ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 10 2004

C E U

Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest

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Cover illustration
Stove tile with the sitting figure of Matthias Corvinus fom the excavation of
the Buda royal palace. Late fifteenth century. Budapest History Museum,
Inv. no. 52.1183. (Photo: Bence Tihanyi)

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Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from the CEU Press
http://www.ceupress.com/Order.html

ISSN 1219-0616

Produced by Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House

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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 10 of our *Annual*, which is by its nature always one year behind the events, presents some academic results of our tenth year of existence. The special events of the anniversary are covered briefly in the Report of the Year, and more extensively in Vol. 5.1 (October 2003) of our *Medieval News*. The articles published in the *Annual* reflect more of the "ordinary" work at the Department of Medieval Studies. The first section contains articles based on MA theses or papers presented by our students at major international conferences. The quest and the thematic blocks have arisen partly from our workshops, partly from our intentions to be open to new branches of studies—in this case anthropology—which can enrich our research and teaching through comparisons or contrasting views.

Our regular readers will probably notice that Part II of the yearbook has shrunk in the variety of topics covered. This is due to the more extensive use of both our newsletter and our website for publicizing up-to-date information. Therefore columns on activities and events, field trips, courses of the year, as well as the publications and other activities of the resident faculty can be consulted on these two forums. The space that we gain by omitting these pieces of information can be devoted to a wider range of articles, thus strengthening the *Annual*'s character as an academic journal.

As usual, the editors were helped in the most demanding tasks of copy-editing by a competent and enthusiastic group of PhD students, which this year included Iulia Caproş, Jurgita Kunsmanaitė, Stanislava Kuzmová, David Movrin, and Péter Levente Szőcs. Beside them, we would also like to thank Matthew Suff (PhD student in Philosophy), who has helped in improving the clarity and fluency of several of the contributions, and our constant partners in the department's publishing activity, the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House, for turning the manuscripts into a handsome publication.

PART I
Articles and Studies

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE *UNUS DE TRINITATE* CONTROVERSY

Iuliana Viezure

In 518, a group of monks, whose leader was Maxentius and whose protector in Constantinople was the *magister militum* Vitalianus, came to Constantinople from Scythia Minor, claiming that the phrase *Unus de Trinitate passus est carne* should be added to the decisions taken in Chalcedon in 451 *pro ipsius defensione*. Given its history and its possible heretical echoes, the formula was bound not to attract many supporters to the Scythian cause in Constantinople. The entire situation was rendered still more complicated by the presence in the capital, from the beginning of 519, of a papal delegation sent from Rome in order to discuss the terms of a reconciliation between Rome and Constantinople. The addition proposed by the Scythians was not well received by the papal legates either. As J. A. McGuckin puts it, not only were the legates "unlikely to side against the patriarch in his own capital, but they undoubtedly recognised the incompatibility of the formula with the type of Dyophysitism supported in Rome."[1] Seeing that their chances to have the formula sanctioned in Constantinople were practically non-existent, the monks left for Rome (in June, 519) and submitted their initiative to the consideration of Pope Hormisdas. A sudden change in the Constantinopolitan attitude towards the *Unus de Trinitate* formula occurred at the end of 519; a long process of legitimation followed, which was to culminate in the official acceptance of the formula in the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553). The monks returned to Constantinople in 520, presumably continuing their actions. The Scythians sent a second delegation to Rome, sometime before 523. Not much is known regarding the historical context of this second visit to Rome; it appears that, on this occasion, the monks tried, without much success, to gain recognition for their cause from the African bishops (among them Fulgentius of Ruspe) exiled in Sardinia by the Vandal King Thrasamund.

This study is intended as a small initial contribution—consisting essentially of some historical clarifications—towards a more substantial investigation of the controversy. Rather generously dealt with in early twentieth-century scholarship, the question of *why* the Scythian monks considered it necessary to bring in and vigorously defend a (historically rather than Christologically) controversial

[1] John A. McGuckin, "The 'Theopaschite Confession' (Text and Historical Context): a Study in the Cyrilline Re-interpretation of Chalcedon," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984): 239–255, here 244. For designating the Roman interpretation of Chalcedon, McGuckin uses the term "Leonine Dyophysite" (see *ibid.*, 240–241).

formula has hardly ever been dealt with from the perspective of a primary source-based insertion of the monks in the Christological, and, more generally, ecclesiastical context of Scythia Minor. Although, as will be seen, the sources contain explicit references to the Scythian controversy as having originated in a regional context, namely in a conflict of the monks with some of the bishops from their region, those references have been by and large dismissed by modern scholars as insignificant or unreliable. Such an enterprise has never been justified with compelling arguments.

É. Amann places his explanation of how the controversy originated in the realm of the mysterious, stating that "nous ne savons ni quand, ni comment ils [the Scythian monks] rentrèrent dans leur pays. Ils disparaissent *aussi mystérieusement qu'ils étaient apparus*."[2] When contextualised with more scholarly precision, the origin of the controversy is unconvincingly inserted in the Constantinopolitan context. Thus, É. Amann remarks that Maxentius, probably the leader of the monks, was reacting to a resurgence of Nestorianism in Constantinople.[3] Going in the same direction, Marcel Richard states that the citations from the Greek fathers included by Maxentius (in their Latin translation!) in the *Libellus fidei*, the first (or, at least, presently known as the first) text he produced, were provided to him by his connections in Constantinople.[4] A more elaborated explanation is formulated by Aloys Grillmeier, who identifies the existence of a Constantinopolitan tradition initiated by St. Proclus and claims that the Scythian controversy should be seen as a development of this tradition. Grillmeier believed that the intention of the monks was to find a *via media* between the one-nature and the two-nature variants of Christology. This opinion is to a certain extent shared by J. A. McGuckin, who, ascribing to the Scythians a sound Cyrilline descent, asserts that:

> they hoped to effect a reconciling position between the orthodox (Cyrilline) easterners and the Monophysites, while at the same time achieving a reconciliation with the Roman see under Hormisdas (514–523) with its more markedly Dyophysite conception of Chalcedonian orthodoxy.[5]

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[2] É. Amann, "Les moines Scythes," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 14, 2, ed. É. Amann (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1941), 1746–1753, here 1750, emphasis mine.

[3] É. Amann, "Les moines Scythes," 1750.

[4] Marcel Richard, "Les florilèges diphysites du Ve et du VIe siècle," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart* I, ed. Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1962), 721–748, here 737.

[5] McGuckin, "The 'Theopaschite Confession' (Text and Historical Context): a Study in the Cyrilline Re-interpretation of Chalcedon," 243.

Granting the sources an initial presumption of innocence, the following analysis is an attempt to examine whether the disparate pieces of information contained in various primary sources can be put together in such a way as to form a justification for placing the origins of the *Unus de Trinitate* controversy in the otherwise peripheral historical and theological context of Scythia Minor.

The Scythian Ecclesiastical Context before the *Unus de Trinitate* Controversy

The first historical attestation of an *episcopus Tomitanae urbis* is dated to 368 or 369. A story retold by Sozomenus mentions Bretanion, bishop of Tomi, who apparently resisted Emperor Valens' attempts to impose the Arian confession in Scythia.[6] Sozomenus further mentions a speech Bretanion addressed to the emperor and to his community, in which he defended the Council of Nicea and the decisions taken on that occasion by the Fathers.[7] Bretanion seems to have died before 381, since Scythia Minor was represented at the Council of Constantinople by a certain Gerontius or Terentius.[8] The activity of the latter came to an end before 392; beginning with this year, the sources place the Bishopric of Tomi under the authority of Theotimus I. As Socrates reports, Theotimus I was actively engaged in 403 in defending St. John Chrysostom against accusations of Origenism.[9]

So far, one may infer that the Tomitan bishops attested until the beginning of the fifth century were well aware of the main theological developments of the time, and that, actively involved in the major disputes of their period, they appear to have made their views manifest in a self-reliant manner. Moreover, one can hypothesise with a reasonable degree of probability that there was an

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[6] For the narration of this event, see Sozomenus, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, VI, 21, 4–7, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 50, ed. Joseph Bidez and Günther Christian Hansen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), 263–264.

[7] Bretanion and his orthodoxy are also mentioned by Theodoret, Theodoret of Cyrrhus,Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, IV, 35, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 44, ed. Léon Parmentier and Felix Scheidweiler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954), 273.

[8] See Niculae Şerbănescu, "1600 de ani de la prima mărturie documentară despre existenţa Episcopiei Tomisului" (One thousand six hundred years from the first documentary attestation of the Bishopric of Tomi), *Biserica Ortodoxa Română* 87 (1969): 965–1026, here 1008.

[9] See Socrates, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, VI, 12, ed. W. Bright (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893).

early and thoroughgoing implementation of the Council of Nicaea in Scythia Minor.

The involvement of the Scythian bishops in the fifth-century Christological controversies, and their respective positions—in whichever cases this can be assessed at all—though not providing sufficient elements for the historian to put forth a coherent reconstruction of a presumed Scythian Christological tradition, can still be legitimately pieced together in a hypothetical reconstruction of what could have been the general Christological line of the bishopric of Tomi in the fifth century.

In the Council of Ephesus, convened in 431 to judge the Christological ideas held by Nestorius, Scythia Minor was represented by Bishop Timotheus of Tomi. At an early stage, Timotheus sided with the dissident bishops who drew up the *contestatio directa* in reaction to Cyril of Alexandria's opening the proceedings of the council without waiting for Patriarch John of Antioch and the Syrian bishops, Nestorius' main defenders.[10] However, he eventually signed the *acta* of the council, which stipulated the condemnation of Nestorius for heresy. There is not much evidence on which one could argue that Timotheus' hesitation was more than purely circumstantial. Yet there is a non-negligible possibility that all this may have been symptomatic of a contemporary oscillation between the one-nature and the two-natures Christological positions within the province of Scythia Minor. If this was indeed the case, Timotheus' official acknowledgement of Ephesus must have brought about both enthusiastic approval and contestation within the Scythian ecclesiastical circles.

Concerning the Scythian participation in the Council of Chalcedon, the name of Bishop Alexander of Tomi[11] appears only in the *acta* of the third session. Though Charles Auner, among others, saw this situation as unexplainable,[12] I consider that a sound *argumentum ex silentio* could be made here. The third session was the one during which several passages in Pope Leo's *Tome*, when compared to Cyril's teachings, were found problematic.[13] At the end of the session, the bishops were granted five days to verify whether the *Tome*

[10] See Jacques Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1918), 353–357.

[11] He was also the one who represented Scythia Minor at the Council of Constantinople in 448; there is no evidence for Scythian participation in the "latrocinium Ephesinum," in 449.

[12] See Charles Auner, "Dobrogea," in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, ed. Dom Fernand Cabrol and Dom Henri Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1920), 1231–1260.

[13] For further information, see Patrick Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 9–10.

agreed with what were considered to be Cyril's canonical writings, and, subsequently, whether it was to be declared authoritative. The absence of Bishop Alexander's name from the *acta* of the following sessions might appear as a refusal to sanction the orthodoxy of the Tome. The logical consequence of this argument would be the existence of a strongly Cyrilline Christology in Scythia, one that did not allow Alexander to situate the kind of dyophysitism supported in Rome within Cyrilline lines. Although a straightforward connection with the previously discussed Scythian developments can be neither established nor rejected with compelling arguments, still one has to note that from the sources examined hitherto a clear pattern of strong support in Scythia Minor for Cyrilline Christology seems to emerge.

In an effort to put an end to the numerous conflicts stirred throughout the Empire by the Chalcedonian formula of faith, Emperor Leo I sent a *Codex Encyclicus* in October 457 to consult the bishops from the different regions of the empire in the following matters: whether the decisions taken in Chalcedon were to be maintained and whether the uncanonically ordained Patriarch of Alexandria—Timotheus Aelurus—was to be granted official recognition. The response letters, whether reflecting the bishops' personal views or their desire to comply with the imperial policy, almost unanimously express consent to the Council of 451. However, a more detailed examination of the texts shows that they almost unanimously saw Chalcedon as a mere "disciplinary synod;" it was to be sanctioned as being in conformity with Nicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. The letter of Bishop Theotimus II of Tomi, as reproduced in Schwartz's *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 5 or in Mansi's *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* VII, appears to follow this paradigm:

> *Et quoniam sacratissimis vestris syllabis admonuistis ut quae sapimus de sancto Calchedonensi concilio nostris litteris referamus ad vestrae notitiam pietatis, cognoscat vestra serenitas quoniam nihil amplius, nihil minus quam quae in 'Chalcedonensi sicut in Nicaeno et in centum quinquaginta et in' Epheseno concilio a sanctis patribus integre atque perfecte definita sunt, credimus aut consentimus; neque enim aliud nos ultra sapere quam ea quae tantorum patrum termino sanctus spiritus erudivit.*[14]

[14] *Epistola Theotimi Scythiae episcopi*, in Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II, 5, ed. Eduard Schwartz (Berlin/Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1936), 31. Mansi does not even mark the conjecture for "Chalcedonensi sicut in Nicaeno et in centum quinquaginta et in" (see *Epistola Theotimi ad Leonem imperatorem*, in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* VII, ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi (Florence: A. Zatta, 1762), 607).

Judging by the reconstruction proposed in the aforementioned text editions,[15] the text of the manuscript probably reads *cognoscat vestra serenitas quoniam nihil amplius, nihil minus quam quae in *** Epheseno concilio a sanctis patribus*, etc. A comparative textual analysis of the extant response letters shows that only a few letters incorporate the full paradigm of the "disciplinary synod"—that is, references to all three councils before Chalcedon—and that, when this happens, the discourse is organised around the following logical pattern: "we accept Nicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus; Chalcedon is in accord with those three councils; therefore we accept Chalcedon." Theotimus' text, as reconstructed by the modern editors, conveys a different message: "we only believe in and agree with what was established, justly and perfectly, by the blessed fathers in the Council of [Chalcedon, in the same way as in the Council of Nicea and in the Council of Constantinople and in that of] Ephesus—*nothing more, nothing less*." Given that none of the other response letters contains a so straightforwardly pro-Chalcedonian attitude, and that none of the other bishops expresses his agreement to Chalcedon through this particular pattern of logical organisation, the conjecture appears to be suspicious. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, rhetorically speaking, the aforementioned conjecture does not fit well in Theotimus' text, since it introduces a disturbing repetition. The only fact which is clear and beyond speculation, literally extant in the text, is that Theotimus respected the decisions taken at Ephesus. Two additional observations can be made here. First, bearing in mind that the mere presence of Ephesus in the response letters is not axiomatic, it is more pertinent to interpret it as an important signifier rather than a simple, conventional text detail. Second, if the conjecture is rejected, the *nihil amplius, nihil minus* ought to be seen as highly momentous, making explicit a strongly Cyrilline Christological orientation of the Bishopric of Tomi, one that would not be in disagreement with the scenario previously put forth in this study as a putative reconstruction of the Scythian participation in the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

While the previously analysed evidence cannot provide irrefutable arguments for the historian to posit an unquestionable Scythian background of the *Unus de Trinitate* controversy in terms of Christological doctrine, it at least demonstrates that the strongly Cyrilline ideas underlying the position of the Scythian monks are historically not at all unlikely to have originated in this context. Before putting forth any reconstruction of the contemporary historical and doctrinal context which determined the monks' insistence on the *Unus de Trinitate passus est carne* formula, one ought to analyse carefully the sources related

[15] Unfortunately, for the time being, I have not been able to examine the manuscript tradition of the text.

to the early phase of the controversy. It is those sources which ought to be the least modified by the unavoidable (once the initial—presumably regional—conflict developed into a large-scale controversy) reactions to the ever-mounting number of accusations formulated against the monks and against their Christological "innovation."

The Origins of the Scythian Controversy: a Reconstruction

According to the papal legate Dioscorus' letters to Pope Hormisdas, the monks came to Constantinople because of a conflict which had occurred between them and some of the bishops from their region, whom they were accusing of heresy.[16] Among those was Paternus, the Bishop of Tomi. The monks' solution to the conflict posed, as previously seen, the use of the controversial "Theopaschite" formula as a *sine qua non* for protecting the Chalcedonian orthodoxy against heresy.

For the period of time discussed in the first part of this study (from the fourth century to the 460s), Tomi appears to have been the only bishopric in the whole province of Scythia Minor. Dioscorus' reference to more than one bishop within the province was interpreted as a misunderstanding, derived from his alleged lack of knowledge concerning the Scythian ecclesiastical organisation.[17] Yet there is evidence to assume that a change occurred in the ecclesiastical organisation of Scythia towards the end of the fifth century, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the sixth century, when several other bishoprics were instituted in the province.[18] The original concentration of normative authority within the

[16] "isti [monachi] de sua provincia episcopos accusant, inter quos est Paternus Tomitanae civitatis antistes." *Collectio Avellana* 217, 6, in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 25, 1–2, ed. Otto Guenther (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1895, 1898), 678.

[17] See, for example, Zeiller's remark in *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain*, 383–384, footnote 9: "Ils disent 'des évêques *de sua provincia*' et citent Paternus de Tomi, comme s'il avait eu dans la province de Scythie d'autres sièges épiscopaux que Tomi. Mais les légats romains ne devaient pas être très au courant du détail de l'organisation ecclésiastique en Orient, et ils ont pu confondre deux ou trois circonscriptions voisines."

[18] A law issued by Emperor Zeno in 480 makes it clear that, by that period, Tomi was the only bishopric in Scythia Minor. A sixth century inscription from Callatis reads: "hic facta est oratio episcoporum Stefani … " (the rest of the text is missing); Bishop Paternus' title appears in the list of signatures of the letter which the participants in the Synod of Constantinople (520) sent to Pope Hormisdas, announcing the ordination of Patriarch Epiphanius, as "misericordia Dei episcopus provinciae Scythiae metropolitanus" (see *Collectio Avellana* 234, 714); a seventh-century text, *Notitia episcopatuum*, considered to

Bishopric of Tomi underwent a structural change. The distribution of ecclesiastical authority between different episcopal sees in Scythia Minor was likely to have become a source for plurality in the sphere of theological discourse, especially in the period that immediately followed this change, which, apparently, coincided with the outburst of the Scythian controversy.

To round out the picture, one ought to mention the existence of monastic life in Scythia from as early as the fourth century. From this perspective, the main actors of the Scythian controversy should not be presented as if a *Deus ex machina* brought them from nowhere to Constantinople in 519, where, purely out of a litigious spirit, they provoked a scandal with ill-fated consequences for Christological thought. One can reasonably argue that the early establishment of monastic life in Scythia could not have remained without modifying the theological thought of the province. If, until 519, the sources do not attest any dissension between the monastic circles and the official ecclesiastical authorities, this could signify that there was a consensus between the two, one which was probably effected by the existence of a common theological discourse. The question is, therefore, what occurred to disrupt this consensus and provoke a sense of grievance in previously quiescent monastic communities.

Given all the previously analysed material, and the conclusions I reached in the previous section of this study, it would be preposterous to dismiss Dioscorus' statement from the start as based on a misunderstanding or as due to insufficient acquaintance with the Scythian ecclesiastical organisation. *Isti* [*monachi*] *de sua provincia episcopos accusant, inter quos est Paternus Tomitanae civitatis antistes*: as already stated, I consider that an examination of the sources related to the early phase of the controversy is likely to bring to light a number of elements which would contribute to a hypothetical reconstruction of the context in which the controversy originated—more precisely to a deeper understanding of the two parties of the initial conflict and of the Christological matters which must have constituted the background for this conflict. For the purpose of this study, I have chosen to look at two of Dionysius Exiguus' *Praefationes* (introductions to his translations)—*Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium* and *Praefatio ad Petrum*. The addressees are Scythian characters (two monks and a bishop, respectively) and the content makes, as will be seen, various references to what I have called the "initial conflict." I will also compare the way Dionysius identifies this conflict with the identification made by Maxentius in the *Libellus*, the first

be a copy of the *Notitia* of Patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople (520–535) mentions the existence of 15 bishoprics in Scythia Minor, having Tomi as a metropolitan see. For deeper insights into this subject, see Emilian Popescu, "Organizarea eclesiastică a provinciei Scythia Minor în secolele IV–VI" (The ecclesiastical organisation of Scythia Minor from the fourth to the sixth century), *Studii Teologice* 7–10 (1980): 590–605.

text written by the Scythians in the context of the *Unus de Trinitate* controversy, in order to see whether the images shaped by the two authors are convergent.

The two *praefationes* leave no doubt as to the identification of the Christological discourse which provoked tension in Scythia Minor: it is designated as *Nestoriana labes* and *Nestoriana perfidia*. What is even more interesting, Dionysius provides details on how the heretical teachings—although officially condemned by an imperial decree of Theodosius II in 435—were still circulated in Scythia Minor. In the *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, Dionysius mentions *audaciam aut furorem Nestorianae perfidiae, quae non solum* conatibus manifestis *verum etiam* clandestinis *semper* insidiis *stabilitatem catholicae veritatis oppugnare molitur*.[19] The same idea is even more strongly and clearly expressed in the *Praefatio ad Petrum*; there, Dionysius states that he translated St. Cyril's *Synodal Letter to Nestorius*

> *ut Nestoriana labes evidenter agnoscatur ab hominibus et pro sua malignitate merito respuatur, quae, sub praetextu fidei, perfidiam insinuare non desinit, etc.*[20]

In other words, Dionysius points to the existence of a milieu within the Christian community from Scythia Minor in which the acceptance of Chalcedon was only formal, and that this acceptance was actually a cover. This information is strikingly convergent with the designation of the heretics in Maxentius' *Libellus fidei*. Maxentius claims that the *Unus de Trinitate* formula is a necessary addition for an efficient fight against "the recent arguments of [this] depravity" (*novis pravorum argumentationibus*). And again, a suspect interpretation of Chalcedon is explicitly formulated:

> *… qui errorem propriae impietatis quasi ex autoritate synodi confirmare nituntur, et verba simpliciter atque integre a sanctis patribus edita ad suam pravitatem conantur retorquere ….*[21]

Regarding the characterisation of the Christological background of the seditious monks, a first remark could be that this background is somehow implicit in the choice of translations which Dionysius puts at their disposal, as the internal evidence of the *praefationes* shows, in the early phase or already in the pre-history of the controversy: the translation of St. Cyril's *Synodal Letter to*

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[19] Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium in Cyrilli Alexandrini Epistulam secundam*, 3, in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, ed. S. Gennaro and Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1972), 55–56, here 56, emphasis mine.

[20] Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Petrum episcopum in Epistulam encyclicam Cyrilli Alexandrini*. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, 59–60, here 59, emphasis mine.

[21] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, III, 4, in Corpus Christianorum 85A, ed. Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 3–25, here 7.

Nestorius and of the anathematisms, and the translation of the two *Letters to Succensus*. As for the indications included in the *Libellus fidei*, the different patristic fragments quoted there reflect the familiarity of the monks with at least those parts of the patristic literature which justified, in their opinion, the doctrinal necessity of the *Unus de Trinitate* formula. In addition to this, it is interesting to note that the *Libellus*, as a whole, receives a particularly emphatic legitimation, which ought to be seen as relevant for the identification of the monks' theological background: legitimation which brings in the officially accepted authorities. Maxentius claims—against the opinion of those who *augmentum aliquod nos in fide facere iudicant aut certe contra statuta venire concilii*[22]—that their enterprise is not meant to make any addition of meaning to the perfect faith, but is rather intended to explain it. Further on, he writes that he is aware that an addition of words[23] can constitute either an explanation or a corruption of the faith. The former is perfectly acceptable, Maxentius argues, given St. Cyril's example, who

> *ad destruendam Nestorii impiam interpretationem sancti symboli, in concilio Epheseno tam multa[s] sanctorum patrum sententias proferens, nullum reprehensionis dignum fecis[se] augmentum creditur*.[24]

What comes immediately after is more debatable: Maxentius notes that it is legitimate to use the authority of the fathers *pro ipsius defensione* (that is, for the defence of Chalcedon), since Pope St. Leo himself had done that.[25] At least three hypotheses could be formulated here. The first, which cannot be supported with any kind of information coming from the sources, would be that Maxentius considered Pope St. Leo a chief authority in his own right for the Christological doctrine. Secondly, one can assume that the reason why Pope St. Leo is present in the text might be connected with the simple fact that the *Libellus* was meant to be read and accepted by a Latin audience (first, by the papal legates in Constantinople and, some months later, by Pope Hormisdas himself), in which case the actual acceptance of Leo as an authority by the monks cannot be assessed. Finally, the third hypothesis could be founded on one particular (and well-known) detail included in the *acta* of the Council of Chalcedon, which clarifies the way in which Pope St. Leo's writings were recognised and accepted as orthodox, and, therefore, authoritative. Asked to

[22] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, I, 1, 5.

[23] Maxentius distinguishes between *intellegentia fidei* and *verba fidei*: from the perspective of this distinction, he states that an *augmentum fidei* is impossible, whereas an *adiectio verborum* can be justified. See *Libellus fidei*, II, 2, 6.

[24] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, II, 3, 6.

[25] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, II, 3, 6–7.

formulate their opinion on Leo's Christology, the bishops answered that Leo's letter should be accepted because "Leo spoke like Cyril."[26] This last hypothesis would imply that Maxentius' recognition of Leo's authority actually reinforces the reverence paid to Cyril.

The *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium* contains, in the first half, an interesting reference to possible political factors which might have engendered contention in Scythia Minor. The fragment in question[27] identifies the opponents of the monks as being those who, in a *flexa fides* and *erga divinum cultum foeda mobilitas*, had changed their beliefs and teachings *pro voluptatibus principum* because they put preoccupation with the present above divine things.[28] The reference is obscure. I believe that the *principes* refers to the secular authorities. And if one corroborates this with the fact that the *metropolitanus* himself, Paternus, was among those accused by the monks, it may mean that the party considered as heretical by the monks was indeed a strong one, counting among its supporters the Scythian authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical. In the same *praefatio*, Dionysius writes that, contrary to those who had "adapted" their faith to the will of the rulers, the monks were struggling *pro integritate fidei*, on the path of their lawful ancestors.[29]

It thus appears that the monastic circles reacted, probably in order to preserve the status quo, against the mounting—apparently unprecedented—popularity of a dyophysite community in their region, a community which, on the doctrinal level, claimed its legitimacy from the Council of Chalcedon. The monks, educated in a Cyrilline spirit—not surprisingly, bearing in mind the Christological developments which took place in the fifth century in Scythia Minor—saw this as unacceptable, and it is in this light that their presence in 518 in Constantinople should be envisaged.

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[26] See *Actes du Concile de Chalcédoine. Sessions III–VI (La Définition de la Foi)*, in *Cahiers d'Orientalisme* IV, ed. André-Jean Festugière (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1983), 60 (fifth session, 15–20).

[27] Dionysius, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, 2, 55, "Horum studia vestra sanctitas aemulata pro integritate fidei summis viribus elaborat, inertiam quorundarum varietatemque despiciens, qui utilitatem praesentium rebus caelestis anteponunt—quorum nos flexa fides et erga divinum cultum foeda mobilitas valde maestificat—, qui pro voluptatibus principum suas sententias plerumque commutant—quasi divina religio humanis umquam possit altercationibus immutari, cum dominicae promissionis ex apostolica traditione fixa maneat et inconcussa soliditas."

[28] See Dionysius, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, 2, 55.

[29] See Dionysius, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, 2, 55.

THE OLDEST FOUNDATION MYTH OF RAGUSA: THE EPIDAURIAN TRADITION[1]

Lovro Kunčević

Epidaurum id est Ragusium

As M. Bloch put it, there has always been something idolatrous, even "demonic," in the relationship of historiography—both ancient and modern—with beginnings. This "demonic" in beginnings, or better, in origins, whether of a people, a kingdom or a city, refers not only to an epistemological overestimation, ascribing to the origin the power to completely explain the subsequent history of a thing. It refers much more to the ever-present political relevance of the image of the origin, an image of the ancient past which figures as prescriptive, as an authority for the present.[2]

Such an image of the origin and its political implications is what this study seeks to address: the oldest and the most influential origin-, or better, foundation-myth of medieval Ragusa. Interestingly, this myth seems to be present as early as the very first historical mention of the city, in an enigmatic note of a seventh- or eighth-century anonymous cosmographer from Ravenna, which states: *Epidaurum id est Ragusium.*[3] Epidaurum was a significant late Classical urban center and bishopric located some fifteen kilometers south of today's Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Like so many other Dalmatian cities, it simply disappears from the written sources at the end of the sixth century—modern scholarship suggests that it was destroyed by Slavs sometime in the seventh century—only to re-emerge, after perhaps a hundred years, in this ambiguous sentence.

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[1] This is a revised first chapter of my MA thesis "The Foundation Myths of Medieval Ragusa" defended in June 2003 at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU. The rest of the thesis deals with the subsequent history of the Ragusan foundation myth in an attempt to reveal the different ways in which the Ragusan foundation was represented in medieval chronicles, addressing the questions of, first, how those accounts were narrated and altered, second, by whom, and, finally, why. Here I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor János M. Bak.

[2] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 25. For this reference, which expressed my thoughts exactly, I wish to thank Patrick Geary.

[3] Quoted from Ferdo Šišić, "O Hrvatskoj Kraljici Margareti" (About the Croatian Queen Margareta), *Dubrovnik* 1 (1930): 5.

What is to be understood under this cryptic *id est*? How does it signify the relationship between the two cities, the old, Classical (Epidaurum) and the new, medieval (Ragusium)? It could simply imply the spatial proximity of these two settlements.[4] On the other hand, more intriguingly, this *id est* could be understood literally; that somehow Epidaurum truly is Ragusium. In other words, this laconic equation might signify a certain claim to continuity or even an identification of the two cities, the new and the old, and thus the beginning of an immensely powerful tradition, the so-called "Epidaurian" tradition of Ragusa.

This tradition is of primary concern here. The main goal of this work is to investigate the ways in which the elites of early medieval Ragusa sought to establish this continuity or even identification. Its goal is to answer a seemingly strange question: how was Ragusa Epidaurum? What was the logic of such a descent? Accordingly, what should have been appropriated in order to appropriate its identity? Finally, why was such a claim important, even necessary?

Chronologically, the first of many answers to those questions is given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *De Administrando Imperio*, a source which needs no special introduction. In the middle of the tenth century the Byzantine emperor wrote:

> The city of Ragusa is not called Ragusa in the tongue of Romans but, because it stands on the cliffs, it is called in Roman speech 'the cliff, lau'; whence they are called 'Lausaioi,' i.e. those who have their seat on the cliff.' But vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, has changed the denomination and called them Rausaioi. These same Rausaioi used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached its present size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory,

[4] Analogous to other formulas of "x *id est* y" in the cosmographer's text, it can be inferred that he merely implied the spatial proximity of the two towns. Slobodan Čače, "'Kozmografija' Anonima Ravenjanina i počeci Dubrovnika" (The cosmography of Anonymous from Ravenna and the beginnings of Dubrovnik), *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997): 91–92.

> Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona [sic] to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.[5]

The emperor's account is quite complex and full of confusing information.[6] However, the endless historical and philological debates concerning this paragraph are not of prime importance here. What is important is that Porphyrogenitus explicates what, it seems, the cosmographer of Ravenna implied: there is a fundamental connection between the two cities. It lies in the fact that medieval Ragusa was founded by the refugees from the neighboring Classical city of Epidaurum ("Pitaura"), which was destroyed by the Slavs. This myth constructs the most rudimentary of all the continuities, literally a genealogical one, that of blood itself, which connects the mother-city and its "offspring."

Judging by his detailed descriptions of Dalmatian cities, it is plausible to assume that the emperor had informants from the region itself. Consequently—especially since it was soon to appear in Ragusan sources—it may be that the story about the Epidaurian foundation is what the tenth-century Ragusans themselves claimed about the beginnings of their city.

This "Epidaurian motif," for the first time clearly exposed in the emperor's text, was to be repeated endlessly in Ragusa as the "official" version of the city's

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[5] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. J. H. Jenkins (Dumbarton Oaks: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), 135.

[6] Only some of many debated points are: the emperor's etymology of the city's name; the unexplained mentioning of a certain group of Salonians, even the names of those who migrated to Ragusa; the confusing dating of their migration which, according to *DAI*, happened five hundred years ago, e.g. in 449, and therefore before the Slavs could have destroyed Epidaurum and, consequently, before Ragusa could have been founded at all (?!). For a classical interpretation of the Porphyrogenitus text, see Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od VII stoljeća do godine 1205* (History of Dubrovnik from the seventh century until the year 1205) (Dubrovnik: Anali Historijskog odjela Centra za znanstveni rad Jugoslavenske akademije u Dubrovniku, 1976), 10–19 (henceforth: Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika*). For a concise summary of the dominant interpretation at the moment, see Radoslav Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa" (Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo. Tracing the oldest written monuments of Ragusa), in *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka. Filološke studije o našem najranijem srednjovjekovlju* (Split: Književni krug, 1993), 131–134; for an original, but not widely accepted, analysis, see Vladimir Košćak, "Od Epidaura do Dubrovnika" (From Epidaurum to Dubrovnik), *Dubrovnik.Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997): 13–16.

beginnings, as the myth of the state until the fall of the Republic in 1808. Literally every medieval or Renaissance historical text reproduced it in one version or another; it was certainly the greatest myth of old Ragusa. The wide acceptance of an Epidaurian origin in the Middle Ages had deep reasons; the appropriation of Epidaurum's identity brought immense "symbolic capital." In the first place the prestige of the old metropolis, of ancientness and a "noble" Classical origin. Furthermore, the double institutional heritage of a bishopric and a Roman *colonia* was significant. The first was a *condicio sine qua non* of any serious urban development in medieval Dalmatia and the second legitimized the factual independence early medieval Ragusa enjoyed under a distant Byzantine sovereign. Importantly, this double institutional legacy was automatically accompanied by the territory of its jurisdiction—the territory of ancient Epidaurum, which in both its diocese and its civil autonomy encompassed a significantly larger area than that under the control of early medieval Ragusa, which was composed of only the immediate surroundings of the city. Thus, in both Ragusan secular and ecclesiastical diplomacy during the Middle Ages, the motif emerged of reestablishing justice and returning what is due, of giving back the territories and jurisdictions unjustly taken from the heirs of old Epidaurum.[7]

A Questioned Heritage?

Besides the account of Porphyrogenitus, another account of Epidaurian heritage might reveal the principal ideological claim behind the story in the tenth century. Such a claim can be inferred from a close reading of the acts of the ecclesiastical synods which took place in Split in 925 and 928. These synods, whose main purpose was to recreate a unified ecclesiastical organization for Dalmatia, took as their main principle the restoration of the old, Classical situation extant before the barbarian invasions.[8] Historical argumentation was crucial. Therefore,

[7] The ecclesiastical aspect of the exploitation of the Epidaurian heritage will be elaborated shortly in the text. Therefore, concerning only the secular territorial aspirations, see, Zdenka Janeković, "Stjecanje Konavala: Antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije" (The acquisition of Konavle: Classical myth and tradition in the service of diplomacy), in *Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa "Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti" održanog u Cavtatu od 25. do 27. studenog 1996. godine. Svezak 1*, (Konavle in the past, present and future) ed. Vladimir Stipetić (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1998), 31–44.

