of world-wide news as a rally held by then President Donald Trump devolved into a frontal assault against the building by his followers. The storming of the Capitol lasted for several hours and led to the death of five people, around 30 million dollars in property damage,[1] and more than 300 people being charged with various felonies.[2] The reasons behind the assault on the capitol seem to be clear. According to Robert Pape, a political-science professor at the University of Chicago, and Keven Ruby, senior research associate of the Chicago Project on Security and Threats, court documents cite over and over again how those arrested claimed to be "following Trump's orders to keep Congress from certifying Joe Biden as the presidential-election winner."[3] Although unsuccessful in their attempt, photographs taken during the event give testimony to the chaos that took place: broken windows, clashes between Trump supporters and Capitol security, protesters running amok inside of the edifice, and ominous gallows erected in front of the building. Other pictures offer an extra layer of complexity to what happened on January 6. One of the protesters that became prominent in the aftermath of the riot was Jacob Chansley, aka Jake Angeli or the QAnon shaman, who broke into the Capitol bare-chested and covered in Norse tattoos like Thor's hammer *Mjolnir* and the Norse cosmic tree *Yggdrasil*. Other images show how among the most radical groups that participated in these events crusading crosses and flags with the exclamation *Deus Vult* could be seen. These symbols go beyond President Trump's remarks about

[1] Bill Chappell, "Architect Of The Capitol Outlines $30 Million In Damages From Pro-Trump Riot," *NPR.org*, February 24, 2021, https://www.npr.org/sections/insurrection-at-the-capitol/2021/02/24/970977612/architect-of-the-capitol-outlines-30-million-in-damages-from-pro-trump-riot.

[2] Clare Hymes, Cassidy McDonald, and Eleanor Watson, "Over 300 Charged from More than 40 States: What We Know about the 'Unprecedented' Capitol Riot Arrests," *CBS News*, January 26, 2021, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/capitol-riot-arrests-2021-03-05/.

[3] Robert A. Pape Ruby Keven, "The Capitol Rioters Aren't Like Other Extremists," *The Atlantic*, February 2, 2021, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/the-capitol-rioters-arent-like-other-extremists/617895/.

the 2020 election; they represent a particular way of understanding nationality, ethnicity, and history in the West. This is not new; in the aftermath of the riot, Helen Young, a lecturer at Deaking University, wrote an article on how far-right movements have historically used a distorted image of the medieval past in order to justify their ideas,[4] and last year Amy Kaufman and Paul Sturtevant wrote a book discussing the relation between medievalism and ideology in contemporary politics.[5] It would seem that the Middle Ages have become an important element in contemporary political discourse.

However, is not only in politics where the Middle Ages and medievalisms have become increasingly present; entertainment has played a key role in the way in which we consume history and perceive the medieval past. Be it through film, the massification of streaming television services, or the explosive growth of the video game industry in the last twenty years, popular understanding of the Middle Ages seems to be increasingly molded by these "non-academic" spaces. Even YouTube channels are part of this massive digital shift in the way in which history is consumed; there are many history-based channels that have thousands of subscribers that reach a larger audience than most scholars. The massification of these entertainment services pose serious questions to scholars regarding what we mean by this historical period we call the Middle Ages, how to characterize it, and what are both the practical and ideological implications for society at large. For example, Nicholas Haydock describes the curious controversy surrounding the premiere of the 2005 movie *Kingdom of Heaven* among some scholars. Close to its release, renowned crusader scholar Jonathan Ryley-Smith stated that the movie was "Osama bin Laden's version of history. It will fuel the Islamic Fundamentalists."[6] At the same time, UCLA professor of Islamic law Khaled Abou el-Fadl claimed that the film "teaches people to hate Muslims" and that "after this movie is released there will be hate crimes committed directly because of it."[7] That both scholars came to almost opposite conclusions is remarkable, and the fact that these statements were made based on the script when neither of them had seen the movie make them all the more striking. It shows us that

[4] Helen Young, "Why the Far-Right and White Supremacists Have Embraced the Middle Ages and Their Symbols," *The Conversation*, January 13, 2021, http://theconversation.com/why-the-far-right-and-white-supremacists-have-embraced-the-middle-ages-and-their-symbols-152968.

[5] Amy S. Kaufman and Paul B. Sturtevant, *The Devil's Historians: How Modern Extremists Abuse the Medieval Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).

[6] Nickolas Haydock, *Movie Medievalism: The Imaginary Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007), 138.

[7] Haydock, *Movie Medievalism*, 142.

the movie was not the center of the issue but a larger discussion on how the medieval past is related and reflects upon our own society, especially, in this case, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Another relevant question is how to characterize a "medieval" film, series, or video game. Bettina Bildhauer has pointed out that many of the characteristics in a "medieval" cultural product such as dates, periodization, attitudes, genres, etc. are highly problematic and arbitrary.[8] This is more easily seen with many of the most recent "medieval" productions. The idea of the Middle Ages is one that is intrinsically connected to European history; after all, it was first thought of by European humanist thinkers in the fourteenth century and more fully conceptualized to our modern understanding of it by, despite its national variations, a European historiographical tradition. It is not surprising then that historically most of what we can call a "medieval" cultural product has been produced by Western studios and depicts some version of medieval history: be it historical productions like *The Seventh Seal* (1957), *Braveheart* (1999), *The Messenger* (1999), *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), and *Vikings* (2013–2020); or those portraying medieval-based fantasy like *The Lord of the Rings* (2001–2003), *Shrek* (2001), *Brave* (2012), and *Game of Thrones* (2011–2019). However, with the popularization and increasing internationalization of streaming services, new and old non-European-based productions are becoming more popular. The interesting phenomenon is that despite not being always directly inspired by European events in the Middle Ages, we can recognize them as being somehow "medieval" be it through their themes or their aesthetics, in titles such as the Korean *Kingdom* (2020), the Turkish *Ertuğrul* (2013–2019), the Indian *Padmaavat* (2017), and the Japanese *Princess Mononoke* (1997). In fact, due to its important animation and video game industry, Japan has had a notable presence in the representation of their own "Middle Ages" with games, series, and movies based on the *Sengoku period* (1467–1615) and its samurais such as *Nioh* (2017), *Ghost of Tsushima* (2020), and *Sengoku Basara* (2009).

All of these productions can be somehow characterized as "medieval" despite not being based on European medieval history or fantasy. Bildhauer has argued that what we understand by "medieval" in cinema is not always linked to a period itself, but to a series of attitudes, ideas, locations, and events such as the importance of magic, the role of a legendary past, the seeming unchanging nature of the broader setting, religious tensions, epic narrative, and large battles.

[8] Bettina Bildhauer, "Medievalism and Cinema," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, ed. Louis D'Arcens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 45–59.

All these ideas are further reinforced by a whole production (costume design, interiors, cinematography, music, sounds) that want to further sell the experience of being in a particular period in history characterized by a set of ideas and pre-conceptions.[9] With this in mind, movies as varied as *Star Wars* (1977–2019), *Agora* (2009), and *The Da Vinci Code* (2006) could be included in the list of "medieval" films because of the type of narrative they implement and the topics they portray and discuss since they are "authentically" medieval.[10] Finally, the way in which the Middle Ages are portrayed affect, and are affected by, larger cultural and political trends that make them significant. Productions such as *Braveheart* and *Outlaw King* are highly influenced by a broader discussion within Scotland regarding its relationship with England, and President Erdogan's praise for *Ertuğrul* seems to be linked to his political project of re-Islamization, further highlighting the link between media and politics.[11]

These are some of the questions that the "Medievalisms on the Screen: The Representation of the Middle Ages in Audiovisual Media in the 21st Century, PhD Online Conference" will discuss. The conference builds on the previous "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages, 19th-21st Century" conference organized by the CEU Department of Medieval Studies in 2005. The conference seeks to discuss the representation of the medieval past in public discourse (YouTube, film, television, novels, video games, board games, fashion, etc.) within the specific context of the twenty-first century. The goal of the conference is to analyze and discuss how these new forms of historical discourse are used considering the current social environment, how they impact various areas of knowledge and social interaction such as education, entertainment, and politics, and how they affect our understanding of the medieval past. Furthermore, this conference is conceived as the first step in the establishment of a wing of research that would eventually develop into a research center within the CEU Medieval Studies Department dedicated to the study of the representation of the medieval past in public discourse. The purpose is to bring the CEU Department of Medieval Studies to the forefront of the discussion on medievalisms and the relation between history, public discourse, digital humanities, entertainment, and technology both at a theoretical and a practical level. This practical element is an

[9] Bildhauer, "Medievalism and Cinema," 52–58.

[10] Andrew Elliot, *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2011), 209–222.

[11] William Armstrong, "Opinion | What a TV Series Tells Us About Erdogan's Turkey," *The New York Times*, May 14, 2017, sec. Opinion, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/14/opinion/erdogan-tv-show-turkey.html.

essential part of this project. Although I have highlighted how popular media and political discourse can abuse and distort the past, it is also important to emphasize the pedagogical potential that novels, films, TV series, and video games have. Scholars like John Biggs[12] and Ken Bain[13] have highlighted how deep learning is better accomplished when the focus of teaching is centered on the student and what he/she does instead of the teacher and what he/she says, a pitfall that sadly lecturing tends to fall into often; in this sense, video games display a gigantic potential. Ian Bogost has explained how video games can communicate complex ideas about society by asking players to carry out a series of tasks that have been coded by the game's developers. This process, which Bogost calls *procedural rhetoric*, can be used to effectively communicate complex ideas about the Middle Ages to a broader non-specialized public. *Paradox Interactive*'s *Crusader Kings* series and the upcoming *Manor Lords* are excellent examples of this.

The events that transpired in Washington on January 6 are just the last of a series that have shown how the way of understanding the medieval past can impact, sometimes with fatal consequences, our daily lives. As medievalists we are called to take an active part in this discussion so that our society becomes a more open, tolerant, and inclusive one. This is all the more imperative considering the current political climate in which xenophobic and anti-liberal ideas are sadly gaining traction around the globe. As scholars, we are summoned not only to engage in rigorous academic work, but also to think about the way in which we communicate our findings to a non-specialized audience. Unfortunately, all too often the results of our research end up resonating only in the echo-chamber that academia can be, with little impact on society at large. The "Medievalisms on the Screen: The Representation of the Middle Ages in Audiovisual Media in the 21st Century, PhD Online Conference" is just a first step in this direction so that from our discipline we can more actively contribute to CEU's mission statement of "building open and democratic societies that respect human rights and human dignity."

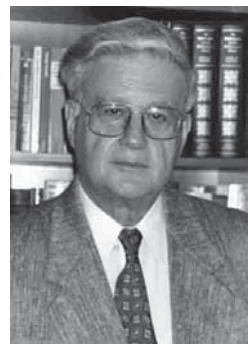
[12] John Biggs, "What the Student Does: Teaching for Enhanced Learning," *Higher Education Research & Development* 18, no. 1 (1999): 57–75.

[13] Ken Bain, *What the Best College Teachers Do* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 22–47.

BARIŠA KREKIĆ (1929–2021)

Marianna D. Birnbaum

Bariša Krekić, Professor em. of UCLA, passed away recently, but will be fondly remembered not only as a prolific scholar of medieval Eastern Europe and Byzantium, but also as a dedicated teacher and mentor to generations of students.



I had the privilege to be his colleague at the university but also a friend for nearly 50 years, spending time with him and his family in Los Angeles, in Dubrovnik, and also in Budapest where he lectured at the CEU. My late husband, Henrik Birnbaum, and I spent a month each summer researching and teaching at Dubrovnik's Inter-University Center. Therefore, I can testify to the love and appreciation that Bariša enjoyed in his hometown. It was a special treat to sit with him on the terrace of the *Gradska kavana* where he, greeted by the passers-by, could tell the stories of many of his compatriots, at times leading us twenty generations back into the city's past.

His native Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was the focus of Professor Krekić's research. He established himself as the foremost expert of Dubrovnik's history and her economic and political ties to contemporary powers. He authored a number of seminal works about the contacts and conflicts between the Ragusan and the Venetian Republic. This is an overworked cliché, but in his case, it is true that one may safely say that what Professor Krekić did not know about Dubrovnik and her relationship with the Mediterranean world was not worth knowing.