[8] Želimir Puljić, "Uspostava dubrovačke metropolije" (The establishment of the Ragusan Metropoly), in *Tisuću godina dubrovačke (nad)biskupije. Zbornik radova u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije/metropoije (998.–1998.)* (A thousand years of

all the officials of Dalmatian churches went to the synod armed with Classical identities and claims of continuity. So probably did the Ragusan bishop. But this time, Ragusans were not believed to have a Classical heritage, or at least not completely. In the synodal acts, the Ragusan bishopric was entitled only *Ragusitana*, not *Epidauritana* as it was later continuously. There is absolutely no mention of the ancient city. One might conclude that the Epidaurian tradition did not yet exist at that time, or that it was not used in the argumentation, were it not for the curious eighth article of the first synod. This states: "As for the Ragusan and Kotoran bishops, of which obviously *one seat* is discerned, they should justly divide that same diocese between themselves…"[9] This seat can only be that of ancient Epidaurum—quite inconveniently providing legal grounds for not one but two bishoprics.[10]

It seems that at this point there were two candidates for the Epidaurian heritage, both Ragusa and the nearby city of Kotor, neither of which could—in front of the relatively well-informed Dalmatian bishops and papal legates—claim it completely.[11] Ragusan continuity with Epidaurum in the first half of the tenth century seems to have been far from unquestionable.[12] The city was to triumph, eventually; however, the contested heritage was acquired largely by luck and not due to Ragusa's own strength. A set of favorable political

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Dubrovnik's (arch)bishopric. A collection of works celebrating the thousand year anniversary of the Founding of the (arch)bishopric/metropoly of Dubrovnik [998–1998]), ed. Želimir Puljić and Nedeljko A. Ančić (Dubrovnik–Split: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik–Crkva u svijetu Split, 2001) (henceforth: Puljić and Ančić, *Tisuću godina*), 18 (henceforth: Želimir Puljić, "Uspostava dubrovačke metropolije"). The whole very complex context of those synods is far beyond our concern here. What is important are references to Dubrovnik. For a general reference, see Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u Srednjem vijeku* (History of Croats in the Middle Ages) (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 78–85; a more conservative account is given in Ferdo Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u Doba Narodnih Vladara* (History of Croats in the age of National rulers) (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1990), 414–421.

[9] "VIII. De episcopis Ragusitano et Catharitano, quorum mani(f)este una sedis dignoscitur, ipsam diocesim equa lance inter se dividant…" quoted in Puljić, "Uspostava dubrovačke metropolije," 16.

[10] Puljić, "Uspostava dubrovačke metropolije," 18.

[11] A series of traces seem to exist of Kotor claiming continuity with Epidaurum. For the whole complex argumentation, see Milorad Medini, *Starine dubrovačke* (Dubrovnik's antiquities) (Dubrovnik: author's publication, 1935), 191–194.

[12] Sources do not provide an answer as to how this continuity was argued for at the synod. Only from the example of the later Ragusan chronicles can it be suggested that perhaps the crucial element was the insistence that the Epidaurian bishop migrated into one of the newly founded cities, thereby providing its church with a rich inheritance.

conditions around the end of the tenth century enabled it to definitively monopolize the Epidaurian past. It was probably the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel, organizing his newly acquired southern Adriatic possessions, whose mediation was crucial for Ragusa to gain no less than the rank of archbishopric, legally grounded in the Epidaurian tradition.[13] The papal bull of Benedict VIII in 1022, addressing *Vitali, archiepiscopo sancte Pitabritane sedis*, signifies that the discussion had come to an end.[14] This letter is the first proof of the papacy and the Roman Church *explicite* accepting an exclusive equation of the Ragusan Church with that of Epidaurum. After that, the city's Epidaurian roots were never to be challenged again. Double continuity with the old city, that of population and of the most important institution—the Church—was ensured for the new city.

An Odd Oblivion

Once monopolized, the story of the foundation by the Epidaurians turned into a true *topos* of Ragusan literary and political tradition. Moreover, this story did not die with the Republic. Afterwards, its popularity did not decrease, only its function changed. From the official myth of the state, it became the basis of the almost consensually accepted, extremely influential, scholarly account of the founding of Ragusa that has dominated Croatian historiography until the present day.[15]

Yet there is one thing which the emperor and after him other medieval chroniclers of Ragusa failed to mention, and due to their silence, a fact of which even modern scholarship was ignorant until very recently. It is the undeniable truth that there was already a city, and, it seems, not an insignificant one, on the site of Ragusa. A city with strong Classical fortifications, a large basilica-shaped church and a continuity of settlement probably reaching as far back as Illyrian

[13] On the complex and widely debated question of the origin of Ragusan archbishopric, see the whole book edited by Puljić and Ančić, *Tisuću godina.*

[14] Jovan Radonić, ed., *Dubrovačka akta i povelje* (Ragusan decrees and charters), Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost Srpskog naroda, treće odeljenje, knjiga 2 (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1934), 3–5.

[15] When discussing the foundation of Ragusa most modern histories basically follow the story of Porphyrogenitus, narrating the destruction of Epidaurum and the founding of Dubrovnik by the refugees. See Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808. Knjiga Prva* (History of Dubrovnik until 1808. Book One) (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1980), 17; Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika*, 10–19. For an overview of the recent positions on this problem, see the whole thematic issue of the magazine *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997).

times. Even more inconveniently, it was a city with the name of Ragusa/ Ragusium, a name which the medieval settlement inherited. And names, naturally, have a great deal to do with identities. In other words, what the emperor and subsequent accounts all failed to mention was the simple fact that *Epidaurians had not founded Dubrovnik*. They had merely immigrated into another significant Late Classical urban center, which rose to be a powerful competitor of Epidaurum in the last centuries of antiquity:[16] a city with its own history and soil—and traditions to be inherited.

Linguists have already pointed out the dubiousness of Porphyrogenitus' etymology and warned that the name Ragusa/Ragusium might be of Illyrian origin. This brought into question the clear and simple concept of the seventh-century city-founding inherited from *De Administrando Imperio*, but it was archaeology that definitely challenged the modern picture of Ragusa's beginnings. Fragments of Roman and Early Christian monuments were found in Dubrovnik repeatedly from the nineteenth century on. The first major finds were the remains of a strong (Hellenistic?) fortification wall under the extant walls. In the early 1980s archeological excavations under the present Ragusan cathedral uncovered a spectacular find: a large basilica with three naves whose dating is uncertain. Archeologists have suggested everything from the fifth to the early ninth century—although the most frequently mentioned dating is that to the sixth century, connecting it with the period of Justinian's *reconquista*. All in all, quite definite traces appeared of a probably not insignificant (at least) Late Classical settlement.[17]

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[16] Ivica Prlender, "Totius gentis metropolim," *Historijski Zbornik* 51 (1998): 1.

[17] For an overview of the finds in Ragusa, see Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjevjekovnoga grada* (Dubrovnik. Genesis and development of the medieval city) (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split, 1998), passim; for the finds under the cathedral 116–142; for several hypotheses concerning the nature of the city before Epidaurian settlement, see Ivica Žile, "Naselje prije Grada" (The settlement before the city), *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997): passim (henceforth: Žile, "Naselje prije Grada"). Only a few of many comments on the finds under the cathedral are the following: Trpimir Macan, "U povodu istraživanja u dubrovačkoj katedrali" (Concerning the Excavations in the Ragusan Cathedral), *Dubrovački Horizonti* 23 (1983): 3–11; J. Stošić, "Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku" (A report on the finds under the cathedral and Bunić's Square in Ragusa), *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 12 (1988): 15–38; Željko Rapanić, "Marginalia o 'postanku' Dubrovnika" (Marginalia about the 'beginning' of Dubrovnik), *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva,* 12 (1988): 15–38, accepting the sixth-century dating, even suggested that the church was a seat of a bishop!

Although it is difficult to assess the significance and the administrative rank of this settlement, its existence is now undeniable. This raises many questions, not the least significant of these being the relative silence of the written sources about it. A programmatic oblivion or truly the work of centuries? There is no definite answer. The physical remains of the ancient settlement—its Late Classical ruins—might have survived until deep into the Middle Ages, organizing memories around themselves and thus revealing the city's heritage from antiquity.[18] If not in their physical form, the traces of the ancient edifices might have endured as toponyms which left a revealing imprint on the city. Thus, for example, *castellum*—the name for the oldest part of the city throughout the Middle Ages—kept the memory of the Classical fortification which existed there. The very name of the city, Ragusium/Ragusa, adopted from the old settlement, suggests a continuity of population, and therefore of memory as well. But however powerful a reminder they might have been, both of these toponyms could, with time, have also completely lost their old connotations.

Written accounts are equally ambiguous, although some of the sources might contain distant "echoes" of a city before the Epidaurians. Sources from the tenth to the fourteenth century, written mostly by strangers to the city, albeit clearly reproducing the story about the Epidaurian foundation, nevertheless contain several vague hints concerning the existence of the settlement before the Epidaurians. For example, the account of Porphyrogenitus, the earliest clear statement of the "Epidaurian tradition," contains a serious inconsistency. The emperor's odd dating of the immigration of certain Salonans to Ragusa—supposedly in the year 449—contradicts the rest of the text, which implies that Ragusa was only founded in the seventh century (namely after the Slavic destruction of Epidaurum). It seems possible that this part of the emperor's account was based on some written source which was negligently compiled with the information about the seventh-century Epidaurian founding of Ragusa, probably received from Dalmatian-Ragusan informants. This written source, speaking of the Salonans, could truly have contained the information about their settling in the city as early as 449, since Ragusa, judging by all we know (now), did exist at the time. Another example of a hypothetical remembrance of the

[18] Besides the aforementioned basilica, also worth mentioning are the remains of the Late Classical fortifications, dated to the fifth or sixth century, whose remains beyond any doubt persisted until the early eleventh century, Žile, "Naselje prije Grada," 107–108. However, even if the architectural remains of old Ragusium persisted, and some of them—the walls and the church—probably did, they could have been attributed to the later "Epidaurian" settlement.

settlement before Epidaurians is provided by the twelfth-century *Chronicle* of the Priest of Duklja. According to this source, although they are narrated together, the founding of the city in fact consisted of two separate acts. First the mythic founder king Bello and his escorts built a certain fort, *castellum*, (as noted above, this was, significantly, the medieval name for the oldest part of the city) and only then, hearing this, did the refugee Epidaurians join them and together they *aedificaverunt civitatem supra mare in ripis marinis*…[19]

Several works of late medieval historiography written by Ragusan authors, and, significantly, written long after the waning of the conflicts in which the Epidaurian heritage was crucial, indicate less ambiguously that a memory of the old settlement might truly have persisted. Among these, the clearest example is a late fifteenth-century *Annales Ragusini Anonymi* according to which Ragusa was truly founded twice. According to this text, the Epidaurians *moved to* Dubrovnik only centuries after its first settling and construction by a certain mythic King Bello.[20] There are other contemporary accounts as well, which provide, one is tempted to say, a compromise solution, claiming that Epidaurians and Bello only *renewed* Ragusium.[21] N. Ragnina's sixteenth-century chronicle, following basically the same story of renewal, even offers a completely invented but magnificent Classical genealogy for old Ragusium. [22]

Unfortunately, since all these accounts were written many centuries after the foundation of Ragusa, any firm assumption based on them is deeply problematic. It is possible that a vague memory of ancient Ragusium persisted, linked to the remains of the old city (whether physically or toponymically), surviving until native late medieval chroniclers brought it to, however dim, light. Yet since it did not fit the ideologically constructed past, the need for the Epidaurian origin, it was pushed aside as early as the tenth century. Memory has a soft spot for politics, towards power; and the powerful tend to be querulous and intransigent where matters of remembrance (and oblivion) are concerned.

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[19] Ferdo Šišić, *Letopis Popa Dukljanina* (The chronicle of the priest of Duklja) (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1928), 319–320.

[20] *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Sclavorum meridionalium 14, ed. Natko Nodilo (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1883), 7 (henceforth: *Annales*).

[21] Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, *Komentari o mojem vremenu* (Comments on my epoch), ed. Mirko Valentić, tr. Vlado Rezar (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 89.

[22] Is this all just a Renaissance obsession with antiquity or an attempt to bring contradicting memories into concord? *Annales*, 169, 171–175.

The Logic of *Locus Absconditus* or the Need for "Virgin Soil"

Why could this sort of oblivion have been necessary? Due to the lack of sources, only a very speculative solution can be offered. In order to claim the Epidaurian heritage for Dubrovnik, the two cities had to be connected with as clear and as unambiguous a link as possible. However, there was a certain surplus of identity to be dealt with: the existence of Ragusium, a city with its own past and traditions. To state that Epidaurians simply migrated to Ragusium would pose significant problems for the claims of heritage. On the other hand, to say that they *founded it* made descent as direct as possible. For genealogy to flow uninterruptedly, it might have been necessary to perform a certain *damnatio memoriae*. It was not any kind of soil which was required for the Epidaurian identity to flow pure; it had to be virgin soil, *locus absconditus*, void of any previous content, not having a history of its own. A deserted place, Porphyrogenitus' "cliffs near the sea," without a past which might endanger the transition of identity, which might bring into question the purity of heritage. Such virgin soil was settled by men from Epidaurum, bringing their history with them.

Final Thoughts

However, it was not only the ghost of Epidaurum that was summoned to serve medieval politics. Other Dalmatian examples of such a binding of a Classical city with the newly founded settlement are Split, claiming the heritage of great Classical Salona, and Bar claiming that of Diocleia. All these new cities shared one trait: none of them could claim a glorious Classical past and the prerogatives which followed. So, rightfully or not, Classical predecessors were found. However, since they all lacked territorial continuity with them, the story of the foundation was always simultaneously one of migration: of Epidaurians to the cliffs, of Salonans to the ruins of Diocletian's palace, of Diocleians to the future site of Bar.[23]

[23] Nor was this exclusively a Dalmatian phenomenon; the first account of the founding of Venice conforms to the same pattern, strikingly resembling the Dalmatian accounts. John the Deacon, in the early eleventh century, describes how the refugees from Aquileia, the ancient capital of Veneto, led by their patriarch, founded a new home on another *locus absconditus*, the islands in the lagoon. The contemporary St. Peter Damiani clearly understood the essence of the myth when he proclaimed Venice to be "Aquileia reborn." For an excellent analysis of Venetian relationship with its history, see Patricia Fortini-Brown, *Venice and Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

Although it is probable that all these stories contain an element of truth, they certainly contain a serious element of ideological consideration as well. The problem is not only that those stories appear very late, several centuries after the events they seek to describe,[24] nor is it only that those accounts can, as the case of Dubrovnik shows, blatantly contradict the findings of archeology. The core of the problem is that they fit the elementary political interests, projects, and plans of these medieval cities all too well—they were what they wanted others to believe. In other words, it seems that what we encounter in those accounts is rarely a blatant lie; it can be more precisely described as a very suggestive simplification of the past—and that is the most common way, even today, to make history serve ideology.

[24] To take only the two most influential accounts: in the case of Ragusa and Split, Porphyrogenitus wrote three centuries after the supposed events took place, and from hundreds of miles away, while Thomas the Archdeacon gave his account of the founding of Split after more than half a millennium.

THE CONCILIAR DOCTRINE OF MARSIGLIO OF PADUA: AN IMPORTANT BIBLICAL ARGUMENT[1]

Martin N. Ossikovski

> *The identification of the Church with the state deeply changed the very notion of power in the Church. It was shaped more and more after the juridical pattern of the state, and its understanding as a charismatic ministry within the Body of Christ was consequently weakened.*[2]

Introduction

Enthusiasm for reading the works of Marsiglio of Padua often comes from his being perceived as a forerunner of post-medieval times. Because of his ambitious political programme, scholars have compared Marsiglio to modern authors and have interpreted his ideas in the context of modern social phenomena.[3] It has been justly insisted that such comparisons may do no good to the Paduan, that he did not belong to our time and therefore parallels in that direction could go out of context or simply be wrong.[4] At least one other serious danger can be added in this regard; the overemphasis on Marsiglio's political concepts can overshadow other parts of the world of his ideas. Such may be the case with his ecclesiastical doctrine, which, being expounded in the strong framework of Marsilian political philosophy, seems to be merely its logical continuation.

Bearing in mind this potential problem, this paper will focus on one of the chief aspects of Marsiglio's view of the Church, his teaching about the *generale concilium Christianorum,* the general council of faithful Christians. By shedding some light on a rather problematic use of the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, which Marsiglio situated at the centre of his conciliar argument, I

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[1] This is a shortened version of a paper presented at the Tenth International Medieval Congress (University of Leeds, July 2003).

[2] Alexander Schmemann, "The Idea of Primacy in Orthodox Ecclesiology," in *The Primacy of Peter* (Crestwood, N. Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992), 167.

[3] For many different examples, see the generous review by Conal Condren, "Marsilius of Padua's Argument from Authority: A Survey of its Significance in the 'Defensor Pacis'," *Political Theory* 5:2 (May 1977): 206–207.

[4] R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, vol. 6, *Political Theory from 1300 to 1600* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1936), 9.

shall attempt to demonstrate a way in which the Biblical argumentation he used may offer a deeper insight into his "conciliarism."

The Conciliar Thesis and Its Argumentation in *Defensor pacis*

To briefly outline the course of the argument, Marsiglio made his leading conciliar statement in the middle of the second *Dictio* of *Defensor pacis*, developing around it a series of chapters that one can indeed consider as a separate "conciliar treatise" inside the whole work.[5] By chapter nineteen he had already discussed the crucial problems concerning the relationship between priestly and secular power (chapters 3 to 10), ecclesiastical poverty (chapters 11 to 14), and the limits and nature of priestly power (chapters 15 to 17). In the central chapter, eighteen, Marsiglio defended the central thesis of the treatise in the form of a compressed historical sketch. He maintained that the papal claim to *plenitudo potestatis* not only did not accord with the true nature of the priestly office and the mission of Christ's Church, but was in fact a result of gradual and illegal usurpation of authority by popes.[6] Firstly, the bishop of Rome, like all ecclesiastics in principle, was subject to the power of the secular ruler; secondly, the bishop of Rome possessed no exclusive authority over the other bishops. The claim to *plenitudo potestatis*, therefore, was false, not only in its civil, but above all in its ecclesiastical dimensions.

It was at this point that Marsiglio faced the conciliar question. His initial proposition was the existence of certain "doubtful questions or sentences of Scripture," the interpretation of which was necessary for men's salvation and for keeping the unity of the faith. The opinions of learned men on such questions often went in diverse directions and, without proper interpretation, schisms and quarrels arose among Christians and the people were led into error.[7] How was

[5] This expression ("der Konzilstraktat des Marsilius," referring to chapters 18–22 from the second *Dictio*) was coined by Hermann Sieben, see his *Die Konzilsidee des lateinischen Mittelalters (847–1378)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1984), 370 (henceforth Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee*).

[6] The discussion developed in *Defensor pacis* II.xviii.3–7.

[7] "primum [ostendere volumus] quod dubios sensus sive sententias scripturae sacrae … praesertim circa fidei articulos … sit expediens et necessarium terminare. Quoniam expediens est, quinimo necessarium, sine quo fidei unitas minime salvaretur, error et schisma contingeret circa fidem inter Christi fideles." (*Defensor pacis* II.xx.1; the Latin text, but in classical spelling, is given according to Scholz's edition: Marsilius von Padua, *Defensor pacis*, edited by Richard Scholz (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1932). On the salvific function of these determinations, see n. 10.

this problem to be resolved? Marsiglio's attention turned to the Christological and Trinitarian discussions of the first four ecumenical councils. Following their example, he stated that

> *huius determinationis auctoritas principalis* [that is, concerning doubtful questions of Scripture]*, mediata vel immediata solius sit generalis concilii Christianorum aut valentioris partis ipsorum vel eorum, quibus ab universitate fidelium Christianorum auctoritas haec concessa fuerit.*[8]

But how was one to understand this *concilium generale Christianorum* and the disjunctions that followed it? Marsiglio answered in the same paragraph:

> *omnes mundi provinciae seu communitates notabiles secundum sui legislatoris humani determinationem … et secundum ipsarum proportionem in quantitate ac qualitate personarum viros eligant fideles, presbyteros primum et non presbyteros consequenter, idoneos tamen, ut vita probatiores et in lege divina peritiores, qui … vicem universitatis fidelium repraesentantes … per universitates auctoritate concessa conveniant ad certum orbis locum … in quo simul ea quae circa legem divinam apparuerint dubia, utilia, expedientia et necessaria terminari, diffiniant, et reliqua circa ritum ecclesiasticum seu cultum divinum … habeant ordinare.*[9]

The determinations of the general council thus convoked were in no wise lower than Holy Scripture; in the same way, they had to be perceived and followed with irrevocable faith:

> *Est autem hoc, quod nullam scripturam irrevocabiliter veram credere vel fateri tenemur de necessitate salutis aeterne, nisi eas, quae canonicae appellantur, vel eis, quae ad has ex necessitate sequuntur, aut scripturarum sacrarum sensum dubium habentium eis interpretationibus seu determinationibus, quae per generale fidelium seu catholicorum concilium essent factae, in hiis praesertim, in quibus error dampnationem aeternam induceret, quales sunt articuli fidei Christianae.*[10]

Scholars have justly emphasised the council's ultimate dependence on the authority of the secular ruler with regard to the procedure of its convocation as given by Marsiglio. From this point of view Hermann Sieben, in his study on the history of the conciliar idea in the Latin Middle Ages, correctly characterised one of the peculiarities of this position as a transition "vom *consilium pontificis* zum *consilium principis*."[11] Marsiglio's immediate argumentation, however, fell within

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[8] *Defensor pacis* II.xx.2.

[9] *Defensor pacis* II.xx.2.

[10] *Defensor pacis* II.xix.1

[11] Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee*, 369.

the field of theology. First he turned to the concluding verse of Matthew's Gospel: *Et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad saeculi consummationem.*[12] Having quoted the gloss to the passage, Marsiglio interpreted the Lord's promise in the sense that, in order to preserve faith, the Holy Spirit was always present among the faithful.[13] This was confirmed by a second reference, to the fifteenth chapter of Acts of the Apostles; the narration stated that the decision regarding the circumcision of gentiles had been taken in accordance with the will of the Holy Spirit: *Visum est enim spiritui sancto et nobis.*[14] The general council of the faithful, ran Marsiglio's argument, truly represented by succession the congregation of the apostles and the other Christians from ancient times. As in the primitive Church, therefore, the virtue of the Holy Spirit, through its presence, directed and assisted the deliberations of faith made by the general council.[15] Marsiglio claimed that the same conclusion could also be drawn by infallible deduction supported by Scripture; had Christ allowed the gathering of the faithful to be fallible in determining things that concern eternal salvation, the entire law of the New Testament would have been given in vain. Since this was impossible, conciliar determinations truly originated from the supernatural assistance of the Holy Spirit and were free of error.[16]

On the basis of these arguments Marsiglio was further able to enlarge the council's competencies, endowing it with full responsibilities for the religious life of the Christian community.[17] The final conclusion hereupon was clear: only

[12] Matthew 28:20.

[13] "Ubi Rabanus: *Ex hoc intelligitur, quod usque in finem saeculi non sunt defuturi in mundo, qui divina mansione et inhabitatione sunt digni*; quibus scilicet ad fidei conservationem spiritum sanctum pie tenendum est semper adesse." (*Defensor pacis* II.xix.2)

[14] Acts 15:28.

[15] "Cum igitur fidelium congregatio seu concilium generale per successionem vere repraesentet congregationem apostolorum et seniorum ac reliquorum tunc fidelium, in determinandis scripturae sensibus dubiis … quinimo certum est, deliberationi universalis concilii spiritus sancti dirigentis et revelantis adesse virtutem." (*Defensor pacis* II.xix.2)

[16] "quoniam frustra dedisset Christus legem salutis aeterne, si eius verum intellectum, et quem credere fidelibus est necessarium ad salutem, non aperiret eisdem hunc quaerentibus … sed circa ipsum fidelium pluralitatem errare sineret. … Et ideo pie tenendum, determinationes conciliorum generalium in sensibus scripturae dubiis a spiritu sancto suae veritatis originem sumere …." (*Defensor pacis* II.xix.3)

[17] The general council was responsible for ordinances regarding ecclesiastical ritual, fasting, canonisation and veneration of saints, regulations concerning marriage (*Defensor pacis* II.xxi.4–8), excommunication and imposing interdicts (*Defensor pacis* II.xxi.9), appointment of ecclesiastics (*Defensor pacis* II.xxii.9), and, of course, for all kinds of changes of decisions taken by earlier councils (*Defensor pacis* II.xxi.10).

the *concilium generale*, convoked in accordance with the given conditions, possessed the full authority to control the life of the faithful within the Church. No single person (such as the Roman bishop) or partial congregation of persons (such as the pope together with the cardinals) possessed any fullness of ecclesiastical power. The conciliar discussion from the second *Dictio* thus completed Marsiglio's work on the main theme of the treatise, the disproof of the papal claim to *plenitudo potestatis*.

The Argument from Acts 15

Scholars have continuously interpreted Marsiglio's conciliar thesis as a mere transposition of the secular political principles of the *Defensor*.[18] A closer look, however, at the arguments that Marsiglio applied to the ecclesiastical case, on the one hand, and to the secular, on the other, would prove such a "derivative" approach to be in need of revision.[19] One possibility in this regard would be moving the specific argumentation from the second *Dictio* of the treatise much closer towards the focus of the analysis. While omitting the most provocative question, that is the context and possible external sources of Marsiglio's own ecclesiastical theory,[20] it is interesting to focus additional attention on one important Biblical argument used in direct support of his conciliar thesis. The conciliar practice of the Church was, he stated, a Biblical truth:

[18] See, in the first place, the classic studies of Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 283, sqq. and Jeannine Quillet, *La philosophie politique de Marsile de Padoue* (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1970), 168, sqq. See also Karl Hirsch, *Die Ausbildung der konziliaren Theorie* (Vienna: Verlag von Mayer, 1903), 29 (one of the first studies on the genesis of the conciliar theory in the period before the Great Schism), Hermann Segall, *Der 'Defensor Pacis' des Marsilius von Padua. Grundfragen der Interpretation* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1959), 67 (a text which reconsiders the whole tradition on Marsiglio from the 1880s onwards), and Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee*, 370, sqq.

[19] Just a starting example: while secular legislation was all-inclusive in principle (cf. *Defensor pacis* I.xii.3, I.xii.5), conciliar membership was to be limited only to those who were "more experienced" in matters of faith (*Defensor pacis* II.xx.2). Hence, the way that conciliar determinations proceeded stood rather in contrast with the principles of popular sovereignty of Marsiglio's civil theory.

[20] Insofar as the second *Dictio* is concerned, such an attempt has been made with regard to the ecclesiastical poverty theory, see Kerry Spiers, "The Ecclesiastical Poverty Theory of Marsilius of Padua," *Il pensiero politico* 10 (1977): 2–21.

> ***Sic namque fecerunt apostoli cum senioribus*** *de hiis quae dubia circa evangelium occurrerunt, ut apparet Actuum 15o …. Non enim dubium illud de circumcisione beatus Petrus aut alter apostolus seorsum aut singulariter diffinivit,* ***sed convenerunt super hiis omnes apostoli et seniores sive peritiores in lege.*** *[emphases mine, M.O.]* [21]

This parallel, by no means original,[22] played a central role in the whole conciliar discussion, first in the *Defensor pacis*, and also later in the *Defensor minor*. The "true representation by succession" of the ancient apostolic community by the contemporary general council, which provided Marsiglio with the strongest argument for the council's inerrancy, was claimed and affirmed on the basis of the example taken from the fifteenth chapter of Acts.[23] Then later, while producing his provocative disproof of Ockham's "paralogism" in *Defensor minor*, Marsiglio did not enlarge the circle of his Biblical material and drew on the same passage.[24] On the other hand, the reference also had a broader contextual function. The entire network of Marsiglio's argumentation with regard to

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[21] *Defensor pacis* II.xx.5.

[22] It would suffice to quote the *Glossa ordinaria* to the passage in question: "*Convenerunt*que *apostoli*. Hic datur exemplum faciendi conventus, ad discernenda ea quae fidei sunt necessaria." (MPL, vol. 114, col. 456D). Marsiglio did not refer explicitly to the gloss here (as he did on other occasions), but the logic of his argument appears to be the same.

[23] Marsiglio situated his argument in the context of Acts 15: "Idem aperte convincitur ex Actuum 15o, dicente apostolorum et fidelium congregatione post ambiguitatis illius determinationem: *Visum est enim spiritui sancto et nobis*. Asseruerunt enim et asserit scriptura ipsorum determinationem in dubietate illa circa fidem factam esse a spiritu sancto. Cum igitur fidelium congregatio seu concilium generale per successionem vere repraesentet congregationem apostolorum et seniorum …." (see note 15, above) (*Defensor pacis* II.xix.2).

[24] Roughly summarised, Ockham's objection reads as follows: it was impossible that the council's members, taken individually, could not err in matters concerning faith; possible fallibility was therefore to be predicated of the whole conciliar gathering, in analogy with the individual fallibility of some of its members (cf. the discussion of Marsiglio's opinion in Ockham's *Dialogus*, Part 3, Tract. 1, Chapters 8–11). To this, Marsiglio replied: "nam ex auditu unius ad alterum excitabitur mens ipsorum invicem, ad considerationem aliquam veritatis, ad quam nequaquam perveniret ullus ipsorum seorsum existens sive ab aliis separatus: et rursum … hoc videtur esse atque fuisse ordinatio divina, et factum in ecclesia primitiva. Unde Actuum legitur …." (what followed was the example from Acts 15) (*Defensor minor* xii.5; Latin text quoted after Marsile de Padoue, *Œuvres mineures: Defensor minor, De translatione Imperii*, ed. Colette Jeudy and Jeannine Quillet (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979).

ecclesiastical affairs pursued the ultimate aim of restoring the ancient apostolic practice of the primitive Christian Church, the point of view from which all the crucial problems in the second *Dictio* of *Defensor pacis* were resolved. Arriving at the conciliar problem, therefore, Marsiglio remained faithful to this basic principle, building his argumentation on the story from Acts 15, the necessary apostolic justification without which the conciliar discussion could not have developed.

What is interesting is the structure of this parallel. For Marsiglio it was not a problem to affirm that the conciliar practice recommended in *Defensor pacis* was the true apostolic practice insofar as the members of the council, those elected in their quality of being *vita probatiores et in lege divina peritiores*,[25] corresponded to the *seniores* from Acts and, further, the conciliar gathering of both clerics and non-clerics corresponded to the gathering of the apostles and the "elders." It is no surprise that in the Biblical text the *seniores* stood for πρεσβύτεροι, a word that the Latin variant kept transliterated in other places. For example, the story in Jerusalem began thus:

> And certain men came down from Judea and taught the brethren, "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved." Therefore, when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and dispute with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas and certain other of them should go up to Jerusalem, to the apostles and elders (*apostolos et presbyteros*), about this question.[26]

Then there was the verse to which Marsiglio referred:

> And the apostles and elders (*apostoli et seniores*) came together for to consider of this matter.[27]

Paul's advice on what the personal qualities of these "elders" had to be was given in the Epistle to Titus, a text that is closely related to the two passages from Acts:

> For this reason I left you in Crete, that you should set in order the things that are lacking, and appoint elders in every city as I commanded you—**if a man is blameless**, the husband of one wife, having faithful children not accused of dissipation or insubordination.

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[25] See above, n. 9.

[26] Acts 15:1–2 (New King James Version). The Latin text, here and in the next quotation, is given according to the Vulgate.

[27] Acts 15:6.

> For a bishop must be blameless, as a steward of God; not self-willed, not quick-tempered, not given to wine, not violent, not greedy for money, but hospitable, a lover of what is good, sober-minded, just, holy, self-controlled, **holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught**, that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convict those who contradict. [emphases mine, M.O.][28]

Returning to the Paduan's own position with that in mind, one faces a correspondence and, as it seems, an inconsistency, perhaps the most serious one with regard to the Biblical argumentation of the conciliar thesis. As for the correspondence, it is notable that in his own requirements for the personal qualities of the council's members, Marsiglio appears to have adhered to the instructions from Titus. As Paul put it, so too Marsiglio required that the *seniores* be "persons of most blameless lives, having deep experience in matters of faith."[29] Direct reference to the apostle was not made, but it is well arguable that Marsiglio had this passage in mind while writing the instructive section on how the council was to be composed.[30] But then, according to the passage from Acts, the *seniores* were precisely members of the ecclesiastics' community.[31] Earlier in the *Defensor pacis*, Marsiglio had shown himself to be aware of the connection:

> *Verum ubi communis litera canonis habet* senior *aut* consenior*, beatus Ieronymus … habet* presbyter *aut* conpresbyter*, quoniam hiis nominibus tamquam synonymis utebantur apostoli.*[32]

While drawing on Acts 15 later, however, he brought forward a neutral meaning of the word *senior* and, taking on an equivocation, referred it to the personal proficiency in matters of faith, his main criterion for conciliar membership; henceforth the clarifying addition *sive in lege divina peritiores*. The argument on behalf of the council was then easily built on this basis: the clerics and the (proficient) non-clerics who comprised the conciliar gathering nowadays corresponded to the *apostoli et seniores* who had once gathered in Jerusalem. The contemporary general council therefore succeeded and truly represented the

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[28] Titus 1:5–9. See also I Timothy 3:1, and following verses.

[29] See n. 9.

[30] Titus 1 was quoted only a few paragraphs later, in the middle of the conciliar discussion (*Defensor pacis* II.xx.13).

[31] According to the gloss: "*Huius rei gratia.* Primo dicit quid agere debeat et quales ordinare presbyteros, incipens ita, *huius rei gratia. … Presbyteros.* Pluraliter dicit presbyteros, non autem singulariter, ut scilicet pastoralis curae onus facilius sustineatur, per multos divisum." (MPL, vol. 114, col. 639A)

[32] *Defensor pacis* II.xv.5.

ancient Apostolic gathering and, by virtue of this, received the supernatural assistance of the Holy Spirit by the same token as had happened in the apostles' own time. This guaranteed the council's inerrancy in confessional issues and endowed it with the sole right to deal with the determinations of doubtful questions of faith.

In other words, Marsiglio interpreted "selectively" by picking up one particular verse from the Biblical text that seemed to fit quite well within the tenor of his argument, but could have had completely different consequences if taken in its proper context. Still, given the ideological network of the *Defensor*, the argument based on Acts 15 worked well. One should probably take into consideration the fact that the status of these *seniores* itself appeared to be a problem for Marsiglio. Truly, according to the Biblical text the "elders" were only clerics and therefore the gathering at Jerusalem did not at all correspond to the conciliar formula *presbyteri primum et non presbyteri consequenter*. But at this point, Marsiglio had changed his whole perspective: it was not the ecclesiastical status of those men that mattered, but their personal proficiency regarding problems of faith. The fact that in Jerusalem it was only clerics that gathered together was for the reason that in those times only such persons had the necessary "qualification" in accordance with the apostle's instructions from Titus. Marsiglio quoted the passage here and concluded that:

> *Propter quod tales existentes sacerdotes* [that is, as the Apostle described them in the Epistle to Titus] *ad difficilia vel dubia circa scripturam et fidem interpretanda et diffinienda quasi soli convenire solebant.*[33]

Leaving aside the purely nominal context of their being πρεσβύτεροι in the strict sense, that is, members of the ecclesiastics' community, Marsiglio actually focused on the description from Titus, and hence his reference to Acts 15 remained internally coherent. The "elders" were, above all, men proficient in matters of faith and divine law. From this point of view there was no essential difference between them and the members of the Paduan's own *concilium generale*.

Practically, one can understand the full potential of Marsiglio's argument by taking into consideration this complex use of Biblical material. The conciliar thesis had, as already noted, the central ambition of restoring the true, ancient practice of the Christian Church. The exact procedure, however, through which this restoration was to be achieved now appears to be a speculation over Acts 15 elaborated in the context of a peculiar interpretation of the relevant passage from Paul's Epistle to Titus.

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[33] *Defensor pacis* II.xx.13.

Conclusion

Having looked at Marsiglio's conciliar position from the point of view of the important argument based on Acts 15, we should briefly conclude by pointing out the importance of, and the perspective on, such an approach. Indeed, the Biblical argumentation appears to be an appropriate way to overcome the reductionism of interpreting Marsiglio's conciliar position as merely deriving from the general principles of his secular political theory. But not only that; after all, whenever ecclesiastical theory proper is concerned, the ultimate foundation of every discussion should be traceable back to Scripture. Biblical interpretations were thus a powerful source of argumentation in a number of other crucial places in Marsiglio's discussion: the nature of priestly power, the sacraments of the Church, and ecclesiastical poverty. While the personal religious feelings of the Paduan will justly remain secret from us, the way he read and used the Bible can enlighten us a great deal about his own theological views and their influence on this fascinating part of his theory, the teaching about the nature and functions of Christ's Church.

THE BELOVED DISCIPLE: STEPHEN MACONI AND ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA

David Movrin

... discipulus ille quem diligebat ...
(John 21:7)

In the flourishing literature which St. Catherine of Siena enjoys in recent scholarship, a surprisingly meagre amount of space is dedicated to her disciple whom she herself used to call "most beloved." Apart from the penetrating article by Giovanni Leoncini,[1] researchers have left his personality—and the entangled set of relevant primary sources—virtually neglected. Yet it was Maconi, the restless Sienese youth and later Carthusian Prior General, whose indefatigable pursuit finally led to Catherine's canonisation; his role in this respect is no smaller than that of the most renowned patrons of the procedure such as Raymond of Capua and Thomas d'Antonio Caffarini.

This short article[2] makes no attempt to delve into the depths of Maconi's immense activity after her departure, *de qua plura loqui brevitas angusta libelli / me prohibet, quamvis dicere mira queam.*[3] It tries to explore the roots, the foundation stones of the relationship which came to influence royal courts as well as thatched cottages of the late medieval West and which after several meanders and hindrances finally gave birth to the cult of today's patron saint of Europe.

Stephen Maconi was born in Siena, probably in 1350, perhaps in 1349.[4] Both his father, Corrado di Leoncino di Squarcialeone dei Maconi, and his

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[1] Giovanni Leoncini, "Un certosino del tardo medioevo: don Stefano Maconi," in *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischen Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter* 2, Analecta Cartusiana 63 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 1991), 54–107 (henceforth: Leoncini, *Un certosino del tardo medioevo*). The giant shoulders of Leoncini's work provide a solid basis for the research of a broader historical context.

[2] This article is an improved and expanded version of an introductory chapter of my MA thesis entitled put in "*Discipulus quem diligebat*: Stephen Maconi and His Efforts for the Canonisation of Saint Catherine of Siena" (M.A. thesis, Central European University, 2003).

[3] The distichon comes from a poem written by Domenico di Giovanni and dedicated to Catherine's sepulchre. Quoted by M. H. Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, Fontes vitae s. Catharinae Senensis historici 9 (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1942), xxxvi (henceforth: Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*).

[4] Maconi's biographer Bartholomew of Siena resorts to a hagiographic topos at the very beginning of his writing, claiming that Maconi was born in "1347, eo fere tempore quo

mother, Giovanna di Stefano Bandinelli, came from noble Sienese families. They gave birth to three more sons and a daughter.[5] Not much else is known about Maconi's childhood, apart from the fact that he went to school together with Caffarini and that he remained *in prefatis scholis et in seculo* even when his friend Thomas decided to join the Dominicans at the age of fourteen.[6]

The next fact of his life that can be taken for certain is his dramatic inner conversion, prompted by a meeting with St. Catherine. The background of the story is not entirely clear. His biographer reports a desire to travel (*susceptum consilium peregrinas lustrandi regiones*) arising in young Stephen in the early 1360s, but quenched by his pragmatic father who decided to retain his son at home with the promise, which he kept, of a luxurious lifestyle. Stephen agreed, yet his new way of life proved to be detrimental to the family finances (*ut inter coeteros aequales elegantioribus munditiis conspicuus appareret, nullis parcebat impensis*),[7] as well as to his own character (a whole chapter in his *vita* is dedicated to the outcome, an event when he *acerbissimas exercet inimicitias*).[8] Although not stated explicitly, the entire story seems to correspond to the story of Catherine's mother Lapa, who tried to persuade her daughter to take full part in the worldly way of life and

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in lucem suscepta est augustissima illa, ac Seraphica Virgo Catharina Senensis, cui Stephanus hic noster arcano Numinis consilio in ipso suae flore iuventae epistolis conscribendis operam praestitit, eique egregie carus fuit." Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi Senensis Cartusiani, Ticinensis cartusiae olim coenobiarchae libri quinque* (Siena: Hercules de Goris, 1626), 1 (henceforth: Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi*). Caffarini, however, provides different information: "Hic (sc. Stephanus de Maconibus) modo michi coetaneus, utpote ut ego annorum sexaginta septem vel circa existens, et ut ipse ita et ego de Senis oriundi, necnon et ibidem a pluribus annis pariter eisdem in scholis grammaticalibus imbuti;" see Thomas Antonii de Senis "Caffarini," *Libellus de supplemento legende prolixe virginis b. Caterine de Senis.* ed. I. Cavallini and I. Foraloso (Rome: Edizioni Cateriniane, 1974), 3.6.14 (henceforth: Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*). Since Thomas was writing this in 1417, the significant coincidence of Catherine and Stephen's birth has to be dismissed as Bartholomew's pious wish.

[5] Compare Leoncini, *Un certosino del tardo medioevo,* 57.

[6] "Huc usque, Domino disponente, perstetimus in mutua amicitia precipue caritatis, sepe dicta alma virgine mediante, ita quod ego quartum decimum vel circa agens annum, ibidem in Senis ordinem Predicatorum intravi, ipse [sic!] tunc in prefatis scholis et in seculo remanente." Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento* 3.6.14.

[7] Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi*, 8.

[8] Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi*, 8–14. A thorough historical analysis on feuding Sienese nobility is available in the work of Odile Redon, *L'espace d'une cité: Sienne et le pays siennois (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994).

even tricked her, with the help of Catherine's sister Bonaventura, to carefully adorn her body. *Consensit virgo dare corporis ornatui operam*, Raymond of Capua reports; later, she considered her adolescent ostentation to be one of her gravest sins.[9] One can even find a parallelism in the converse roles of the parents; in Catherine's case, it was her mother, Lapa, who pushed her daughter towards marriage, and her father who finally recognised and approved his daughter's vocation. In Stephen's case, it was his mother *Ioanna* who disapproved of her husband's methods and feared for her son, *ne laxatis utcumque domestici timoris habenis, volens lubens in caecos dilaberetur errores.*[10] Although Stephen may have drawn this connection between parental worldly vaingloriousness himself in the later period, there is nothing similar in the contemporary sources.[11] As reported by Caffarini:

> *In processu vero temporis contigit prefatum consocium in Senis quam plura pati displicentia, inter que unum fuit odii et guerre mortalis incursus cum certis eiusdem civitatis nobilibus, licet non ratione sui, sed genitoris et aliorum eiusdem sue domus. Quo utique tempore, cum ibidem fama sanctitatis virginis de qua supra invalescere plurimum iam cepisset, pro remedio dicte guerre, prout sibi consultum fuerat, accessit ad virginem, per quam ipse cum suis ab ipsa guerra, prout sibi virgo promiserat, divinitus liberatus, tanta ex tunc devotione affectus remansit ad illam quod, spretis mundialibus cunctis, ipsam deinceps indefectibiliter est secutus, necnon et socius ipsius virginis individuus est affectus.*[12]

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[9] Raimundus de Vineis, "Vita sanctae Catharinae Senensis," *Acta sanctorum, Aprilis tomus tertius,* ed. Joannes Carnadet (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1866), par. 42 (henceforth: Raimundus de Vineis, *Legenda maior*).

[10] Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi*, 8.

[11] It is, however, tempting to analyse the relationship from the perspective that attracted several among the Catherinian scholars in recent decades, namely that of social and religious meaning attached to food. Cf. Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), especially 22–53. Cf. also the work by Catherine Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: Univesity of California Press, 1987), especially 165–180.

[12] Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento* 3.6.14. The event is also reported by Maconi himself in his testimony for the *Processo Castellano*, where he describes his personal motives for conversion: "Visitavimus igitur eam, que me recepit non ut verecunda virgo, sicut existimabam, sed affectuosissima caritate, veluti si germanum a remotis partibus redeuntem gratiose suscepisset. De quo fui miratus, et attendens efficaciam sanctorum verborum quibus me non tantum induxit, verum etiam compulit ad confessionem et ad virtuose vivendum, dixi: 'Digitus Dei est hic'." Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 259.

On the other hand, Maconi, in his own testimony, claims that it all happened *sine culpa nostra*[13] and gives the date as well, stating that St. Catherine's face was completely unknown to him *usque ad annum Domini 1376 vel circa*. This means that his special relationship with the virgin from Siena lasted only some four years; she died in 1380.

His meeting with St. Catherine, her kind and cordial reception and his immediate conversion are all sufficiently described in his own testimony for the *Processo Castellano*. What seems to be more interesting and worthy of attention here is the resemblance of this particular event to others of its kind which took place in that period: its place in the formation of the circle of the *caterinati*. As can be seen by comparing the stories of others to the experiences of Stephen Maconi, St. Catherine's mediating role was of crucial importance here; several among her followers decided to join her after she settled the fierce quarrels which were literally tearing their worlds apart and established peace. In fact, the stories of the *beati pacifici* model mark the very beginning of her public career. Some were, in various ways, connected to the friars or tertiaries of the Dominican Order. Francesco Saracini, an old noble and the father-in-law of Catherine's tertiary companion Alessa, made peace with an enemy whom he hated to death and later himself died in serenely and tranquilly. Jacomo Tolomei, who had committed a double homicide and a brother of two other tertiaries, Ghinoccia and Francesca, was transformed in the same way; his brother, Matteo Tolomei, even joined the *caterinati* and entered the Dominican Order.[14] But there were others; the circle was in no way limited to the Dominicans. Neri di Landoccio Pagliaresi was a poet, like Maconi born into a noble family; again like Maconi, he ended up as one of Catherine's secretaries. He induced another prominent noble, Francesco Malavolti, to join her circle, and it is Malavolti's testimony in the *Processo Castellano* that preserves the richest data on conversions of this type. There were others: Neri di Guccio degli Ugurghieri, a member of the oldest feudal family of Siena, and his companion Niccolò di Bindo Ghelli; Gabriele di Davino Piccolomini and Nigi di Doccio Arzocchi, again both members of noble houses; Andrea di Vanni, a painter and a Sienese politician; Gabriele da Volterra, a Franciscan, and Giovanni Terzo, an Augustinian. Terzo in his turn induced several other Augustinian hermits from

[13] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 259.

[14] Edmund G. Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1907), 84 (henceforth: Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena*).

the nearby Convento di Selva to become Catherine's disciples; these were William Flete, Felice de' Tancredi, Antonio da Nizza, and Giovanni Tantucci.[15]

One of the striking characteristics of this cluster is its variety; there is indeed a strong Dominican element, yet it is by no means predominant; the Dominicans are mixed with other orders, Carthusians, Franciscans, and Augustinians, to name the most prominent ones, and lay members perhaps even outnumbered all others. Another significant mark of the fellowship was its social situation; one after another, the *caterinati* came from the well-to-do Sienese families, Maconi himself being no exception. It is difficult to interpret the attraction of a mere wool-dyer's daughter to the circles of the Sienese nobility; perhaps the phenomenon should be connected to that of St. Francis, himself a son of a rich merchant, renouncing wealth and embracing poverty. Another element to be noted here is the historical continuity of the tradition. The circles of followers can already be observed with St. Bernard, St. Hildegard of Bingen, and St. Francis; the pattern becomes more distinct with Angela of Foligno and St. Clare of Montefalco, while the model of St. Catherine—as well as of St. Bridget—is already fully developed.

After quoting Catherine's promise, *Vade, fili carissime, confidens in Domino, quia libentissime laborabo donec habebis optimam pacem, et huiusmodi pondus omnino super caput istud habere me sinas,*[16] Stephen Maconi tacitly skips the details of the peacemaking process—*causa brevitatis,* as he himself states. It seems that Bartholomeus had no more information; he only reports a spectacular event, where the defiant and raging adversaries of the already repentant Stephen were brought into the church after explicitly refusing Catherine's orders.

> *Quod ubi Virgo animadvertit, Me, inquit, audire nolunt; Deo, velint, nolint dicto audientes erunt: iisque prolatis, recta ad Divi Christophori contendit, quo ex condicto Stephanus una cum Conrado Patre, caeterisque sibi cognatione proximis iam convenerant. Ea in aede Seraphica Virgo ante Aram maximam in preces effusa procubuit. Rem dictu miram! Ea orante, atque extra se vi precum rapta, adversarii quique, alio aliorum adventum ignorante, sed eos cogente, quem ardentibus precibus urgebat Catherina, in templo brevi adesse conspiciuntur.*[17]

The event seems to be, with a certain amount of poetic license, extracted from Maconi's taciturn sentence which gives only credit and not so much the details, *Et ita postea rei probavit eventus, quia miraculose postmodum, ipsa mediante, pacem*

[15] Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena,* 85–99.
[16] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 259.
[17] Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi,* 19.

habuimus, etiam contra voluntatem ipsorum adversariorum nostrorum.[18] In any case, it is clear that Catherine was the only one to be credited with his peace of mind, if not indeed even survival.

After she had helped Stephen to establish peace with the enemies of his family, he became one of her personal secretaries,[19] thus performing a duty which influenced him even more.[20] The relationship developed surprisingly quickly; although only two or three years older, Catherine became Stephen's spiritual mother. In the very same year of 1376, she invited him to join her on the journey to Avignon, intended to reconcile the city of Florence with the papacy, as well as to persuade the pope, Gregory XI, to return to Rome. Maconi describes the event in increasingly emotional terms, claiming that he was prompted to go there by his single wish: *Vere, mater amantissima, nescio in me maius desiderium invenire, quam esse iugiter iuxta vos.*[21] His wish was granted, and he became her right hand in a project which was to mark his entire life. The metaphor of the right hand is in this case a very literal one; apart from writing her personal letters, he was often present even in her moments of ecstasy, when she dictated her only, magisterial, book, entitled *Libro della divina Dottrina* (and also known as *Dialogo della divina Provvidenza*):

> *Per suprascripta comprehendi potest aliquibus annis habuisse me supra ceteros familiarissimam conversationem eius, litteras atque secreta sua, et partem sui libri scribendo et ab ore virgineo percipiendo, quia supra merita me nimis affectuose caritate materna dilexit, ita ut multi filiorum egre portarent et quamdam emulationem haberent.*[22]

This testimony induced several researchers to nickname Maconi "il discepolo prediletto." Such an empty epithet, although often used for Stephen in literature,[23] is in a way misleading and does not entirely explain his position among the *caterinati*, since Catherine herself used it frequently and without any

[18] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano,* 259.

[19] Her other secretaries were Neri di Landoccio de' Pagliaresi, Barduccio di Piero de' Canigiani, and perhaps also Cristofano di Gano Guidini. Cf. Robert Fawtier, *Sainte Catherine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources, vol. 2, Les oeuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1930), 10–14.

[20] Cf. his own testimony, in Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 260.

[21] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 260.

[22] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 262.

[23] Cf. A. Baglioni, "Il discepolo prediletto: Stefano Maconi," in *La Patrona d'Italia: S. Caterina da Siena* 26, no. 4–5 (1971): 11–13, cited in Leoncini, *Un certosino del tardo medioevo,* 80.

reservations; nearly everyone among the recipients of her letters is called *diletissimo e carissimo*.[24] The reality behind the name is nonetheless correct, as this article tries to show.

However, the jealous disciples of St. Catherine were not the only ones unhappy with the rapidly developing filial relationship that bound Stephen Maconi and his "dolce mama;" his own family also opposed his new way of life. For this, relatively good documentation is available; the family often prevented him from being near St. Catherine as long as he might have wished, and due to his absence they exchanged numerous letters. Several of them are preserved: above all Catherine's letters to him, but also to his mother Giovanna. Family reasons for worrying were not only a question of principle; they were of quite a practical nature as well. The roads were dangerous and it seems that one of Maconi's journeys to St. Catherine, while she was staying in Florence, almost cost him his life. He was taken prisoner by some Florentine brigands and was not released until his father Corrado paid them a ransom, an enormous sum of money, in fact everything that Stephen was to inherit from him. There is a strong proof of this event in the Sienese archives: Stephen's official renunciation of his inheritance rights, based on his decision to join the Carthusian Order after the death of St. Catherine:

> *Stephanus filius Corradi Leoncini cum eius consensu asserens se habuisse et ad se pervenisse ultra quatuor centum florenos ex bonis dicti Stephani, quando captus fuit a latronibus in Comitatu Florentiae. Et ipsam quantitatem equivalere parti, in qua successurus esset ab intestato dicto Corrado. Asserensque se velle habitum religionis assumere, et nolens quod fratres eius priventur bonis dicti Corradi ...*[25]

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[24] Cf. letters 4, 5, 15, 20, 30, 34, 41, 43, 52, 60, 66, 69, 70, 74, 77, 92, 99, 101, 105, 107, 129, 131, 137, 139, 141, 142, 146, 147, 150, 156, 160, 171, 177, 181, 183, 185, 186, 198, 204, 208, 210, 218, 223, 225, 226, 228, 246, 254, 261, 273, 281 and 283. The letters quoted were edited by Antonio Volpato and recently published on a CD-ROM, "Le lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena," in *Santa Caterina da Siena: Opera Omnia*, ed. P. Fausto Sbaffoni, OP (Pistoia: Provincia Romana dei Frati Predicatori, 2002) (henceforth: Volpato, *Le lettere*).

[25] A. S. S., *Patrimonio resti*, 1990, c. 107, cited in Leoncini, *Un certosino del tardo medioevo*, 82. Leoncini rightfully criticises Bartholomeus Senensis (57–58) for placing this event in the period *after* the death of Saint Catherine (and even creatively quoting the extensive prayers that Maconi reportedly addressed to the presumably dead saint in his hour of need); the incident with brigands is explicitly mentioned in one of Catherine's exhortative letters to her troubled disciple, namely in letter 365: "Tu fusti preso, sicondo che mi scrivi: ma non nel tempo della notte, ma nel tempo del dì. Puoi, adoparando la

There are certain problems with the date of the documents, but it seems that the captivity took place in May or June 1378, the year of the Schism. At the end of that same year, Catherine was already moving to Rome, which she was never to leave again. Major events were beginning to unfold: the world that Catherine and her *famiglia* were working for was quickly falling apart, and with devastating consequences, at the very point when their goal finally materialised for a brief moment. The journey to Avignon, although in vain as far as its original aim was concerned, settling the conflict between Florence and the papacy, was highly successful with regard to the future see of *dolce Christo in terra*;[26] under Catherine's persuasive influence, Gregory XI decided to move back to Rome.[27] Not for long, however; he reached the eternal city at the beginning of the year 1377, but stayed there only a year and then died. The conclave in April 1378 found itself under enormous pressure; the mob outside was determined to get a pope who would never think of going back to Avignon. They got him, but the newly elected Urban VI quickly antagonised the French cardinals with his hostile and ill-tempered behaviour. Thirteen of them declared the April conclave null and elected a new pope, Clement VII, thus beginning the Great Western Schism. Urban VI was backed by England, Bohemia, the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, Hungary, Flanders, and most of Italy. Clement VII received support from France, Scotland, Savoy, Portugal, Aragon, Castile and

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clemenzia dello Spirito santo, apparbe l'aurora ne' cuori de' dimoni incarnati, unde tu fusti lassato." Cf. Volpato, *Le lettere*.

[26] Cf. letter 109, among others. Volpato, *Le lettere*.

[27] To what extent Catherine should be credited for this event is not of major importance here. Hanno Helbling, *Katharina von Siena: Mystik und Politik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), 10, seems to support the opinion of Léon Mirot, expressed in his book *La politique pontificale et le retour du Saint-Siège à Rome* from the end of nineteenth century. "On prête d'ordinaire à sainte Catherine un rôle considérable dans la décision prise par Grégoire XI de ramener la Papauté à Rome; la plupart des auteurs cependant reconnaissent très justement que la sainte ne fit que conforter et encourager le Pape dans un projet depuis longtemps arrêté. Son influence n'en fut que plus grande." In any case, the *caterinati* saw the whole event as Catherine's achievement, which took place due to her stubborn support of the undecided pontiff, tortured by opposing French cardinals. Caffarini gives testimony in his *Libellus de supplemento* 2.1.1: "... cum supradicta alma virgo Catherina de Senis Ianuam advenisset cum domino Gregorio XI°, tempore quo dictus summus pontifex recessit de Avinione ad instantiam dicte virginis, ut dicebatur, et accessit ad urbem, ipsam virginem cum ibidem, scilicet in Ianua, residentiam faceret, per pluries dies visitare curavit accedendo ad domum sue habitationis de nocte, quia de die non poterat ad ipsam habere decentem accessum et hoc propter multitudinem populi concurrentis ad eam."

Navarre. The alliances changed every now and then, but Europe as a whole remained split for another four decades.[28]

Catherine was furious; everything she had worked for was crumbling into complete chaos. Speaking to the cardinals who were in revolution, she did not mince her words.

> *O uomini—non uomini ma più tosto dimoni visibili,—come v'acieca tanto el disordinato amore che avete posto al fracidume del corpo vostro e alle dilizie e stati del mondo!*[29]

In accordance with her previous actions, she took a strong urbanist stance that was to influence her disciples for years to come. Urban VI quickly realised her strategic value in the course of the quickly unfolding events and summoned her to Rome. She came there in late November 1378, *cum comitiva utriusque sexus non pauca; sed et longe plures venissent, nisi quia ipsa prohibuit.*[30] Stephen, detained by family matters, followed her later and was thus able to be present at her deathbed, on April 29, 1380.[31] This day was to influence his life in a profound way.

St. Catherine's death meant, at the same time, the birth of Stephen Maconi's Carthusian vocation. He and some other disciples were present when she was giving her final directions, leaving them her spiritual legacy. Maconi gives a detailed account about that intense moment in his testimony for the *Processo Castellano*:

> *Dum vero laboraret in extremis, ordinavit cum aliquibus quid agere deberent post eius transitum. Postea faciem ad me vertens, ait digitum suum protendendo: 'Tibi autem in virtute sancte obedientie precipio ex parte Dei, ut vadas ad ordinem Cartusiensem, quoniam ad illum ordinem te vocavit et elegit.'*[32]

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[28] Gardner, *Saint Catherine of Siena,* 252–280.

[29] Letter 312; cf. Volpato, *Le lettere.*

[30] Raimundus de Vineis, *Legenda maior,* par. 333.

[31] Bartholomeus Senensis gives a mystical explanation for his departure. "Ad aures enim eius nocte quadam orantis cum magna spiritus anxietate ob diuturnam sui absentiam a piae Matris conspectu, apud sodales Societatis Deiparae in Magno Nosocomio Senensi constitute, cui ipse Conradi Parentis secutus exemplum nomen iam dederat, haec divinitus prolapsa vox est eiusmodi verba promens. I Romam, festina; instat enim tempus Carae Matris abscessus. ... Igitur bona cum suorum venia parentum se dat in viam, longum iter brevi temporis spatio emensus ad piam Matrem singula per momenta aspirans." Cf. Bartholomeus Senensis, *De vita et moribus Stephani Maconi*, 49.

[32] Laurent, *Il Processo Castellano*, 261.

The command, not from her, but from God, came as a complete shock, since the Carthusian Order, in fact any religious order, was not something that he was even contemplating in his plans for the period after her death.[33] He was about thirty years old.

At this point, another chapter in his life began which can only be hinted at here; ascending the hierarchical ladder of the split Carthusian order with lightning speed; leading its urbanist half from the Chartrehouse in Žiče[34] in present-day Slovenia; corresponding with popes and finally achieving the unity of his order, if not the entire Church.[35] Apart from that, he was occupied with a parallel pursuit, ordering copies of Catherine's *Vita* to be made, sending them around European courts and successfully gathering support from royalty to back his endeavours to start the canonisation process in Rome. This story remains to be written; *omnia tempus habent et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo*, as Stephen Maconi himself knew very well.

[33] For a thick context of the situation in the Carthusian order at that period, see the still indispensable history in 10 volumes by Benedetto Tromby, *Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone e del suo ordine Cartusiano* (Napoli: Vincenzo Orsino, 1773–1779).

[34] For this context and related primary material see Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter* (The Charterhouses of Žiče and Jurklošter) (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1991), especially 135–172.

[35] Another significant source is now widely available for this part of Carthusian history: *Charta Capitulorum generalium celebratorum a pp. Italis et Germanis tempore schismatis in obedientia Urbani VI et successorum ab anno 1386 usque ad annum 1410.* Archives du monastère de la Grande-Chartreuse, 1 M 18. These documents were recently edited and published by John Clark, *The Urbanist Chartae, including the Chartae of the Avignon Obedience to 1410*, vols. 1–3, Analecta Cartusiana 100:25 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 1997).

PREACHING A MODEL BISHOP: A SAMPLE OF SERMONS ON SAINT STANISLAUS[1]

Stanislava Kuzmová

Introduction

Medieval historical and hagiographic sources presented St. Stanislaus (?–1079), the Bishop of Cracow, an adversary of Polish king Boleslaus II (1039–1081), and a martyr, as an ideal bishop. Hagiographic discourse on St. Stanislaus is rich in episcopal models and imagery. Scholars have analysed the *vitae* of Stanislaus from the thirteenth and fifteenth century for certain aspects pertaining to this issue, however, the corpus of sermons on this saint, comprising at least twenty preserved manuscripts,[2] has been neglected hitherto. This study examines episcopal and pastoral models in a small sample of late medieval sermons on St. Stanislaus—one example from the turn of the fourteenth century and three fifteenth-century sermons. Sermons and preaching offer valuable material: they were channels, or a "mediating culture," between the teaching of the ecclesiastical establishment and its audience of common believers.[3] Sermons were a less stable genre than canonical lives or liturgy devoted to saints. Thus, they could reflect religious, social, and political issues and changes more aptly.

The personal characteristics and description of the episcopal activities of St. Stanislaus had to be constructed to a certain extent because the oldest records concerning St. Stanislaus were poor in this respect. After the *Cronicae sive Gesta principum Polonorum* (1110–1114), which called him *christus* and *traditor*,[4] the perceptions in the sources reflect him as an ideal bishop. Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum* from the turn of the thirteenth century still did not offer more than an account of his conflict with the king, describing thus a bishop

[1] This article is based on the sections of my MA thesis focusing on sermons on St. Stanislaus; see Stanislava Kuzmová, "The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century," (MA thesis, Central European University, 2003) (henceforth: Kuzmová, "The Construction").

[2] For a working list of sermons, see Appendix 2 in Kuzmová, "The Construction," 85–86.

[3] See, for instance, Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6.

[4] Gallus Anonymus, *Cronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum,* Monumenta Poloniae Historica (henceforth: MPH) Series Nova 2, ed. K. Maleczyński (Warsaw: Nakładem Polskiej akademii umiejętności, 1952), 52–53.

defending his flock.[5] Nevertheless, the basic tendency was clear. Stanislaus was one of the martyr-bishops, a type popular especially after the canonisation of Thomas Becket in 1173. The thirteenth-century *Vita maior*,[6] *Vita minor*,[7] and *Miracula*[8] offered a more thorough characterisation of Stanislaus. In these, he was an ideal bishop, virtuous and ascetic, but at the same time an able administrator of his diocese and zealous defender of the Church, congruent with the thirteenth-century episcopal ideals.[9] In the fifteenth century, Długosz enriched the image of an ideal bishop in his *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai* (1461–1465), accentuating his care for both the Church and the country.[10] From the time of Master Vincent Kadłubek, Bishop of Cracow (1207–1218) at the latest, the bishops of Cracow supported the cult of their saintly antecedent at the episcopal see, also keeping their own interests in mind. Stanislaus' most fervent followers were Bishop Prandota (1242–1266)[11] and Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389–1455)[12] in the periods of the flourishing of his cult and hagiographic production devoted to him. The moral victory of St. Stanislaus in the conflict with the king

[5] Magister Vincentius, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH Series Nova 11 (Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1994), 55–60.

[6] *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita maior)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4 (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884), 319–438 (henceforth: *Vita maior*).

[7] *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita minor)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 283–317 (henceforth: *Vita minor*).

[8] *Miracula sancti Stanislai*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 285–318 (henceforth: *Miracula*).

[9] The ideals of the Fourth Lateran Council were already present in the works of Peter of Blois and Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus seu Epistola XLII ad Henricum archiepiscopum Senonensem,* in PL 182 coll. 809–834; Peter of Blois, *Canon episcopalis id est De institutione episcopi,* in PL 207 coll. 1097–1112. Cf. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) (henceforth: Vauchez, *Sainthood),* 285–291.

[10] Joannes Dlugossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, in *Joannis Dlugossii Opera omnia* 1, ed. I. Polkowski and Z. Pauli (Cracow: Typographia Ephemeridum "Czas" F. Kluczycki, 1887), 1–181 (henceforth: Dlugossius, *Vita*).

[11] Stanisław Trawkowski, "Prędota" (Prandota), in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary) 28, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii, 1978–1985) (henceforth: PSB), 447–452.

[12] For biographical information, see Maria Koczerska, "Oleśnicki Zbigniew," in PSB 23, 776–784 and Eadem, "Piętnastowieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego" (The Fifteenth-century biographies of Zbigniew Oleśnicki), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979): 11–22.

represented the Church representatives' prestige over the secular power. The very fact that it was a martyr-bishop who achieved canonisation in 1253 is significant. The bishops of Cracow often identified themselves with Stanislaus' model presented in the hagiographic discourse, contributed to its construction, and were judged by their contemporaries according to Stanislaus' standard.

Sermons

Sermons on St. Stanislaus illustrate the manner in which he was understood and used by preachers as a model of saintliness and as an example to other prelates in the Church. They used the image of holy bishop that they found in the hagiography, but they also contributed to the construction of the saint's image. Besides the frequent topic of St. Stanislaus as an ideal bishop and good shepherd, they also devoted attention to the saint's miracles. After his canonisation sermons about St. Stanislaus were preached on his feast days: the anniversary of his martyrdom and the date of the translation of his relics. Some of these scholastic sermons were intended to instruct common people, audiences in cities as well as in the country, about the pastoral work of their prelates. Sermons like these were also supposed to make people aware of the bishop's holy office and so they would obey his instructions. For this enterprise, St. Stanislaus was a good example; Peregrinus of Opole's sermon is an exemplar of these. It originated primarily as a scheme for preaching, based on the models of Jacobus of Voragine, for instance. Other sermons, among them the fifteenth-century texts analysed here, were perhaps meant for a more particular audience of clerics. Some of these model sermons were also used as teaching material in the cathedral school.

Similar themes to those developed in the hagiographic works appear in the sermons. However, given their specific function, the sermons go further and give more explicit examples and instructions based on the model of Stanislaus' as a bishop. Sermons, similar to the *vitae*, presented St. Stanislaus as an example for contemporary clergy and used the opportunity for criticism of those who were in contrast with this ideal. They differed in their focus depending on their audience and topical issues.

Peregrinus of Opole

One of the earliest preserved exemplars on St. Stanislaus is a sermon of the Dominican Peregrinus of Opole (1260–1333?), a famous preacher.[13] His sermon collections *de tempore* (57–65 sermons) and *de sanctis* (63 sermons) were assembled between 1297 and 1304. Gradually, these Dominican model sermons spread throughout a large area of Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages. With regard to the spread of popular devotion, the cult of saints was an important element in the plan of the Dominicans. The cult of St. Stanislaus was among the first cults they supported, acting in complete accord with the interests of the bishops of Cracow. The bishop-saint's hagiographer and the author of the *Vita maior*, Vincent of Kielce, was a Dominican and the *Vita minor* is also a Dominican product; parts of both *vitae* were integrated into the *Legenda aurea*.[14] Peregrinus also included a sermon for the feast day of St. Stanislaus in the cycle *de sanctis* (in Polish copies in the supplement of sermons for the occasions of feast days of Polish and other saints), besides Adalbert-Wojciech, Wenceslaus, and Hedwig of Silesia. Through this, not only was the cult of St. Stanislaus spread among common people, but also an image of a good bishop was transmitted, as the following paragraphs show.

The *thema* of Peregrinus' sermon *In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris*[15] is a verse from the Epistle to the Hebrews (7:26): *Talis decebat, ut esset nobis pontifex, sanctus, innocens, excelsior caelis factus est* (one of the typical *themae* for a sermon about a bishop saint). This already illustrates that Stanislaus' being a *pontifex* will be an important motif, perhaps the leitmotif, of the sermon. It defines what a proper *pontifex* should be like. Peregrinus divided his sermon into two main *distinctiones*: the dignity of Stanislaus's being a *pontifex*, and his sanctity, which was proved by many miracles (popular among common people). The author further addresses the audience (suggesting that they are not clerics, perhaps) that they should ask the bishop to bless them because it belongs *ad officium pontificis, ut*

[13] He probably also studied abroad, became the prior of the convent in Raciborz and also the confessor and preacher at the court of Duke Przemysl in Raciborz, and later he was the provincial of the Polish Dominicans (1312, 1322–1327). For information on Peregrinus of Opole, see Antoni Podsiad, introduction to, Peregrinus of Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis,* ed. Ryszard Tatarzyński (Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum PP. Dominicanorum, 1997) (henceforth: Peregrinus, *Sermones*). This is a recent edition of Peregrinus' sermons. See also: Jerzy Wolny, "Peregryn z Opola" (Peregrinus of Opole), in PSB 25, 599.

[14] For the Dominican contribution to the cult of St. Stanislaus and references to literature, see Kuzmová, "The Construction," 10–11, 36–44.

[15] "In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584–591.

populum benedicat. Peregrinus included an *exemplum*—an account of the saint's apparition from the *Vita maior*—to illustrate this better to his audience.[16] According to this example, a man saw the saint in episcopal garments in a group of people, blessing them; according to the author they were those who would be saved thanks to him. The apparition urged the man to go to confession. Thus, the main duty of a bishop was to bless his people and lead them to salvation through the sacraments.

Addressing the dignity of bishops, Peregrinus glorifies the high esteem of the episcopal office as a vicariate of Christ, which stems from the consecration by chrism. Apparently, he wanted to evoke people's respect for every bishop as a consecrated person.[17] What is noteworthy is that Peregrinus does not speak about bad prelates (this topic—of later sermons—was probably reserved mainly for clerical audiences), his argumentation is simple, aiming at common people who are not supposed to judge their prelates. The negative counterpart is reserved for King Boleslaus, as was traditional.