I often told him that if by some dreadful misfortune the invaluable archives of his native city would perish, one could always rely on his oeuvre and his

memory to reconstruct them. Bariša Krekić inherited from his teacher Jorjo Tadić, the father of this genre, the task of recording, reviewing and reinterpreting that incredibly rich material yielded by the Dubrovnik Archives.

Professor Krekić's family hailed from Dubrovnik where he attended elementary school and the local gymnasium until he left for the broader world that included Belgrade, where he became a Byzantinist, working with the famed George Ostrogorsky. He also studied in Paris where his mentor was Fernand Braudel.

A prototype of the European gentleman, Professor Krekić was a true polyglot. To his native tongue he added Italian, not only because he attended middle school during the Italian occupation: although a Serb, he was a Catholic with an Italian background on his mother's side (her maiden name was Costa). He also spoke excellent French and English; Latin and Greek were, of course, *de rigueur*.

Instead of enumerating the titles of his individual works, I want to emphasize that Professor Krekić's scholarly contributions focus on the development of the Republic of Dubrovnik as a political unit and economic entity from the early Middle Ages to modernity. Based on the archival material, his work addresses issues of urban life which he investigated in the greatest detail, but also include long term analyses of economic trends, navigational changes, use of ports and docking rights, and charting the decline of some of the city republic's ruling patrician houses and the subsequent concentration of power in the hands of fewer and fewer families.

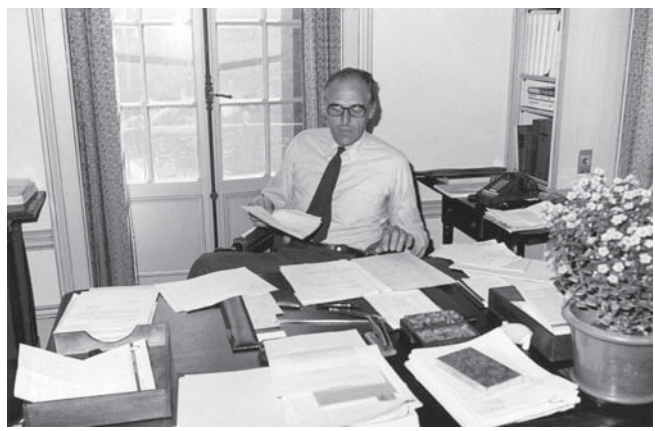
It is a most fascinating adventure to get acquainted with the plethora of records yielded by the Archives: urban slavery, the settling of Jewish traders, the Republic's dealing with prostitution or homosexuals, marriage, adultery, but also with famine, natural disasters and crime. Changes taking place in the Balkan hinterland and in the Ottoman world, as reported by the spies dispatched by the Republic, constitute another important subject deposited in the Archives. They have been brought to the surface and into life by Professor Krekić's expertise and devotion to his *métier*.

Another significant area of Professor Krekić's research interest was the remarkable Latino-Slavic symbiosis, so characteristic of life in Dubrovnik (and the entire Dalmatian coast), especially during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He was much too modest—as he would say—to "dabble into the humanities," but his work, beyond its intrinsic value, will remain a torch, lighting up the past for those researching the arts and literatures of that magic space on the Adriatic coast. His legacy will continue through his published writings and the many lives he touched.

GILES CONSTABLE (1929–2021)

József Laszlovszky

Giles Constable, an outstanding scholar of great international reputation, a true friend of CEU's Department of Medieval Studies passed away on January 17, 2021 at the age of 91. He was a member of Harvard University's History Department, where he held the Henry Charles Lea chair in Medieval History from 1966 to 1977. After more than two decades of his teaching at this important study center, he was directing the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection from 1977 to 1984. Later, he joined the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where he was professor and later professor emeritus of Medieval History. He was elected fellow and later President of the Medieval Academy of America in 1987–1990. In all these positions he has demonstrated his brilliant skills in teaching, his dedication and hard work as a leader of institutions and medievalist organizations.



When our PhD program in Medieval Studies was launched, Giles Constable was invited by CEU to act as the chair of the expert committee (consisting of Dale Kinney and Paul Szarmach) to help the development the program. With his invaluable advice and with the critical evaluation of our teaching activity in Budapest the PhD in Medieval Studies, the first PhD program at CEU was successfully accredited in the US. With his broad knowledge in different areas of medieval studies, he also took part in the evaluation of PhD dissertations at CEU, and chaired sessions in international conferences with the participation

of faculty members and graduate students from CEU. He was member of the editorial board for the Central European Medieval Text series, a bilingual (Latin and English) source edition series published by CEU Press. His outstanding work in monastic studies, religious and intellectual history will always be remembered in study centers of the Middle Ages, in Cluny (France), a medieval monastic city, which has been enriched by the donation of his personal library and by the restoration of a wonderful medieval building. And he is also remembered by alumni and faculty members of this department for his continuous support from the very beginning of our scholarly and educational enterprise.

PAUL SZARMACH (1941–2021)

József Laszlovszky

Paul Szarmach, a great scholar of literature in early medieval England and a central figure in the administration of medieval studies passed away on April 27, 2021. After his studies at St Joseph Collegiate Institute and Canisius College (Buffalo, NY), he received his PhD from Harvard University in English and Medieval Studies. He taught at the U.S. Military Academy in 1968–1970, and at SUNY Binghamton in 1970–1994 as Professor of English and Medieval Studies. From 1995 until 2006, he was also Director of the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University, one of the most important centers of this field of studies in the US. During these years he was the main organizer of the largest scholarly conference in medieval studies at Kalamazoo. He was elected fellow of the Medieval Academy of America in 2006, and editor of *Speculum* from 2006 to 2011. He continued his teaching and research work at Cambridge, MA, and was the Executive Director of the Medieval Academy of America.

He was invited by CEU to join the expert committee (together with Giles Constable and Dale Kinney) to assist the development of our PhD program in Medieval Studies. His suggestions and assistance proved vital, and finally our PhD program, the first such program at our university, was successfully accredited in the US. With his huge international network in medieval studies, he also played

an important role in promoting our teaching and research activity with many sessions and roundtables organized at the Kalamazoo conference. One of the most remarkable examples of these events was the celebration of János M. Bak on his seventieth birthday and the book launch of his Festschrift.

Paul Szarmach was an important figure of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, and a co-editor of the *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance History* for several years. His major field of study was Old English prose with special reference to Latin backgrounds, but East-Central Europe was always a very important region for him and his academic work. He was honored with the Medal of Merit of Adam Mickiewicz University and the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2020

Sixteenth-Century Travel Literature Collectors and the Image of the Ottomans in Humanist Thought: Francesco Sansovino and Richard Hakluyt

Antonia-Oana Avram (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Jan Hennings, Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Nancy Bisaha (Vassar College)

The constant interaction with the Ottoman Empire in early modern times caused Europeans to develop an array of possibilities on how to coexist, cooperate, and comprehend this Muslim society. These variants were not expressed only in diplomatic, economic, political, or even religious premises, but also in literary ones. With the advancement of the Ottomans in Europe and the increased interaction with their socio-cultural practices, a vast number of histories, travelogues, and ethnographic material began to be printed in Europe, either for practical purposes or for the curiosity of the readers. Broadly speaking, the image of the Ottomans emerging from these accounts was one that scared European audiences, but during the sixteenth century it slowly changed as these descriptions began to display admiration towards the Ottoman Empire. In this thesis, I analyze how sixteenth-century humanists' editorial practices and intellectual endeavors were main factors in constructing in their printed works an ambivalent image of the Ottomans. To pursue this line of inquiry, I use Francesco Sansovino's and Richard Hakluyt's works as case studies. I argue that although from the works of both authors stems an ambivalent image of the Ottoman Empire, each has its particularities that are

specific to the work of the two humanists. These individual features reflect the influence of various external factors and actors, but, as humanists, Sansovino and Hakluyt needed to establish the authority and integrity of their arguments, which they sought to do by putting a lot of emphasis on the veracity of the sources they had used and on the credibility of their authors. A close reading of the dedicatory letters, prefaces, correspondence, and paratexts of both Sansovino and Hakluyt reveals that the ambivalent image of the Ottomans that stems from their printed materials is the reflection of their humanist editorial and intellectual endeavors.

Redeeming the Sinful Flesh: John Climacus and Symeon the New Theologian on Penitence and the Body

Nikita Bogachev (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Baukje van den Berg
External Reader: Derek Krueger (University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

The practice of penitence (*metanoia*) lies at the core of the desert tradition of monastic spirituality. John Climacus in the fifth step of his *Ladder* paid special attention to the discourse on penitence, describing his experience of visiting a monastic prison where multiple male subjects tormented their sinful flesh. Through the gory descriptions of injured corporeality, John created the image of ideal and visible repentance in a parabolic way. I argue that in the descriptions of corporeal suffering and self-humiliation of penitent subjects, John's narrative in the seventh century still relied on the metaphorical structures of the early Christian language of martyrdom. In John's narrative, the connection between the act of repentance and corporeality was explicit and even accentuated.

On the edge of millennium, Symeon the New Theologian delivered to his monks a catechetical discourse about the practice of penitence. In this catechesis, he quoted the same fifth step of John's *Ladder* recommending to his monks to consult the whole excerpt. Further in his discourse, Symeon introduced to the audience a practice of repentance that included individual, staged performances of prayer recitations intermingled with self-beating. In this way, as I demonstrate, Symeon attempted to set a role model for his monks to imitate. This model relied on the reinterpretation of John's discourse, even though the idea of sinful flesh was not explicitly present in Symeon's text.

I claim that for Symeon, repentance was not explicitly connected with the sinfulness of flesh but rather with the historical and archetypal inability of humanity to perform proper repentance. This inability started with Adam

and Eve's failure to repent in Paradise. Symeon saw the history of corruptible existence as a history of the portion of flesh that had been taken by God from Adam's side and transmitted through generations to the Theotokos's womb preparing Christ's incarnation. For Symeon, then, the act of repentance became a necessary act performed before the reception of the Eucharist. Thus, repentant partaking in Christ's deified flesh is a culmination of the history of corruptible materiality. The repentant Eucharist, for Symeon, redeems Adam's reception of the forbidden fruit and his failed repentance. In this way, Symeon embeds the penitent subject into the long history of Christian eschatology, whereby salvation happens through the decisive act of repentance in the here and now during each communion.

Praising Saint Jerome or Praising Eloquence: Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* and His Letters

Anja Božič (Slovenia)

Thesis Supervisors: Marcell Sebők, György Endre Szőnyi
External Reader: Farkas Gábor Kiss (Eötvös Loránd University)

Pier Paolo Vergerio's orations, *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* (1392–1408), are considered to be the earliest examples of classicizing orations (panegyrics) in praise of a Christian saint. In contrast to the thematic sermons of scholastic writers, these orations omit the biblical quotation at the beginning and adapt the classical epideictic genre. The secondary literature has chiefly focused either on the stylistic features of the orations or their function within the humanist cult of St. Jerome. In contrast, this thesis connects both aspects and interprets Vergerio's work as an outcome of their harmonious alignment. Counter to the seminal studies, it treats the orations separately as a series of independent pieces. It features a catalog of the orations' structured outlines and pinpoints the standard patterns of praising oratory. The analysis looks for similarities in the material from which Vergerio takes to develop these praising patterns. It illustrates the strands of resemblances in their contents according to the specificities of the contexts in which the orations were delivered. Moreover, the examination involves Vergerio's letters in praise of St. Jerome and places them in parallel with the orations. The correspondences found in the examples of the two different literary formats highlight Vergerio's singular approach to the formation of epideictic patterns. Finally, the thesis studies Vergerio's utilization of humility tropes and his omissions of miracles. Based on textual analysis, it points out his pioneering

adaptations of the material ranging from contemporary devotional practices to the classical epideictic genre.