Each item of the episcopal garments in which the saint was said to have been clad in the apparition symbolised his virtues: The simple linen cloth represented his asceticism; the *cingulum* his chastity; the *manipulare* his innocent hands; the stole his temperance and discipline; the long white *camisia* was likened to his love for his diocese demonstrated by deeds of mercy and charity.[18] This description was modelled on the characteristics of Stanislaus, both active and contemplative perfection in his *vitae*. The *casula* with two shields (*clipeae*) was the symbol of every Christian's fight for the Faith and every prelate's fight for justice and his Church.[19] Peregrinus included an account of Stanislaus' conflict with the king, again based on the *vitae*. He described king Boleslaus, who had decapitated noblemen and taken away all the provisions of the poor. Stanislaus admonished him and was martyred, showing his episcopal dignity even in his martyrdom.

Peregrinus uses concrete imagery (when compared with the educated sermons of some other preachers) and an instructive style in a manner suitable for the audience of a Mendicant preacher, usually composed of common people

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[16] *Vita maior*, 432–434.

[17] The same motif of prelates' dignity is incorporated in Peregrinus' sermon "In festo sancti Thomae archiepiscopi Cantuariensis," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 344.

[18] "Omnes pauperes, viduas, orphanos et leprosos et alios in corde suo tamquam in libro scriptos habuit, quibus necessaria singulis annis ministrabat." Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587. Cf. *Vita maior*, 372.

[19] "…debet quilibet praelatus pro iustitia et ecclesia sua pugnare." "In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587.

of various statuses and areas of life. The sermon emphasised the virtuous life of Stanislaus, for which every prelate received the same potential by consecration, and thus should be respected by his flock.

The Fifteenth Century

The second half of the fifteenth century was the period when new hagiographic material emerged about St. Stanislaus, the *Vita* was composed by Długosz, and a great number of sermons were produced. This analysis is based on three examples of sermons from the fifteenth century. One of the texts is anonymous;[20] the other two sermons are works of Pawel of Zator (1395–1463).[21] Pawel of Zator was a well-known preacher, a contemporary of Długosz and Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki. He was a professor at the University of Cracow, general vicar of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, and a permanent preacher in the Wawel Cathedral from 1454, when the office was established.[22] These model sermons were perhaps addressed to clerical audiences and also used as teaching material in the cathedral school.[23]

The sermons were not limited to describing the life, martyrdom or miracles of St. Stanislaus. Rather, the preachers used certain elements from his legend and actualised them to provide very specific examples for their audiences. The *thema* of the three texts in this analysis was the verse from the Gospel of John

[20] Anonymous, "Sermo de sancto Stanislao," in *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis,* Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 1626, f. 152v–153r (henceforth: MS BJ 1626).

[21] Pawel of Zator, "De sancto Stanislao," "Secundus ad idem," in *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitatibus*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 491, f. 194–199 (henceforth: MS BJ 491/1 and MS BJ 491/2, respectively). The text of MS BJ 491/2 is identical with Pawel of Zator, "Sermo de sancto Stanislao," in *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitatibus*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 1506, f. 82r–83r (henceforth: MS BJ 1506).

[22] For bibliographical information, see Jerzy Wolny, "Pawel z Zatora" (Pawel of Zator), in PSB 25, 401–403. For Długosz' relation and positive attitude toward him see the article of Jerzy Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne v czasach Jana Długosza" (Cracovian cathedral centre in the age of Jan Długosz), in *Długossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza* (Dlugossiana: Historical studies on the five-hundredth anniversary of Jan Długosz' death), ed. Stanisław Gawęda (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 100–103.

[23] Jerzy Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo" (The preaching), in *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce 1* (The history of Catholic theology in Poland 1), ed. M. Rechowicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1974), 287–288.

(10:11): *Ego sum pastor bonus*.[24] Although the authors also refer to the Easter topic of resurrection occasionally in the texts,[25] the good shepherd theme was the most frequent opening verse of sermons on St. Stanislaus (based on the corpus that I have gathered hitherto). The authors also developed other verses from this Gospel chapter throughout the sermons. Undoubtedly, the connection between this theme and the liturgy of the feast day played an important role in favouring this view of the saint and following this direction of discussion. The Gospel to be read was taken from the Second Easter Sunday, as the feast day of St. Stanislaus was celebrated on May 8.[26]

This *thema* suggests that the leitmotif of these sermons was Stanislaus' image as the good shepherd who served his flock well in life and in death and whose example the contemporary clergy should follow. With regard to this theme, the sermons about St. Stanislaus are similar to those about St. Thomas Becket.[27] Sermons dealing with the topic of the good shepherd beginning with the same *thema* were quite popular in the Middle Ages; they were not limited to the feast days of bishop saints.[28] Naturally, the comparison to Christ, the model of a good shepherd, is omnipresent throughout the texts. The preachers incessantly reiterate the qualities of Christ, the Good Shepherd *par excellence*, and encourage *pastores* to follow His example. Besides Saints Peter and Paul, St.

[24] Other themes besides this one were: "Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis" (Eccl 45:40), "Talis decebat, ut esset nobis pontifex" (Heb 7:26), and so on.

[25] For example, MS BJ 1506, f. 82r.

[26] See Wacław Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława biskupa na Śląsku w świetle średniowiecznych rękopisów liturgicznych* (The liturgical cult of Saint Stanislaus in Silesia in the light of medieval liturgical manuscripts) (Lublin: Nakładem Towarzystwa naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1959), 63.

[27] For an analysis of sermons on St. Thomas Becket, see the study of Phyllis B. Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 1–22 (henceforth: Roberts, "Thomas Becket").

[28] For the most famous of these, see for instance Saint Augustine's sermon *De verbis Evangelii Ioannis (10, 11–16),* in PL 38 coll. 760; and the sermon of Pope Innocent III, in PL 217 coll. 405–410. For a quite long index of these sermons from the later Middle Ages, far from complete, see *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1150–1350,* vol. 10, ed. Johannes Baptist Schneyer (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 278–280. For the problem of the good shepherd in the age of Pope Innocent III, also recommended is the article of J. M. Powell, "Pastor Bonus: Some Evidence of Honorius III's Use of the Sermons of Pope Innocent III," *Speculum* 52 (1977): 522–537.

Stanislaus, *patronus huius regni dignissimus*,[29] is an illustrious exemplar of *pastor bonus*, who gave his life for his flock, in contrast with hirelings.

The anonymous sermon accentuates the good shepherd's *utilitas populi*. He should provide the faithful with three kinds of bread (further discussed as three *distinctiones*), exactly as St. Stanislaus nurtured the Cracovian church. He distributed the *corporalis* bread, that is, material help for those who needed it: the poor, the sick, widows, and others.[30] The argument is supported with the Biblical story of Lazarus and the wealthy man. Secondly, the bishop gave to his faithful *spiritualis* food, that is, the Christian faith and doctrine through preaching; and thirdly, *aeternalis*, that is, the sacramental body of Christ. Finally, good shepherds should not only take care of the temporal care of their subjects, but also lead their flocks to the eternal pasture, where they themselves find their reward.[31]

A good shepherd should prefer the care of people entrusted to him to his own interests. Pawel of Zator argues:

> *status pastoralis est status bonitatis, caritatis et utilitatis, in quo homo intendere debet quod etiam sui et suorum obliviscatur et se debitorem omnium sapientum et insipientum esse cognoscat.*[32]

The author supports his point with the example of Melchizedek quoted through the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury.[33] The fifteenth-century sermons emphasise, as Peregrinus did, that St. Stanislaus loved his people so much that he followed Christ as far as death:

> *pro ovibus animam posuit, horrendum regem non expavit, sed viriliter arguit, ad eo per miserabilem laceracionem corporis suscepit.*[34]

The anonymous sermon enumerates several analogies to his martyrdom. The preacher could perhaps choose and develop some examples from those included in the model sermon depending on his objectives and audience. St.

[29] MS BJ 491/1, f. 194.

[30] MS BJ 1626, f. 152v. Cf. *Vita maior*, 372. The sermons on Thomas Becket also pointed out that he had fed the poor, see Roberts, "Thomas Becket," 9.

[31] MS BJ 1506, f. 83r.

[32] MS BJ 491/2, f. 197; MS BJ 1506, f. 82r.

[33] "Melchisedech rex et sacerdos nec patrem nec matrem legitur habuisse, non quod utroque careat, sed … oblivisci debet affectionem carnis et id solum agere quod subditorum salus exposcit." MS BJ 491/2, f. 197 and also MS BJ 491/1, f. 196. Cf. Ioannes Saresberiensis, *Policraticus* I–IV, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, vol. 118 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 238.

[34] MS BJ 491/2, f. 198; MS BJ 1506, f. 82v.

Stanislaus was said to have died for the liberty of the Church as Thomas Becket had, for the Christian faith as St. Lawrence and St. Vincent had, for God's law as the Maccabees had, for Christ as the innocents killed by Herod had, for justice as Abel was killed by Cain, and for opposing sin as John the Baptist.[35] Multiple analogies only strengthened the impact of the saint's example.

Pawel of Zator emphasises the great dignity of pastoral office, which also encompasses the offices of *magisterium* and *dominium* (alluding to St. Bernard). All three are required of a good prelate or ruler: *bonitas* makes a shepherd, *scientia* a teacher, and *disciplina* a lord.[36]

A Model for Secular Leaders

For fifteenth-century preachers, good shepherd Stanislaus was an example not only for bishops and clergy (as he had been earlier), but also for secular rulers and magnates.[37] To support this point, the *Policraticus*' reference to Melchizedek as an example of both king and priest was used.[38] Pawel of Zator argues that, following the example of Christ (*sacerdos, rex, et dignitarius*), priests, kings, and dignitaries are all supposed to be good shepherds.[39] The *pastores* were supposed to sacrifice everything for the wellbeing of the people and the country.[40] The mid-fifteenth century in Poland, when these sermons originated, was a period of great authority and ambitions of Church prelates. They were engaged and interfered in the secular sphere, influenced or opposed rulers, as was the case of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the Jagiellonian kings.[41] Preachers also said their word on secular matters.

[35] MS BJ 1626, f. 153r.

[36] MS BJ 491/1, f. 195.

[37] This topic deserves further investigation on larger a sermon corpus in the context of historical situation and political philosophy developments in fifteenth-century Poland, in an era when the power and ambitions of nobility, prelates and magnates increased.

[38] See footnote 33.

[39] MS BJ 491/1, f. 195–196.

[40] "Pro eorum [populi] salute et conversacione rei publice ne parcebant pecuniis, ne amicis, ne consanguineis, ne etiam corporibus suis." MS BJ 491/1, f. 196.

[41] For more, see Kuzmová, "The Construction," 46–60.

Criticism

The preachers did not limit the negative examples only to king Boleslaus II, the saintly bishop's adversary. They frequently turned to contemporary bad shepherds. The same tendency appears in Dlugosz' *Vita*, where prelates are criticised for their luxurious way of life and negligence of pastoral care.[42] As Pawel of Zator says, shepherds (be they clerical or secular) often do not care about the people and turn into wolves:

> *Si pastores et tutores conventuntur in lupos… Ecce venerunt leones rugientes, ursi insidiantes, lupi rapaces, subditas et animas rapientes et totum Dei honorem delere cupientes.*[43]

Preachers compared them to Pilate, who had forgotten his pastoral office in favour of power, as opposed to St. Stanislaus:

> *Dum prelati et dignitarii tantum dirigunt oculum ad dignitatem et potestatem, fiunt superbi vanigloria, iusticie oppressores, virtutum contemtores, et ex hoc senit ira Dei in homines et regna et communitates.*[44]

Preachers like Pawel of Zator saw the turmoil of their times, which they believed endangered not only the Church, but also the country, partly as a consequence of the deficiencies of contemporary *pastores*. Late medieval sermons on Thomas Becket developed similar themes. Preaching about him, clerics also spoke of the saint as *pastor bonus* and then condemned and denounced those clergy who pillaged and robbed their flocks, comparing them to the beasts of the field. They even said that prelates were more like princes than like shepherds.[45]

After this criticism, Zator suggests what is required: *primo, Dei timor in superioribus; secundo, morum reformatio in minoribus.*[46] Besides instructing leaders, the sermons also address the faithful subjected to good prelates. They have to know

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[42] For example, see Dlugossius, *Vita*, 17–20. For more, see Kuzmová, "The Construction," 50–55.

[43] MS BJ 491/2, f. 198. Similar criticism follows further in Zator's sermon: "quis superavit Deum et Dei honores quasi magnates, quis magis contradicit Deo quasi potentes, quis magis infestat Dei ecclesiam et cultum, quasi milites quot conspirationes, quot condictationes, contra Dei ecclesiam, et prodolor libentius eius destructionem viderent quasi a Deo poniti essent ad desolationem non ad tutionem vere mundo a scandalis."

[44] MS BJ 491/1, f. 195.

[45] Roberts, "Thomas Becket," 9.

[46] MS BJ 491/2, f. 198.

their shepherds and follow them.[47] This was not always the case in the time of Pawel of Zator, as he pointed out. Instead of obeying the prelates, the faithful listened to *erroneos homines* and went against their true shepherds.[48] He must have been speaking about the spreading Hussite movement that was also a threat to Polish territories.[49]

Conclusion

These sermons show the variety of ways Stanislaus' life and martyrdom were interpreted to medieval audiences, what elements were emphasised and chosen for preaching. This study presents observations from research on a sample of several sermons for the features pertaining to episcopal imagery: Peregrinus of Opole's sermon from the turn of the fourteenth century and three sermons from the second half of the fifteenth century. More complex research is still to be undertaken in the field of preaching, neglected up to this point concerning the cult of St. Stanislaus. The rich material of late medieval sermons on this saint has not yet been published. The importance of the role of St. Stanislaus as a good shepherd, as a man of saintly qualities, consequently as an example for modern prelates, seems by far one of the most important themes appearing in these sermons. The very same conclusion emerged from the corpus of sermons on Thomas Becket. Phyllis Roberts viewed this feature as evidence of the rooted conception of sanctity, which became closer to real life, to everybody, something achievable that could be followed here and now. This was a concept that emerged in the thirteenth century, as André Vauchez has discussed.[50] The observations on these sample sermons only support Roberts' thesis; the example of St. Stanislaus for prelates and rulers was the most important focus of the preachers, especially in the sample of fifteenth-century sermons.

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[47] Here the authors made use of the Biblical imagery again: "Oves meae vocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me. Debent ergo oves pastorem noscere, ipsum audire, ipsum sequi." MS BJ 491/2, f. 198.

[48] "Ululantur lupi heretici… sequntur homines errorem… Venit tempus infelicitatis magnae in quo oves suos pastores non cognoscunt, sed abutentur, non audiuntur, sed contempnunt, non secuntur, sed persequntur… Recognoscamus igitur pastores nostros, audiamus eos, et obediamus, fugiamus lupos, erroneos homines." MS BJ 491/2, f. 198–199.

[49] Compare with the description of Zbigniew Oleśnicki as an opponent of the Hussites. See, Kuzmová, "The Construction," 55, 57.

[50] Roberts, "Thomas Becket," 8–9, 11–12; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 340–352.

Sermons accentuated the merits of St. Stanislaus and other bishops in supporting both the Church (*ecclesia*) and the State (*patria*), which was a justification of their activities in the secular sphere. These two objectives were becoming more intertwined. The materials glorifying the deeds of the saint were intended to manifest the high esteem of his successors. Sermons exhorted *pastores*, both spiritual and secular, to follow St. Stanislaus in his way of life or his attitude towards their flock. They differed in what they accentuated, depending on topical issues. In the fifteenth century, for instance, a point for criticism was the leniency of some clerics and faithful toward the Hussite heresy or the luxurious way of life of prelates. This study demonstrates that the sermons always attempted to actualise St. Stanislaus' model, make use of it and apply it to their time. Thus, the image of St. Stanislaus was being constructed and changed over time, but always stayed an influential example for those who constructed it.

"BECAUSE THIS ALSO BELONGS TO OUR DIOCESE": FORGED CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN STEPHEN THE GREAT AND ARCHBISHOP DOROTEJ[1]

Victor Alexandrov

The correspondence between Prince Stephen the Great of Moldavia (1457–1504) and Archbishop Dorotej of Ohrid (circa 1466), consisting of two charters, has been used by scholars as primary evidence for the ecclesiastical relations of Wallachia and Moldavia with the Church of Ohrid in the medieval period. The authenticity of this well-known document has been evaluated differently by different scholars. Researching Matthew Blastares, I encountered the problem of the genuineness of the correspondence and had a chance to examine the original manuscript which includes the two charters. The literature concerning the correspondence reveals that not all the features of the manuscript and text of the charters have been taken into account in historiography; some information reported about the manuscript is not accurate. The only reliable palaeographic study on the charters, that of Bogdan,[2] is written in Romanian and thus most historians are not aware of the details of his argumentation. Here I will provide additional data regarding the correspondence and make several corrections to what has been written about it.

The two charters are held in Moscow in the Russian State Library (the former Lenin Library), Grigorovič collection (*fond* 87), MS 27 (old access number 1707). The Grigorovič MS 27 is a ten-folia fragment which includes the last articles of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares (folia 1–2v.), the afterword of the scribe, Deacon Dmitar (folia 3–8v.), and the two charters, which are the main topic of my discussion here (folia 9–10).[3]

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[1] This article is a revised section of my PhD dissertation on the Slavic *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares, which I have recently completed at the Department of Medieval Studies of the CEU. It is my pleasure to thank Dan Muresan (Paris-Cluj) for his very helpful cooperation during my work on this topic.

[2] Ioan Bogdan, "Documente false atribuite lui Ştefan cel Mare" (Forged documents attributed to Stephen the Great), *Buletinul Comisiei istorice a României* 1 (1913): 103–161.

[3] I am aware of three descriptions of this fragment: А. Викторов, *Собрание рукописей В. И. Григоровича* (The collection of the manuscripts of V. I. Grigorovič) (Москва: Типография М. Н. Лаврова, 1879), 19–21; Bogdan, "Documente false," 109; and Radu Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept Românesc scris. Repertoriul izvoarelor. 1340–1640* (Ancient Romanian written law: Inventory of sources, 1340–1640) (Bucharest: Direcţia generală a

The afterword of Deacon Dmitar of Kratovo is his only surviving work.[4] The text starts with a brief and rhetorically eloquent account of how evil emerges in the world and how man struggles against his nature, which is inclined to evil. Dmitar's writing attracted the attention of scholars primarily due to a detailed account of the circumstances in which this manuscript appeared. According to the afterword, the *Syntagma* was commissioned by Archbishop Dorotej of Ohrid during his visit to Kratovo in the course of a trip around his archbishopric. For the completion of that task, Dorotej promised to put Dmitar and members of his family on the commemoration list of the Church of Ohrid. Dmitar also reports that as a consequence of internal intrigues Dorotej, together with many nobles and clerics from Ohrid, was moved by the Sultan to Constantinople and replaced by "Lord Marko, who was a Patriarch of Constantinople" (Markos Xylokaraves).[5] That happened after the military campaign of Sultan Mehmed in Albania and after the foundation of the town of Konjuh. Finally, Dmitar asks Archbishop Markos of Ohrid for forgiveness. He reports the date of 1466, although from his account it is not clear whether this date pertains to the campaign of Mehmed or to the events in Ohrid or to both. In any event, the deposition of Dorotej and the arrival of Markos took place around 1466 or 1467,[6] and thus the afterword could be dated to 1466 or shortly afterwards.

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arhivelor statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1984), 240. For unclear reasons, Viktorov considers the Grigorovič MS to be a nine-, not ten-folia fragment.

4 See Мариана Цибранска, "Дяк Димитър Кратовски и неговият номоканон от 1466 г." (Deacon Dimităr of Kratovo and his *Nomocanon* from 1466), *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 19, no. 1 (1995): 91–98 (with references to further literature). Different spellings of the name of the deacon are possible; henceforth, in this text I spell his name as Dmitar. The afterword has been published in full by Боню Ст. Ангелов, "Дмитър Кратовски" (Dmităr of Kratovo), in *idem*, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература* (Essays on Old Bulgarian, Russian and Serbian literature), кн. 2 (София, Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 1967), 259–267. Extensive excerpts of this writing are also found in Викторов, *Собрание рукописей В. И. Григоровича*, 20–21; Vl. Kačanovskij, "Njekoliko spomenica za srbsku i bugarsku povijest" (Some documents of Serbian and Bulgarian history), *Starine* 12 (1880): 253–257; Љуб. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи* (Old Serbian notes and inscriptions), књ. 1 (Београд, 1902), no. 328; and Bogdan, "Documente false," 117–120.

5 **По прѣселюніи же сего прѣдреченнаго архіепискпа бльгарскаго кур Дорѡѳеа, прѣемникь прѣстолꙋ охрідскомоу ꙋстраает се курь Марко, патріархь бывыи Кѡнстантіна града, повелѣніемь цр҃ствоующаго.** Ангелов, "Дмитър Кратовски," 265.

6 Concerning Markos Xylokaraves, see Heinrich Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida: Geschichte und Urkunden*, Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historischen Klasse, Bd. 20, no. 5 (Leipzig, 1902; reprint, Aalen:

The two charters are found after the colophon of Deacon Dmitar on leaves 9–10. The first is addressed to Archbishop Dorotej by Voievod Stephen the Great, the second is the answer of the archbishop to the voievod.[7] In the first charter, dating from April 6964 (1456 AD), the prince asks Dorotej to send "his blessing and the persons who will ordain the new metropolitan"[8] to Moldavia because the incumbent, "Lord Visarion," has died. In his answer, dating from October of the same year (see the discussion of the dating below), Dorotej complains that he can neither come to Moldavia by himself, nor send his people because of a plot (**крамола**) among the nobles and clergy of Ohrid and, as a result, his transfer to Constantinople. Dorotej encourages Stephen to organise the election and ordination of a new metropolitan by local bishops and in the presence of Metropolitan Makarij (Macarie) of Wallachia. The correspondence implies that in that period the Churches of Moldavia and Wallachia were subject to the archbishopric of Ohrid.

The first eight folia of the Grigorovič fragment are a single quire (*quaternion*), while leaves 9 and 10 are a large folium folded in two. At the moment, all ten folia are bound together, but the binding is modern; a note inside the modern front cover testifies that the manuscript was restored in the 1960s. From the description of Bogdan, published in 1913, it appears that the ten leaves were also sewn together at the beginning of the twentieth century.[9]

The fragment of the *Syntagma* and the afterword of deacon Dmitar, found on leaves 1–8v. and the two charters on folia 9 and 10, are written in different handwritings. The scribe of the *Syntagma* (who was Dmitar himself, as is clear from the text of the afterword) wrote in accurate semi-uncials, quite typical for Balkan Slavic manuscripts, while the script of the charters could rather be defined as cursive.[10] Bogdan dates this cursive to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and points out that the ink used by the scribe of the charters is also of later origin and could have been produced as late as the nineteenth century.[11]

Scientia, 1980), 23–24; and Иван Снегаров, *История на Охридската архиепископия* (History of the archbishopric of Ohrid), т. 2 (София, 1924; reprint, София: Академично издателство "Проф. Марин Дринов," 1995), 184–186 (references are to the reprint editions of these two books).

[7] The charters are printed in Kačanovskij, "Njekoliko spomenica," 253 and 254. The facsimile is published in Bogdan's study and reprinted in Снегаров, т. 2, attachment 25. I used the reprint.

[8] **да послеши намь твое бл҃венїе и ѹл҃ке, кои да намь митрополита вставленїю** (sic!). See Снегаров, т. 2, attachment 25.

[9] Bogdan, "Documente false," 109.

[10] Cf. *ibid*., 109.

[11] *Ibid.*

Bogdan and Constantinescu assert that the paper of the last two leaves of the Grigorovič fragment is different and of a much later provenance than the rest of the manuscript (leaves 1–8).[12] Constantinescu also states that the charters in question are written on paper with a nineteenth-century Ottoman watermark—a crescent on three mountains, the tops of which are cut off.[13] The information of Bogdan and especially of Constantinescu is not quite accurate. First, the appearance of folia 9 and 10 is quite the same as of folia 1–8. In my opinion, such a thick and matte paper could hardly have been produced in the nineteenth, eighteenth or seventeenth century. Secondly, Constantinescu mis-identified the watermark on leaf 10 (it is the only watermark in the Grigorovič fragment). The tops of the mountains are not cut off. In addition, two centimetres above the crescent is a centimetre-long horizontal line. A search for parallels in the album of Briquet leaves no doubt that the present watermark is a variant of a watermark attested on the Italian paper and dating from 1463.[14] The major difference between the two watermarks is that in Briquet the aforementioned line is the horizontal line of the cross raised upon the crescent, while in the Grigorovič fragment the vertical line of the cross is absent (or cannot be discerned). Thus, folia 9 and 10 are authentic fifteenth-century paper.

The authenticity of the charters, however, appeared suspicious at first glance into their content. A discrepancy between the data provided by these letters and the evidence of other sources has been discussed in detail by Bogdan.[15] Firstly, Metropolitan Visarion of Moldavia is unknown. According to information based on many different sources, from 1453 until 1478 the metropolitan see of Moldavia was occupied by Teoktist I.[16] Secondly, Metropolitan Makarij (Macarie) of Wallachia is mentioned in the sources later, in the 1480s, but in a document dating from 1464 a certain Iosif appears as occupying that see.[17] Thirdly, the title of Dorotej used in both charters is not the usual one. In the letter of Stephen, Dorotej is called "the Most Blessed Archbishop of the First Justiniania and the Lord of all Bulgarians, Serbs and

[12] *Ibid*., 109 and 114; and Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept*, 240.
[13] Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept*, 240.
[14] C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars*, ed. Allan Stevens, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: The Paper Publication Society, 1968), no. 11734.
[15] Bogdan, "Documente false," 110–116.
[16] Cf. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* (History of the Romanian Orthodox Church), 2d ed., vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1991), 351–353.
[17] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. 1, 349 and 350 .

Dacian lands," whereas in Dorotej's answer his title reads as "the Archbishop of the First Justiniania, all Bulgarians, Serbs, northern countries and others."[18] Mention of Moldavia and Wallachia occurs in the title of the archbishops of Ohrid, although these cases are late, dating from the last decades of the sixteenth and the first decades of the seventeenth century.[19] The clauses "Dacian lands" and "northern countries" have never been attested.[20]

The dating of the charters constitutes a special problem. The date of the first charter, the year 6964 "from the creation of the world" (that is, 6964–5508=1456 AD), is an impossibility. Firstly, Stephen ascended the throne in 1457,[21] a year after the time when his letter is said to have been written; secondly, the plot in Ohrid and deposition of Dorotej took place around 1466, as follows from the afterword of Dmitar. The date of the second charter is also 6964. In the Balkan Orthodox countries, in the Middle Ages, the calendar year began in September.[22] Thus, year 6964 lasted from 1 September 1455 until 31 August 1456. Given that the answer of Dorotej dates from October 6964, this corresponds to 1455 AD (6964–5509=1455). That means that the answer would have been written before the letter of Stephen, which is nonsense. To receive the letter in the same year, 1456, one must infer that the calendar year began in March, as was the case in Rus' until the end of the fifteenth century.[23] The date 1456 is not authentic, which was established as early as the study of Bogdan.[24] In both charters the date has been corrected. One can see that even on the facsimile.

In the first charter, the date reads as "ѕ҃цѯд [6964-5508=1456], April, *indiction* д҃і [14]," but the letter ѯ is clearly a correction made on the place of another, original, letter. The *indiction* 14 does not correspond to the year 1456.

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18 Kačanovskij, "Njekoliko spomenica," 253 and 254.

19 Снегаров, *История на Охридската архиепископия*, т. 2, 379 and 380.

20 *Ibid*., т. 2, 379–383. Cf. Bogdan, "Documente false," 115 and 116.

21 *Ibid*., 111.

22 Куйо Куев, "Летоброене," in *Кирило-методиевска енциклопеция*, т. 2 (София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски," 1995), 534 and 535.

23 Р. А. Симонов, "Об особенностях цифровой системы, употреблявшейся в кириллических рукописях X–XV веков" (Concerning the peculiarities of the number system used in Cyrillic manuscripts from the tenth to the fifteenth century), in *Методическое пособие по описанию славяно-русских рукописей для Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР* (Methodological instructions for the description of Russian Slavic manuscripts for the *Union Catalogue* of the manuscripts kept in the USSR), выпуск 1 (Москва, 1973), 208–210.

24 For the detailed analysis of the dating, see Bogdan, "Documente false," 111–112.

Next to the *indiction*, number 4, corresponding to 1456, is placed in brackets, written in Arabic numerals, in a different handwriting, and in another ink.

In the answer of Dorotej, the date is "ѕцг҃ѯѧ [6964-5509=1455], October, *indiction* 6," but the letters ѯ and ѧ are, again, corrections. The number of the *indiction* has deteriorated slightly. Probably the letter of indiction is ѕ (6), but it could also be misread as ѕ҃ (7) (as published by Kačanovskij).[25] Below the date, the number ҂ѕцг҃ѯ҇ѕ (6965) is written in brackets, and next to the *indiction* correction ѕ҇ (5) is found, also in brackets. Kačanovskij erroneously publishes this correction as ıѕ҇ (15).[26] A note written in pencil, presumably by Grigorovič himself (f. 10), reports that the *indiction* was corrected in Wallachia to correspond to the dates of the charters.[27]

It is evident, Bogdan concludes,[28] that the original date of the first charter is ѕцг҃оѧ, 6974, which corresponds to 1466 AD: the *indiction* of this year is 14. The original date of the second charter should be ѕцг҃оѕ҇, 6975: October 6975 corresponds to 1466 AD. The *indiction* of the second charter, whether it is 6 or 7, is wrong. The correct *indiction* of year 6975 would be 15.[29] The corrections in brackets below the dates were made either by Grigorovič or by someone else in Wallachia, but it is not clear who corrected the dates themselves.

One must agree with the conclusions of Bogdan and Constantinescu that the two charters are forgeries, despite the fact that these documents are written on authentic fifteenth-century paper, probably from the same manuscript as the rest of Grigorovič's fragment. The presumption that the charters are forgeries gives an easy and convincing explanation for all the peculiarities of the content. Evidently, the compiler of the charters had a vague idea of Romanian ecclesiastical history in the 1460s. He borrowed information about the plot in Ohrid and about the deposition of Dorotej from the afterword of Dmitar. As the original year and *indiction* of the first charter coincide with those of Dmitar's

[25] Kačanovskij, "Njekoliko spomenica," 254.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Последняя поправка сделана в Валахии для уравнения индиктиона.
[28] Bogdan, "Documente false," 114.
[29] To define the *indiction*, one should divide the number of the year from the creation of the world (*anno mundi*) by 15. The remainder is equal to the *indiction*. If the remainder is zero, the *indiction* is fifteen. For the *indiction*, see Nicolas Oikonomides, "Indiction," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 993.

afterword,[30] it is clear that the author of the forgery copied the date, including the *indiction*, from the afterword.[31] If the *indiction* of the second charter is not a later alteration but was calculated by the compiler, he was unable to define the *indiction* correctly (although he needed only to add one to the *indiction* of the first charter). Such a lack of knowledge about the calculation of the *indiction* would be an argument in favour of a late origin of the charters, namely in a period when the *indiction* was not used. Finally, the compiler inserted inauthentic (at least for the fifteenth century) clauses into the title of the Archbishop of Ohrid.

The wish to produce a seemingly genuine document testifying to the canon law subordination of the Moldavian and Wallachian Churches to the Church of Ohrid in the middle of the fifteenth century was the main reason for the compilation of the charters. It is not accidental that, referring to Metropolitan Macarie of Wallachia in the second charter, "Dorotej" argues thus: "because this [Wallachia] also belongs to our diocese."[32]

As mentioned above, Bogdan dates the script of the charters to the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[33] So far I would refrain from a final conclusion on the date of these documents. On the one hand, what is known about the attempts of the high clergy of Ohrid to expand the boundaries of their Church north of the Danube in the second quarter of the sixteenth century (under Archbishop Prohor)[34] does not rule out the origin of the charters in this

[30] See Ангелов, "Дмитър Кратовски," 265, and Викторов, *Собрание рукописей В. И. Григоровича,* 20. Influenced by the aforementioned correction in the charter, Kačanovskij (p. 255) erroneously published the *indiction* in the afterword as 4.

[31] Cf. Bogdan, "Documente false," 113 and 114.

[32] **приꙁвав'ше къ себѣ и митрополита ѳгро влахїискаго брата нашего и сълѹжьника кѵр Макарїа · ꙁанюже и тъ wбласти нашеѥ естъ.** See Kačanovskij, "Njekoliko spomenica," 254, and cf. Снегаров, т. 2, attachment 25.

[33] Bogdan, "Documente false," 109 and 110.

[34] For this issue, see the following works: Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић, "*О књизе Птоломеја.* Два стара српска географска 'тлкованија'" (About the *Book of Ptolemeus:* Two Old Serbian geographical commentaries), *Историски часопис* 6 (1956): 55–65; Tit Simedrea, "Unde şi cînd a luat fiinţă legenda despre atîrnarea canonică a scaunelor mitropolitane din Ţara Românească şi din Moldova de archiepiscopia de Ohrida (From where and when the legend of the dependence of the metropolitan sees of Wallachia and Moldavia from the archbishopric of Ohrid emerged), *Biserica Ortodoxa Română* 85 (1967): 975–1003; Branislav Đurđev, "Odnos između Ohridske arhiepiskopije i srpske crkve od pada Smedereva (1459) do obnavljanja Pećke patrijaršije (1557)" (Relations between the archbishopric of Ohrid and the Serbian Church from the fall of Smederevo, 1459, until the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć, 1557), *Radovi akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* 38 (1970): 184–209; Mihai Maxim, "Les relations des Pays Roumains avec

period. On the other hand, if the compiler of the charters made the evident mistake in the calculation of the *indiction*, these documents come from a very late period, perhaps the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The issue could be clarified through further palaeographic analysis of the script of the charters. Some clues to the origin of the correspondence could be obtained through the study of the diplomatic features of the documents issued by the chancery of the Archbishops of Ohrid and through a more detailed examination of the titles used by these archbishops in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period.

In 1931, among the documents which were transferred from the Romanian monasteries secularised in the nineteenth century to the dependency (*metochia*) of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople, a copy of the charters was found, made by Grigorovič himself. A facsimile of this copy was published by Paul Mihail.[35] In the note found below the charters, Grigorovič writes that he copied these documents from "his manuscript" in 1845 in Bucharest. In the second note, he asserts that he received the originals of the charters in the monastery of St. John of Rila (in modern western Bulgaria) and that they were found at the end of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares. Incidentally, one can assume from the latter note that Grigorovič had the whole manuscript of the *Syntagma* at his disposal.[36]

This copy is interesting evidence of Grigorovič's methods of work. In the copy, the date of the first charter is 6964 (1456), *indiction* 14. One can see an attempt to calculate the alternative date under the number of the year: two or three unfinished figures are written and crossed out. The date of the second charter is also 6964 (1456), but the *indiction* is 1. Again, below the number of the year an alternative number, 6969 (1461), is found in brackets. Mihail considers the latter correction as Grigorovič's hypothesis that the charter dates from 1461 and, what is surprising, finds this conjecture to be convincing.[37] However, the charter, were it authentic, could not have come from 1461, because the events in Ohrid referred to in the charter only took place in 1466. Probably the alternative dates in brackets indicate Grigorovič's understanding, at least with regard to the second charter, that the date 1456 is not correct.