A Bride of Christ and an Intercessor of Muhammad: Comparative Saints' Cults of St. Catherine of Alexandria and Rabi'a of Basra in the Middle Ages

Eylül Çetinbaş (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Günhan Börekçi
External Readers: Stephanos Efthymiadis (Open University of Cyprus), Jeremy Salt (Bilkent University)

This thesis is an attempt to illuminate the ways through which female sanctity was manifested in medieval Christian and Islamic religious practices and thought. The hagiographical productions of the lives of St. Catherine of Alexandria and Rabi'a of Basra from the late sixth to the fifteenth centuries transformed the notion of female sainthood and appropriated the changing hagiographical dynamics for the following turning points in Byzantine society and the Islamic world: Byzantine Iconoclasm, the Byzantine-Arab wars, the Arab conquest of the Byzantine East, and the Crusades. By subjecting the hagiographical sources to great scrutiny, the thesis traces the cults of St. Catherine and Rabi'a through hagiography, including the *manaqib*, *tabaqat*, and *tadhkirah* writings, onomastics, church dedications, theological treatises, and pilgrimage accounts. The final assessment achieved with Oliver Freiberger's comparative methodology reveals the formidable scale of the cults of St. Catherine and Rabi'a, and their extension into their respective Christian and Muslim societies. The mosaic of religious values embodied by the female saints as well as the moderate and hostile cultural interactions evolving around the religious *ne plus ultras* prioritize the need for the re-evaluation and recognition of comparative hagiology and the cult of saints.

A Critical Analysis of Sarı Saltık as a Hero in *Saltıknâme*

Ceren Çıkın Sungur (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Günhan Börekçi
External Reader: Ayfer Karakaya-Stump (College of William & Mary)

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a fresh approach to *Saltıknâme*, the hagiographic and heroic narrative of the life and deeds of thirteenth-century warrior-saint Sarı Saltık, by directly focusing on the portrayal of the protagonist in the text and analyzing the main characteristics that made him a hero. The search for the reasons behind this portrayal and the examination of the possible connections with sixteenth-century Ottoman politics is an additional goal of this thesis, since the first complete edition of the text is from 1591/1592. Thus, I aim to reveal the sixteenth-century layer of *Saltıknâme*, which is accepted in the scholarship as originally a fifteenth-century text, although it is a highly edited text including many anachronic elements and anecdotes, and its original version is, in fact, lost.

I argue that the manifestations of the heroism of Sarı Saltık in this text show that his portrayal and the sixteenth-century copy of *Saltıknâme* were reconstructions, produced in accordance with the Sunnitization process that was conducted by the Ottoman state and *ulama* to serve the political needs of the former in the sixteenth century. I also argue that *Saltıknâme* reflects the ongoing rivalries among the Ottomans as well as the conflicts between the Safavids and the Habsburgs, and mirrors the apocalyptic atmosphere of the period with its anecdotes of shared prophecies across the Mediterranean and millennial fears, to which in response it includes soothing and encouraging messages to its audience against these concerns. Finally, I also elaborate on how the Alid legacy is contested in *Saltıknâme* by the Hanafi-Sunni Ottoman ideology, which puts them forward as the "true" heirs of his heritage contrary to the Safavids.

The Ottoman Hagiography of Abraham: Constructing Sacred Rule and Universal History in Abdülvâsi's *Hâlilname*

Ahmet Cem Durak (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Carsten Wilke, Günhan Börekçi
External Reader: Shari Lowin (Stonehill College)

Halilnâme stands as a unique literary work in Ottoman historiography with its choice of Prophet Abraham as its protagonist. The choice of the author, who was under the patronage of the grand vizier of Sultan Mehmed, illustrates the court's mentality of placing themselves as a state into a wider universal history in post-Timurid Anatolia. This thesis researches the reasons for its author Abdülvâsi's preference of an ancient prophet as his work's protagonist for his presentation of Sultan Mehmed and his grand vizier Bayezid Pasha as pious Islamic rulers. The methodology used is from the disciplines of both religious studies and history. As a religious text, *Halilnâme* presents an *ubi sunt* pattern to its audience, and this religiosity is compared with its contemporary sacred literature and historic-religious developments. The major findings of this thesis are the following: firstly, Abdülvâsi, being the scholar of the court, differs from the other early Ottoman hagiographers who were critical of classic Perso-Islamic sedentary state policies. Secondly, the author legitimizes his patron's actions through history writing and drawing parallels with ancient Perso-Islamic heroes. Abraham together with other prophets and some ancient Persian mythic kings named in *Halilnâme* are presented as archetypic heroes of justice and piety. Their endeavors, such as enforcing justice and producing wealth, were followed by Sultan Mehmed I and Bayezid Pasha. Thirdly, Abdülvâsi draws on *isrāʾīliyyāt* mostly found in classical *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* books and a *tafsir* named *al-Ḫaṣṣāf* to develop his Abrahamic legend. His sources illustrate the medieval Ottoman author's knowledge of literature.

Implications of French Theory in Approaches to Medieval Literature

Artem Kachurin (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisors: Carsten Wilke, David Weberman
External Reader: Greg Anderson (The Ohio State University)

Medieval studies, over the past half century, have been influenced by many intellectual trends emerging from philosophy, linguistics, and social sciences. The linguistic turn reifies, to some extent, all of them. The intellectual trend under

scrutiny in my work—(post-)structuralism/so-called "French theory"—has been an inseparable part of humanities and social sciences for several decades; medieval studies is no exception. However, a comprehensive study that takes into account not only the communication between high-profile intellectuals of the twentieth century but also the material (linguistic and extra-linguistic) conditions underlying the present-day academic discourse has not been undertaken yet. By statistical analysis of a large set of contemporary academic texts devoted to studying medieval cultures, the first part of the thesis investigates the conceptual characteristics of discourse, such as the terms and themes being employed. In the second part, the enunciative-pragmatics-based case study aims to show how the style of the thinking and the writing of academics inspired by (post-)structuralism affects the object of their interest, namely, medieval cultures.

The Enjoyment of the Foreign: "Muslim" and "Italian" Recipes of Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Erzsébet Kovács (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Readers: Michael Brauer (University of Salzburg),
Melitta Adamson (University of Western Ontario)

Medieval and early modern European cookbooks record a considerable number of recipes that could be termed ethnonymic, as the dishes' names refer to ethnic and national groups. Out of these texts, the functional and contextual analyses of the "Muslim" and "Italian" recipes reveal a different relationship to ethnic and national identities. The use of modern national dishes tends to be exclusive and conservative (evidenced by, for example, the use of "Croatian," "Serbian," and "Bosnian" dishes at peace talks before the start of the Yugoslav Wars). As opposed to these modern attitudes, medieval and early modern ethnonymic dishes appear to have been transcending boundaries. Their enjoyment does not seem to have threatened the identities of their noble and royal consumers. While they appear to have belonged to the international high fashion of medieval and early modern cuisines, the locally and temporally different varieties of "Muslim" and "Italian" dishes show how concepts of the "Other" changed both in space and time.

Concepts of Loyalty in the Earliest Central European Chronicles

Michał Machalski (Poland)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende
External Reader: Paul Knoll (University of Southern California)

The thesis focuses on the concepts of loyalty presented in the earliest Central European chronicles, written at the beginning of the twelfth century: *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymous, *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, and the Hungarian *Primeval Chronicle*, which survived as a part of the fourteenth-century compilation called *The Illuminated Chronicle*. The analysis of those works, closely connected to the ruling elites of recently Christianized Central European polities, attempts to address the question of how their authors understood and used the concept of loyalty, one of the fundamental ideas underlying medieval society.

The thesis offers a comparative analysis of the way in which authors of the earliest Central European chronicles characterized the content of loyalty as a norm present at the center of multiple societal bonds. As such, it finds its methodological underpinnings in the *Spielregeln*, unwritten but widely known rules governing society, a concept developed by Gerd Althoff. The analysis is divided into parts corresponding to the different social bonds in which loyalty played an important role and which are depicted in the earliest Central European chronicles: the relationship between God and the faithful, kinsmen and allies, and between the ruler and his subjects.

The analysis shows the common ideological underpinnings of the concepts of loyalty used in Central European narrative sources. Despite differences in the overall structures and messages of the three works, they present a vision of loyalty as primarily a reciprocal bond, even in the asymmetrical relationships between believers and the divine or subjects and rulers. This highlights the ideological message of consensual lordship, which coexists in those narratives next to strong ideas about divine origins of dynastic authority. This presents important common traits in the political and cultural development of Central Europe as a historical region.

The Reception and Management of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan, from the Early Thirteenth Century to 1368

Ya Ning (China)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Zsolt Szilágyi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

This thesis investigates a pivotal aspect of Mongol court culture: the reception and management of gifts. The spatial and temporal framework is set within the imperial court of the great khans residing in Karakorum and Khanbaliq, from the early thirteenth century to 1368. Based on the critical analysis of multilingual primary sources—Chinese and Latin in the original, Persian, Mongolian, and others in English translations—as well as visual materials, this thesis presents an inner view of the mechanism and performance of gift-giving in the Mongol imperial court. Methodologically, inspired by the concepts of the "social life of things" and "object biography" developed by cultural anthropologists Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, this thesis sketches the three major stages of the biographies of gifts: 1) from where, by whom, and what kinds of gifts were sent to the Mongol imperial court, viz., the network of gifts; 2) under what ritual and in what spatial context these gifts were presented in the court; 3) after the reception, in what place and by whom these gifts were kept, based on what rules they were distributed, and in what way there were consumed, in other words, the afterlives of gifts.

In contrast to the traditional scholarship stressing the avarice and excess of the Mongols in demanding gifts, this thesis argues that the Mongols practiced a well-set protocol regarding the reception and management of gifts in the imperial court. This protocol was applied in diplomatic encounters, further embodied during ritual occasions, such as the enthronement of great khan, the birthday celebration of the great khan, as well as the New Year's celebration, for which (re-)distribution and consumption of gifts were attested in the repository. Additionally, the Mongol *khatuns* notably participated in the reception, distribution, and consumption of gifts. Overall, the Mongol court practices of gift-giving are a continuation of centuries-long Central Eurasian court traditions, in terms of power mechanisms, essentially not so alien from their counterparts in other parts of the world.

"With Unlearned Tongues in the Wilderness of the World": European Otherness in the Icelandic *Riddarasǫgur*

Tamás Reinicke (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Zsuzsanna Reed
External Reader: Alaric Hall (University of Leeds)

The fourteenth century saw the emergence of a new literary genre in Iceland. The indigenous *riddarasǫgur* (chivalric sagas) adapted their setting, themes, and topoi from European romance literature, seemingly completely superseding those appearing in earlier Icelandic works. The *riddarasǫgur* introduced chivalric literature to an environment where it had no precursor and no social basis, yet it quickly spread and acquired immense popularity that persisted for centuries. The sudden shift in the interest of saga authors and compilers is usually explained by the necessity to adjust and reformulate Icelandic identity after the widescale political and social changes that began in the late thirteenth century.

This thesis uses four of the *riddarasǫgur*, all belonging to the subgroup known as *meykongr* (maiden-king) sagas, to examine the ways in which European identities were perceived, received, and adapted in late medieval Iceland. I investigate the textual presence of "Otherness" in order to explore this interaction of identities and the subsequent results. Alterity being a key element in the identity-building process, I analyze the forms it takes and the groups that represent it in these sagas, from the repulsive and the monstrous to the familiar but foreign, to the close but marginal.

Conflicting Conceptions of Hermetic Thought in Fifteenth-Century Italy: The Writings of Marsilio Ficino and Lodovico Lazzarelli

Iskander Rocha Parker (Mexico)

Thesis Supervisor: György Endre Szőnyi
External Reader: Dávid Molnár (Eötvös Loránd University)

In fifteenth-century Italy, the desire to discover the ancient roots of wisdom and theology led some intellectuals to read, translate, and transmit the ideas gathered from various ancient texts and to reconcile them with the dominant Judeo-Christian ideology. Hermes Trismegistus, who was formerly considered a pagan idolater, reappeared in this era as the wise, pious, and rightful author of a collection of texts ascribed to him, titled the *Hermetica* or *Corpus Hermeticum*.

Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, that is, *Pymander*, is an example of adapting the text for his contemporary Florentine society, under the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici, to whom Ficino dedicated his translation in the *Praefatio*. The publication of the *Pymander* influenced other intellectuals, like Lodovico Lazzarelli, who, trying to secure himself a place in the court of King Ferdinand of Aragon or in Pontano's *Studio*, wrote the Hermetic dialogue *Crater Hermetis*, which synthesized Platonic, Neoplatonic, Jewish, Christian, and Hermetic concepts. Through an intertextual analysis of the aforementioned works ranging from Ficino's to Lazzarelli's, this thesis delves into a number of key Hermetic concepts, such as contemplation, *prisca theologia*, the dignity of man, and the creative capacity of humans, thereby framing the Hermetic thought of this period.