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l'archévêché d'Ohrid à la lumière de documents turcs inédits," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 19 (1981): 653–671.

[35] Пауль Михаил, "К вопросу о переписке молдовлахийского воеводы Стефана Великого с архиепископом Первой Юстинианы Дорофеем" (On the issue of the correspondence of the Moldo-Wallachian Voievod Stephen the Great with the Archbishop Dorotej of the First Justiniana), *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4, no. 1–2 (1966): 239–246.

[36] For the text of the notes, see Михаил, "К вопросу о переписке," 245.

[37] Михаил, "К вопросу о переписке," 242.

As compared to the Grigorovič MS 27, the copy of 1845 contains minor variant readings which are of interest. Because of the poor quality of the facsimile in Mihail's edition, I limit myself to comments on those alterations which have been pointed out by Mihail himself. The variant readings of the 1845 copy include a *rusism* (**българам** instead of **блъгарѡм**), two corrections of the unusual spelling of the original for a more common one (**молдовлахїнскои** instead of **мꙋлдовлахїнскои** and **мꙋсꙋлманскаго** instead of **мꙋсломанского**), one omitted clause (**и съ нѣколико болꙗри и клирикы нашєє црькви**),[38] and nine evident misspellings of the original (in particular **ꙋсїє** instead of **ꙋспє**, **ѡного** instead of **иного**, **рꙋкоположишь** instead of **рꙋкоположить**, **обьдрьжили** instead of **обьдрьжимїи** and so on).[39] Mihail attributes great importance to the variant **болгари** found in one more place of the copy of 1845 instead of **болꙗри** in the Grigorovič MS 27, arguing that the **болгари** should be the original reading. He did not notice that the clause cited (**въздвиже некою крамолꙋ междꙋ болꙗри нашєго града и клироса црьковнааго**) is based on the information of Dmitar (**нѣкоторѣи крамолы междоусобнѣи подвигьши се тоу … и съ множаишїими ѡть болꙗрь ѡхрїд҄скыихь и причѣтникь црькѡвныхь …**). In addition, the reading **болгари** makes no sense in the context. The present variant is no more than a corruption made by Grigorovič, and acceptance of this reading leads to a complete jumble.[40] In general, the great number of misspellings which are evident and sometimes senseless casts a serious shadow on Grigorovič's accuracy. One has the impression that the copies were made in a great hurry. It may also be that some of the changes are not unconscious corruptions, but Grigorovič believed that he was permitted to alter the text of his original slightly. It is amusing that he finishes the second note following the charters with the following sentence: "Victor Grigorovič, Master of Arts of the Kazan' University, testifies to the correctness of this copy."[41]

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[38] According to Mihail, (*ibid.*) this omission testifies to the presence of the word **болгари** instead of **болꙗри** in the original, but it is difficult to understand how the absence of something in the copy could testify to the presence of anything whatsoever in the original.

[39] Михаил, "К вопросу о переписке," 241

[40] For a piece of such a mess, see Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida*, 22.

[41] Михаил, "К вопросу о переписке," 245.

Constantinescu argues that Grigorovič himself was involved in the falsification of the correspondence.[42] In my opinion, Grigorovič was just an enthusiast who disseminated the forgery, but who was neither responsible for it nor aware of the real nature of these documents. In one more misunderstanding of the Grigorovič MS 27, Constantinescu maintains that the first eight folia of the Grigorovič MS 27 are the last *quaternion* of the Egorov MS 65 (Russian State Library, Moscow), which is a copy of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares.[43] This is an absolutely improbable conjecture, since everything in the two manuscripts (paper, watermarks, handwriting, ink, and orthography) is different. For example, the Egorov manuscript uses Bulgarian orthography,[44] while the Grigorovič fragment uses Serbian. The Egorov codex dates from the period between the 1510s and the 1530s,[45] while the Grigorovič fragment comes from 1466 or shortly thereafter. The paper of the two manuscripts is of different quality. Finally, even on the basis of extant publications one can discover that in the Egorov MS 65 the *Syntagma* is interrupted at a different place than where the Grigorovič fragment begins. There is a difference of about 135 letters between the end of the Egorov MS and the beginning of the Grigorovič fragment. Given that the length of lines in the Egorov MS is approximately 26 to 28 letters,[46] the Grigorovič MS 27 starts about five lines below the point at which the Egorov MS 65 is interrupted. Accepting the hypothesis of Constantinescu, one is not able to explain how these five lines have disappeared. In short, the Egorov MS 65 and Grigorovič MS 27 are two different codices.

[42] Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept*, 240.
[43] *Ibid.* For a description of the Egorov MS 65, see Magdalena Georgescu, "Glosele Bogdan" (The glosses of Bogdan), in *Texte românești din secolul al XVI-lea* (Romanian texts of the sixteenth century), ed. Ion Gheție *et al.* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1982), 367–375.
[44] See facsimiles in Georgescu, "Glosele Bogdan," 452–464.
[45] *Ibid.*, 374–375.
[46] *Ibid.*, 452–464.

Table 1. A comparison of texts showing that the first eight folia of the Grigorovič MS 27 are not the last quaternion *of the Egorov MS 65.*

Syntagma	*Egorov MS 65 ends*	*Grigorovič MS 27 starts*
рекше благословенїа и вѣнчанїа || брака, и еже записовати припадаѫщѫ вины, не сѫщꙋ же емꙋ тоꙋ̏, ипомниматографⸯ сїе назнаменꙋеть, рекше записꙋетъ, дасть же [с] дїаконѡмⸯ въ г҃ь г҃лати. дїаконꙋ же не сѫ||щꙋ, г҃летс и ѿ чьтⸯца ꙗко же и антїфѡни. конець съ бм҃ь законника[47]	рекше благословенїа и вѣнчанїа …[48]	…щꙋ, г҃лютсе и ѿ чьтⸯца, ꙗко же и антїфѡнъ. коньць съ б҃гомъ законника[49]

On the basis of all that has been said above, the question of whether the correspondence of Stephen the Great and Dorotej of Ohrid is authentic should be answered in the negative. Unaware of Bogdan's arguments and of details of Moldavian and Wallachian history, several historians have referred to the two charters as authentic.[50] Matkovski defends the authenticity of the charters, stating that in these documents the information on the events of 1466 in Ohrid

[47] В. Н. Бенешевич, "Два списка славянского перевода Синтагмы Матвея Властаря, хранящиеся в СПб. Синодальной библиотеке" (Two copies of the Slavic translation of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares which are kept in the Synodal Library in St. Petersburg), *Известия отделения русского языка и словесности императорской академии наук* 4, no. 4 (1901): 227.

[48] Georgescu, "Glosele Bogdan," 368.

[49] Викторов, *Собрание рукописей В. И. Григоровича*, 19.

[50] Снегаров, т. 2, 15, 16, 185 and 186; Ђоко Слијепчевић, *Историја српске православне цркве* (History of the Serbian Orthodox Church), књ. 1 (Munich: Iskra, 1962), 318; Александар Матковски, "Односите помеѓу Охридската архиепископија и османската држава" (Relations between the archbishopric of Ohrid and the Ottoman state), *Гласник на институт за националната историја* 16, no. 2 (1972): 114 and 115 (n. 12); and Тодор Събев и Трендафил Кръстанов, "Охридската архиепископия-патриаршия" (The Archbishopric-Patriarchate of Ohrid), in *Българската патриаршия през вековете* (Bulgarian Patriarchate through the centuries) (София: Синодално издателство, 1980), 11.

coincides with the evidence of Dmitar.[51] The charters, however, are not an independent account but borrow the data from the afterword of Dmitar. The authenticity of the correspondence has also been argued by Elian, who refers to a workshop paper in which he allegedly refuted the arguments of Bogdan,[52] but to the best of my knowledge that paper has been never published and thus one is unable to evaluate his refutation of Bogdan. The correspondence of Stephen and Dorotej cannot be used as an argument in favour of the jurisdictional subordination of the Moldavian and Wallachian Churches to the archbishopric of Ohrid in the middle of the fifteenth century. The existence of such a dependence in the Middle Ages is a different problem which should be discussed separately.

[51] Матковски, "Односите помеѓу," 114–116 (especially n. 12).
[52] Alexandru Elian, "Legăturile mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei cu Patriarhia de Constantinopol şi cu celelalte Biserice Ortodoxe" (Relations of the Metropolitanate of Wallachia with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and with other Orthodox Churches), *Biserica Ortodoxa Română* 77 (1959): 910.

THE LION AND KING MATTHIAS CORVINUS: A RENAISSANCE INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL PHYSIOGNOMIC IMAGE*

Enikő Békés

The idea of physiognomy was influential from antiquity through the Renaissance as an image-shaping artistic method in pictorial and written works. Focussing on descriptions and portraits of Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), king of Hungary, the influence of physiognomic theory will be examined. The paper aims at treating physiognomy as a means of self-fashioning and self-representation emphasising the ruler's intentions in creating his own image.[1] Matthias Corvinus' portraits, both visual and written, were shaped according to the physiognomy of the lion. Although portraits and iconography of King Matthias have been studied exhaustively[2] no more than a paragraph has been devoted to physiognomy except by Peter Meller, who was the first and almost the last to publish an article about Matthias' physiognomy in 1963.[3]

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* This study is a shortened version of my MA thesis defended at the Department of Medieval Studies in June 2003. I would like to thank all those people who helped me during my work, especially my supervisor Marcell Sebők and also Gábor Klaniczay.

[1] Scholarship has laid more stress recently on the ruler's political intentions when studying the artistic phenomena of Matthias' age in contrast to the earlier views which considered the king's new marriage to be the main reason for the stylistic changes, see among others: Ernő Marosi, "A reprezentáció kérdése a XIV–XV. századi magyar művészetben" (The question of representation in the Hungarian art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) *Történelmi Szemle* 27 (1984): 517–538; "Mátyás király udvari művészete: stílus és politika" (The courtly art of King Matthias: style and politics) *Korunk* 9: 5 (1998): 4–11; and the studies of Árpád Mikó and Dániel Pócs.

[2] Jolán Balogh, "Mátyás király ikonográfiája" (The iconography of King Matthias), in *Mátyás király – Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára* (King Matthias – Essays presented on the occasion of the five hundredth anniversary of his birth), vol. 1, ed. Imre Lukinich (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1940), 435–548 and *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* (Fine arts at the court of King Matthias), vol 1. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1966), 705–716;

[3] Peter Meller, "Physiognomic Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits," in *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art: Studies in Western Art, Renaissance and Mannerism*, vol. 2, ed. Millard Meiss and Richard Krautheimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 53–62. See also Árpád Mikó, "Imago Historiae," in *Történelem – Kép: Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* (History – Image: Excerpts

Background

Physiognomy derives from the Greek words *φύσις* and *γνῶμα*. According to physiognomy's teachings the body and soul are mutually related and thus the inner human character can be judged by the outward appearance, especially by the facial features.[4] This thesis was not only stated in physiognomic treatises, but also by Aristotle, who, in his *Analytica priora*, discusses the syllogistic methods of physiognomy.[5]

The author of the first extant physiognomic treatise, the *Physiognomonica*, is unknown, but since the work was attributed to Aristotle for a long time the writer came to be called Pseudo-Aristotle.[6] The *Physiognomonica* was probably written in the third century BC, and it has been inferred that its writer belonged to the Peripatetic School.[7] Pseudo-Aristotle systematised the rules of physiognomy, accepted and applied later by other authors, using three main methods: anatomical, ethnological, and zoological.[8]

The *Physiognomonica* was influential from antiquity onwards; both European and Arabian authors mediated the pseudo-Aristotelian teachings during the Middle Ages. Bartholomeus de Messana translated it into Latin for Manfred, king of Sicily in the thirteenth century.[9] In the Middle Ages many new treatises were composed under the name of Pseudo-Aristotle; the most influential was

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from the relationship between past and art in Hungary), ed. Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 39–40.

[4] Johanna Schmidt, "Physiognomik," in *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* vol. 20 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1941), coll. 1063–1072; J. André, ed., *Anonyme Latin. Traité de Physiognomonie* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 49. Collection des Universités de France, 1981), 7–8; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1181.

[5] Aristotle, *Analytica Priora*, II, 27, 70b, 7ff.

[6] Richardus Foerster provides the Greek-Latin bilingual edition of the *Physiognomonica*, besides other physiognomic treatises, see Foerster, *Scriptores Physiognomonici Graeci et Latini,* vol. 1–2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893). The most recent commentary on the *Physiognomonica*: Aristoteles, *Physiognomonica,* edited and commented by Sabine Vogt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999).

[7] E. C. Evans, "Physiognomics in the Ancient World," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, *Philadelphia, N.S*. 59: 5 (1969): 7; Foerster, *Scriptores*, XIX; R. Megow, "Antike Physiognomielehre," *Das Altertum* 9 (1963): 215–216.

[8] Evans, "Physiognomics," 6–7; see also the following: A. MacC. Armstrong, "The Methods of the Greek Physiognomists," *Greece and Rome* 5: 1 (1958): 52–56; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 52–56; André, *Anonyme*, 12–14.

[9] Foerster, *Scriptores*, XX, L–LI.

the *Secretum Secretorum*, an encyclopedic work that devoted one chapter to physiognomy.[10]

According to physiognomy's teachings, human character and outward appearance correspond perfectly to each other; therefore the role of external features in the evaluation of a personality is indispensable. In physiognomic literature the ideal man corresponds to the lion's character; consequently he has to resemble the lion in his outward appearance as well.[11] Pseudo-Aristotle's criteria for the lion's character were wavy blond hair falling to the shoulders, a lock rising at the forehead, a bump above the eyebrows, deep eyes, and slightly separated lips.

These characteristics were reflected in the portraits of Alexander the Great, regarded as the model of almost every ruler from antiquity onwards (*Fig. 1*).[12] According to Plutarch, Lysippus was the only artist to properly express Alexander's internal and external nature; Plutarch also discussed the external signs, always emphasising his leonine glance.[13] His image was constructed according to the lion's physiognomy, which in the interpretation of physiognomy implied that he also possessed the lion's internal nature, namely that he was magnanimous, just, brave, and generous.[14]

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[10] *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus. A Guide to Latin Works Falsely Attributed to Aristotle before 1500*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt and Dilwyn Knox (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1985), 45–50. This work lists eleven medieval pseudo-Aristotelian works: *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts*, ed. Jill Kraye, W. F. Ryan, and Charles B. Schmitt (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1986), 1–2. See also *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences*, ed. W. F Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt (Warburg Institute Surveys IV, London: University of London, 1982), 1–2; *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. V, ed. Robert Steele (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920).

[11] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 41, in Foerster, *Scriptores*, vol. I, 49–51.

[12] István Borzsák, *A Nagy Sándor-hagyomány Magyarországon* (The tradition of Alexander the Great in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1984), 8–12; George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

[13] Plutarch, "Alexander," 4, 1–3, in *Plutarch's Lives* with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 231–233; Plutarch, *De Alexandris seu virtute seu fortitudine*, 2, 2.

[14] Bente Kiilerich, "Physiognomics and the Iconography of Alexander," *Symbolae Osloenses* 63 (1988): 51–66; A. Stewart, "Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics," in *Alexander the Great. Reality and Myth,* ed. Jesper Carlsen, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl.* 20 (1993): 61–69; M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1964).

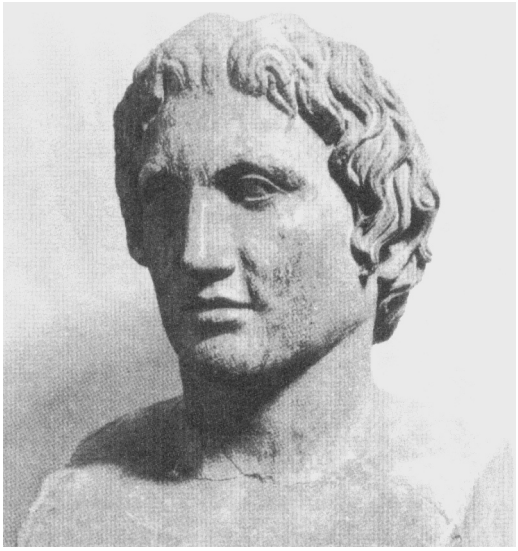

Fig. 1. Alexander the Great (known as the Azara Herm), Roman copy of a Greek original probably by Lysippos, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. Nr. MA 436.

This physiognomic image-creating practice, fitting the features existing in reality to an ideal, was followed in descriptions and representations of Roman emperors and medieval rulers.[15] Fictional persons, for example, Classical gods, heroes or warriors were usually represented with the physiognomy of the lion, and this image became the attribute of all kinds of personalities possessing outstanding qualities. Finally, Alexander's figure became inseparable from the lion's physiognomy to such an extent that his name was often mentioned even in the later physiognomic treatises in connection with the signs of a leonine character.[16]

The influence of the lion's physiognomy has also been demonstrated in Christian iconography; the same image-shaping method had an impact on the iconography of Christ.[17] Moshe Barasch has pointed out the influence of this physiognomic type in coins representing Christ that date from Justinian II's age

[15] D. Michel, "Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Antonius," *Archäologische Untersuchungen, Coll. Latomus* 94 (1967): 125–132.

[16] *Anonymi De Physiognomia Liber*, cap. 33, in Foerster, *Scriptores*, vol. II, 50.

[17] H. W. Haussig, "Der Einfluss der hellenistischen Physiognomik auf die frühchristliche Bildgestaltung," in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale dell'Archeologia Christiana, Ravenna, 29–30 Sett., 1962*. (Vatican City: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Christiana, 1965), 199–205.

(685–695) (*Fig. 2*).[18] The main features (found on so-called A-type coins) are a round face, beard and the hair reaching down to the shoulders. Barasch identified this iconographic type with the character of the lion, mediated by Greek sculptures of Zeus and by Hellenistic and Roman portraits of rulers. The features of these images of Christ, elaborated and developed in the Justinian-period coins, can also be traced in later Byzantine, Pantokrator-type representations.

Fig. 2. Coin with the face of Christ (obverse) from the reign of Justinian II, 685–695, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks.

The Christ-lion parallel also has its written testimonies, one of which is the *Physiologus*;[19] the Book of Revelations compares Christ to the *leo de tribu Iuda radix David*.[20] The David metaphor was connected to King Matthias, since his fights against the Turks were compared to the clash between David and the Philistines. This interpretation would explain Matthias' and David's common representation on the double frontispiece of the Florentine Psaltery-Corvina (*Fig. 3*).[21]

The entire presentation of the lion's symbolism reaches beyond physiognomic studies. Physiognomic thought was not the first to consider the lion as a proper symbol for rulers or other charismatic

[18] Moshe Barasch, "The Ruling and the Suffering Christ: Physiognomic Typology on Justinian Coins," in *Imago hominis – Studies in the Language of Art* (Vienna: IRSA, 1991), 112–118.

[19] *Physiologus*, 1, edited by Franciscus Sbordone (Hildesheim, NY: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 1–8.

[20] Book of Revelations, 5:5, in *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, edited by Robert Weber OSB (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983), 1886.

[21] For more on this, see Dániel Pócs, "Holy Spirit in the Library: The Frontispiece of the Didymus Corvina and the Neoplatonic Theology at the Court of King Matthias Corvinus," *Acta Historiae Artium* 41 (1999/2000): 118–121, and his "Exemplum and Analogy. The Narrative Structure of the Florentine Psalterium Corvina's Double Front Page," in *Potentates and Corvinas. Anniversary Exhibition of the National Széchényi Library*, ed. Orsolya Karsay (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2002), 81–89.

persons.[22] Hungarian non-physiognomic literature also contains antecedents of the lion's symbolism.

Fig. 3. King David with King Matthias in the background, frontispiece in the first Book of Psalms, Florence, second half of the fifteenth century, Monte di Giovanni del Fora, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 15.17, f 2v.

Antecedents in Hungary

The tradition concerning Alexander the Great was well known to the historiographers of medieval Hungary. Anonymus' descriptions are interwoven with Alexandrian *topoi* and this tradition also influenced Simon Kézai.[23] This can be seen, for example, when Anonymus portrays Prince Taksony, comparing him to the lion: *pulchris oculis et magnis, capilli nigri et molles, comam habebat ut leo.*[24]

The lion's physiognomy was also applied *expressis verbis* in a version of St. Ladislas' legend. The description well befits the ideal of a knight and saint king:

> *In naturalibus autem bonis divinae miserationis gratia speciali cum praerogativa praeeminentiae super communem hominum valorem praetulerat. Erat enim manu*

[22] We also should be aware of the fact that the lion possessed several evil connotations as well, which we do not intend to discuss here, although there are certain cases when the two interpretations can be hardly separated from each other. For more about this subject see Peter Bloch, "Löwe," in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 3, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Rome: Herder, 1994), 112–119.

[23] Borzsák, *A Nagy Sándor-hagyomány*, 15ff.

[24] P. Magister, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 55, edited by L. Juhász (Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1932), 38.

> *fortis et visu desiderabilis et secundum phisionomiam leonis magnas habens extremitates. Statura quippe procerus, ceterisque hominibus a humero supra praeeminans, ita quod exuberante in ipso donorum plenitudine, ipsa quoque corporis species regio dyademate dignum ipsum declararet.*[25]

Kornél Szovák believes that the source for the legend's author must have been Aristotle, more specifically, a passage of the *Analytica Priora*.[26] This legend reflects the image of an ideal king, which was emphasised by mentioning his physical excellence. Since the legend aims at presenting an image of the *rex iustus* and *generosus*, bearing in mind its general European diffusion and symbolism, the lion was the most appropriate metaphor. Szovák stresses that the idea of a king being endowed by God not only with the necessary spiritual but also with the proper physical qualities had its origins in twelfth- and thirteenth-century theories about states and rulers. The ideal king of John of Salisbury is characterised in a similar way: *ab humeris sursum supereminebat universum populum*.[27] In this physiognomic interpretation the physical appearance symbolises the ruler's virtues and thus his *idoneitas* for governance. The legend's message is that St. Ladislas was similar to the lion because of his virtues, which were also manifested in his outward appearance. This same conception influenced the creation of Matthias' portraits.

Courage and righteousness are reflected in St. Ladislas' visual representations as well. Ernő Marosi has pointed out that the ideal of the Christian knight-king can also be demonstrated in his images. He states that St. Ladislas' physiognomy befits the idea of the *imitatio Christi*; in contrast to textual testimonies, however, the lion's physiognomy cannot be traced directly in his representations. The strongly marked features of his face and particularly the

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[25] *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*, vol. 2, edited by I. Szentpétery (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1938), 517.

[26] See note 5 and Kornél Szovák, *P. Mester Gesta Hungaroruma és a Szent László legenda* (The *Gesta Hungarorum* of Master P. and the Saint Ladislas legend) (D. Phil. thesis, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), 174ff.

[27] Quoted by Kornél Szovák, "The Transformations of the Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary. Remarks on the Legend of St. Ladislas," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London: King's College, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993), 255–258. More on the description of Saint Ladislas see also Kornél Szovák, "Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban" (The image of Saint Ladislas in the early narrative sources) *Századok* 134 (2000): 117–145; Edit Madas "'Species Priami digna est imperio.' Les enseignements d'un sermon du XIII^{ème} siècle sur Saint Ladislas" *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (2000): 311–319; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 173–194.

beard are all meant to express royal dignity.[28] In terms of physiognomy this interpretation is important because the physiognomy of Christ and that of the lion were though to have similarities (*Fig. 4*).

Fig. 4. Keystone with the face of St. Ladislas, fifteenth century, Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) Town hall, vault of the chapel.

St. Ladislas became the model for several Hungarian rulers, as can be demonstrated, for example, in the *Illuminated Chronicle* commissioned by Louis the Great, but his person was also cultivated in the age of Matthias Corvinus. It cannot be regarded as an accident that at the beginning of the Chronicle of Johannes de Thurocz, the fight between King Ladislas and the Cumans was represented as referring to Matthias' battles against the Turks.[29]

Besides St. Ladislas' cult, the tradition of Alexander the Great was still alive in fifteenth-century Hungary. The Alexander romance of Arrianos was translated into Latin by Pier Paolo Vergerio, friend of Johannes Vitéz, presumably for King Sigismund in Buda. A revised version of this work, a manuscript of Curtius Rufus, was also kept in Matthias' Bibliotheca Corviniana.[30] The figure of Alexander the Great, and thus the lion, influenced

[28] Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* (Picture and image. Art and reality in Hungary of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1995), 67–75.

[29] For the *Illuminated Chronicle*, see Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 37 and *passim*; for the cult under Matthias, see Ernő Marosi, "Mátyás király és korának művészete. A mecénás nevelése" (King Matthias and the arts of his age. The education of the patron), *Ars Hungarica* 20 (1993): 31.

[30] Borzsák, *A Nagy Sándor-hagyomány*, 22–23.

Antonio Bonfini in his descriptions of King Matthias. As Bonfini reports, the ideal for Matthias was also the Macedonian ruler, *quem semper vitae habuit archetypum*.[31]

Alexander the Great and Matthias Corvinus: Galeotto and Bonfini

The physiognomy of Alexander the Great influenced the textual and the visual representations of Matthias Corvinus. His physiognomy was created following the *imitatio Alexandri*; this metaphor gained actual content in the Buda court, since Italy expected Matthias to expel the Turks from Europe.[32] Two idealistic descriptions of the king's outward appearance survive. The author of the earlier one is Galeotto Marzio, who described Matthias in the *De Egregie, Sapienter ac Iocose Dictis ac Factis Regis Mathiae* dedicated to Johannes Corvinus, son of the ruler, in 1486.[33] Galeotto first arrived in Hungary in 1461, probably at the invitation of his friend Janus Pannonius, who was his fellow student at the school of the humanist Guarino Veronese in Ferrara. He returned to Matthias's court several times before 1486 and became the court humanist of the king.[34] He described Matthias Corvinus as:

> *cum rex Mathias virium mediocrium pulchritudinisque virilis sit videaturque. Nam capillo non plene rutilo, subcrispo, denso atque promisso, oculis vividis et*

[31] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, edited by Iosephus Fógel, Bela Iványi, and Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934) vol. IV, 8, 247–248.

[32] Tibor Klaniczay, "A kereszteshad eszméje és a Mátyás-mítosz" (The idea of the crusade and the myth of Matthias), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 79: 1 (1975): 1–13 and Klára Pajorin, "Humanista irodalmi művek Mátyás király dicsőítésére" (Humanist literary works in praise of King Matthias), in *Hunyadi Mátyás – Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* (Matthias Hunyadi – Studies on the occasion of the five-hundredth anniversary of his death), ed. Gyula Rázsó and László V. Molnár (Budapest: Zrínyi kiadó, 1990), 333–363.

[33] Tibor Kardos, ed., *Galeotto Marzio Mátyás királynak kiváló, bölcs, tréfás mondásairól és tetteiről szóló könyv* (Galeotto Marzio's book on the excellent, wise, facetious sayings and deeds of King Matthias) (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1977), 111–115; Gabriella Miggiano, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico," *Il Bibliotecario* 35 (1993): 72–79.

[34] Jenő Ábel, "Galeotto Marzio," in *Adalékok a humanismus történetéhez Magyarországon* (Contributions to the History of Humanism in Hungary) (Budapest: Academia Hungarica, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1880), 231–294; Gabriella Miggiano, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni," 65ff. According to Miggiano the last stay of Galeotto in Hungary can be dated at the latest around 1482.

ardentibus, colore genarum rubicundo, longis manuum digitis, quorum minimos non plene extendit, Martiali potius quam Venerea pulchritudine decoratur.[35]

Below I will analyse this source in the light of physiognomy, an interpretation which has not yet been employed by scholars. Comparison of the elements with the pseudo-Aristotelian definitions shows that Galeotto did not select the components for his presentation accidentally. The long thick wavy reddish hair is undoubtedly a sign of the lion's physiognomy, the main characteristics of which are noted above in connection to Alexander the Great.[36] The bright and gleaming eyes are the symbols of brave, clever, talented, and generous people.[37] The ruddy face is characteristic of passionate personalities, but this corresponds to the nature of Matthias as well, since according to Bonfini he was *non difficilis ad iram*.[38] In the *Secretum Secretorum* long fingers are regarded as signs of wise, educated men and those who are apt for governance.[39] According to another medieval treatise, men who have long fingers are of good judgement.[40] Examining the elements of the description it seems that Galeotto bore in mind the physiognomic meanings when selecting his phrases. It can also be stated that similar to the method of Suetonius, applied in his biographies of the emperors, the ruler's external representation was adjusted to the praise of his inward virtues, discussed by Galeotto in another passage.[41]

The other description of the ruler, Bonfini's characterisation, was considered to be an authentic portrayal until it was discovered that his main source was Plutarch's description of Alexander the Great, from whom he

[35] Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De Egregie, Sapienter ac Iocose Dictis ac Factis Regis Mathiae ad Ducem Iohannem eius Filium Liber*, 23, edited by Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), 22.

[36] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 41, 69. I chose the treatise of Pseudo-Aristotle as the main source of my analysis because his definitions were regarded as prototypes for later authors, and concerning the signs under discussion here any comparison with other physiognomic works would not result in a substantially different interpretation.

[37] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 13, 15, 68.

[38] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, IV, VIII, 250–251.

[39] *Secretum Secretorum*, in Foerster, *Scriptores*, II, 215. It has been supposed that a manuscript of the *Secretum Secretorum* prepared for Louis the Great was preserved in the Bibliotheca Corviniana: Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library. History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1973), 140.

[40] *La fisiognomia. Trattatello in francese antico colla versione italiana del trecento*, edited by E. Veza (Bologna, 1864), 40–41.

[41] Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De Egregie,* cap. 10, 9.

borrowed phrases verbatim.[42] After having been introduced to Matthias in Vienna in 1487, the Italian historiographer remained at the royal court as lecturer to the queen, Beatrix of Aragon, and court historiographer. His obvious purpose was to compare Matthias to Alexander the Great:

> *Divo Mathie statura corporis fuit aliquanto maiuscula quam mediocris, forma eximia, generosus aspectus et multum referens magnanimitatis; rubens facies et flava coma, cui venustatem obducta supercilia, vegeti et subnigricantes oculi et sine menda nasus ne mediocrem quidem cultum addebant; obtutus eius liber ac rectus, leonis more oculis nunquam inter videndum fere conniventibus. Favorem semper obstinato indicavit obtutu, quem vero limis respexit, oculis infensum sibi esse portendit; prominentiore collo et mento fuit et ore aliquanto latiore. Caput huic addecens, quippe quod nec parvum nec magnum videri poterat, frons vero parum spatians. Consentiebant inter se membra spatiosa; bracchio terete et oblonga manu, latis humeris et patente pectore fuit… Proinde formosum erat corpus, cui color albus cum rubore fuerat admixtus, ex qua quidem mixtura mirum quandoque, ut de Alexandro perhibent, fragravit odorem. Quin etiam lineamentis oculorum et levitate illi nimis fuit assimilis, quem semper vitae habuit archetypum.*[43]

The idealising patterns of this detailed description deserve a physiognomic analysis, since one can identify likewise the lion's image in Bonfini's text. Scholars agree in considering Plutarch to be the main source, but nevertheless it is possible to examine this quotation in the light of the physiognomic writings, as in Galeotto's example, in order to propose a physiognomic decoding of the quotation.[44]

The blond hair, bright eyes, a mouth somewhat large, the free and direct gaze, not too large a forehead, wide shoulders and chest are the features of the leonine character.[45] Bonfini also points out that the king's head was of medium size (*nec parvum nec magnum*) and his body was well proportioned (*consentiebant inter se membra*), characteristics Pseudo-Aristotle mentions as signs of the brave and

[42] Árpád Mikó, "Imago Historiae," in *Történelem – Kép*, 40. On Bonfini's work see also Péter Kulcsár, *Bonfini Magyar Történetének forrásai és keletkezése* (The sources and product of Bonfini's Hungarian History) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1973).

[43] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, IV, VIII, 244–286.

[44] It was first Peter Meller who suggested the pseudo-Aristotelian interpretation of Bonfini's description, but he did not enter into details. He did not mention Galeotto's text in this context. See Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory," 60–61.

[45] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 41.

the just, in other words, the ideal male type.[46] As regards the ruddy colour of the skin (*color albus cum rubore…admixtus*), according to the *Physiognomica* it is an indicator of a talented and gentle-tempered man.[47] In Polemon's treatise this colour symbolises the man who is expert and educated in literature; in the *Secretum Secretorum* it is a sign of a just personality.[48]

The Portraits

The lion's physiognomy also influenced Matthias' visual representation. The wavy, blond hair falling to the shoulders, the lock rising at the forehead, the bump above the eyebrows, the deep eyes, the fleshy, blunt nose, the gaze directed up to the heavens and the slightly separated lips became the main features of his images, shaped according to the Alexandrian image. The portraits, like Bonfini's description, were long thought to be authentic.[49]

Peter Meller was the first to put the portraits of King Matthias into an international context and demonstrate the impact of the lion's physiognomy upon them.[50] Meller also examined the physiognomy of the lion in Italian portraits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*Fig. 5*). One of the results of his overview is the fact that the portraits of Matthias seem to be relatively early in this ranking. The same *all'antica* physiognomy has been traced, *inter alia*, in the illuminated pages of the following Corvinas:[51] the *Missale* of Brussels; the *Philostratus* of Budapest; the *Hieronymus* of Budapest and Vienna; the *Marlianus* of Volterra and the *Didymus* of New York (*Fig. 6*).[52] This mode of representing the

[46] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 72.

[47] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.* cap. 9, 15.

[48] Polemon, cap. 55, *Secretum Secretorum*, 23, in Foerster, *Scriptores*, I–II.

[49] Jolán Balogh, who compiled a catalogue of Matthias' representations, while admitting their idealising character and recognising the leonine hairdressing, ranked the lion-type images in the group of the so-called authentic portraits, see "Mátyás király ikonográfiája," vol. 1, 435–548; *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, vol. 1, 705–716.

[50] Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory," 60–61. See also Árpád Mikó, "Imago Historiae," in *Történelem – Kép*, 39–40.

[51] *Corvina*s are illuminated manuscripts of King Matthias' splendid library, the Bibliotheca Corviniana.

[52] *Missale Romanum*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9008, fol. 8v; Philostratus, *Heroica, icones, vitae sophistarum et epistolae ab Antonio Bonfine traducta*, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 417, fol. 1v; Hieronymus, *Commentarii in epistolas Sancti Pauli*, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 347, fol. 1r; *Expositio evangelii secundum Matheum*…, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 930, fol. 1r; J. F.

king even influenced his images appearing on articles craftsmen made for daily use; he was portrayed thus on the glazed tile of the so-called Matthias-stove. (See the cover illustration of this volume.)[53]

Fig. 5. Left: Donatello, Gattamelata (detail), bronze, 1447–53, Padua, Piazza del Santo. Right: Verrocchio, Colleoni (detail), bronze, c.1479–92, Venice, Campo San Zanipolo.

Fig. 6. Profile portrait of King Matthias, Ambrogio de Predis, 1488, in J. F. Marlianus, Epithalamium in nuptiis Blancae Mariae Sfortiae et Joannis Corvini*, Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, Cod. Lat. 5518. IV. 49. 3. 7, fol. 4.*

Marlianus, *Epithalamium in nuptiis Blancae Mariae Sfortiae et Joannis Corvini*, Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, Cod. Lat. 5518. IV. 49. 3. 7, fol. 4; Didymus, *De spiritu Sancto*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 496, fol. 2.