Danger in the Byzantine Countryside: A Case Study of Gregory the Cellarer's *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*

Merve Savas (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Volker Menze, Baukje van den Berg
External Reader: Anthony Kaldellis (The Ohio State University)

This study intends to reread Gregory the Cellarer's *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* to trace the dangers common people faced in rural Byzantium, while attempting to explore the textual meaning and function of these dangers in the account. Divided into three main categories, it focuses on nature-related risks, corporeal threats, and societal dangers. This thesis argues that the Byzantine countryside was an environment rife with insecurity: people were exposed to various kinds of danger and were also their source, and at the same time sought solutions. The authorial motivation behind Gregory's references to such problems is to underscore Lazaros's sanctity by describing his worldly context.

The first chapter addresses the wilderness and the problems—both physical and spiritual—it poses to the rural community, sheds light on the particular association between the wild landscape and the intervention of evil, and, finally, suggests that the material environment is used to accentuate the role of the holy man as a savior. The second chapter focuses on problems of a corporeal nature and physical vulnerability. It examines the ways in which people with ailing bodies sought cures and remedies, and in connection thereof, it also explores attitudes towards death. The third chapter delineates those social relations that are characterized by hostility. It emphasizes the representations of the locals' hostility

towards outsiders, the threat the community poses to its own members, that is, conflicts between neighbors and fellow peasants, and lastly, it unveils the social tension between the lay and the monastic communities.

The Grand Vizirates of Koca Sinan Pasha: A Reassessment of the Ottoman Court Politics and Intra-Elite Rivalry in the Late Sixteenth Century

Halit Serkan Simen (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Günhan Börekçi
External Reader: Kayhan Orbay (Middle East Technical University)

This thesis examines Koca Sinan Pasha (d. 1595) and his five-time grand vizierate in the context of the crises and changes that took place within the Ottoman imperial-political system during the late sixteenth century. After the assassination of the all-powerful Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579 during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574–1595), the Ottoman imperial court witnessed an ever-increasing factionalism among the governing ministers, complicating the decision-making processes in the sultan's government. Sinan Pasha was one of the most important figures in this new political setting as a wealthy and powerful grand vizier. This thesis offers a new perspective on Sinan Pasha through a detailed analysis of his grand vizieral petitions to Murad III, known as *telhises*, and aims to shed light on the critical question of how Sinan Pasha managed to sustain his political standing and influence as grand vizier when he was constantly challenged by a number of rival viziers and courtiers.

The Marvelous Sciences in *ʿAcebü'l-ʿUccāb*: Disseminating and Reframing of the Occult Knowledge for the Ottoman Audience in the Early Fifteenth Century

Cevat Sucu (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, Günhan Börekçi
External Reader: Tunç Şen (Columbia University)

This study discusses the work entitled *ʿAcebü'l-ʿUccāb* (*The Most Marvelous among the Marvelous Things*), written in 1438 by Mahmud bin Kadı Manyas, also known as Manyasoğlu, contextualizing it in the lettrist trends of the Islamic world and the

Ottoman literary politics of the early fifteenth century. In this period, Ottoman intellectuals translated works from Arabic and Persian, excerpting, rearranging, and commenting on them to instruct Turkophone readers in various sciences and transmit knowledge from the wider Islamic world. This period also coincided with the dissemination of lettrist practices as well as the proliferation of messianic ideas and movements with different political agendas. The courts, including the Ottoman, sponsored occultist cosmopolitan intellectuals who viewed lettrism as a "queen science" of the impending messianic age. It is against this background that the thesis approaches Manyasoğlu's work, which was compiled and presented to the Ottoman sultan Murad II in 1438. The thesis argues that *ʿAcebü'l-ʿUccāb* differs from contemporary lettrist and occultist works because it largely disregards millennialist, messianic, gnostic, and Sufi perspectives, and focuses more on the experimental and replicable nature of occult practices than on a mystical chain of transmission. Moreover, the text strives to activate occult properties for the practitioner's benefit rather than to solve the theoretical problems of the cosmos. By juxtaposing it with the contemporary "cosmopolitan" occult works, the thesis argues that this lettrist text reflected Manyasoğlu's vernacular authorial strategies not only in terms of language but in his practice of the occult as well.

The Role of Private Towers in the Thirteenth-Century Urban Transition

Gergely Szoboszlay (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende, József Laszlovszky
External Readers: András Végh (Pázmány Péter Catholic University), Paul Mitchell (independent researcher)

As edifices found all over Europe, medieval urban private towers are often mentioned in scholarly literature; however, those in the Central European region have not been analyzed comprehensively to date. These buildings are still frequently discussed from a romantic perspective as classic donjons connected to the system of feudal lordship within urban settlements. To address this hiatus and romanticism, the main research focus of this thesis is on medieval Hungary, Bohemia, Lower Austria, Silesia, and Lesser Poland with a regional outlook regarding the urban private towers.

The thesis is motivated by two research questions: How did private towers appear and shape their urban surroundings during the thirteenth century's urban development? And based on the towers structural and topographical remains, what kind of functional role can be attributed to them? To answer these questions, I

examined the towers' architectural and archeological remains, their topographical distribution, and the social background of this building type. This comparative analysis surveyed forty-nine towers and fifty-one mentions of private towers in detail.

With the help of comprehensive and commensurable data, the towers materialize as a complex urban form with distinctive functional aspects, and the findings also underpin that their main role was the representation of their possessors' wealth and influence in the city. This symbolic value is traceable both in their foundations at the most prominent locations of the towns in the early phases of urban development and in their formal aspects. As the social stratum whose members had originally commissioned them gradually disappeared from the urban fabric, private towers lost their significance by the late fourteenth century. However, the present thesis shows that this emblematic structure continued to represent power in a different context, shifting from the individual toward the communal.

Painted Textile from Riggisberg – An Old Testament Cycle in the Context of Hellenistic Jewish and Christian Art

Lili Rebeka Tóth (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Foteini Spingou (University of Edinburgh)

The thesis focuses on how classical art influenced the evolution of both Hellenistic Jewish and early Christian art in the late antique Roman world by taking a textile as a case study. The textile was created in fourth-century Egypt and is one of the oldest preserved Old Testament narratives in the world. Its original cultural background is still disputed; therefore, its typological and iconographical choices make it possible to consider a putative Jewish and Christian origin. While the textile's Old Testament narrative points to an exegetical function, the lack of direct religious indicators, such as the menorah or the cross, coupled with the narrative's failed biblical chronology make one uncertain about the textile's original function. The most idiosyncratic visual solution concerns the scene of the *Creation of Man* on the textile, in which a mythological figure, Psyche, is represented as the materialized form of the soul. The thesis analyzes these iconographical choices within the context of Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity under the influence of classical art in the Roman Empire. Through this exercise, one can illuminate

how Jewish and Christian art grew out of Hellenism and were adapted to transmit their own religion's exegetical and theological messages in late antiquity.

How the Árpáds Got their Stripes: Changes in the Denotation of the Árpád Stripes during the Middle Ages

Jordan Voltz (United States)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, András Gerő
External Reader: Veszprémy László (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

This thesis looks at the changes in the denotation of the Árpád stripes during the Middle Ages (1000–1526) by analyzing royal seals, the *Chronicon Pictum*, and the *Chronica Hungarorum*. Originally a powerful symbol wielded by members of the Árpád dynasty, it was also used by important magnates in the Hungarian kingdom. The Angevins used the Árpád stripes to indicate their descent from the saintly Árpád dynasty and transformed it into a symbol to represent their own dynasty. After the Angevins, the Árpád stripes took on a royal or territorial meaning and were often paired with the patriarchal cross in order to indicate the Hungarian kingdom or its territory. It also plays a key role in representations of the *natio Hungarica* in the above chronicles, in which the Árpád stripes illustrate the longevity of the Hun-Hungarian connection.

The Role of Trust in Administering the Incomes of the Zagreb Chapter (1466–1499)

Petra Vručina (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende, Balázs Nagy
External Reader: Damir Karbić (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

In medieval Slavonia, one of the most prominent Church institutions was the Zagreb chapter. It established a complex economic system around its three land estates and other incomes, such as the tithe. This thesis deals with the question of the efficiency of the incomes' administration within the Zagreb chapter, focusing on the episcopate of Bishop Oswald Túz (1466–1499) as this was the period when the bishopric was at its peak of economic development in the Middle Ages. The research is conducted by applying an interdisciplinary methodology—using the concept of trust. Besides researching how the trust relation between Oswald

and King Matthias Corvinus influenced the economic system, the thesis also examines the ways in which the collection of incomes was affected by the trust relation created with the subjects, that is, the tenant peasants as well as those who considered the Zagreb chapter their religious authority. The main argument is that creating trust relations is a prerequisite for ensuring the profitability of the pre-modern economic system and that the distribution of trust and distrust can tell us much about its functioning. The latter factor is researched through the question of the relation between the corporate identity of the chapter and the administration of incomes; through the question of the lease of the tithes; and finally, the relation of the landholding system to the market towns.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2019–2020

Ktetor: Practices of Ecclesiastic Foundation, Sponsorship, and Patronage in Late Byzantium and Balkan Slavic Countries

Anna Adashinskaya (Russian Federation)

The examination committee at the public defense on 24 January 2020 consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Department of History), Daniel Ziemann, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Gábor Klaniczay, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Zsombor Jékely (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary); the external readers were Ivan Biliarsky (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History) and Michele Bacci (University of Fribourg).

The dissertation is devoted to the practices of ecclesiastic patronage on the Late Medieval Balkans (from the late 13th century to the mid of the 15th century). It attempts to define the *ktetoria* as a total social phenomenon manifesting itself in various aspects of Byzantine and Slavic Societies (such as flows of capital, land accumulation, state ideology, rhetoric, literacy, archival techniques, visual artistic expression, self-representation of individuals, and many others). It approaches this phenomenon by regarding the actors (patrons, founders, sponsors, benefactors), their motives, actions, and objectives, and their recipients, the ecclesiastic institutions and communities of believers.

This approach enables me to look at the patronage through the eyes of the medieval practitioners of the *ktetoria*, and to understand the ways this practice functioned in the medieval societies. For the practitioners, the pious patronage

encompassed three forms of benefactions: a foundation of an ecclesiastic or philanthropic institution; endowment with lands, land income, or other goods; and donation of precious objects. Consequently, I regarded them not as separate customs but as components of one tradition of pious giving to ecclesiastic institutions and I approached this tradition through the examination of various practices, associated with it, and the in-depth analysis of case studies based on charters, church inscriptions, and votive portraits.

The first chapter of the dissertation deals with the overview of the approaches to the patronage studies and the problems associated with them. It covers such problems as research on Byzantine and Slavic foundation law and traditions, theory and practice of gift-giving in the medieval Christian countries, the understanding of relations between the patronage and royal authority, as well as the representations of patrons and their meaning.

Besides the Introductory chapter, the dissertation is divided into two parts encompassing the examinations of foundation activities and gift-giving practices, described broadly. This perspective facilitated the comparison between these two pious activities and the terms applied for their description by the medieval sources. Thus, the second chapter aims at the typology of private ecclesiastic institutions in Byzantium and Medieval Balkan countries. It takes a closer look at a wide range of privately established ecclesiastic institutions whose size and purpose varied greatly, from the small household chapels to great hermitic monastic communities. It comes to conclusion that all these foundations can be divided into two predominant types: family institutions and hermitic communities. A family institution was meant for daily services, celebrations, burials, commemorations, and retirement of the members of one family and preserved certain ties with the profane world surrounding it. On the contrary, as a case study of Hosios Leontios of Monembasia and his monastery demonstrated, a hermitic institution was founded by a group of persons connected with spiritual ties who separated from the world and tried to achieve the spiritual perfection. The intentional seclusion and focusing on religious matters allowed to these monasteries to gain spiritual capital from the members of lay society and, therefore, to receive financial support from various external sources.