[53] On the reconstruction of the stove see lately Imre Holl, "Der Matthias-Beatrix-Ofen der Budaer Werkstatt (1480-er Jahre)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 54 (2003): 255–272. who discovered that tiles portraying Queen Beatrix can also be reconstructed from the available fragments.

The physiognomic meaning of the faces represented in these works clearly relate to the portraits of Alexander and the descriptions of Matthias' outward appearance. The characteristic traits of the images spoke for themselves and the educated humanist entourage of the king and the inventors of the image, such as the Italian artists who formulated it, understood its message correctly. The portraits, conforming to the functional criteria of the state portrait, expressed the virtues which a king should possess. The facial features and the carriage of the head likewise stood for the ruler's aptitude, expressing the ideal inward nature through physiognomy.[54] As Ernő Marosi pointed out: "A ruler needed the expression of a strongly marked character rather than to be recognisable."[55]

Meller made a distinction between two types of lion physiognomy. In the face of Donatello's Gattamelata he recognised the clement, merciful aspect of the lion, while in the face of Verrocchio's Colleoni, the etymology of whose name was *caput leonis*, he saw the cruel, ferocious nature (*Fig. 5*).[56] The head of Colleoni is also significant for the history of Hungarian art because it has a stylistic connection with one of two reliefs the Medici ruler Lorenzo "Il Magnifico" sent to Matthias Corvinus as a gift in 1482.[57] These reliefs, attributed to Andrea del Verrocchio, were meant to be clear manifestations of the Italian expectations towards Matthias as the Turk-defeater, alluding to the king's victories over the Ottoman troops. One of the reliefs represented Alexander the Great, an allusion to Matthias, the other represented Darius, personifying the Turks (*Fig. 7*).[58] Even if we do not know precisely who are modelled on the reliefs, we can easily identify them due to their physiognomy. The traits of Alexander's face were more softly formulated than those of Darius or Colleoni. One can observe on the two surviving copies that there are striking differences between their facial characters: Darius' facial expression is more severe and hard, his chin and nose are sharper, his eyes are more deeply set.[59] Comparing

[54] Martin Warnke relates this gesture to Matthias' representation: Martin Warnke, "Erhobenen Hauptes," in *Die Beredsamkeit des Leibes. Zur Körpersprache in der Kunst*, ed. Ilsebill Barta Fliedl and Cristoph Geissmar (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz, 1992), 192.

[55] Ernő Marosi, "Mátyás király és korának művészete," 17.

[56] Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory," 65ff. On the visual manifestations of the two lion-characters see 63–64.

[57] Lajos Vayer, "Alexandrosz és Corvinus – A Verrocchio-oeuvre és az olasz-magyar humanizmus ikonológiája" (Alexandros and Corvinus – The Verrocchio-oeuvre and the iconology of the Hungarian-Italian humanism), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 24: 1 (1975): 25.

[58] The original reliefs have not survived; only Renaissance copies and versions have come down to us.

[59] Vayer also pointed out the differences in their physiognomy but without mentioning any concrete physiognomical comparison.

these features with the pseudo-Aristotelian definitions reveals the meanings of these signs: sharp, pointed nose: easy to anger; hollow eye: harmful.[60]

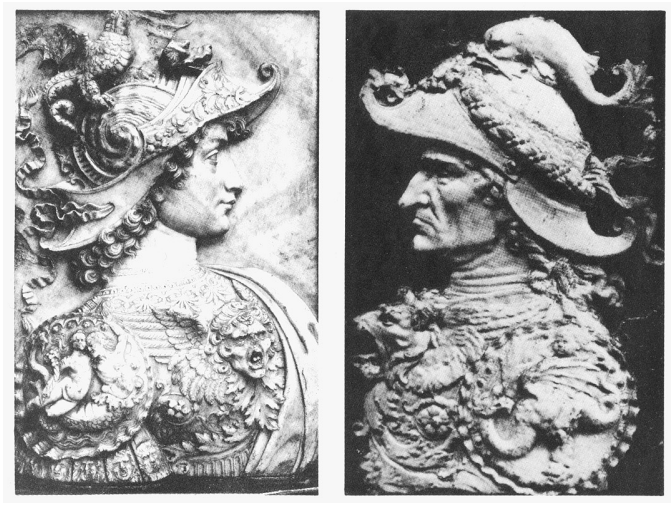

Fig. 7. Left: Verocchio, Alexander the Great, marble, c. 1480, Washington, The National Gallery of Art.
Right: Workshop of Della Robbia, Darius, terracotta-relief, c. 1480, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 8. King Matthias, detail of the statue on the tower of Ortenburg at Bautzen, sandstone, 1486.

[60] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiogn.*, cap. 61, 63.

How is this interpretation related to Matthias? Meller claims that the cruel Colleoni (Darius)-type of lion's physiognomy is reflected in the stone sculpture of Matthias executed in the fortress of Ortenburg at Bautzen in 1486 (*Fig. 8*).[61] My hypothesis is that Meller's thought can be developed further; the leonine Matthias' portraits can be categorised according to the two natures of the lion, and can be distinguished taking into consideration the two lion physiognomies.

A thoroughly detailed elaboration of this problem would be beyond the scope of this paper, but let me suggest a further interpretation. In most of the manuscripts mentioned above the king does not appear with a ferocious expression, but rather with a gentle one reminiscent of the head of Gattamelata. This can be observed, for example, in the *Marlianus* of Volterra (*Fig. 6*). Here the ruler's features are not so sharp and his nose is blunter, which creates a more clement impression. This portrait also has an important trait similar to the relief showing Alexander the Great as a personification of the gentle lion: the position of the lips. In these cases the upper lips reach over the lower ones, in contrast to Darius' face in the relief and to Matthias' profile in the Bautzen-monument, where the reversed position of the lips contributes to a great extent to an opposite facial expression. The position of the lips seen in the *Marlianus*, is mentioned in the *Physiognomonica* as a typical sign of the (magnanimous) leonine face.[62]

I also infer that the application of the different physiognomies of the lion can be regarded as conscious and dependent on the context of the image. In the case of the Bautzen monument the severe facial expression can be explained by the figure's placement above the gate of a fortress, where the image had to express authority and power to the viewers. The group of sharp-featured images also includes the work of Cortesius, where the king's wars and military glories are praised (*Fig. 9*).[63] On the other hand, in the work of Marlianus, which was composed for the engagement of the king's son, he showed his other face, represented in philosophical or theological manuscripts as the ideal philosopher-

[61] Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory," 61. As he points out, we have to ascribe an important role to the king in the figure's formulation, since the preparatory studies were sent to Buda three times, although it was commissioned by Georg Stein, the king's Statthalter.

[62] Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiogn*., cap. 60.

[63] Alexander Cortesius, *De Matthiae Corvini Ungariae Regis laudibus bellicis carmen*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 85. 1. 1. Aug. 2º fol. 3r.

ruler and patron of art. Thus, in my interpretation, the two types of the lion's physiognomy can express the ideal of the *arma et litterae* as well.[64]

Fig. 9. Profile portrait of King Matthias, in Alexander Cortesius, De Matthiae Corvini Ungariae Regis Laudibus Bellicis Carmen*, Rome, 1487–88, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 85, 1.1.Aug.2°, fol 3r.*

Conclusions

Clemency, magnanimity, and justice were indeed the principal virtues implied by the imitation of Alexander the Great, through the lion's physiognomy among other means. Matthias gladly accepted and also formulated this image. A special interest directed him in constructing myths: his claim for legitimation. The circumstances of his election and the fact that he was not descended from a royal dynasty forced him throughout his entire life to justify his ability to

[64] The ideal of the ruler who is an excellent warrior but also patron of and expert in arts is manifest in Federico da Montefeltro's iconography as well. See more on this: Claudia Brink, "Die zwei Gesichter des Federico da Montefeltro," in *Bildnis und Image: Das Porträt zwischen Intention und Rezeption*, ed. A. Köstler (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 119–143.

govern. The lion's physiognomy can also be interpreted as an imprint of his later political ambitions.[65]

The aim of this analysis was to demonstrate the physiognomic meanings of the elements used in constructing Matthias Corvinus' image. The examination was meant to be a contribution to the proper interpretation of his portraits and the descriptions of him. Thus it can be established that they were consciously created to the idealistic expectations of the Italian humanists, and also according to the ruler's intentions.[66]

[65] I intend to refer here to the fact that he did not entirely fulfill the exterior expectations, but rather pursued a considerably expansive politics that also can be compared to the conquests of Alexander the Great.

[66] Obviously the image of King Matthias was not his own, individual invention, however, he must have played an important role in its creation, beside the humanist formulators of the image, through the commission of works of art and the selection of his "stylists."

Guest Article

BYZANTINE WRITERS ON THE HUNGARIANS IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

Jonathan Shepard
(Oxford)

Introductory Note

This study was composed for delivery at the conference held in Budapest in December 1996 in commemoration of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the Hungarian *Landnahme*. The aim of the paper was to review what Byzantine writers have to say about the Hungarians between the last decade or two of the ninth century and the mid-tenth centuries. No new text had come to light since the publication of Gyula Moravcsik's classic surveys of the sources, but it seemed worth reviewing the cluster of references to the Hungarians in Byzantine writings of the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries within the broader diplomatic setting. The accumulation of material about the Hungarians at that time probably reflects mounting Byzantine apprehensions—not so much about the Hungarians themselves as about Symeon of Bulgaria, the empire's immediate, and formidable, neighbour. The extensive nature of the coverage of the Hungarians in Constantine VII's *De administrando imperio* had already been pointed out by Moravcsik. But here, too, the configuration of the textual materials seemed to me more comprehensible when viewed against the domestic political background, specifically the personnel changes at court in the early years of Constantine's rule as senior emperor. The final part of my paper suggests that the full, somewhat rambling, treatment of the Hungarians in the *De administrando* represents an attempt to put together a readily accessible guide to their history and customs. At a time when renewed Hungarian raiding was on the cards, the sudden exile of the official who had in effect been the court's expert on Hungarian affairs for many years, Theophanes the Chamberlain, probably opened up a serious gap in imperial know-how and background information about the Hungarians. The *De administrando*'s material on the history and present condition of the Hungarians may have been assembled in order to fill that gap.

A considerable number of works of general relevance to the subject have been published since 1996 and a few deal directly with the *De administrando*'s treatment of the Hungarians, for example, Sándor László Tóth's article and the book of András Róna-Tas. An addendum to the bibliography lists these

publications without, however, aspiring to completeness. Paul Stephenson has provided a valuable review-article of secondary literature published in a western language on the history of the early Hungarians, while his book on Byzantium's Balkan frontier sets the activities of Hungarians in the tenth century within the broader context of imperial Byzantine diplomacy, emergent Balkan polities and the needs of nomads. Stephenson and Tóth, building on the earlier work of Macartney and Göckenjan, point to the strong probability that the lands east of the Tisza were occupied by the *De administrando*'s Kavars (*Kabaroi*). These, in turn, may be associated with the *"Khalisioi"*/Kaliz, a grouping of Khazar provenance known from later Hungarian sources to have occupied the valley of the Tisza in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Constantine VII could well have drawn heavily on Kavar informants for his contemporary data about the Hungarians' lands, and the *De administrando*'s generous coverage of this grouping in comparison with the other units of Hungarians becomes the more understandable. In addition, a number of scholars have independently reached the conclusion that imperial attention to, knowledge about, and policy towards a region or people fluctuated drastically in accordance with the empire's ever-changing needs and apprehensions of perils. Stephenson's book shows how adaptable Byzantine administrative arrangements were after the defeat of the Rus and the Bulgarians in 971. Comparable flexibility was applied to the northern borderlands after final victory over the Bulgarians had been won in 1018, and in the territories reconquered from the eastern Muslims in the 960s and 970s. Groupings of combat-ready "barbarians" could become pivotal to imperial schemes virtually overnight, as my own studies on interrelationships between Byzantium, the Khazars, the Rus' and the Pechenegs have led me to conclude. From the later ninth century onwards the Hungarians, whether living in the Black Sea steppes or to the west of the Carpathians, were of great potential value to Byzantium as allies against the Bulgarians. This probably accounts for the composition and storing in imperial archives of a number of written reports about them, particularly after their migration to their new abode in the 890s. A generation later, perhaps after a slight lull in Byzantino-Hungarian exchanges, the Hungarians emerged as a serious nuisance, if not major threat, to the empire's European provinces. Accordingly, fresh data about them, and potential counterforces to them, needed to be marshalled. Coping with the Hungarians may well have become a speciality of Theophanes the Chamberlain in the 930s and 940s.

Our study was not primarily concerned with the problems of the whereabouts and socio-political organization of the Hungarians during the ninth century, and its propositions do not seem invalidated by more recent publications on the subject. That the Hungarians dominated the Black Sea

steppes from the 830s, if not slightly earlier, is no longer in serious doubt, and it seems likely that groups of them were migrating across the Carpathians in the direction of the Danubian basin well before 896. The nature of their relations with the Khazars and the Byzantines during this period might well repay further investigation. Constantine Zuckerman has pointed out the evidence suggestive of serious tensions and conflict between the Hungarians and the Khazars. The most plausible scenario is one of fluctuating phases of Khazar hegemony and Hungarian subordination, defiance and outright hostilities. The period, or periods, of the Hungarians' active military collaboration with the Khazars may have been quite brief. The intensity of these two peoples' interrelationship over a couple of generations could account for the presence in the Hungarian language of a number of Turkic terms denoting political authority and law.

However, this is not the only possible explanation for the presence of Turkic words such as *kündü* or *kende* in Hungarian, and there are grounds for reappraising the whole phenomenon of the Hungarians' sudden emergence in historical sources relating to the second third of the ninth century. Angela Marcantonio has adduced philological considerations, supported by thorough statistical analysis, to question whether the language spoken by the early Hungarians need have any "genetic" connexion with that spoken by inhabitants of the Urals. There appear to be no compelling philological grounds for supposing the Ural mountains to have been an original "homeland," the region where the Hungarians coalesced into a people having their own distinctive language, akin to that of the Finns and to Ob-Ugric. The archaeological evidence supporting this supposition would seem to be inconclusive, at best. Specialists in the formation of languages across Eurasia are unlikely to reach agreement on these issues in the near future and the general historian is not best-placed to arbitrate. But one may note that Marcantonio's dissociation of the Hungarians from an Uralic heritage fits well enough with the consistent designation of the Hungarians as "Turks" by Leo VI and by other Byzantine writers of the late ninth and tenth centuries. Moreover Constantine VII's remark that the Hungarians could speak the language of the Khazars would raise fewer eyebrows if the Hungarians had come into being as a distinctive grouping somewhere to the east of the Khazars, in the steppes. There would be no need to posit communication between the Khazars and Hungarians at the imperial palace "in some sort of patois," as is done in the text below (p. 104–5). Rather, one might take the speculation a little further and suppose that the Hungarians began to have close dealings with the Khazars not long after their formation as a confederate grouping, perhaps while this process was under way.

* * *

We do not possess many narrative accounts about the "people" (or "peoples") whom Byzantine writers usually called *Tourkoi*, in their coverage of the ninth and tenth centuries. This is not so surprising: generally, foreign groupings were only deemed worthy of discursive mention if they appeared to be threatening Constantinople itself. The number of major incursions by the Hungarians recorded by Byzantine chronicles is small: three between 934 and 958 (inclusive) and an unspecified quantity of indeterminate size during the 960s, culminating in the participation by Hungarians in Prince Sviatoslav's seizure of the Lower Danube in 969–71. The first and third of the major expeditions are said to have approached the capital city, but the Hungarians did not camp before the walls, in the manner of the Bulgars. Moreover, their incursions into Byzantine territory occurred within quite a short period, little more than a generation, if we believe the categoric statement of works deriving from or related to the now-lost principal chronicle, Symeon the Logothete's, that "the first expedition *(prote ekstrateia)*" took place in 934. One must, of course, allow for the possibility that Hungarian raids on the provinces went unreported by Constantinople-based chronicles, but one of the two explicit references to Hungarian incursions in Saints' Lives seem to denote an episode already known from the chronicles. This is the statement in the *Life* of St. Luke the Younger that Luke withdrew to the island of Ampelon (modern Ampelos) "while the Turks [i.e.. Hungarians] were overrunning Hellas," indicating that Hungarian raiders were feared as far south as the Gulf of Corinth, where the island is located. The passage containing this reference is clearly set within the chronological limits of the early 940s and it most probably alludes to the 943 invasion and its aftermath. At first sight this might appear also to be the case with the prophecy about a Hungarian attack ascribed to St. Basil the Younger by his *Life* in approximately the same period: St. Basil died in March 944. According to the *Life*, a group of monks pondered why God had allowed "these most abominable peoples" to "continually swirl over us Christians like a cloud of dust" and lay waste "the western regions." St. Basil then announced to them that he could see in a vision "the most abominable Hungarians trying to cross the river Danube [and being] drowned in its currents." Allegedly, within four days a report arrived at the imperial court from the *strategos* of Macedonia confirming exactly what the saint had foreseen. However, closer reading of the text suggests that these raiders were on their way to attack Byzantine territory and never actually reached it. St. Basil's vision was of "the things happening in Hungary *(en Ouggria)*." So this could hardly be the invasion of 943. The *Life* of Basil does also speak of the Hungarians "ravaging the western regions every day on account of our sins," and this could be taken to mean that the provinces were undergoing minor raids notwithstanding the chronicles' declarations that effective peace-terms were

negotiated in 934 and 943. But the *Life* of Basil the Younger is a tendentious work, which some scholars have likened to a work of fiction, and in any case the surge of raiding which it implies falls within the mid-tenth century limits of Hungarian confrontation with Byzantium demarcated by the main chronicles.

Turning to the non-narrative Byzantine sources, one may note two salient features of their coverage of the Hungarians. Firstly, they are fairly extensive—considerably more so than are the narratives. Secondly, they are focused on events (or alleged events) and individuals of a period well before the hostilities of the mid-tenth century. In fact much of their material relates to the ninth century or the opening years of the tenth. This is the case not only with the *Tactica* of Emperor Leo VI (composed mainly in the mid-890s) but also with the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine VII, composed c. 950. Three main questions arise: why is the Byzantine coverage fairly extensive? Can one attach significance to the "weighting" of the material to the ninth and early tenth centuries? And what sort of information is offered? The latter question inevitably leads on to the wider issues of the verifiability and accuracy of the material.

First of all, it seems worthwhile to signal a general consideration about our two major non-narrative sources which tends to be overlooked when their sections about the Hungarians are viewed in isolation. The Byzantines did not have their own scholarly tradition of ethnographic or geographical studies and the *Tactica* of Leo VI represents the first substantive attempt at a written comparative survey of foreign peoples since Late Antiquity. As Gilbert Dagron has observed, the *Tactica* contains the first known Byzantine description of the Moslems' customs and tactics since the rise of Islam two and a half centuries earlier. And although the passages on the Moslems' motivation for perpetual warfare and ways of attacking through the Taurus mountains are all necessarily original, the general scheme of Leo's account of the Saracens owes much to Late Antique conventions. We should therefore not be surprised to find that Leo relies heavily on an Antique model for his treatment of the Hungarians' mode of warfare. The greater part of Leo's description is in fact a paraphrase of the account of the *Tourkoi* in Emperor Maurice's *Strategikon*, a work written c. 600 which Leo also used in writing about the Franks, Persians and Slavs. He seems to have assumed or inferred that the *Tourkoi* whom Maurice described were the ancestors of the Hungarians of his own day and thus that Maurice's observations were of enduring validity. As Gy. Moravcsik pointed out over 40 years ago, this does not render Leo's *Tactica* completely worthless: his tapping of the wisdom of "ancient" writers was not wholly unselective. The general picture which he gives of the *Tourkoi* at war corresponds in several respects with what is said of the Hungarians by later Western writers, for example their penchant for

ambushes in wooded areas, while his emphasis on skills with archery and horse-riding and on the logistical problems of finding sufficient pasture for huge numbers of livestock and spare mounts could apply as well to the Hungarians as it did to the nomads of Maurice's time. However, one should beware of taking as literal truth specific statements of detail, particularly if they occur only once, derive word for word from Maurice and do not seem supported by any other source.

If Leo VI's statements about the Hungarians need to be handled with care, the same is true of Constantine VII's *De administrando imperio*. It is more ambitious than Leo's manual, aspiring both to relate "the origins and customs and way of life" of other peoples and to show "which people can in what way be of use to the Romans and in what way do harm." There was no Antique model for such a wide-ranging *tour d'horizon* and set of practical recommendations. Constantine showed enterprise both in devising a format and in providing data from the fairly recent past and the present day; obviously this material could not be copied or paraphrased from a Late Antique work. To see such a pioneering task through to a successful conclusion, a trained critical mind and adequate source materials were needed. Unfortunately, as Ihor Ševčenko has demonstrated, Constantine's education was very limited and in his private letters he repeatedly deplored his lack of a polished Greek style. Constantine also seems to imply that he had been excluded from affairs of state during the years when Romanus I Lecapenus was his senior co-emperor (920–944). Furthermore, written surveys reviewing a people, ruler or region in the round were highly exceptional in Byzantine diplomatic practice, and thus not much tabulated material was available to the emperor or his assistants. That being so, one should expect a certain unevenness of treatment and a readiness to incorporate such few coherent narratives about foreign peoples as lay to hand, provided that they conveyed information or a message which looked useful or noteworthy to Constantine.

Thus our two major non-narrative sources fall far short of being "definitive" representations of the situation on and beyond Byzantium's borders at their respective times of writing. They are both the work of emperors who spent virtually their entire lives within the walls of Constantinople. Yet they are very different in content and purpose. Leo VI was seeking to demonstrate to his commanders his "wisdom," based on the experience of "the ancients" to which his extensive book-learning gave him special access. Constantine VII was trying to piece together a wide-ranging confidential survey of foreign peoples, partly for the education of his son, Romanus II, but also, most probably, so as to set on record a number of recommendations on policies to be adopted towards the northern "barbarians" and to bridge the gap between the geographical and

ethnographical works of Late Antiquity and the laconic intelligence reports and military briefings which flowed in to his palace by the day. As we shall suggest below, he may have had a particular, even pressing, reason for doing so in the late 940s.

To return to the first of the three main questions raised earlier: why is there quite extensive coverage of the Hungarians in the non-narrative sources? A succinct answer is offered by Leo VI and I think it speaks for the other works dating from or referring to the first third of the tenth century: "This customary method of the Hungarians of making war differs from that of the Bulgarians in certain minor respects, but it is otherwise the same. For this reason we have written this work for you, not because we intend to go to war with the Hungarians; for they are neither our neighbours nor are they now our enemies; rather, they are eager to show themselves to be obedient (*hypokooi*) to the Romans." Leo VI emphasises on two other occasions that the Hungarians' tactics and stratagems are very similar to the Bulgarians', save that the latter "have discarded their wild and nomadic ways, together with their infidelity;" the Hungarians, by implication, have not.

Leo's insistence on the resemblance of the Hungarians to the Bulgarians was noted by Gy. Moravcsik, and he showed justifiable scepticism as to Leo's claim that there was no need to describe in detail the Bulgarians' battle-order "since we are brothers through the one faith." In reality, Leo is trying to sketch their battle-order through the indirect method of describing in detail the Hungarians' order and then stressing the similarities between the two peoples. Moravcsik further contrasted the extent of the materials which Leo drew from Maurice's account of the Slavs and Avars with his treatment of Maurice's description of the Persians: he only mentions the Persians occasionally, and he transforms much of Maurice's "Persian" material into general recommendations which do not name them. Clearly this is because the Persians were no longer of military significance to the Byzantines. Thus Leo's borrowings from Maurice were selective and were made ultimately on the basis of the material's relevance to contemporary problems. In one respect, however, Moravcsik seems to me to misinterpret Leo's handling of the Hungarians: he appears to suppose that Leo regarded the Hungarians and the Bulgarians as belonging to the same category of potential foes. It seems to me that Leo's statement that the Hungarians were no longer enemies and were "eager" to appear cooperative (if not downright "obedient") should be taken at face value. His extensive account of the Hungarians' mode of warfare is intended not only to shed light indirectly on the Bulgarians' methods but also to emphasise that the Hungarians were the only serious counterweight to the Bulgarians. This was a matter of practical importance for imperial diplomacy and strategy.

At about the time that Leo VI was writing, Hungarian groupings were probing into the Pannonian basin and soon afterwards the Pechenegs moved into the pasturelands which had been dominated by the Hungarians. Within a few years, most of the Hungarians had been displaced from the steppes north of the Black Sea and their centre of gravity shifted permanently to the west, beyond the Carpathian mountains. At first sight, one might suppose that they were now too remote to be of interest to Leo VI: he seems, after all, to have described the Hungarians as "[not] our neighbours" at a time when they were still predominantly in the Black Sea steppes and for some time had been in commercial contact with the Byzantines, bringing slaves and other goods to barter for brocade at Black Sea ports. Thus Leo VI's oblique recommendations might be expected to have become a dead letter almost as soon as they were penned. However, certain pieces of evidence, taken together with a general consideration, support a different conclusion: that the Byzantines were keenly interested in the Hungarians after their *Landnahme* and relations remained quite lively between the emperor and the Hungarian chieftains long after they established themselves west of the Carpathians. The general consideration is that the emperor and the chieftains had a common enemy in the Bulgarians, whose victory over the Byzantines in 896–897 obliged the empire to make peace and pay tribute and whom Constantine VII would later call "God-hated." The Hungarians, for their part, had to reckon with the bitter hostility of the Bulgarians, from whom at this time they wrested control over the lower reaches of the Tisza basin. It is against this background that one should view various references to the Hungarians in Byzantine sources covering the generation following the *Landnahme*.

The earliest of these references dates from the time of the *Landnahme* itself. Philotheos' handbook on ranking orders and seating plans at imperial banquets, bearing the date of September 899, specifies the guests to be seated at "the lower tables" for one of the Easter dinners: they are to include "the foreigners of the body-guard (*hetaireia*), such as *Tourkoi*, Khazars and others, to a total of 54." Scholars have generally assumed that the *Tourkoi* are identifiable as Hungarians, and there are no obvious grounds for challenging the assumption. In fact, there is a passage in a well-known description of the palace which could support it. This is Harun ibn Yahya's eye-witness account, incorporated into Ibn Rusta's geographical encyclopaedia and probably dating from the end of the ninth century. Harun describes three great gates in the wall surrounding the palace. In the vestibule of one "sit a number of Khazars, holding bows in their hands," and the vestibule is said to contain "four prisons." In another vestibule, of the Sea Gate, there sit "a group of Turks holding bows and shields in their hands." "Turk" (*T-rak*) is a general term in Arabic as in Greek and Harun seems

to denote by it persons of Central Asian provenance when he writes elsewhere of "Turkish and Khorasanian pages;" and of course "bows and shields" were not weapons peculiar to the Hungarians. But it is noteworthy that according to Philotheos' banqueting handbook the fellow-diners with the *Tourkoi* and Khazars at "the lower tables" were to be officials of the palace prisons, *tribounoi* and *vikarioi*, while at the imperial table sat, *inter alios*, their commandants, the Domestic of the Noumera and the Domestic of the Wall. There is thus a probable connection between the Khazars at the Easter feast and Harun's more or less contemporaneous allusion to Khazar guards having responsibilities for a palace gate and, seemingly, palace prisons. It does not seem too bold to suggest that the *Tourkoi* dining with the Khazars had a similar mixture of responsibilities and that they may be identifiable with the "Turks" whom Harun saw at the Sea Gate.

This does not, in itself, prove that Philotheos' and Harun's "Turks" must alike be regarded as Hungarians. But one should recall that the Byzantines were aware of the past associations between the Hungarians and the Khazars: the multiple inter-connections between the two groupings are the subject of two chapters of Constantine VII's *De administrando*, where it is even asserted that the Hungarians can speak the language of the Khazars. This claim is open to question when put in so sweeping a form by Constantine. But the formation of such an impression would be the more understandable if substantial numbers of Khazars and Hungarians served together as guards at the palace and showed themselves capable of communicating with one another, perhaps in some sort of patois. More specifically, there is another allusion to the *Tourkoi* in a work dating from soon after Philotheos' treatise and judging from the context it is clear that *Tourkoi* there denotes "Hungarians." The work is an oration by Arethas, composed for a feast-day in July 902 and praising Leo VI's virtues and achievements: "the *Tourkoi*, a people for whom we have not perceived a use before, will offer their fidelity (*pistin parexousi*)." It is hard to see what other grouping denotable as *Tourkoi* could have been close enough to Byzantium to offer its "fidelity" at that time, and we may note that there had been a heightening of tension between Symeon of Bulgaria and Byzantium over the empire's possessions near Dyrrachium in 901. This might well have prompted the emperor to seek out Hungarian allies against Symeon, involving an agreement which Arethas could describe as an offer by them of "fidelity." At any rate, Arethas' usage leaves little room for doubt that by *Tourkoi* he is referring to "Hungarians" and this, in turn, gives grounds for identifying the *Tourkoi* of Philotheos' handbook as Hungarians and also, I suggest, the guardsmen observed by Harun ibn Yahya. This is the case despite a logical inconsistency which might at first sight seem formidable: if Arethas' *Tourkoi*

were "a people for whom we have not perceived a use before," how can they be identified with the *Tourkoi*/Hungarians who were indubitably employed by the Byzantines against the Bulgarians in 895?

The question, as formulated, cannot be directly answered, but it loses its damning force in the light of two sets of considerations: concerning Byzantine rhetoric and general knowledge about dealings with foreigners; and concerning the nature and political structure of the Hungarians themselves. To summarise what deserves a fuller exegesis, we will merely note that orations in praise of emperors were designed to be credible, but not balanced, comprehensive accounts of their achievements and the general nature of contacts with foreigners was open to distortion. One may note that, in a not wholly unrelated context, Photius' sermon of 860 described the Rus' assailants of Constantinople as "an obscure people, ... unknown" when in fact there had been diplomatic and other forms of contact between Rus' and Byzantines for at least a generation. One must also take into account the ignorance of ordinary Byzantine courtiers about the leadership's dealings with foreign potentates: the essential negotiations were often in the hands of an very small number of persons, a point to which we shall return shortly. So while it is most likely that the well-connected Arethas was aware that Leo VI had incited the Hungarians against the Bulgarians in 895, the collusion may not have been publicly acknowledged at the time. At the same time, we must beware of viewing "the Hungarians" as a homogeneous, tightly-knit or static socio-political entity: their form of language was probably their pre-eminent distinguishing characteristic, although (as Constantine VII's remarks about the Hungarians' ability to speak the language of the Khazars as well as their own imply) not even this need have been clear-cut. It is quite possible that the Hungarians with whom an agreement was made in 902 belonged to a grouping which had little, if anything, to do with the operation against the Bulgarians of 895. In that case Arethas would have been strictly accurate in declaring that that particular "people" or "host" (*laos*) had not been "used" before: Byzantine rhetoric would thus have been stretching but not downright inventing a point in order to depict the emperor as drawing new peoples into his service. Thus Arethas' statement is compatible with the other evidence of earlier imperial contacts with the Hungarians, and it indicates that the Hungarians were still regarded as potentially useful after their migration into East Central Europe. From this vantage-point they could threaten the north-western approaches of Bulgaria, and it may have been the grouping best-placed to do so which offered "their fidelity" to the emperor in 902, soon after his confrontation with Symeon over the hinterland of Dyrrachium.

We must now consider further evidence of continuing Byzantine interest in the Hungarians as potential allies against Symeon of Bulgaria. The most

suggestive item is a letter of Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus to Constantine the chamberlain, complaining of attempts to tax or confiscate property from the Church in order to pay for undertakings against Symeon, "the apostate from God." Nicholas implies that the Church's wealth is being spent on diplomatic *demarches* towards other peoples: "We offer gifts to Pechenegs and Hungarians and certain others, seeking their alliance; ... we despoil God's holy houses, and we suppose that by such a device we can strengthen ourselves." Nicholas thus indicates that the Hungarians figured prominently in Byzantine efforts to form a coalition against Symeon, and the letter can most probably be dated to the years before Byzantium's launch of a surprise attack on him in 917. We have independent evidence that the Hungarians were considered to be potential allies of the Byzantines then: it was reported to Symeon that the emperor was inciting the ruler of the Serbs "to join up with the Hungarians and attack Bulgaria;" Symeon is said to have "raged" over this and to have launched an invasion of the Serbs' land in retaliation. This report was only an allegation made by a jealous rival of Peter, the Serbian ruler, according to our source, the *De administrando*, but it is in key with Nicholas Mysticus' indication of substantial gifts to the Hungarians and the Pechenegs: Peter, too, was reported to be receiving gifts to induce him to attack the Bulgarians.

A few years later, Byzantium's close ties with the Hungarians were being publicly proclaimed in a letter which Nicholas Mysticus sent to Symeon acting, in effect, as spokesman for the imperial government. He warned that "through the emperor's efforts a most powerful coalition either has been or will be prepared" against the Bulgarians. Nicholas specified the components of the coalition at two points in his letter, which is generally dated to AD 923: the Hungarians come at the head of one of the lists, but since they are listed fourth and last in the other one, one cannot attach significance to the positioning. What is undeniable is that Hungarians were one of the peoples whom the emperor claimed to be his allies against Symeon in the 920s. A similar impression of the Hungarians' readiness to attack the Bulgarians is conveyed by a Byzantine chronicle. We are told that, after the death of Symeon "the Croats, the Hungarians and the others resolved to attack the Bulgarians" and that fearing this "and still more the attack of the Romans," the Bulgarian leadership decided to seek peace. This probably represents a version of events put out by imperial propaganda at the time of the making of the peace treaty in 927. In fact the Bulgarians went on the offensive against Byzantium in the summer of 927; they also proceeded to lay waste to and then evacuate the towns and forts in Thrace which they had been occupying for some time. They thereupon started negotiations with the emperor from a position of strength. But that imperial propaganda was making play of the threat posed to the Bulgarians by the

Hungarians is suggestive in itself: they are named in association with the Croats, a people known to have inflicted a major defeat on the Bulgarians in 926. Presumably the Hungarians were regarded as at least as able and willing to worst the Bulgarians, while the chronicle implies that their plan to attack the Bulgarians was in conjunction with a planned offensive on the part of the Byzantines, in other words, that they were still "in the emperor's pocket." Such an implication, that the Hungarians, or at least, a substantial number of them, were willing to serve the *basileus* was also conveyed symbolically by the "multi-national" force sent to intimidate the rebellious Lombards in Southern Italy in 935. "84 Hungarian men" were despatched on the mission, forming the most numerous contingent of foreign-born cavalry on the expedition, far more than the 47 Khazars or the 36 Armenians. Although strictly military requirements and chance may have played a part in the selection-process, the relatively large number of Hungarians in the expeditionary force was partly intended to demonstrate to Italians living within range of Hungarian raids the continuing vitality of the emperor's own links with the Hungarians.