The third chapter focuses on patterns of ecclesiastic patronage, namely, it defines the use of the titles of the first and second *ktetor* as well as the modes of collective patronage. The studied material proved that the Byzantines and Balkans Slavs did not differentiate between the initial founder and second and/or secondary founders of various types. The status of *ktetor* could be transferred or shared in several ways: through hereditary lines; because of the

ties of respect, apprenticeship, or friendship; for the political benefits received by foundations; due to a shortage of funds; by the appointment of a Patriarch etc. In this paradigm, *ktetoria* became a denomination for financial sponsorship and patronage, protection, but also preserved its initial meaning of (re)foundation, (re)construction and (re)building. Due to various social and political motives the acts of *ktetoria* could be undertaken as a group effort, by several persons in association as well as consecutively. In such groups one or several persons were the initiators and/or leaders of the patronage deed which was emphasized by the means of iconography and rhetoric.

The fourth chapter juxtaposes various images depicting the secondary *ktetors*, namely, the sponsors presented as supplicants and the portraits of the founders' children included into the votive compositions. In both cases, the depicted figures had a smaller measure of participation than the main founders, but their social status differed. If the secondary *ktetors*, depicted as small-scale figures or commemorated in additional inscriptions, were either the successors of the initial ktetor or the minor economic sponsors, the children participated with their future inheritance in the foundation. Moreover, the depiction of children was applied as a communicative tool: this way, the portraits demonstrated the succession in the inheritance of economic and political rights and preserved the memory about the family's status and wealth.

The fifth chapter deals with the exclusive rights of the founders in the opposition to that of the sponsors and patrons, and investigates two problems, related to the church dedication and the mentioning of political authorities in the dedicatory inscriptions. Thus, founders used the ecclesiastic institutions under their patronage for the shaping and promotion of their public images whereas the act of foundation itself was regarded as a reflection of the founders' identities, religious belief, personal hopes, political affiliations, economic might, family position, and social achievements. The choice of spiritual patron for a foundation was one of these identity matters that, as the case study of the Hodegetria's churches proves, depended on the pious believes and political motives of the commissioners. More precisely, such circumstances as a desire to imitate the arrangements of the capital or an acquisition of a personal replica of the famous icon could influence the selection of the dedication. On the other hand, the references to the worldly authorities in the church dedicatory inscriptions can be perceived in the context of changing political landscape on the Late medieval Balkans. Though the reasons of the rulers' names inclusion in the dedicatory texts could vary from political and economic opportunism to the expression of

true loyalty, the ruler-reference formula demonstrated the political affiliations of the founders and their places in the networks of power.

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the sponsorship as a practice of making investments, imperial as well as private, into already existing monastic institutions. The sponsors were interested into the establishment of spiritual bounds with and the assurance of commemorations at venerable, famous institutions. For the sake of the remembrance rituals, the donors passed their patrimonial properties, money and expensive artistic gifts (manuscripts, icons, textiles, liturgical objects) to the monks. Thus, this part of the dissertation compares several social groups of the donors: royalties, aristocracy, private persons, and women; it also analyses how the economy of salvation, i.e. endowment against the commemorative prayers, functioned in rhetoric and the negotiation of agreements between private persons and monasteries.

Relying on the case studies of the imperial donations to the monasteries performed by the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dušan, the sixth chapter investigated the ways in which the landed donations given to great monasteries changed the economic and political situation in the regions of Macedonia and Thrace. Moreover, it demonstrated how the donor's political position during Byzantine civil wars, the Serbian coup d'état and the Byzantine-Serbian conflicts shaped their choice of monastery for commemoration and their family ties. As the Serbian ruler enriched foundations which assisted in the promotion of his legitimacy (primarily, the Slavic monasteries, the Menoikeion and Vatopedi), many of the Serbian noblemen and Greeks, loyal to Stefan Dušan, followed his example while making their benefactions. Thus, the conquest of Macedonia by Stefan Dušan changed the property landscape, as the Tsar generously granted new possessions to the monasteries supporting his political claims. And the rhetoric of his donation deeds accommodated not only private concerns and expression of individual piety, but also the political concepts and propaganda messages.

The seventh chapter regards the donations to monasteries made by nobility and members of lower classes, from average bourgeoisie to the wealthy peasants. The documents issued by the members of nobility attested their attention to the commemorative rituals and rites, necessary for the salvation of the donor's soul. Sometimes, this rhetoric could be merely a cliché masking real economic motives of a donor or a recipient. More often, however, the relations of patronage established stable connections between noble families and certain monasteries, arranged functioning communication networks between monks and laymen, and created a diverse market of commemorative services, being the subject of negotiations between the noble donors and the monasteries. At the

same time, the members of the rich peasantry and village priesthood had the appropriate legal status, authority and means to become the minor donors of the ecclesiastic foundations. Their reasons for patronage seemed to be both, pious and practical. As a donation could be a way to pay respect to a monastery, to assure future commemoration and/or burial place as well as to become a member of a brotherhood or to receive a life-long *adelphaton*. Consequently, practically all classes of the Balkan societies were involved into the performance of the pious land offerings to ecclesiastic institutions, to the degree of their economic possibilities.

The next chapter analyses the complex relations between the Orthodox theology of the Afterlife, the diversification of commemoration rituals, and the economy of salvation, regarding the commemorations as commodities bought by the economic investments. Thus, under the influence of the Purgatory polemics with the Latins, the Orthodox theology formulated the concept of the intermediary judgement and regarded commemorations performed by the living as a measure to improve the conditions in the Afterlife. This intellectual development led to the rapid growth of commemoration demands and the establishment of exchange relations between the foundations and the individuals (gifts for commemorations). During the 14th century, one can observe the diversification of commemoration rituals and funerary services having different 'prices' for the donors. The strong demand for different modes of remembrance made the descriptions of the rites, inserted into the transfer agreements, much more detailed and diverse. The growing number of requests led to the development of private liturgical commemorations that could be performed in the subsidiary monastery spaces. However, as the memorial services occupied the increasing amount of liturgical time, the Memorial books were developed to range the donors in a certain hierarchy. Moreover, the content of these Memorials and their entries conflicting with the policies of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate proved that the members of the monastic communities could manipulate the commemorations, including or excluding some names at their sole discretion.

The final chapter of the dissertation addresses the modes of female gift-giving and patronage and juxtaposes the rhetoric of donation and the actual mobile gifts, made by the noble Byzantine and Serbian ladies to important monasteries. Female rhetoric of piety had several distinctive features: it always contained references to the male kinsmen of the commissioners (sons, brothers, father, husband, etc.) and/or their marital status. The writings of female authors/commissioners reflected their ambiguous position in the Byzantine society, as the women of the late Byzantium and Serbia had political and economic power but

felt sinful being actively involved in the social matters. Though, formally, their writings display the narratives of submission and humbleness, women actively participated into the composition of the text of deeds. Among the donors and founders of the Byzantine Empire, Serbian state, and the Orthodox territories under the Ottoman rule, widows were the most active participants and their gifts displayed a complex of ideas, connected with the preservation of familial memory, pointing out to their social status and keeping the spiritual ties between family generations. Non-royal nuns were more active on the Byzantine territories but rarely appeared as sponsors of ecclesiastic art in Serbia, while the Serbian royal ladies were equally active patrons as their male counterparts.

This two-partial study helped me realize that the *ktetor* and *ktetoria* were umbrella terms covering a wide range of pious activities, such as the establishment of a foundation, the donation of properties or expensive gifts to ecclesiastic institutions, the restoration of a church or a monastery, and the performance of a patron who became a representative and protector of the foundation. Consequently, the title of *ktetor* was applied to various categories of benefactors, sponsors, and patrons, who exercised material support and administrative assistance to an ecclesiastic institution. Regarding the development of patronage practices in the Slavic and Wallachian Medieval states, I came to conclusion that this expansion of meaning of the word *ktetor* led to the appearance of a concept associating the imperial political power, inheritance of the Byzantine ideology, and symbolic leadership in the Orthodox world with the involvement into the patronage over monasteries of Mount Athos during the post-Byzantine period in Serbia and Wallachia. On the other hand, placing various strategies of patronage and endowment in the framework of the reciprocal gift-giving and gift-responding relations, I demonstrated that the monasteries and churches received the benefaction in exchange for various commemorative rites, advocating services, and petitioning prayers, and that these pious rites turned into "commodities" having their own market value. However, the donation/patronage motives were not limited to church rituals; the established foundations as donations to God, the texts of charters accompanying the transfer of assets, and the material gifts themselves became the means for expressing the complex system of medieval social being which included personal image, as well as a status in community and political position. Thus, in my opinion, these three components joint together, i.e., political motives, community organization, and individual representation, became the moving force behind the practices of *ktetoria*.

On the Border: Monastic Landscapes of Medieval Transylvania (Between the Eleventh and Sixteenth Centuries)

Ünige Bencze (Romania)

The examination committee at the public defense on 18 March 2020 consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Department of History), József Laszlovszky, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Katalin Szende, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Beatrix Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary); the external readers were David Austin (University of Wales Trinity Saint David) and Adrian Andrei Rusu (Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca).

Along the Middle Ages Hungary was home to a high number and variety of religious communities, male and female alike. However, some of them never settled in Transylvania (the eastern border region of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary) while others had very few houses. The dissertation focuses only on the religious orders of Western Christianity which were present in medieval Transylvania starting from their appearance until the dissolution of the monasteries (Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Paulines), but does not include the analysis of mendicant orders or orthodox monasteries. A short discussion touches upon the topic of the nunneries as well. The Benedictines were the most widely supported religious community in the eleventh-twelfth century, and this was the period when some of the larger houses received extended landed estates. In medieval Transylvania the only Benedictine abbey to survive the Middle Ages was Kolozsmonostor. The Cistercians founded only one house in this region at Kerc. The abbey was dissolved at the end of the fifteenth century. The Premonstratensians settled in two places but their presence was ephemeral, they did not survive the Mongol invasion. Pauline houses were established in four places if the sources are correct, out of which two survived until the secularization. Two monasteries, Kolozsmonostor and Kerc were amongst the earliest and wealthiest documented landowners in Transylvania besides others, such as the king of Hungary, the Transylvanian bishop, castellans or local magnates. The monastery served the religious as well as the everyday needs of a community. It was a composition of sacred and profane space, with a monastic church, the dwelling and community spaces of the monks, and ancillary buildings (like barns, mills and agricultural buildings), which can perhaps be better understood as divided into an inner and an outer precinct, where various everyday activities would take place following the rule of each community. The monastery represented also the

core of the outlying monastic properties, from where these were managed and where all incomes flowed in, it meant a constant interaction with the surrounding environment and communities. Monasteries were important landmarks in the landscape, a symbolic as well as a physical presence, where meditation, prayer and reading were combined with manual labor and everyday chores.

The aim of the dissertation is to draw attention to and to explore the nature of monastic landscapes of different monastic orders within the boundaries of medieval Transylvania. The purpose of this work is manifold, it looks into the reevaluation of the earlier studies, applies a new methodology with new sets of data and provides analysis of a wide area with case studies from the main regions of medieval Transylvania. Based on these features the dissertation builds up a fresh approach and analyzes how far Transylvania represents a unique area as the eastern border region of the Kingdom of Hungary in terms of monastic landscapes. In the same time, the inquiries focus on whether Transylvania as a historical region can be defined as an independent, unitary monastic region.

The analysis reaches beyond the church and the claustral buildings and uses all forms of evidence to understand the monastic landscape. To a limited extent it also aims to understand pre-monastic landscapes as well as the post-monastic period to investigate what effects did the dissolution of a monastery had on the region and how it changed the land use.

Thus, the present dissertation initiates in-depth case studies on the settling features of monastic orders in medieval Transylvania and analyzes their landscape shaping and land use activities through a holistic approach. The following questions constitute the basis for the research: When and how did the estates of various abbeys spread over Transylvania? What was their relationship with the surrounding neighbors? Can property clusters be recognized? If so, then what could influence the structure of monastic clusters? Can perhaps, preferences of certain types of lands by the monastic orders be recognized? How can the estates of a monastery be identified, and their boundaries pinpointed on the ground? What can still be recognized or found on the field? How did the monasteries use their lands? Can different monastic landscapes be identified based on the types of estates and land use of the abbeys? Are there differences among the orders in terms of land use and income?