A number of observations may be made on the strength of this not insubstantial body of evidence. It must firstly be admitted that no major Hungarian assault on the Bulgarians seems actually to have taken place during the first third of the tenth century and one might begin to doubt whether Byzantine embassies to the Hungarians were necessarily frequent or whether substantial gifts were in fact donated. Such doubts might be bolstered by the apparent dearth of Byzantine coins in early tenth-century Hungarian grave-finds. But they fail to take into account the setbacks which the Byzantines faced in inducing other peoples to carry out attacks unless their self-interest converged quite closely with Byzantine interests. It may well be that repeated offers of bribes failed to persuade Hungarian chieftains that it was worthwhile to provoke so formidable a military commander and diplomat as Symeon when "softer" and considerably wealthier, more urbanised targets lay to hand in Italy and other areas. Above all, such doubts fail to allow for the importance of bluff in Byzantine diplomacy: if the Byzantines could not count on their ability to instigate a Hungarian attack, neither could Symeon be sure that he would not suddenly have to face such an attack. His defeats at the Hungarians' hands in 895 will have given rise to such uncertainty, and sometimes the Byzantines' own propaganda nurtured it, as did the aforementioned letter to him of Nicholas Mysticus. The upshot is likely to have taken a concrete, albeit undramatic, form: Symeon, having to reckon with the possibility of a sudden Hungarian incursion, as well as with attacks by the Pechenegs (who took part in an actual Byzantine expedition against him in 917) probably had to keep some troops free to guard Bulgaria's northwestern approaches. Thus merely through sending gifts to, and

publicly maintaining contacts with, the Hungarians the emperor could hope to divert Symeon's attention and resources from campaigns elsewhere, in Thrace or northern Greece.

A further observation to be made about this evidence of Byzantino-Hungarian contacts is that it offers an answer to the first of the three main questions raised earlier. Byzantine non-narrative sources' coverage of the Hungarians is fairly extensive because the Hungarians were of strategic significance to the empire so long as the Bulgarian problem remained acute. It also brings us to the other two main questions, concerning the nature of the material on the Hungarians in the discursive non-narrative sources and its apparent "weighting." These will be taken together, as there is essentially only one work in play, Constantine's *De administrando*. One must first note that the weighting of his material on the Hungarians towards the first years of the tenth century or earlier is not absolute: Constantine has a considerable amount to say about them in the opening chapters, which he drafted himself. He seems to place the Hungarians in almost the same league as the Rus', regarding them as potential adversaries. He maintains that friendship with the Pechenegs is the key to coping with both peoples, for the Hungarians are no match for the Pechenegs and are afraid of them: "so long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Rus' nor Hungarians can come upon Roman dominions by force of arms, nor can they exact ... large and excessive amounts of money and goods as the price of peace." This last remark is a fairly specific allusion to the very large sums of money which had been paid to the Hungarians to call off their attacks in 934 and also, most probably, in 943: the former payment is recorded with some emphasis in the chronicles, whereas there is no record of such payments being made to the Rus' in this period. The Hungarians are, in other words, to be accorded high priority: four of the first thirteen chapters of the *De administrando* either bear a heading which mentions them or contain material largely devoted to them. And there is correspondingly extensive coverage of them in the later, more discursive, chapters of the *De administrando*, leading Gy. Moravcsik to observe: "it is remarkable that C[onstantine] had at his disposal more detailed information about early Hungarian history than he had about the early history of any other nation."

The density of Constantine's coverage can be explained by the new role of the Hungarians, as being likelier adversaries than allies in the mid-tenth century: by Constantine's calculations, the Pechenegs' stance towards them was now to be the one which the Hungarians themselves had once maintained *vis-à-vis* the Bulgarians. It is therefore striking that so little of the material in the *De administrando*'s later, more discursive chapters shows clear signs of having been compiled after the opening years of the tenth century, being concerned with

events of that time or earlier still. Even the story in one of the first chapters of a Byzantine attempt to set the Hungarians against the Pechenegs and to encourage them to drive the Pechenegs out of their old pastures should probably be assigned to this period; for, from the evidence of Byzantium's relations with the Hungarians reviewed above, it seems most unlikely that the emperor would have wanted to divert the Hungarians in this way long after the *Landnahme*, once the Hungarians were becoming established west of the Carpathians and the Byzantines were anyway beginning to forge ties with the Pechenegs. The later chapters focused on or referring substantively to the Hungarians—chapters 38–40, 41, and 51—deal with their warfare against the Bulgarians in 895, subsequent loss of pastures to the Pechenegs and migration into new lands as far west as Moravia.

In considering the chronological weighting of the *De administrando*'s coverage of the Hungarians, one must be aware that much of the material on other peoples is also "antiquated" and the range of source materials available to Constantine and his assistants was quite limited. Further, as we have already noted, Constantine's aim, stated in his preface, was to relate "the origins and customs" of peoples and therefore involved references back to the more distant past. This, together with the limitations of his literary craftsmanship, could be held to account for the weighting. While acknowledging the force of these observations, one must insist that the treatment of the Hungarians is rather unusual, not only in terms of its relative fullness but also in terms of the chronological balance struck for other peoples or places that were of strategic importance to Byzantium. Constantine usually includes events or personalities of Romanus Lecapenus' era, if not his own, even when he also dilates on events of the ninth century or earlier. Thus his discussion of the kingdom of "Italy" takes the story in some detail from Charlemagne's day up to the 930s, while the Armenian principalities in which Constantine was most keenly interested receive coverage up to the 920s and 930s. Moreover his treatment of the Serbs and Croats narrates their princes' dealings with Symeon of Bulgaria and also recounts events and developments after Symeon's death, such as the decline of the Croats' land and sea power.

It is, I think, particularly instructive to compare Constantine's treatment of the Pechenegs and the Hungarians in the later, more discursive chapters of the *De administrando*. The Pechenegs are dealt with in, essentially, a single chapter (37), and one might *a priori* expect this chapter to convey in a nutshell what Constantine wanted to ascertain and set down on paper about a people of particularly keen interest to him. He had, as it were, freedom of information in their case, for at the time when the *De administrando* was being composed relations with the Pechenegs were intensive. So Constantine and his emissaries

should have had no difficulty in gaining and cross-checking all the information about them which they required. It is not surprising that the chapter is, in fact, one of the most concise, balanced and coherent of the later chapters of the *De administrando*: there is some coverage of the Pechenegs' early history, from the explicit vantage-point of the present day. It is true that this coverage shows up Constantine's weakness as a collator of different sources of information or perhaps merely as a coherent summarizer. He failed to integrate two glaringly divergent statements: he states that the Pechenegs were driven out of their lands near the Volga "fifty years ago;" then, a few lines later, comes the statement that they "have been masters of [their present] ... country, as has been said, for fifty-five years to this day." But on the whole chapter 37 offers an orderly assemblage of background information and up-to-date practical data on the whereabouts of individual "clans." Precise details are given as to which clan borders onto which other people and as to how many days' travelling is involved: for example the Pechenegs are located a day away from the Rus' and only half a day from the Bulgarians. Constantine also gives an account of Pecheneg succession customs, summarizing them lucidly and apparently accurately: thus "the collaterals also inherit and succeed to the honour [of prince of each clan]; but no one from a stranger family intrudes and becomes a prince." It is true that Constantine fails to give the names of present-day princes, supplying only those reigning at the time when the Pechenegs were expelled from the Volga steppes in the 890s. This can scarcely be a mark of ignorance, given the regularity of his emissaries' trips to the Pechenegs and their ferrying of eminent, presumably well-informed, hostages back to Constantinople. More likely, the Pecheneg princes' names were common knowledge among the emperor's senior advisers and would have been superfluous in a succinct survey. It was the slightly more *recherché* data which needed to be included.

Turning back to the *De administrando*'s discursive chapters on the Hungarians, one may note that their approach is not dissimilar to that shown in chapter 37 towards the Pechenegs. They register an interest in the same sort of subject matter: origins; names of clans; social and constitutional structure; location and names of neighbouring peoples. One must emphasise that the Hungarians are the only people beside the Pechenegs—and, to some extent, the Rus'—to be treated on these lines. The reason has less to do with the real analogies in lifestyle and organisation between the Hungarians and the Pechenegs than it does with the particular role which Constantine himself envisaged for the Hungarians. They were, as recent and potentially formidable foes, to be observed and "contained." Therefore data on their social organisation and on the whereabouts of a people who might attack them was of high strategic value. For the same reason Constantine gives details on the Rus'

sociopolitical structure and their hazardous journey past the Dnieper Rapids, naming the cataracts where the Rus' were most vulnerable to ambush by the Pechenegs.

The particular problem which the Hungarians posed for Constantine was that, although giving serious cause for concern, they were not easily accessible to him or to high-quality emissaries, and he did not have the means of cross-checking such information as was conveyed to him orally by visiting Hungarians or other travellers. He was, in contrast, able to do so in the case of the Pechenegs. This can be seen in, for example, his treatment of rivers, whose vital importance to nomads as sources of water and lush pasture for their animals was clearly known to him. His list of five rivers in the lands of the Pechenegs is (insofar as the names can be identified) fairly well-balanced, covering the main rivers from the Dnieper to the Seret. The same number of rivers is offered (in chapter 40) for the lands of the Hungarians and this list, too, is in a rational sequence, insofar as the names are identifiable: the Temes, the Maros, the Körös, and the Tisza. But these straddle only the easternmost area under Hungarian hegemony in the mid-tenth century. So in writing that they "encompass the whole settlement of *Tourkia,*" Constantine was committing a serious error. Erroneous in a somewhat different, erratic, way are his references to the neighbouring peoples of the Hungarians: at one point, he alludes to "Great Moravia" on their south side; at another, to the Croats as being their southern neighbours. The Pechenegs' position relative to the Hungarians is given more consistently; but bizarrely they are said to live "towards the north" or "to the north" of the Hungarians. I will refrain from entering into the contest of interpretations and textual emendations which these passages have provoked. It seems to me that of the two most significant points arising one is obvious, the other slightly less so. Constantine was clearly less well-informed about the Hungarians' present-day neighbours than he was about the Pechenegs', and could merely give vague, not wholly accurate, directions; he could not manage details as to which clan faced which other people or how many days' travel separated them. The less obvious point is that Constantine was very interested in the Hungarians' neighbours—to the extent that a whole chapter was reserved for the subject: "Concerning the peoples bordering on the Hungarians." There is no corresponding chapter dedicated to the neighbours of the Pechenegs. That Constantine gives two, somewhat divergent, lists of neighbours is a mark of his interest, while their vagueness is a mark of his ignorance. I would suggest that the fact of the repetitiveness reflects his awareness of ignorance: he wished to give as detailed a coverage of the Hungarians as of the Pechenegs, but generally lacked sufficient data for doing so (though he could have extracted the travel-distance of the Hungarians from the Pechenegs—four days—from his chapter

dedicated to the Pechenegs). Therefore, instead of being able to supply a wide-ranging yet coherent panorama of the sort which is offered for the Pechenegs, Constantine and his assistants set down such materials as were available to them, with only a modest and inexpert amount of collation. The upshot is that the number of pages devoted to the Hungarians is considerably greater than that devoted to the Pechenegs: the length of the coverage is, paradoxically, the product of a perceived inadequacy in the data about the Hungarians rather than simply of positive interest in them.

This is not the place to speculate on the nature and origin of the materials used by Constantine in much more detail than has been done above. I will merely propose that they could well consist mainly of reports on the Bulgaro-Byzantine wars of 894–897 and the Hungarian *Landnahme* drafted at the time or not long afterwards; of a tale (or tales) about Hungaro-Khazar relations and the origin of Árpád's personal hegemony which could likewise have been recorded at the turn of the ninth century rather than in Constantine's own time; and of information written down from oral informants of Constantine and his assistants. Into the latter category might go the data in chapter 39 on "the people of the Kavars" who are alleged to be of Khazar stock, affiliated with the Hungarians, but also "the mightier and braver in war of the eight clans and [therefore] elected to be the foremost in warfare." Such assertions could well originate among the Kavars themselves rather than the other Hungarians and if, as has been authoritatively proposed, the Kavars may be associated with the "Khalisioi" of later writings and thereby located in the Middle Tisza basin, we may have a clue as to one source of chapter 40's incomplete but not inherently erroneous information about the easternmost regions under Hungarian hegemony in the mid-tenth century.

Conversely, it seems most likely that the *De administrando*'s quite full account in chapter 40 of the employment of the Hungarians against Symeon of Bulgaria was composed soon afterwards. No other source relates the key detail that it was Symeon who incited the Pechenegs to attack the Hungarians' home pastures while they were preoccupied with campaigning against the Bulgarians, and this may well have been known to only a handful of Byzantine men of affairs at the time: it is not very likely to have survived long in the oral tradition of either the Byzantines or the Hungarians. Moreover, this account of the Hungarians' defeat of Symeon and drive towards Preslav after shutting him in his redoubt at "Moundraga" (probably identifiable with Madara) is more detailed than that in the extant Byzantine chronicles. Indeed, the *De administrando* contradicts them while making good sense in terms of geography: Madara lies some 30 kilometres from Preslav. This points to an early, perhaps confidential, report as being Constantine's source. An early report may well also lie behind

the repeated mentions of Great Moravia, which in effect serves as a point of reference in the *De administrando*, as does that realm's last pre-eminent ruler, Sviatopluk. This source was not particularly accurate, making out that Sviatopluk's sons began to quarrel with one another very soon after his death and that this in turn precipitated a Hungarian invasion. But, as scholars have noted, a similar explanation for Moravia's collapse is given in an East Frankish chronicle of the beginning of the tenth century: this may have been the *opinio communis* about Moravia in circulation among outsiders soon afterwards. Its committal to writing in Byzantium then would be entirely consistent with the high degree of Byzantine diplomatic interest in the Hungarians deducible from other sources for the first third of the tenth century.

One may now look at two further aspects of the mismatch which I have posited between, on the one hand, the amount and quality of the data on the Hungarians available to Constantine and, on the other, the degree of his interest. Firstly, one may consider why up-to-date information seems to have been so limited and secondly, whether fear alone accounts for Constantine's predisposition to commit information about them to writing. So far as the first issue is concerned, one needs to take obvious considerations into account: that relations between the Byzantine government and the Hungarians were tense when not outright hostile in the 930s and 940s, and the means of communication were correspondingly tenuous; thus authoritative and plentiful information about the Hungarians may well have been hard for Byzantine officials to come by. But these considerations, for all their weight, beg the question whether it can really have been so difficult for senior Byzantine officials concerned with the Hungarians to obtain high-class information about them. We are, after all, told by works such as Theophanes Continuatus that "eminent hostages" were taken from the Hungarians when they were dissuaded from persisting with their incursion in 943. If, as is likely, these hostages spent some while at Constantinople, they might be expected to have yielded up some useful data.

In response to this puzzle, I would like to put forward a suggestion which also has a bearing on the reasons for Constantine's desire for information about the Hungarians. The official mainly in charge of dealing with the Hungarians in the 930s and 940s was the emperor Romanus Lecapenus' chief counsellor, Theophanes. This leading palace eunuch, at first the *protovestiarios* and later the chamberlain (*parakoimomenos*), is credited with personally conducting relations with foreigners at key junctures of Romanus' reign. He was instrumental in the negotiations for, and subsequent celebration of, the wedding of Romanus' granddaughter to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria in 927. He is said to have "acted as intermediary" in the drafting of the peace terms and the terms of marriage,

"assiduously steering [affairs] between the Romans and the Bulgarians," according to Theophanes Continuatus. Then, in 934, Theophanes was sent to negotiate with the Hungarians when they raided Thrace and were reportedly ranging as far as Constantinople itself. His achievement in ransoming the prisoners taken by the Hungarians is extolled in Theophanes Continuatus and in narratives deriving from the lost chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. The functionary was "greatly praised and wondered at by ... [the Hungarians] for his prudence and good counsel," and reportedly he achieved his objectives, helped by the large amount of money which Emperor Romanus provided for the buying-back of captives. It was probably similarly generous gifts of money that helped Theophanes cope with what is described as a "huge force" of Hungarians in 943. He was not wholly lacking in practical competence in matters of war. Two years earlier he had been put in charge of naval operations against the Rus' attackers. If he was charged with negotiating again with the Hungarians in 943, rather than leading armed forces against them, this was at least partly in recognition of his outstanding negotiating -skills and knowledge about the Hungarians.

According to the Byzantine chronicles, Theophanes negotiated with the Hungarians a peace which "turned out" to last for five years and this is often taken by scholars to mean that it was expressly drafted so as to be valid for a five-year period only. Such an interpretation is plausible even though the literal meaning of the text could be simply that the peace was upheld for five years and then came to an end as a result of some act in violation of it. However, there is no record of a major violation such as a Hungarian incursion into Byzantine territory for a further ten years—until 958—and this silence offers some (albeit not conclusive) support for the view that Theophanes negotiated a peace designed to last five years. At any rate, it is unquestionable that Theophanes hatched a plot together with the patriarch to restore Romanus Lecapenus some time after Romanus' deposition and exile at the hands of Constantine VII. Romanus himself showed willingness to cooperate with the conspirators. However, the plot was exposed, and the upshot was that Theophanes himself was exiled together with other palace functionaries. These were, presumably, close associates of Theophanes. I suggest that these events had severe repercussions on the conduct of foreign relations in general and on relations with the Hungarians in particular. The conduct of foreign relations varied from emperor to emperor, and according to circumstances. There is good reason to suppose that Romanus Lecapenus personally determined the tone of individual embassies to foreign potentates: a contemporary court oration describes him as doing so in respect of Symeon of Bulgaria. But it is no less clear that Romanus' right-hand man was Theophanes. Theophanes is especially praised for the

benign use of his "power" (*dynamis*) and for his efficacy in seeing off the empire's enemies in a version of a festal sermon whose original official version had made no mention of him. The sermon commemorated the translation of the *mandylion*, an outstandingly sacred relic, from Edessa to Constantinople. The two versions are, respectively, an indication of the extent to which Theophanes underwent a *damnatio memoriae* just after his fall and an indication that Theophanes retained admirers fervent enough to revise the official sermon. The revision made to the original version serves to explain why he had been chosen by Emperor Romanus solemnly to escort the *mandylion* back from Edessa to Constantinople in 944. The revised version was probably written during the 950s and its systematic omission of the role of Constantine VII in the ceremonial welcoming of the relic to Constantinople points to continuing bitterness over Theophanes' fall. Theophanes' plot against Constantine and subsequent fall occurred some time before December 947, either earlier that year or in 946.

The imbroglios of Byzantine palace politics seem to me relevant to the rather peculiar treatment of the Hungarians in Constantine's *De administrando* which have been noted above. Theophanes may well have taken with him from the palace in his head a unique fund of unwritten knowledge about the Hungarians, together with experience in handling them and a network of personal contacts. Of course other senior officials, such as the Logothete of the Drome, will have known something about them and there was almost certainly to hand a written record of the peace agreement of 943. But it is questionable whether any of Romanus Lecapenus' closest advisers were left in the palace after a further purge of alleged plotters in December 947. No doubt the hiatus affected knowledge about other peoples, too (for example, the Rus'), but the Hungarians were, I suggest "a special case" for the following reasons. Firstly, they were no longer direct neighbours of the empire nor were they (at least for the most part) in constant commercial contact. It was therefore harder to gain a full overview of their strategic or political situation than it was in the case of, say, the Rus' or the Pechenegs, who could be visited or surveyed by the governor of Cherson, emissaries from Constantinople or, indeed, by individual Pecheneg scouts: the Hungarians were probably unwelcoming to stray travellers. It is suggestive that the *De administrando* refers to Pechenegs engaged in what were almost certainly intelligence-gathering missions to the Rus', the Khazars and other regions northeast of the Black Sea, but no mention is made of them going on such errands for the emperor among the Hungarians. Secondly, and more importantly, Theophanes' dealings with the Hungarians were different in kind from those with most other peoples, in that he negotiated the agreements some way away from Constantinople. Consequently far fewer courtiers or other

denizens of the palace would have had an opportunity to find out about them than was the case when proceedings went on inside the palace. Above all, Theophanes seems to have made a very favourable impression on the Hungarians, if one may believe the emphasis on their admiration and praise for his "prudence and good counsel" of the Byzantine chronicles. Such highlighting of an official's skills and personal reputation among his hosts while on a diplomatic mission is very rare in Byzantine historiography. Although obviously emanating from a source sympathetic to Theophanes, the eulogy accords well with the fact that he was employed on foreign affairs by Romanus Lecapenus for nearly twenty years. One may reasonably conclude that Constantine, upon becoming sole emperor in 945, did not dare dismiss him outright because his "know-how" about the Hungarians and other northern peoples was indispensable. It may well be that Theophanes actually possessed a "network" of personal contacts with leading Hungarians which his taking of "eminent" hostages in 943 would have nurtured.

Whether or not these considerations are all valid, it is clear that Theophanes was the key man in imperial dealings with the Hungarians through most of the 930s and 940s, and it is highly likely that invaluable unwritten "know-how" about them was lost with his expulsion from the palace and expunging from official records (such as the forementioned festal sermon). This would fit well with the discrepancy which we have already posited between Constantine's apparent interest in the Hungarians and the limitations of his information about them. The person best qualified to brief him on relations with them over the past generation was in exile and his advice was no longer trustworthy, while in 948–949 Constantine stood in special need of expertise on the Hungarians: the five-year peace (if such it was) was on the point of expiring and, most importantly, Constantine was making a series of elaborate diplomatic *demarches* in order to concentrate on his prime objective, the reconquest of Crete. Embassies were, around that time, sent to the potentates of northern Italy, to King Otto of the Germans, and to the Ummayad Caliph in Cordoba. It would not be surprising if Constantine also sent an embassy, or embassies, to one or more groupings of Hungarians as part of his preliminaries to the Cretan expedition of 949. He was certainly to make an approach to the Hungarians around 956–957, while preparing for another major expedition against the eastern Muslims.

Against such a background of "information-loss" about dealings with foreigners in general and Hungarians in particular, one gains some perspective on the seemingly ill-balanced treatment which the Hungarians receive in the *De administrando*. This work was being compiled—evidently somewhat piecemeal, given its limited length—between 948–949 (if not slightly earlier) and 951–952 (if not somewhat later). Constantine and his assistants may have had little

difficulty in finding an account or accounts about the Hungarians of the ninth century and the background to their *Landnahme*, written not long after that time, and they could also have been in direct contact with the Kavars. But reliable contemporary information about the Hungarians further afield may have been harder to come by, and even links with the Kavars could have been disrupted by Theophanes' sudden departure from the political stage. In such a scenario the emperor might be expected to have sought out personal ties with a variety of leading Hungarians (including Kavars), and in fact fresh links were forged around this time, through the celebrated visits to Constantinople of the *gyla* and of Bulcsú and Termachu. Information about the visit of the latter two persons has left a clear mark in chapter 40 of the *De administrando*. In the last part of the chapter are given details about the descendants of Árpád, with particular reference to one of his great-grandsons, Termachu, "who came here recently as 'honorary friend' with Bulcsú." Scholars have long recognised these details as being probably derived from Termachu himself or one of his travelling-companions. There is also data on the ranking order of leading Hungarians which is clear yet repetitive: we are twice told that *horcha* and *gyla* are titles and not proper names, and the seniority of the *gyla* to the *horcha* is recorded. I suggest that this sort of background information was not set down in writing about the Pechenegs or, indeed, the Rus', because it was unnecessary to do so: ample up-to-date information about them flowed in to the court through a variety of channels. But information as to "who was who" among the Hungarians in general or about the formal standing of the magnates with whom the emperor had recently forged personal ties was less readily available. Some of it was therefore written down and tacked on to the end of a chapter whose other contents probably derived from much earlier reports on the Bulgaro-Byzantine wars of 894–897 and the Hungarian *Landnahme* and perhaps also from the lips of the Kavars: chapter 40.

I suggest, then, that our chief discursive Byzantine source about the Hungarians has its origins in a rather unusual situation, and that it offers, for all the out-dated nature of much of its information, a kind of "snapshot" of the state of affairs soon after Constantine VII began to conduct foreign affairs for himself. It would be pleasant to be able to conclude that all this information-gathering and the Christian baptism of Bulcsú and the *gyla* bore tangible fruit in the form of peaceful relations between Byzantium and the Hungarians in general. But that is not what happened in the short term. On the contrary, relations with some groupings of Hungarians—though not necessarily the clans of Bulcsú or the *gyla*—became more warlike than ever. In 958 a large host of Hungarians exploited the emperor's preoccupation with operations against Saif ad-Daula to launch a massive raid. Constantine's elaborate diplomacy had

averted this kind of development ten years earlier, at the time of the Cretan expedition. Moreover a series of minor raids continued through the 960s, culminating in the events of 969–971 when a substantial number of Hungarians joined forces with Prince Sviatoslav and aided his bid to create a new power-base for the Rus' on the Lower Danube. But they were quite rapidly won away from Sviatoslav's cause and one may end on a slightly more optimistic note: the imperial authorities gained an important new source of information about the Hungarians, implanted among them after the *gyla*'s visit. As is well known, the *gyla* returned home together with a monk, Hierotheus, who had been ordained bishop of *Tourkia* (Hungary). For the next two centuries or so a Byzantine prelate would be lodged among the Hungarians more or less continuously; and he was in a position to correspond with—or at least send messages to—the imperial court. The prelate's messages about the Hungarians may have been rare, brief and inaccurate. And this Byzantine initiative was counter-balanced by the paramount prince's baptism at the hands of Latin churchmen in the early 970s. But from the second half of the tenth century onwards Eastern Orthodox priests and monks were residing in the Hungarian lands, and Orthodox congregations formed in their southern reaches. Such ecclesiastical links opened the door to certain forms of trade, for example in pectoral crosses and also to covert reconnaissance carried out by imperial agents. And in the opening years of the eleventh century Ajtony, a magnate in the south-eastern Hungarian lands, was baptized according to the eastern rite and forged politico-cultural ties with Basil II. An eleventh- or twelfth-century emperor was in considerably less danger of being plunged abruptly into the dark about the Hungarians than Constantine VII seems to have found himself in the late 940s.

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Anthropology

MEDIEVAL STUDIES AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Judith Rasson

Sociocultural anthropology, apparently concerned with living people in far-away places, is in reality a fine complement to the interdisciplinarity of medieval studies. Anthropological approaches provide insight into the social and cultural workings of a society and can be applied to people in any time and place. One of the hallmarks of anthropology is the comparative approach, comparing not the surface features of a society but the deeper connections between beliefs, behavior, and practices.

In this issue of the *Annual* we include two articles of an anthropological nature. They differ from each other, but they equally offer insights connecting the present with the historical past. Joseph C. Achike Agbakoba, a Nigerian philosopher, presents a careful inquiry comparing two main concepts of the Supreme Being. His article is an extended version of his presentation at a Summer University course, "Religious Identity and Religious Syncretism" organized in July 2001. In it, he demonstrates admirably that people's beliefs are not autonomous and independent (even quixotic), but anchored in the organization of society. Along the way he suggests corrections to ill-reasoned comparisons drawn on superficial similarities. He also provides insight into the consequences of historical beliefs for modern behavior.

The contribution of Eszter Spät, a PhD student in our department, takes the form of "a letter from the field," describing some of her initial research among the religious community of the Yezidis in Iraq. Her interest lies in the philosophy of Gnosticism, an ancient and medieval system of belief that has few modern successors. In her research she is attempting to identify the adaptation of very old beliefs in a living system of religion and theology.

Some readers might query why we would choose to publish articles seemingly distant from medieval themes. Besides the connection of the authors with the department, their work suggests the relevance of sociocultural anthropology for medieval studies. While history concentrates on specific characteristics that are the result of the particular individual trajectories of different societies, anthropological approaches can help distinguish cultural similarities resulting from similar frameworks of social institutions.

THE SUPREME BEING IN AFRICAN TRADITIONAL THOUGHT: A LOGICO-ONTOLOGICAL APPROACH

Joseph C. Achike Agbakoba
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Introduction

Do Africans have an idea of a Supreme Being? If Africans have such an idea, what does it mean? These are questions that have been discussed for some years now, but have not been satisfactorily answered. They are important issues, because the question whether or not a people conceives of a Supreme Being and the way a people conceives of a Supreme Being largely affect this people's conception of man, human life, values and destiny; it is a key element in the ideology (worldview) of a religious people. Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud rightly points out that discussions about worldviews "normally centre on the idea of God or gods, the conception of man and his destiny, and the universe" (provided we take the "idea of God or gods" as a way of conceiving the fundamental nature of reality by religiously inclined peoples and cultures).[1] The ideology of a people is basically the popular philosophy of such a people. It provides guides to action not only theoretically but also practically by actively influencing people. Alistair Mclntyre says, in this regard, that an ideology has:

> three key features. The first is that it attempts to delineate certain general characteristics of nature or society or both; characteristics which do not belong only to the changing world which can be investigated only by empirical inquiry… The second central feature of any ideology is an account of the relationship between what is the case and how we ought to act, between the world and that of morals, politics, and other guides to conduct… The third defining property of an ideology is that it is not merely believed by the members of a given social group, but believed in such a way that it at least partially defines for them their social existence.[2]

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[1] Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, *The Concept of Knowledge in Islam and its Implications for Education in a Developing Country* (London: Masell Publishing, 1989), 10.

[2] A. McIntyre, *Against the Self-images of the Age* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), 5–7; quoted by Peter Du Perez, *The Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 49.

The importance of the idea of the Supreme Being in understanding the ideology and philosophical thought of Africans—a highly religious people—should be clear from the foregoing. However, the idea of the Supreme Being gains additional significance when we realize that Africans had no written records of their conceptualizations. Therefore the proper meaning, function and significance of a myriad of African ideas and institutions can only be accessed through a proper understanding of the ideas of the Supreme Being in African thought.

Given the above, a dispassionate analysis of the idea of the Supreme Being is needed. Such an analysis should be beyond the ethnocentrist struggle between African polemicists (who affirm the existence of the Supreme Being in African thought) and Western polemicists (who deny the existence of such a Being), which tends to becloud, and prevent us from getting at, the truth on this matter. To achieve this purpose, we would examine the nature of the Supreme Being by looking first at the logical character of such a Being and then at the ontological composition that could go with it.

The Logico-Ontological Nature of the Supreme Being

An exposé of the logical nature of our idea of the Supreme Being (or God) should start with an examination of our conception of the Supreme or of Supremacy. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* the word "Supreme" means "highest in degree or rank or authority;" it also means "most important; greatest." The Supreme Being as the "most important" being could give us a number of ideas (some conflicting) of the logical character of such a being. This is because they describe our own assessment of such a being; hence describing our own attitudinal and subjective state and not the properties of the Being as such. For instance, we may consider a being as the one which is most cherished or feared or respected in a pantheon. Such a being may have no power over other important beings, but its particular position is justified because it alone possesses a quality we do not find in any other member of the pantheon. The logical character of such a conception is essentially particularistic in the sense that a property or some properties are possessed in a mutually exclusive manner by the beings (gods) that make up the pantheon. On the other hand, we may consider a being as the most important and the greatest because it possesses and exercises absolute power over other beings. In this case we would be considering a universalistic logical character, since the imprint or quality or presence of this being is to be found in all things.

The supremacy of the Supreme Being in the first example is not one in which the Supreme Being necessarily has control over the other gods or beings

in the pantheon or the world. Such a view is clearly amenable to polytheism. An instance of such a view of supremacy can be seen in pre-Christian Germanic religion and mythology. Erich Kahler writes in this regard that:

> The principal god, Wuotan (Norse "Odin"), is a sorcerer or Shaman with varied magical gifts. He lacks the omnipresence of a universal god, but he is felt to be ubiquitous because he can suddenly appear anywhere, literally transported by ecstasy, trance or fury… The cosmic struggle begins between two clans of deities. One clan consists of the Van, fertility spirits reflecting the milder, more settled tribal life in the Scandinavian homelands on the northern shores. The Vans are defeated by the Ases, mythical figures originating among the migrating central European tribes. The climactic event of Germanic mythology is Ragnarok. In this gigantic Armageddon, the Ases themselves succumb to giants and dragons gone berserk; and the whole world is destroyed. The Fenriswolf swallows Odin and the Sun; the Midgard-snake slain by Thor, kills him with his poisonous breath. The sky collapses, and its debris crush the earth.[3]

The point here is that Wuotan (Odin), the principal god, has limited powers although he is supreme in the pantheon (this is apparently a polytheistic vision). Many Africans, piqued by the claims of Eurocentric Europeans (who have apparently forgotten their own past) to the effect that "Deity is a philosophical concept which savages are incapable of framing," have tried to show that Africans have a pre-Christian idea of a Supreme God in a somewhat monotheistic sense ("Diffused Monotheism" as Idowu puts it). This, as we shall see, is proposing a rather indefensible idea of monotheism instead of simply reminding the Eurocentrists of their past and that the Christianity which they claim as their own originated outside Europe amongst a Semitic people who not only are a mixed breed made of Negroid and Caucasian strains, but were also strongly influenced by Africa.[4]

Supremacy in the monotheistic sense means to occupy the highest position of authority, power and influence. The Supreme Being is the being with supreme power (authority and influence) over other gods and lesser beings. However, such a Supreme Being can be conceived in two ways. The Hebrew way sees the Supreme Being as the source and end of all Creation, eternal, infinite, unchanging, infinitely and totally powerful and actively relating to each of its creations according to its own state. For purposes of brevity and clarity this can be regarded as the Absolutely Supreme Being. The other way is the

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[3] Erich Kahler, *The Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 35–36.

[4] See E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare* (London: Longman, 1962), 30–32; 203–204.

African way articulated by Idowu and others. According to Idowu, from the name Olodumare we can get the following:

> Either someone who is a supreme head, one who possesses the scepter or authority; or one who 'contains' the fullness of excellent attributes, one who is superlative and perfect in greatness, size, quality, and worth…The Deity who possesses superlative qualities has also the added attribute of remaining stable, unchanging, constant, permanent, reliable.[5]

Idowu further articulates this view by saying that Olodumare is the Creator, He is King, He is Omnipotent; He is All-Wise; He is All-Knowing; He is All-Seeing; He is Judge; He is Immortal; He is Holy.[6] Chukwu or Olisaebuluwa, the Supreme God amongst the Igbo, is said to have generally similar qualities.[7] Although this Supreme Being possesses these superlative qualities and power, it delegates some of these powers to its ministers, the deities, such as Ani, Agwu, Ogwugwu and Igwe among the Igbo and Orisanla, Orumnmila (Ifa), Ogun and Esu among the Yoruba. These deities are in control of various principles or aspects of life and the universe. They also act as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and humans. The basic nature of this view is that the Supreme Being governs with a great deal of devolution of powers in which the inferior powers or deities can creatively chart their own course, provided it does not conflict fundamentally with the interest and nature of the Supreme Being. Here the presence of the Supreme Being is indirect, by way of His acquiescence to the actions and programmes of the lesser deities. For purposes of brevity, we may regard this as the idea of the Decentralized ("Devolutionary") Supreme Being. The question that comes to mind is whether we can have a Decentralized Supreme Being and if we can, what it would be like. In order to answer these questions and also determine what sort of Supreme Being the African conceived in the pre-Christian era, we should look more closely at the logical structure of the two types of a Supreme Being mentioned above.

The logical character of the Absolutely Supreme Being is that it would possess and exercise universal, eternal, infinite power and influence over itself and all other beings. It would possess all the elements of universality: universal applicability or validity (since he is universally effective); infinite reach, eternal presence, total objectivity or impartiality. The absolutely powerful being cannot

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[5] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare,* 34–35.

[6] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare,* 38–47.