The dissertation is structured into six chapters. The Introduction contains the Aim and structure, the Methodology, the Evaluation and review of the sources and a Literature review. In the second chapter (Monasteries in time and space) the definition of medieval Transylvania is discussed based on the local characteristics and differences within the Kingdom of Hungary. How is it different from the

other historic regions of the Hungarian Kingdom? Why can it be analyzed separately? What factors define its uniqueness? Then, a short introduction and discussion follows on the history of the four orders, which constitute the subject of the dissertation, with special emphasis on their presence in Transylvania. Finally, an assessment of the research of the medieval monasteries is presented. The third chapter (Kolozsmonostor abbey and monastic land use) launches the case study and landscape analysis of the largest Benedictine abbey of Transylvania focusing on the land use of the abbey with highlighted case studies of selected study areas from Kolozs County, such as the monastic villages in the Kajántó valley and along the Nádas. In addition, a general discussion of all the monastic properties can be found grouped by historic counties, their location within the counties and connection to Kolozsmonostor. The chapter contains a literature review and a short history of the abbey pinpointing those events that affected the property structure and land use of the Benedictines. Chapter four (Kerc Abbey and its lands) zooms in on the only Cistercian abbey of medieval Transylvania as a detailed case study of the close environs of the monastic buildings as well as a discussion of the monastic properties. The chapter contains a review of the historic setting and literature with special attention to the issues connected to its foundation. The inner and outer precinct of Kerc could be reconstructed based on detailed field surveys this is also presented in detail. The fifth chapter looks into the topic of Pauline micro landscapes with a case study on the monastery in Marosszentkirály but looks into the sources of the other existing Pauline houses as well. Finally, the Conclusions discuss the results of the research and provide insight into further possibilities of investigation.

Medieval Transylvania was different from Western Europe in many ways. First of all, during the Middle Ages it was frequently a border area, a battle ground, and a transition zone. Some of the monastic orders were not too keen on settling in unsafe/unstable regions unless they were urged by the Pope or the order's missionary activity, or received substantial support from the king. Even though the sources are silent the missionary activity has to be highlighted since it was presumably present in the early phase of monastic foundations such as Kolozsmonostor or Kerc and it was most certainly present in the activity of the mendicants. Second, it was a buffer zone between western and eastern Christianity, the western culture and the new migrating populations coming from the east and the south, who sometimes settled in Hungary (like the Cumans and the Romanians/Vlachs) or those who just swept through the territory (Mongols, Ottoman Turks). As the eastern border region of the Kingdom of Hungary, it was mainly colonized by communities, who were employed by the kings as border

guards, and in exchange for a variety of privileges and exemptions owed military service. These communities brought their own culture and different needs with them, which had to be secured by the king. Thus, already from the outset the inhabitants of Transylvania enjoyed different privileges in different regions. Besides these populations, the kings and the church owned extensive lands, where again different rules and sets of privileges were in effect. From this point of view, the following territories can be highlighted (with differing privileges): the counties (vármegye), the districts, and the seats. Transylvania was appealing also for the Holy See, as it has been observed by Ş. Turcuş. Throughout the Middle Ages the Popes tried to extend their influence to certain areas of Transylvania and they successfully managed to acquire landed estates, the incomes of which entitled the Holy See. Innocent III was the most successful in this respect. One such territory was the Barcaság, the land received by the Teutonic knights, which even after their expulsion remained under the authority of the Holy See or at least the Holy See kept its claim to the tax and did not recognize Andrew II's action of expulsion of the Teutonic knights.

The results indicate that the monastic property structures evolved separately and particularly for each abbey based on the endowments, local circumstances, and social relations. The land use patterns influenced greatly the stability and survival of the abbeys. In some cases, like for Kolozsmonostor or Kerc the central property blocks developed by the fourteenth century and provided constant income for the communities. Although Kolozsmonostor lost a significant part of its distant lands to lay landowners, its main properties (some of which were extensive) remained in the abbey's possession until its dissolution. Kerc also managed to keep and to develop the monastic villages around the abbey.

In the case of the Pauline monasteries cash income was higher while apparently they owned less landed property than Kolozsmonostor or Kerc. However, Szentkirály received a large number of land donations but their extent is not known thus, it cannot be compared to the Benedictine or Cistercian lands. What is sure is that the Paulines were the most involved in lease agreements, as it is nicely outlined by the high number of mills and mill places. Concerning the land donations, the Paulines received the highest number of small, scattered lands in several villages (usually land plot with or without houses), so they did not really own entire villages (with few exceptions, see Unoka, Toldalag) like the Benedictines or Cistercians. The Paulines in Szentkirály received so many donations in Zekelfalva that at least half of the village ended up in their possession, so they too managed to form a stable base close to the monastic buildings.

The collected data outlines that various monastic landscapes co-existed which together formed a distinct monastic region in Transylvania with a particular development for each large abbey. As the maps illustrate, the earliest Benedictine communities were concentrated in northwestern Transylvania, in the royal counties and the situation remained the same after the Mongol invasion, with the change that only Kolozsmonostor survived. The easternmost male Cistercian abbey in Europe was royally founded in Kerc, in southern Transylvania (in Fogaras Land) in the early thirteenth century, while the Pauline monasteries lined up along the Upper Maros River and its close environment in the fourteenth century. Chronologically, in very general terms, the first were the Benedictines in northwestern Transylvania, then the Cistercians in southern Transylvania, and lastly the Paulines in the middle, along the Maros River. It seems that all three religious communities (Benedictines, Cistercians, and Paulines) settled and maintained their presence in three distinct parts of medieval Transylvania. All monasteries were situated on smaller hilltops close to significant roads or trade routes, larger towns or market towns as well as rivers. However, at the same time, one might interpret medieval Transylvania as a particular region within the Hungarian Kingdom, where the monastic orders adjusted to the local characteristics and privileged communities and formed their property clusters close to the abbey buildings. Thus, the small number of monastic houses (in contrast to the higher number of mendicants) can be regarded a characteristic feature of medieval Transylvania. Perhaps it would bring new results if a similar analysis of the mendicants would be added to the monastic orders.

Western Representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the Fifteenth – First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries. A Comparative Approach Using Visual Text Analysis

Alena Kliuchnik (Belarus)

The examination committee at the public defense on 11 June 2020 consisted of György E. Szőnyi (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Gerhard Jaritz, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University, US), Marcell Sebők (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Mikhail Kizilov ("Khamovniki" Foundation for Social Research, Moscow, Russia) and Paul Milliman (University of Arizona, History Department).

Each historical epoch is characterized by its own language and expresses its own significant components while creating images of others. The European Age of Discovery, the Renaissance, the Humanism and the invention of printing were among the most powerful processes of the research period that impacted the European civilization. This was a time when a new image of the world and a new image of self were being formed and conceptualized. The map from Cosmographia by Sebastian Münster named Europa Regina is one of the eloquent visual expressions of contemporary thought. Such new conceptions turned into rather strong ideas which disseminated and crossed the inner state borders within western Europe, some of them were universally adopted thanks to printing, university culture, intellectual ties, and the sense of unity based on Christianity.

The representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia as created in text and image in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries are in the focus of the present research. These lands constitute a continuous area towards the eastern edge of Europe. At the same time, they represented different cases of a better known Poland, less known Lithuania and to a big extent unknown Moscovia for Europeans of that time. Thus, their images are being analyzed with reference to the global tendencies of the historical period. This is an attempt to depict and to visually demonstrate the main composite elements in contemporary textual descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, to trace the dynamics of the created images through the period and to consider them comparatively. The illustrations and maps that accompany the textual sources are also considered for better understanding of the image-making strategies for these countries at that time. The methods of basic qualitative and quantitative analysis and comparative approaches were applied in order to depict common textual and visual strategies used by different authors while creating their images of the specified lands. They also helped to ascertain the differences in the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. The main aspects of the historical period, the geographical and chronological frameworks of the research, sources and the aims of the work are discussed in Chapter 1. The applied methodology is presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 is devoted to depicting and analyzing the main terminological content of the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia as well as their main constitutive topics in general works on Imago Mundi. The entries were also analyzed in regard to the topics of "culture" and "nature" for each author and country. The computational tools for basic textual analysis and quantification applied to this group of sources provided criteria and basis for further comparative analysis. Thus, it was defined that the authors followed a number of patterns while writing about the research lands. The most important elements that

comprised the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were references to their political culture and political history, climate, nature, natural resources, religion, urban settlements, local goods, markets, and people. The observed emphasis on the topics of "nature" or "culture" revealed the authors' strategies for creating the images of more familiar or less familiar countries as well as strategies to communicate the motion towards the eastern edge of Europe. The better known lands had fewer references to topics of "nature" in their descriptions and the less known ones included more of these topics.

Chapter 4 explores the images of the three research countries in travel accounts. The main idea here was to find out what was most important about the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia according to the eyewitnesses. The obtained computational visualizations for the texts from this group accentuated the importance of urban settlements as a central criterion in the images of the described lands. The towns in Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia are gradually reported in less and less favorable terms while moving eastwards in all considered travel accounts. The western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania mattered for travelers in this sense and it was the line behind which they would refer to prevailing wooden architecture, lack of stone buildings, bad town fortifications, bad castles and so on. Two other notions were specified as particularly important, namely rivers and the distances. All towns described in the considered travel accounts are mentioned along with their rivers. Other important rivers in each land are also mentioned by travelers. This reveals their importance for humans at that period. The authors' numerous mentions of distances between settlements in Poland and particularly in Lithuania and Moscovia allowed to lead to the hypothesis that this was a sign for descriptions of unknown or not that well known lands.

Chapter 5 discusses the cartography of the area and of each country. The maps are analyzed concerning their functions, utility as well as their narrative content. These visual sources accompany the textual ones in the general works on Imago Mundi and in the latest travel accounts by Sigismund von Herberstein. It was observed that the narrative content of the maps depicting Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia experienced significant improvement through the research period. From schematic visual representations of the European continent with the main function of locating the textual descriptions of its countries, the considered sources evolved into rather detailed topographical and illustrated regional maps within the research period. Contemporary mental convictions and stereotypes from the textual sources were traced in maps as well.

The comparative analysis of the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia as presented in selected textual and visual sources from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries made it possible to trace and to better understand their content, structure, evolution and contemporary image-making strategies. The applied quantitative methods and the methods of basic computational textual visualization demonstrated their effectiveness and performative capacity for defining the main component parts of the images, which enabled the comparison itself. The preexisting notions for the edges of the continent as well as a number of narrative practices to communicate the motion towards the eastern edges of Europe were observed. Namely, the more one moved to the east of Europe in the Imago Mundi texts, the less was said about politics, history, dynasties, etc. and the more was said about the natural environment, climate, natural resources, animals, wilderness, and exotic things. Thus, the considered lands represent areas advancing towards the eastern edges of Europe geographically, but also as textual images in the descriptions of the world. They had their own position in the believed picture of the known world. As for the thematic range comprising the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, some progressive dynamics was observed. On the one hand, there is a number of standard topics that are present in the images of all three lands through the research period, like the rulers and state power, the main cities, the markets and goods, and the religion. However, when the reader is textually moving eastwards, the larger number of themes or topics will comprise the image of each of the following lands. It seems that the authors' playing with the thematic range, richness, variety, and the size of the recorded themes was the way to textually communicate the motion from the known centers towards the periphery and the unknown eastern edges of the continent.

The analysis of different source groups, namely, the Imago Mundi general works, travel accounts and maps provided information on how the borders between countries or larger areas were textually and visually demarcated. The western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania mattered for all considered travelers. This was vividly expressed in their opinions about the towns in Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia or Russia. The less developed and less fortified urban settlements were an important sign for being in another country. In the end of the research period the border of the Moscovite state is reported to be the most significant, guarded and watched according to Sigismund von Herberstein's travelogue. It is said that it was impossible to enter Moscovia without a proper permission.

Similar tendencies were observed in the analysis of the cartographic sources. Demarcating state borders was not typical for the period. But the depictions of

particular features of the landscape like mountain ranges, rivers, forests seem to have been already used to draw division lines between areas and states. Hartmann Schedel, for example, used a depiction of a mountain chain in order to draw a borderline between Poland and Hungary. No such borderlines between Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were observed in his maps. Olaus Magnus, in his turn, drew a line of trees demarcating a borderline between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Moscovia, on the other. Finally, Sebastian Münster in his Europa Regina map drew a thick forest line and decisively separated Moscovia from the rest of Europe. Thus, by the end of the depicted period, the textual references to the borders as well as the cartographic depictions of the borderlines follow the common tendency to declare the importance of the border with Moscovia. Most of the considered visual depictions of Moscovia communicate strong oriental elements which also separates it from the rest of the considered area and from the rest of the continent.

As it was mentioned above, frequent references to distances in "leagues" and "miles" in the textual sources for Poland, and particularly for Lithuania and Moscovia also indicate a borderline between the familiar and not very familiar lands in the east of Europe. Information on distances between settlements is not provided for the better known countries in the accounts by the same authors.

The comparative analysis of the considered images in different source groups made it also possible to trace the "migration" of ideas about the described countries through the period as well as through textual and visual sources. Namely, some early stereotypical beliefs and aspects would survive unchanged through the period, like the story about paganism in Lithuania in its textual and visual representations; a Paradise-like motif for the edges of the world found in the descriptions of Moscovia; or the observed growing narrative content of the texts for the eastern edges of the European continent along with respective narrative improvement of maps through the period.

Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900–1210: Ideology of Kingship and Rhetoric in the Byzantine Periphery

Sandro Nikolaishvili (Georgia)

The examination committee at the public defense on 5 December 2019 consisted of Matthias Riedl (CEU, Department of History), Daniel Ziemann, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Baukje van den Berg (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Volker Menze (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Niels Gaul (University of Edinburgh) and Stephen Rapp (Sam Houston State University).

In this dissertation, I study the evolution of the Georgian ideology of kingship and the influence of the Byzantine imperial ideology and political culture on Georgian rulers' literary and visual representations. The transmission and adoption of the Byzantine political culture in the Georgian world was a consequence of the long and enduring political and cultural domination of Byzantium in the Caucasus. In order to understand how medieval Georgians internalized the basic principles of the Byzantine discourse on power representation, the dissertation takes a comparative approach and links Georgian kingship with Byzantine imperial ideologies. This approach serves to illustrate similarities and differences between the Georgian and Byzantine cases. The dissertation examines some previously unstudied sources and offers a different and novel reading of some other narratives. Besides, I bring in supplementary Byzantine sources to make parallels between the Georgian and Byzantine elements, something that has not been conducted thus far.

Chapter One investigates cross-cultural contacts between the Byzantine empire and the Georgian-speaking lands and discusses the reasons that determined the Byzantine empire's growing political and ideological prestige in the Christian Caucasus from 870 to 1100. After a close inspection of Georgian narrative sources, I argue that the Kartvelian secular and ecclesiastic elite viewed Constantinople as a sacred city and the center of Christendom. Consequently, high-ranking aristocrats and members of the royal houses were drawn to the imperial capital and imperial court. Constantinople was also a cultural hub that allowed a peripheral society to have access to knowledge and education. Some prominent Georgian learned ecclesiastics were educated in Constantinople.

The revival of Byzantine military and political power also increased the prestige of the Byzantine emperor in the eyes of the Kartvelian aristocracy and

churchmen. This chapter offers for the first time a study of the Byzantine emperor's image and authority in the Georgian world. As a careful reading of hagiography, manuscript colophons, and epigraphic inscriptions shall demonstrate, the Byzantine basileus received favorable treatment in these sources, which indicates that the emperors had a positive reputation in the Georgian-speaking lands. Some Georgian texts, hagiographic vitae, and inscriptions emphasize the Byzantine emperor's superiority over the Georgian ruler by ascribing to the former more laudatory epithets than to the latter. It seems that for some Georgians, the Byzantine basileus had more authority than the Georgian king.

Chapter Two focuses on the political relationship between the Georgian world and the Byzantine empire between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. I discuss the circumstances that helped the Bagratid family from the Byzantine-Kartvelian frontier region of Tao to rise from aristocratic to royal status. The primary focus of this chapter are the early patterns of Georgian kingship, and a survey of the role Byzantine court dignities played in establishing the Bagratid rulers' credentials. While the political/ideological importance of the imperial court dignities for the Bagratid rulers has been downplayed, scrutiny of the various media, silver coinage, inscriptions, and charters through which the Bagratids communicated their image demonstrate the contrary. Apparently, honorary dignities (*kouropalatēs, nōbelissimos, sebastos*, and *kaisar*) had an essential ideological value for the Bagratids because they shaped their authority and made them more powerful. Byzantine court dignities were not infrequently the objects of political competition among the different members of the Bagratid family. This chapter further argues that the Bagratids, in their role as kings of a united Georgian kingdom, started to receive the high-ranking court dignities of *nōbelissimos, sebastos*, and *kaisar* after the Byzantine empire faced an external threat in the east and needed military support in the eleventh century. This leads to a discussion of changes in the Bagratid kings' representation in the context of Georgian-Byzantine relations, and against the background of the Byzantine empire's struggles with the Seljuk Turks.

Chapter Three studies new developments in the Georgian ruler's representation in connection with the political and social changes that occurred in the Caucasus around the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. This chapter is one of the first attempts to study in greater depth a new discourse on royal power and the sophistication of royal rhetoric during the reign of Davit IV (r.1089–1125). I examine closely various literary narratives that deal with the idea of rulership and view these texts as acts of rhetoric. In my view, this is the only way to understand the purpose of these texts and the messages they

tried to convey. I demonstrate that pivotal political/military events transformed the nature of royal authority in Georgia and that a new theory of kingship was crafted based on borrowing and adapting the Byzantine language and visual culture of kingship. This phenomenon was a consequence of Davit's literary patronage and the fact that he invited several Georgian literati from Byzantium. It is possible that the Georgian learned men with Byzantine educations enhanced the re-thinking of kingship ideology. An equally important incentive for developing new royal rhetoric was Davit's impressive military victories against the Seljuks, aided by the decline of Byzantine power in the Caucasus. The use of a symbolic universe of Byzantium –once a dominant political-cultural entity in the Caucasus and Christian East – had considerable weight in propaganda. By presenting himself in the guise of an emperor, Davit questioned the Byzantine basileus' authority and asserted his position as a new powerful monarch in the Eastern Christian world. Davit did not blindly copy the Byzantine paradigms of rulership, however, but adapted them to the local context. This chapter further argues that there were similarities between Davit IV's and Alexios I Komnenos's styles of kingship. Until now, no one has tried to address this question. Consequently, for the first time, I juxtapose the reigns of Alexios and Davit and argue for a certain resemblance between their reforms, ecclesiastical policies, and, more importantly, their contemporary and near-contemporary imperial/royal rhetoric and image-making discourse. Davit IV is the first Georgian king whose literary and visual image bears all the characteristics of the Byzantine emperor.

Chapter Four studies the changes in the nature of Georgian kingship after 1125. The first and concise section of the chapter examines the novelties that were introduced in the representation of king Demetre I (r.1125–1156) and king Giorgi III (r.1156–1184). Since no historiographical narratives have come down to us that portray Demetre I's reign, I discuss his royal imagery based on a scrutiny of his copper coinage. When it comes to the study of Giorgi III's kingship, I use numismatic materials and a historiographical narrative, the Histories and Eulogies of the Monarchs, written decades after his death. The literary portrayal of Giorgi diverges sharply from his image on coins and royal charters. While Giorgi is represented in the guise of a Classical and Old Testament hero in the historiographical text, on the coins and in a royal charter, he more resembles a Near Eastern/oriental ruler.

The second and more extensive section of this chapter studies the complex mechanisms through which the authority of the female ruler, queen Tamar (r.1184–1210), was constructed and communicated through various literary and visual media in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Georgia. To put it differently, I study

Tamar's contemporary/near contemporary discourse on ideal female rulership and royal rhetoric. After analyzing the historical context and the difficulties Tamar faced in the first years of her rule, I explore various strategies that she applied to overcome obstacles and strengthen her position. It is my conviction that Tamar patronized men of literature in order to present herself in a better light and possibly used the literary output of these learned men to promote her image. The highly rhetorical narratives composed at her court became a vehicle of propaganda that eulogized Tamar as a divinely inspired and capable ruler and communicated her authority of a powerful and self-confident ruler. What is probably the most remarkable is that Tamar succeeded in reinforcing her image to a great extent and became a dominant person with her contemporary/near contemporary royal rhetoric, overshadowing her second husband, Davit, and other prominent military men. All the narratives analyzed in this chapter follow a similar pattern when it comes to illustrating Tamar's image, which indicates that they reflect the ideology of the Bagratid royal court rather than authorial perspectives on the nature of Tamar's authority and power. To be able to promote herself to such an extent, Tamar needed not only resources but freedom of action, which she seems to have had. More importantly, the Georgian royal rhetoric that eulogized Tamar was inspired to a certain degree by the Byzantine rhetoric of praise. In other words, the motifs of Byzantine imperial rhetoric were carefully refigured in the Georgian literary compositions that glorified queen Tamar. To better understand the context of female rulership in Georgia, I refer to the examples of Byzantine empresses and imperial women to see how powerful women were represented in the Byzantine compared to the Georgian sources. Moreover, it is also instructive to see what kind of methods ambitious Byzantine empresses/imperial women used to gain access to power, increase their authority, and craft their public image.

Conclusion: After Byzantium regained its position as a supra-regional power in the Caucasus, the political influence of the Byzantine empire translated into the popularization of Byzantine political culture among the local kings and princes. From the ninth until the end of the eleventh century, the Byzantine emperors bestowed the honorary court dignities of kouropalatēs, sebastos, nōbelissimos, and kaisar on the Bagratid rulers, which became a marker of Bagratid power and authority. This highly prestigious court dignity/title elevated the Bagratid kings to the status of "the emperor's men" in the Caucasus and distinguished them from their peers. Although the Bagratid rulers felt free to borrow the imperial symbols and language of power to construct their images, it was only during the reign of Davit IV that the Georgians started to exploit the Byzantine imperial language to the fullest extent. After 1100, Georgian royal rhetoric and discourse

on the ideal kingship underwent a profound sophistication, and a new ideology of kingship developed as a consequence of a gradual adaptation of the Byzantine literary and visual notions of how to represent an ideal emperor. The main reason behind this changed attitude towards royal authority was Davit's successful wars against the Seljuks, which resulted in the establishment of the Georgian kingdom as the dominant power in the Caucasus. After the elevation of king Demetre to power in 1125, the Byzantine-oriented kingship gave way to a more diverse, cosmopolitan kingship that amalgamated not only the Byzantine symbols and language of rulership but also Near Eastern/oriental traditions. When a female, Tamar, was elevated to power and became a sole ruler in 1184, the Georgian court initiated an unprecedented scale of rhetoric to legitimize a woman as a ruler in her own right for the first time in the kingdom's history. While Tamar's bilingual coins used Near Eastern patterns, her contemporary and near-contemporary rhetorical narratives, celebrating her as an ideal ruler, utilized encomiastic motifs (imagery and language) similar to those used in Byzantine texts for portraying idealized images of the emperors and imperial women.

Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century

Stephen Pow (Canada)

The examination committee at the public defense on 26 March 2020 consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Department of History), Balázs Nagy, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), József Laszlovszky, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Katalin Szende (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), László Veszprémy (Péter Pázmány Catholic University); the external readers were Christopher P. Atwood (University of Pennsylvania), Roman Hautala (University of Oulu), István Vásáry (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest).

In this dissertation, my aim is to provide an explanation for the abrupt Mongol withdrawal from Europe in 1242. A lesser aim is to explore the Mongols' intentions during their exchanges with European powers for the next half-century. Scholars have long debated the withdrawal and as yet no explanation has the wide consensus of experts; it remains a mystery in part because the primary sources say so little about what prompted it. I have attempted to offer a thorough, holistic analysis of source references to the initial invasion and its short- and long-term aftermath, combined with the use of relevant archaeological findings.

Since the Mongol leadership expressed a desire to conquer Hungary and Europe, before and after their first invasion, we must ask why they withdrew in 1242, and did not subsequently incorporate much of Europe into their unified empire (or its successor states after 1260). The failure to follow up on their ultimatums demanding surrender could imply that the Mongol leadership was somehow deterred from carrying out their project. The present work represents a deviation from persistent ideas that still prevail in the scholarship. Since the twentieth century, the idea is popular in the general and scholarly literature that Europe had been "saved" through no merit of its own, but in my view, the evidence for resistance invites a more complex and nuanced explanation of these events; 1242 withdrawal was a complex event stemming from multiple drivers.

Regarding methodology, I have analyzed the four major theories for the Mongol withdrawal in approaching this historical problem. Recently, a clearer picture of the 1242 invasion and the surrounding context has been offered scholars working in diverse fields, their research being made widely available. Thus, this dissertation is a "re-visiting" of all the relevant issues, especially pertaining to the first Mongol invasion, the reasons for the withdrawal, and the subsequent role of the Golden Horde in Europe. I use a comparative approach to the primary sources on the Mongol Empire which are incredibly diffuse in terms of genre as well as geographic and literary contexts, emerging from authors writing in Persian, Chinese, Mongolian, Russian, Latin, Arabic, Greek, French, Turkic, etc. While it poses linguistic challenges, one of the advantages for a researcher is the huge range of sources. Relevant materials were recorded in such distant geographical and linguistic contexts that it is often unlikely their authors could have influenced each other. Nevertheless, there is often remarkable correlations in their descriptions of historical episodes or the Mongols' habits. With the assumption that the similar descriptions we encounter largely reflect real conditions and events rather than the identical biases and misrepresentations of the Mongols employed by the respective sedentary authors, my approach has been to never squander the wide-ranging comparisons which allow us to better approach specific events and issues tied to Mongol-European interactions. A major implication emerged from this methodology: the assertions found in the Latin sources that the 1241-42 campaign was very difficult for the Mongol side cannot be dismissed merely as wishful thinking since we find complementary claims by authors outside of Europe, even under Mongol auspices.

Regarding structure, Chapter 1 is largely devoted to outlining the first invasion of Europe and the larger westward advance of the Mongols (1236-44), while drawing attention to some problematic issues that persist in the

scholarly discussions. For the subsequent chapters, I followed a precident set by Greg S. Rogers over two decades ago for exploring the four main theories for the withdrawal – the "political" theory; the "geographical" (and climatic-environmental) theories; the "military weakness" theory; and the "gradual conquest" theory. I approach theories for the withdrawal obliquely, asking specific questions which bring focus to the crucial issues at play. Chapter 2 looks into Mongol preconceptions of Europe and Hungary, as well as the conventional theory that the Mongols withdrew from Europe owing to the death of Ögedei Khan. Chapter 3 analyzes arguments which attribute the Mongol withdrawal to environmental or climatic factors, and also explores the explanation that the Mongols never intended a lasting conquest in 1241. Chapter 4 explores the merits of the theory that strong resistance compelled the Mongols to withdraw, and while I do not agree with this theory as it has appeared in past works, this is the explanation in which we see some European sources showing agreement with the scanty materials on the events recorded outside of Europe. Thus, I then present my own explanation of a complex series of factors that likely brought about the withdrawal. Chapter 5 pertains to the oft-neglected details of Mongol-European relations for the remainder of the thirteenth century which reveal that the Mongols still intended to subjugate Europe, even as reforms in East-Central Europe reduced the likelihood that a lasting conquest could be achieved. Across the entire region, fortification reforms and social adaptations reinforced the ability of those areas to combat future invasions. As a result, the major Mongol inroads of the 1280s against Hungary and Poland were military failures, though weather-related factors contributed to those outcomes.

Conclusions. Based on this "revisiting" of the existing explanations for the Mongol withdrawal in 1242 and the following half-century of Mongol-European interactions, some conclusions emerge. A first key point is the Mongol ideology of world conquest seems to have been the driving factor behind the invasion of Europe in 1241. Thus, the purpose behind invading Hungary was the same that motivated other Mongol invasions across Eurasia: subjugation of territory, its ruler, and its people to the divinely chosen Chinggisid dynasty whose mandate was to rule the entire world. The evidence is overwhelming that this objective applied to the whole of Europe since the Great Khan sent that message with his (extant) seal on it, intended for the pope. The recorded formulae we see in such ultimatums sent by Chinggisid khans in the 1200s were not topoi dreamt up by sedentary authors in distant settings, writing in different genres. Rather, this topos of a Mongol ideology of world conquest originated from their highest decision makers.

Secondly, the initial invasion of Hungary was a startling success in terms of military history, but the occupation of Hungary was only a partial success. Archaeology corroborates that the destruction of the country was in part, rather than total. Many regions of the kingdom still had troops and a healthy population, and there were still unconquered countries in the vicinity so that Hungary was a salient for Batu's forces. A consistent message emerging the sources is that the stiff resistance encountered there was a problem for the Mongols, despite the enormous defeats and slaughters they inflicted on the local population. A third point is that fortifications played an important role in the defense of parts of Europe and the survival of segments of the population in affected regions. Broad and massive fortification reforms took place across the entire region of East-Central Europe after 1242. While we have textual records of failed Mongol sieges, perhaps a much better indication of fortifications' usefulness can be seen in the costly and labor-intensive construction projects that were undertaken as a response throughout the thirteenth century. One might take it that there was a prevailing feeling across the region that such reforms were worth the effort. A fourth consideration is that when the Mongols did pull back from the heartland of the Kingdom of Hungary, their subsequent movements, documented in Rashid al-Din's work and elucidated by other sources, do not create a picture of an army rushing back to Inner Asia owing to some political contingency. In fact, there is much evidence that they moved in the direction of Constantinople.

A fifth conclusion, related to methodology, might represent that most worthwhile historiographical contribution this study can make. It relates to the problem of unrelated written sources. So often, medievalists are keen to see narrative structures, topoi, and the rules of genre at play in the surviving texts, shaping narratives. In the case of Mongol attacks on Europe, we see independent sources in multiple genres that could not possibly have influenced each other corroborating and complimenting one another. Moreover, other types of evidence such archaeological findings and environmental data seem to help corroborate the picture in the textual sources. I would argue that in this type of situation, as we often encounter in research of the Mongol Empire in general, we should consider our textual sources very circumspectly before dismissing their claims as mere narrative structures rather than descriptions of events which actually occurred.

Who Stole the Water? The Control and Appropriation of Water Resources in Medieval Hungary

András Vadas (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on 20 March 2020 consisted of László Pintér (CEU, Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy), Alice M. Choyke, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), Katalin Szende, supervisor (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), József Laszlovszky (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), István Tringli (Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest); the external readers were Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Technical University of Darmstadt) and Richard C. Hoffmann (York University, Toronto).

In the dissertation I address conflicts surrounding water management, a space where different economic and other socio-political interests met and sometimes clashed. Modern politics focuses on who has legitimate rights to claims in such disputes, but for historians, it is certainly more relevant to understand how such conflicts were approached and resolved in the past by posing questions about how pre-modern societies dealt with these same problems. These questions include what kind of disputes unfolded with regard to the use of water and the degree to which water conceived as private or as 'common'? How were different interests aligned with each other? In this dissertation I raise these questions in the context of Central Europe, and more particularly, in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages (from the ca. tenth century to the mid-sixteenth century), i.e. the period of the re-appearance of literacy in the area after the Roman period. Throughout the different chapters of the dissertation I argue that use of water by the societies of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages gave rise to fairly complex sets of customs and norms that, until the Modern times, were the most important principles in settling water use related disputes.

The work wishes to understand how the manipulation of the different rivers, the creation of "socio-natural sites" proceeded, how it impacted various people who lived by and away from the water bodies. In doing so, after an exhaustive overview of the literature on historical water management and conflicts related to water use in Chapter 1, I first address the formation of the various means of exploitation of different water bodies by local economies. Chapter 2 discusses the spread of the most important infrastructural elements to modify riverscapes in the Kingdom of Hungary, water mills. This development has traditionally been associated with the foundation of the Christian state around the year 1000, and

the settling of monastic orders, most importantly the Benedictines, within the kingdom. I argue that their role in introducing water mills may have been taken as too self-evident in research. Nonetheless from around the eleventh and early twelfth century onwards, there seems to have been a small increase in the number of water mills. By the thirteenth century, this increase led to a variety of legal cases that are discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 represents the longest part of the dissertation. It focuses on the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century rural and urban waterscapes of the Kingdom of Hungary, and looks at the different ways dams, weirs, and all kinds of stream construction works that lead to legal controversies as well as what sorts of arrangements were made in order to avoid or resolve these disputes. The archival and edited primary evidence show many of the water problems seemed to have occurred in towns – either free royal, mining or towns of other legal status. This is easy to explain by the fact that the needs of the higher number of people living within a relatively small area had to be fulfilled compared to the situation in the countryside. Urban industries, including grinding grain along with the need to catch and keep fish close to markets, protecting towns with moats, building harbors, navigation, draining wastewater as well as providing the people with drinking water led to a number of resource conflicts in urban environments. The exploitation of urban waters lead to increased environmental pressure on urban environments as has been shown in different urban waterscapes throughout Central Europe. These environments proved to be the most important case study areas in this dissertation.

The first subchapter (Chapter 3.1) examines primarily rural environments. By studying the term, *locus molendini*, an argument is made that from the early fourteenth century onwards, the rights around using water for milling had already acquired a rather well-defined legal norm. In general, the earlier acquired right had a privilege over the later acquired one. I then continue the analysis by studying places where the problem of water rights and access probably comes to light most frequently, that is, in urban space. Here, a relatively large number of people living in a small area aimed to use water resources for more diverse activities than in rural spaces. Urban space therefore provides one of the best "laboratories" for looking at water-related legal disputes. The different subchapters here are dedicated to a variety of urban environments from two aspects; first the water bodies that served (or sometimes impeded) the well-being of these settlements, and second, the function, and legal standing of these settlements. The different water bodies discussed include major waterways, small rivers and streams, including rivers fed by hot springs, and urban moats (Chapter 3.2). This part is followed by a study

of the problem of water access in a special town type found in the Kingdom of Hungary, that is, mining towns (Chapter 3.3). These settlements enjoyed special privileges provided by the kings in order to settle these settlements with miners and to facilitate their development, and last but not least increase royal incomes from gold and silver extraction. Water power is a crucial resource for mining settlements. Therefore, the privileges accorded to these settlements in some cases indicate the forms in which water rights could have been appropriated by different groups. A special kind of water-related conflict that is poorly studied, not only in Hungarian but in foreign scholarship as well, is the problem of rivers as borders is addressed in the following subchapter (Chapter 3.4). This, as is shown in the chapter, was a source of numerous conflicts where environmental changes – whether natural changes in the riverbed or artificial alterations of rivers – leading to lasting fights for riverbeds and the connected floodplains as well as other lands. The manipulations of the waterscapes lead to numerous intended and unintended consequences. The silting up of riverbeds, the lack of water to run water wheels, flooding other people's lands and mills and, the dis-annexation of lands all appear in the legal evidence.

The analyses demonstrated that by the Late Middle Ages complex systems existed for using urban waters in the most efficient way possible. The most important norms were established despite the fact that neither laws nor many of the privilege charters awarded to different urban communities explicitly mention water rights and privileges of using waterways. The problem in urban environments was somewhat different from the case of smaller rivers in the rural areas where most of the registered disputes concerned landlords with interests in the same activities, that being mostly milling or fishing. In many cases the conflicts in urban landscapes focused on the different interests of ferrymen, fishers, millers, etc. The lasting conflicts testify to the difficulty of tackling these conflicts.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the social groups behind the different water control and regulation works. Based on late medieval and sometimes later sixteenth-century sources, I argue that millers as well as pond masters had a complex task to manage water bodies. Their duties extended well beyond the mere task of grinding grain and supervising water-levels. In Chapter 5, apart from drawing some basic conclusions, I point to the modern parallels of water-related disputes discussed in Chapter 3 and the potential relevance of pre-modern case studies in understanding present contests for waterscapes.

The *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, more than any comparable annual, accomplishes the two-fold task of simultaneously publishing important scholarship and informing the wider community of the breadth of intellectual activities of the Department of Medieval Studies. And what a breadth it is: Across the years, to the core focus on medieval Central Europe have been added the entire range from Late Antiquity till the Early Modern Period, the intellectual history of the Eastern Mediterranean, Asian history, and cultural heritage studies. I look forward each summer to receiving my copy.

Patrick J. Geary

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