[7] O. A. Onwubiko, *African Thought, Religion and Culture* (Enugu: O.A. Onwubiko, Bigard Memorial Seminary, 1991), 66–73.

be a being that shows partiality or favours on grounds of sentiment or passion. For if it is such a being, then either the reason for such partiality or favours is inside the Absolutely Supreme Being or outside it; if it is outside it then a being outside the Absolutely Supreme Being is exercising power over it, in which case it is not absolutely powerful. If, on the contrary, the cause for such partiality is inside the Absolutely Supreme Being (that is, that it can and does will favouring a being as it pleases) then either the Absolutely Supreme Being is not in full possession (control) of itself or it is capricious. Both of these are limiting factors to its power. If it lacks control of itself, then it is not absolutely powerful; if it is capricious, then it could annihilate, in a nihilistic moment, its own very existence, in which case it is not an eternal, infinitely powerful being.

It could be said, of course, that such a being can be capricious in all things except its own existence; in other words, it would obey the law of self-preservation. However, if that is so, then it would not have control over its own existence. Such a being cannot say like Jesus Christ: "No one takes my life away from me. I give it up of my own freewill; I have the right to give it up and I have the right to take it back."[8] It follows then that the Absolutely Supreme Being must necessarily be a totally rational (or rationalistic) being. This is not to say, like Kant, that the rational order/form can exist apart from, prior to (and, hence in some sense superior to) the Absolutely Supreme Being (this was a subtle enlightenment critique and substitution for the idea of God in the Western tradition). Rather, it is to say that the Absolutely Supreme Being is necessarily—by its own very nature—absolutely rational; to be less than absolutely rational would be to be less than the Absolutely Supreme Being.

When we turn to the Decentralized Supreme Being we see that its logical structure should be the same as that of the Absolutely Supreme Being. This is because if it has the attributes discussed above and hence is supremely powerful, then its ministers are nothing but a projection of its powers. These powers, the powers and activities of the gods, are in effect, substantially, the presence and activity of the Supreme Being; they form one essence, hence, one substantial reality. We thus have to take the Supreme Being and its ministers as one block or totality, one substance. The Decentralized Supreme Being as a singular substance should be of the same logical nature, that is, be necessarily totally rational; truly universal as discussed above. This would be a necessary element of its being. We can now examine the African conception of the Supreme Being and other deities to see what their logical character looks like. Before we do this, however, let us note that the Absolutely Supreme Being and the Decentralized

[8] John 10:10, as rendered by the *Good News Bible* (New York: American Bible Society, 1978), 139 (NT).

Supreme Being, indeed any being conceived as possessing the attributes of eternal, infinite omnipotence and omniscience cannot be composed of an ontological constituent that could in any way hinder or foreclose the full logical (rational) expression of its being. Thus from the logical character of a being we can determine whether such a being is really a Supreme Being.

The Logico-Ontological Character of the Supreme Being in African Thought

We shall examine here the way the idea of the Supreme Being features in traditional African thought (i.e. the degree to which we can properly attribute total universality to this idea) by looking closely at Igbo culture, particularly the ethical sphere of the Igbo people. One reason for embarking on this analysis, for going beyond the names and supposed attributes of this Being, is that the names of the Being are in dispute. This is not peculiar to the Igbo. Amongst the Yoruba, Idowu gives four possible interpretations of the name Olodumare (the Supreme Being); Fadipe and others say that the usual name for the Supreme Being is not Olodumare, but Olorun (the Lord of the Sky); for Fadipe, Olodumare came with Christian influence, while for Idowu it is Olorun that came with Christian influence).[9] Amongst the Igbo, the dispute about the name of the Supreme Being is deeper. It has been argued that Chukwu, the name of the Supreme Being, is actually "Chiukwu abiama," the name the Aros gave to their deity Ibiniukpabi (the long Juju) in their commercialism. It came to be widely accepted because of the mutually reinforcing success of Aro commercialism and the revelations of the juju. Even amongst the Igbo of the former Nsukka province, where Chukwu is called Ezechitoke, Aro, the influence is unmistakable, for when stated in full it is "Ezechitoke abiama."[10] Amongst the Western Igbo, the name for the Supreme Being is Olisaebuluwa (the Orisa—deity—that bears or carries the world). But this may well be a deity whose specific task is to bear the world, making it no more supreme than other principal deities or, since "uwa" means both the universe (or the earth) and fortune, Olisaebuluwa may mean the god that bears fortune or the god of fortune. This interpretation is supported by the name Osaemenam which means "Olisaebuluwa does not inflict misfortune (ill luck) on me."

Let us now examine the logical nature of the presence of the Supreme in the Igbo ethical system. The ethical codes of people are a set of injunction(s),

[9] O. A. Onwubiko, *African Thought, Religion and Culture,* 67–68.

[10] J. Obi Oguejiofor, *The Influence of Igbo Traditional Religion on the Socio-political Character of the Igbo* (Nsukka: Fulladu Publishing Co., 1996), 60.

which issue from a communally accepted source of normativity. Normally, therefore, the ethical code of a community that believes in the existence of a fully Supreme Being, in either of the two senses discussed in the last section, should issue, directly or indirectly, from such a Being.

Amongst the Igbo, the source of normativity is Ani, the earth goddess. All serious moral offences are "Nso Ani" (a breach of the earth goddess' taboo). Apparently, Ani is a Minister of the Supreme Being. If this is the case, then these injunctions are from the Supreme Being. This would be the general line of thought on this matter with people like Idowu' who argue for a Decentralized Supreme Being or a Diffused Monostheistic picture for Africa. These injunctions include negative (prohibitive) and positive ones. Among the prohibited acts are incest, stealing, (especially of yams and other valuables such as cows), patricide, murder or accidental killing. All of these, however, are offences against members of the clan or the community (the maximal political unit). This will become clearer when we look at the "Nso Umueze-Aroli Nze-na-Ozo" of the royal Umueze-Aroli kin group of Onitsha. The Nze-na-Ozo men are priests of the ancestor/lineage cults which are closely bound to the Ani goddess, a goddess whose generative/creative activity makes all life possible. She is "the beginning of all life and the recipient of life."[11] The ethical code of this lineage-based priesthood expresses the highest ethical standards of the people, as should be expected.

Nso Umueze Aroli – Nze na Ozo:

1. a I ga n'asopulu Okpala gi.
   b I ma ga ya niru.
   c I ga n'efe ya Nru.
   d I ga n'akwudolu ya n'ilo mgbencha.
2. a I ga n'ene nna gi na nne gi anya.
   b Iga n'afufu n'anya. O bu alu m'obulu n'itie nne gi m'obu nna gi ife; m'obu Ikpoo fa iyii nso. Ifendia ga bu ife anemegha emegha.
3. Iga n'elote ikene Ani.
4. a I ma n'apu ilo nachi jie.
   b O di na nkpa, I ga anyalu akpa gi ya bu madu g'eso gi.
5. Nze na Ozo adighi asi asi.
6. Nze na Ozo adighi ezu ori.

[11] Ben N. Chukwudebe, ed. *Onitsha Quo Vadis* (Owerri: B.N. Chukudebe, 2nd edition 1986), 22.

7.a Nze na Ozo adighi egbu madu – ya bu na Nze na Ozo adighi anu ogu; Odighi agwo ogwu igbu madu;
Odighi aku nsi
8. Nze na Ozo adighi ayi nwada; m'obu nwunye ebo.
9.a Nze-na Ozo adighi eso agba izu igbu madu.
b Omaso gbaa izu imedide umunnaya.
10. Nze na Ozo adighi eli nni onamaro onye silinu.[12]

Translation:

1.a You should respect your 'okpala' [the head of your family or family group; literally father, the one who succeeds and represents or personifies a dead father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc.].
b You must not be forward toward your Okpala; you must remain subordinate to him.
c You must pay him homage [with gifts, etc.].
d You must always defend him, show loyalty and support to him in any conflict with outsiders.
2.a You should take good care of your parents.
b You should love them. It is a major offence to beat or curse either one of your parents; such an offence requires cleansing and restitution through the necessary traditional ceremonies.
3. Remember always to salute, show gratitude to, and as the case may be to propitiate, the Ani goddess.
4.a You should not leave your house [go visiting, etc.] once it is dark [at night].
b If it is necessary that you do so, you must be accompanied by an able-bodied person ['madu' stands for a person, male or female, of any type; but it seems that the idea here is an able-bodied man, who can put up some defence if the need arises].
5. An Ozo-titled man does not lie.
6. An Ozo-titled man does not steal.
7.a An Ozo-titled man does not kill human beings; therefore he does not fight.

[12] Ben N. Chukwudebe, ed. *Onitsha Quo Vadis,* 40. Divisional letters of the alphabet are mine (7b "made" – originally "madu," apparently a typographical error).

b He does not make or contract anyone to make "medicine" [any type of magical/spiritual/physical device put together by a native doctor, sorcerer, etc.] meant for the killing of anyone. He does not apply "medicine" of any type at all against people.

8. The Ozo-titled man does not involve himself in sexual relations with any female from his family or clan [incest]; nor does he involve himself in such relations with the wife of any member of his family or clan.

9.a The Ozo-titled man does not involve himself in a conspiracy to kill anyone.

b And he should not be involved in any discussion or conspiracy that is in any way detrimental to his patrilineage [extended family and clan].

10. The Ozo-titled man does not eat food cooked by a person or people he does not know. [Probably to avoid unhygienic food and the deliberate poisoning of food by malicious persons].

When we look closely at these laws, we see that laws 4 and 10 are not ethical injunctions but security measures; however Chukwudebe holds that these commandments are similar to the Decalogue and that "the difference lies in the application."[13] Truly the difference lies in application, but it is not as Chukwudebe conceived it. The difference lies in the scope (the horizon) of applicability of these laws, that is, the degree to which these commandments are sentences that should apply in a totally universalistic manner. When we look at these commandments, we see that they are not meant to apply in a totally universalistic manner. Let us examine them closely.

Commandment 1.d demands "patriotism." It establishes in-group loyalty (self-preservation) over and above any other ethical demand such as justice, truth, "respect for persons as ends" in dealing with an out-group. Indeed, this law explains the whole character of the ethical codes of this community and it is generally the same for all Igbo communities.

By its nature, commandment 2 is a particularistic law. This is because it addresses the attention paid to two particular human beings out of the whole of humanity. Although the sentence "Everyone should love his or her parents" is a universal one, the action it elicits is highly particularistic; it does not address humanity as a whole. The sentence thus addresses the relations between particular persons defined as parents and other particular person(s) defined as offspring.

[13] Ben N. Chukwudebe, ed. *Onitsha Quo Vadis*, 38.

As regards commandment 3, the goddess Ani, as said earlier, is the being from whom the ethical commands issue; she punishes offences. Ani, however, is not a universal goddess in Igboland, in the sense of having a common priesthood, rites, shrine, and so forth. Every community has its own Ani, which is believed to be the hallowed presence of the earth goddess, who brought forth their ancestors and supports and guarantees the life of their progeny in the present and the future. Ani is, therefore, the ultimate lineage cult and, hence, the character of its injunctions, ultimately, are of the nature of approval for those things that would aid the preservation (the material, physical preservation and continuation) of the lineage (the family, extended family, clan, community). It should be noted, however, that for the preservation of the family, the extended family, and at times the clan, the first port of call is the ancestor, because the ancestors act as intercessors between humans and Ani and Chukwu. Ani, however, is taken by some to be the Supreme Being.[14] Ani is the Supreme lineage cult (the goddess that bore the lineage just like a mother her child), as can be seen in the expression "Ani be anyi eme kwe" in response to an evil proposal ("Our Ani won't allow such an evil"; better still "The Ani that made and guarantees the preservation of my clan/lineage won't permit such an evil"); Ani is thus ultimately a god of concrete material self-preservation. For these reasons, the Ani of a people provides injunctions and rewards (positive and negative) only for members of such a community. It is not binding on outsiders, whether they are Igbo-speaking or not. Thus we have Omenani, "the being that obtains in the land or in the community;[15] these are the customs and traditions of a people and approved for a people by their earth goddess. We also have in common usage, Omenani anyi (our Omenani); Omenani fa (their Omenani); Omenani ndi (the Omenani of a people) or Odibendi (that being that obtains amongst a people). It should be noted here that while there are common features amongst the Igbo, especially amongst the major regions of the Igbo-speaking people, there was no consciousness of Omenani Igbo in the pre-colonial era, and even up until now. It is always Omenani ndi (i.e. the omenani of a given community). Because Ani is a goddess of self-preservation, her injunctions cannot pass the test of total universality, especially those which require the bridging or crossing of the subject-object divide in favour of

[14] J. Obi Oguejiofor, *The Influence of Igbo Traditional Religion on the Socio-political Character of the Igbo*, 69–72. Oguejiofor explores the ideas of those who think, with very good reasons, that Ani or Ala is the Supreme Being amongst the Igbo. See also M. Echeruo, *A Matter of Identity* (Owerri: Ministry of Information, 1979).

[15] T.U. Nwala, *Igbo Philiosophy* (Ikeja Lagos: Lateramed Publishing (Nigeria), 1985), 26.

objectivity, impersonality, or impartiality. From this, it should now be clear why we have rule 1.d.

The injunction in commandment 5 has to be interpreted in the light of rule 1.d. One must not lie to a member of the in-group, but if a lie is required in the defence of the okpala or the family or the clan, such a lie is no offence.

Just as in the above case, the injunction in commandment 6 pertains mainly to the in-group. One cannot steal that which belongs to a member of the community; outside the community however, one may do as one pleases. This may be seen in the fact that an Ozo-titled man can sponsor or acquiesce in, without offending the Ani of his society, the kidnapping of a person outside the community. The need for such kidnappings arose from the demand for human sacrifices by oracles, divinities, for prosperity "medicine," and also from the need for slave labour.

At this point one may compare the injunction on stealing here with that on stealing in Christianity, especially since white Christians were major slave dealers. To state the contrast simply, whereas the Christian injunction prohibits such an activity expressly because it condemns any such act, notwithstanding the fact whether the person kidnapped is a member of one's community or not, the injunction in this African tradition is not so. Christian white men who undertook kidnapping for slavery and other purposes did it of their own accord. Some tried to bend the Christian law to suit their own purpose; it is said, for instance, that some argued that it was a good thing to kidnap pagans and bring them as slaves to Christian countries because this would facilitate their conversion and salvation; a bogus argument indeed.

Again, the fact that commandment 7 is not a commandment with universal application and dimensions comes out when we appreciate the fact that in the monarchic society of Onitsha, one must be an Ozo-titled man to aspire to be king. However, the ceremonies of installation require extensive rituals and sacrifices, including the sacrifice of five human beings, whom the aspirant would have to provide. This was the practice in Onitsha before 1901, when Samuel Okosi, a Christian, was installed igwe (king), Cows were then substituted for humans and this has since been the case. For other monarchic societies amongst the Igbo, Edo, and Yoruba people, this sort of substitution is believed to have taken place although one cannot vouch that it was indeed so. Apart from this, communities collectively engaged in human sacrifice amongst the peoples of Nigeria for one reason or the other, such as making powerful "juju" or "medicine" for the community's protection or its fertility or in responding to the demands of a deity. In respect of human sacrifice amongst the Yoruba, Idowu says that:

> The highest type of sacrifice among the Yoruba used to be human sacrifice. No one can be quite sure that this sacrifice is not being offered, if secretly and only on urgent occasions even these days, although after the establishment of British rule in the country, it was made illegal. In the old days, human sacrifice by the Yoruba was the climax of sacrifices. The occasion was more often than not a matter of national or community importance. There were divinities to whom the annual offering must be human. Such was Oramfe of Ile-Ife, and of Ondo; so also was Ogun… The sacrifice was also offered whenever it was believed expedient that someone should die as a sacrifice of appeasement in order that the community might be saved.[16]

Idowu's attempt to show that it is not true that the Yoruba only use non-Yorubas for their human sacrifices demonstrates the particularism of this practice. The in-group is the kin group; those from outside, whether Yoruba-speaking or not, are the victims (this of course is born out of the instinct for the preservation of oneself in and through the lineage group). As he writes:

> The notion, which has been spread abroad that the Yoruba did not, as a rule, offer their own kith in sacrifice, is not quite correct. The moral prerequisite to such a sacrifice was that shortly before the sacrifice a warning must be sounded publicly that there was the likelihood of someone missing within the next few days and in order to be safe from such a tragedy, everybody should keep indoors after a certain hour of the night for a specified period. That meant that at certain hours of the night during that period, those who had been prepared to catch a victim would be abroad, and the very first person they met, if he was suitable for their purpose, would be caught, no matter who he might be. Someone, a stranger, very likely usually fell into the trap and was sacrificed. There were, however, specific cases in which the ritual demands were that the victims should be contributed by certain chiefs in the community from the membership of their own compound. In such a case, the victims would be household slaves who had been acquired by purchase or as war captives, should the oracle be still more definite about the victims, then whoever was mentioned would be sacrificed. There were secret

[16] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare,* 119.

> societies the members of which customarily sacrificed in turn their own offspring.[17]

Again, commandment 8 shows similar limitations to the others above. The Ozo-titled man ought not to engage in incestuous sexual relations (with a daughter or wife of the lineage group); outside this group of women the law is silent. Sexual relations outside this group are no offence, so it is not extra-marital relations that are an offence, it depends on who the partner is. Pre-marital sex should be treated in a similar manner for some have their Ozo-title before marriage.

While commandment 9.a has already been treated in the comments on commandment 7; commandment 9.b reinforces the demand for in-group loyalty, expressed clearly in 1.d and implicitly in the other commandments, except for 4 and 10. The way the Onitsha Igbo, and indeed the Igbo, approach ethics is summed up in the proverb "Okuku ada alu ulu na akwa ya"("A fowl does not wreak havoc among its eggs").[18]

We have seen that the source of normativity, Ani, is conceived as belonging peculiarly to a given people and hence is not universalitistic in character; nor are her injunctions universalistic in character, for they are apparently meant for the preservation of a specific lineage group and the promotion of the welfare of such a group. They obviously do not manifest the total universalistic character expected of a totally universal being. Since, however, Ani is representing and expressing Chukwu (if Chukwu is the Supreme Being in either of the senses discussed above) then these ethical injunctions are really from Chukwu. Since Ani is particularistic in character, Chukwu also must be so. Since Ani is ultimately a god of self-preservation, then Chukwu can be no different. As a matter of fact, Chukwu is expressly conceived as such in the Nri myth of creation; here Chukwu demands of Eri the sacrifice of his first son and daughter if he desires to survive a famine.[19] Since these ethical commands are seriously lacking in universality, especially objectivity, impersonality, or impartiality, then they could not have come from a totally universalistic being, because ethical commands reflect the nature of the being issuing them, indeed they are of the very essence of such a being. From the foregoing it should become clear that neither Ani nor Chukwu, whom Ani represents, are characterized by the logical qualities of total universality. If, however, Chukwu is not composed of these qualities, then Chukwu cannot be the Supreme Being, either

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[17] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare,* 119–120.

[18] S. I. Bosah, *Groundwork of the History and Culture of Onitsha* (Onitsha: S. I. Bosah, n.y.), 190. I have substituted "wreak" for the original "wrought".

[19] B. Abanuka, *Myth and the African Universe* (Onitsha: Spiritan Publications, 1999), 77–79.

in the sense of an Absolutely Supreme Being or in the sense of a Decentralized Supreme Being, for it lacks some necessary qualities for the existence of such a Being as discussed above.

This explains why the idea of Chukwu is very vague in traditional society, as can be seen in the dispute about its name and its lack of priesthood, temple or shrine cult, festive day(s), and so on. Let us also note here that in pre-Christian times, personal names involving Chukwu were rare compared with such names today. In pre-Christian times the most common names were Okeke, Okafor and other names relating to the deities' graces or curses, such as wealth, death, strength, health, war or strife. The dominance of names relating to Chukwu conceived as the Supreme Monotheistic God in contemporary times is due to the influence of Christianity.

Finally, let us also note that Idowu's notion of a Diffused Supreme Being (a Decentralized Supreme Being) does not hold water. Either a being is genuinely, i.e. totally, absolutely supreme (as is the case in the various forms of monotheism) or it is not genuinely absolutely supreme (in which case we have a case of mere preeminence in a pantheon). This is because the logical structure of an Absolutely Supreme Being and that of a Decentralized Supreme Being are the same, if the latter is genuinely supreme. What we have shown is that the logical structure of a genuinely Supreme Being did not exist in African thought of the pre-Christian era. The implications of this principle are enormous, affecting all spheres of life. Let us explore them by looking at the sorts of influences the structure and ends of the traditional ethical system generate in contemporary African societies.

The Effects of Particularistic Traditional Ethics on Contemporary African Societies

In order to appreciate the influences of traditional ethics on contemporary African societies we have to properly understand the notion mentioned above of material self-preservation in traditional society. In Igbo ontology there is an unbroken connection between life on earth (i.e. this life) and life hereafter, such that a man who lives here and dies continues his life in the world beyond in the state in which he lived here. If a man is wealthy and socially well accepted by his kith and kin here, he will live in splendour and honour in the spirit world, provided that his people perform a befitting funeral ceremony, in which they display wealth and show honour for the departed personality. For this reason, kings, titled men, and other high personages were buried with a great deal of wealth and even slaves, in order to let the kinsmen beyond know that a wealthy person is returning and to provide him with the materials to live in some wealth

and honour in the spirit world. All that happens at death in Igbo ontology is that the human being sheds his/her gross material body, ordinarily the visible material body, leaving the ethereal essence. This has the form of a human, is translucent, and can traverse space and time and be present in things in a manner ordinary people cannot. It can, however, like humans, be hungry, angry, etc; and it also possesses the intelligence and power to help or harm human beings. For the same reasons the Igbo threw very bad people or people who were suffering abominable diseases into the evil forest, without any honour, or, depending on the gravity of the situation, they could bury such persons in the family burial place but with little honour. All such persons will continue their existence outside the ancestral spirit land of the good and acceptable, where they will remain restless and forever continue their suffering.

For the Igbo, life as so conceived is supreme, hence we find such names as Ndubisi (life is supreme) Nduka (life is the greatest) Ndukaku (life is greater than wealth). The life meant here is not simply the individual's life, but more importantly the corporate life of the lineage, running back to the ancestors, which is sustained by the ancestors and Ani, within which the individual can reincarnate, within which the individual lives both in this world and after death. Good and bad, right and wrong are in reference to this lineage context, for herein lies the supreme good, the standard by which right and wrong are determined, by which injunctions become morally valid or invalid.

The Igbo idea that life is the supreme good can be universalized across space and can also be held invariable. The trouble with this view, however, lies with objectivity (impersonality, impartiality). If whatever goes against life is evil and that which promotes or tends to preserve life is good, then we cannot have ethical rules that are objective (impartial, impersonal). For instance, suppose we have customs officers charged with patrolling a section of the Nigerian border to intercept smugglers; suppose the leader of this patrol is incorruptible and suppose the leader is approached by some unscrupulous and ruthless smugglers offering a large sum of money to let them pass or, in the event of refusal, experience their wrath in a shoot-out. Suppose the majority of the patrolmen have already been compromised by accepting large sums of money and the patrol leader has no time to call for reinforcements (leaving a situation in which his men could cooperate with the smugglers to assassinate him). What should the patrol leader do? Accept the bribe? Or refuse the bribe and risk his life to stand up to his duty and moral obligation by trying to stop the smugglers? Or, refuse the bribe and do nothing to stop the smugglers? Traditional Igbo ethics will recommend the last option, the ethical issues involved (the duty of the patrol leader, etc.) are not more important than the patrol leader's life. But if moral rules are to be abandoned in the face of threats, then there can hardly be

any firmly entrenched rule except that of survival. The commitment (existential commitment) that makes an ethical order move beyond the survival level to the levels of material self-supersession—the peak of vertical auto-transcendence—will not be there.

The fact that objectivity is imperiled in this ethical system can also be seen in cases in which one is forced to choose between the preservation of either one of two lives. Suppose one is faced with a situation, in which if one tells the truth one will loose one's own life, but the life of one's neighbour will be preserved, but if one lies, one will preserve one's own life, while one's neighbour, who is innocent, will loose his life. Should one tell the truth or lie? This raises the question, whose life should be preserved? If a person tells the truth in such circumstances he/she values truth and justice more than his/her life; if he/she lies, he/she values his/her life more than the truth and justice.

In the traditional African ethical system the answer to this question would be that in some circumstances it is better to tell the truth in such a situation, whereas in others it is better to lie. How are we to know the circumstances in which to lie or tell the truth? The situation in which if one lies one would save one's life at the expense of one's neighbour's life would be justified if one's neighbour is not a member of one's lineage, but it would not be justified of one's neighbour is also from one's lineage. Indeed, it would be justified if one had to save the life of a member of the lineage at the expense of an outsider; telling the truth here at the expense of a kinsman's life is blameworthy. What this comes down to is that the injunction to tell the truth is not universally applicable or valid; consistency and rationality are limited, rules do not apply objectively and impersonally here. Personal involvement, especially when it involves one's own life or the corporate life of the lineage would determine the moral standing of an act.

Thus, as mentioned earlier, strictly speaking, traditional ethical codes exist for the individual in the lineage context; outside this level they command no force. Outside this level we have an ethical jungle where anything could happen; there are no serious codes or injunctions, people are free to act as they choose; and all this is partly because Ani and the ancestors draw no obligations outside the lineage and are interested principally, if not solely, in the lineage group.

We may thus begin to understand the extraordinarily deep levels of corruption and irresponsibility in our civic life as a failure of a particularistic ethical system to meet the demands of a more universalistic environment. A man, for instance, who understands that it is an offence to steal only from his kinsmen will find it difficult not to steal from the abstract entity called the state government of a multi-ethnic country which apparently has no direct relations with his kinsmen.

Because the traditional ethical system is limited in terms of objectivity/impersonality, it is not an open all-inclusive system that addresses humility as such. Traditional ethics is completely inadequate today with people leaving their villages/towns and living amongst strangers, with today's population movement and multiethnic states. The trouble with the traditional ethical system, as can be seen, is with its logical structure and the ends that go with the structure; these determine its scope, its horizon. Once we understand that the ethical horizon of traditional ethics is inherent, it can be seen that external factors, such as colonialism, did not create it. Clearly, we require a totally universalistic system that would not discriminate on grounds of kinship to create a universal basis for commitment/attachment and identity. This is one of the major requirements for the development of contemporary African societies, politically, socially, economically, and in other respects.

THE FESTIVAL OF SHEIK ADI IN LALISH, THE HOLY VALLEY OF THE YEZIDIS

Eszter Spät

Lalish, the holy valley of the Yezidis in the Kurdish mountains a few hours drive from Mosul, Iraq, is a place where time seems to stand still. If the feel (and look) of the Middle Ages has survived anywhere in the Middle East, it is here, in the valley made fertile by two sacred springs. There are reasons to believe that this idyllic place has been favored by the gods (or rather by their worshippers); in all probability it was the site of a Nestorian monastery for centuries, and it is the resting place of the greatest patron saint of the Yezidis, Sheikh Adi, a twelfth-century Sufi mystic.

The Yezidis are an enigmatic and little known Kurdish sect who have incorporated a wide range of religious motifs into their unique belief system, from Zoroastrianism through Gnosticism to Sufi Islam[1]. They believe that once every year the Seven Angels, emanations of the Godhead, congregate above Lalish and decide the fate of the world for the coming year. This occurs during the week-long Autumn Assembly, also known as the Festival of Sheikh Adi, and for centuries attendance at the Autumn Assembly held in Lalish was considered a religious duty for Yezidis. Today it is a spiritually fulfilling pilgrimage rather than a requirement, and a meeting place for the whole community—a matter of immense importance during the years of Kurdish Autonomy (1991–2003). At that time the Yezidi community was cut in two by the Iraqi variant of the Iron Curtain, which could only be crossed on this occasion provided that the Iraqi government and the Arab border guards were in a lenient mood toward "this bunch of heretics." Such an event was not one that a self-respecting doctoranda at a medieval department could miss.

Admittedly, observing such a ceremony is not *stricto sensu* part of my research as a doctoranda, given the fact that my PhD thesis deals with the incorporation of Gnostic motifs in Yezidi mythology, an interesting but rather quaint and elusive topic. Bona fide researchers of Gnosticism may sigh over their inability to observe an authentic Gnostic ritual sometime in the first centuries of our era, to help them reconstruct the atmosphere of Gnostic

[1] The most important publications describing Yezidis are: E. S. Drower, *Peacock Angel* (London: John Murray, 1941); C. J. Edmonds, *A Pilgrimage to Lalish* (London: University Press Aberdeen, 1967); Nelida Fuccaro, *The Other Kurds: Yazidis in Colonial Iraq* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999); Philip Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism – Its Background, Observance and Textual Tradition* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

spirituality. However, I thought that my experience would not be irrelevant. One cannot understand the ethos of a religion without getting to know that religion, the people who practice it, and the way they practice it. And what better way of gathering knowledge, than to breath the heady air of mysteries performed and join in the profane pleasures offered by such a festival? At best, such an experience can furnish new details for one's thesis; at least, it brings the researcher closer to the researched object. With this mind I set out to witness the Great Assembly of 2002, October 6–13.[2]

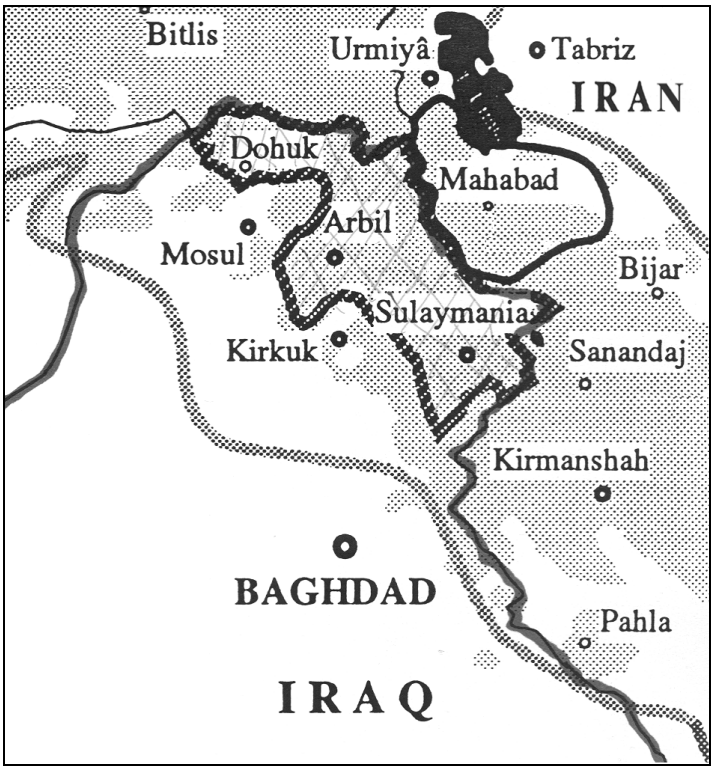

Fig. 1. Territories of Kurdish autonomy on both sides of the border.

[2] The most detailed descriptions of the Autumn Assembly are given by Kreyenbroek, Edmonds, and Austen Layard, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Niniveh* (New York, 1854). It must be noted that there seems to be no fixed script for the festival. Descriptions seem to vary with each traveler or researcher. Therefore I observed some rituals (like displaying the sacred standards, or baptizing the Throne of Sheik Adi – see below) that some of my predecessors did not see, while I failed to observe some rituals described by them.

I caught my first sight of Lalish in semi-darkness. It is a lovely place, in a small green valley between three pretty hills covered by trees—a rare sight in Kurdistan. A number of small sacred brooks run through it and finally converge in the valley, where fig trees grow on the banks and people have picnics. An idyllic sight and described as such by travelers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

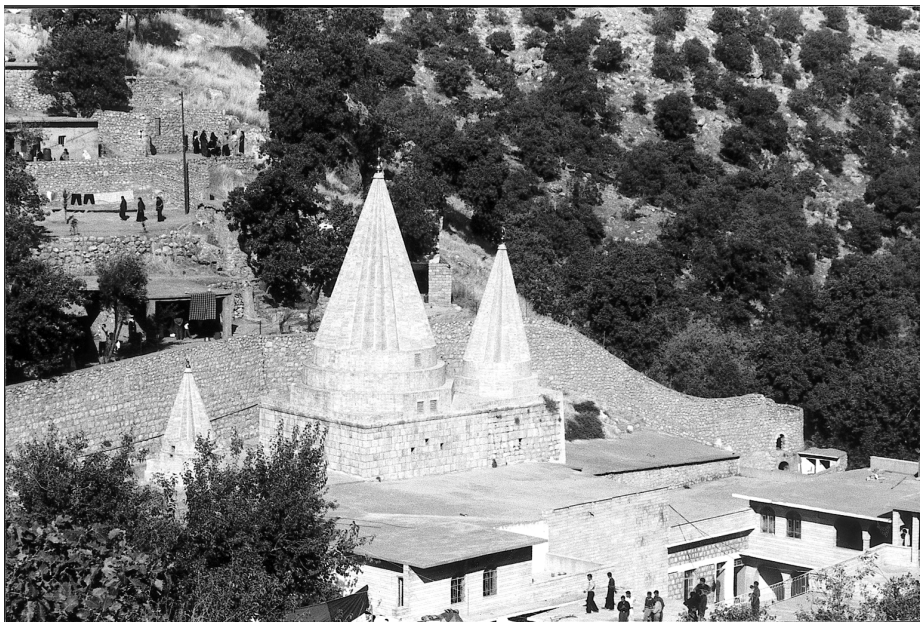

Fig. 2. The sanctuary of Sheikh Adi in Lalish. The conical spire of the shrine is a characteristic of Yezidi shrines in the region (photo by the author).

When A. Henry Layard (1817–1894), English diplomat and archaeologist, visited the festival over 150 years ago, the number of pilgrims was around 5000. Today this number seems to have swollen to an immeasurable extent; it seemed that throughout the week an ever-increasing crowd kept arriving, while none of them left. There were even Yezidis from Syria. The majority came from over the border, that is from Sheikhan in what used to be Saddam Hussein's Iraq, and some even more excitingly from the Jebel Sinjar, a mountain in the Syrian plain, traditionally isolated from external influences and for over a hundred years a stronghold and refuge of Yezidis. Most of the people coming from Sinjar still wear their traditional dress; the men wear Arab style headgear and long robes, with the capes of the rich or important embroidered in gold on the edges. Some of the Sinjaris of a more conservative turn of mind even have long plaited hair

hanging down at their temples, as described by travelers in the early nineteenth century, not to mention the obligatory mustaches of the Yezidis that reach awe-inspiring proportions among Sinjaris.

Fig. 3. Woman from Sinjar at Lalish, wearing the traditional white dress of Sinjaris (photo by the author).

All these people arrived carrying food for days, mattresses, blankets, cooking pots, and sometimes even tents, although more often the many-coloured patchwork sheets pilgrims bundle their things into when carrying them

on their heads are later used as a kind of tent, erected over four poles. By the end of the week such colourful "tents" were set up even on the roof of the sanctuary guesthouse, that is, the house of the leading faqir, who takes care of the sanctuary throughout the year. Whole families were living, sleeping, cooking, and eating under the protection of such tents. The families camping out in such a nomadic style belonged to the most noble lineages. Each *ojax*, or family line, has its own allocated place to camp in Lalish, the precincts of the sanctuary complex being reserved for the most important members of the community. Since the main diet is goat meat, many of these long-robed "Arabs" arrived tugging an unfortunate, reluctant goat or two on the end of a rope. As the consumption of meat was high in the guesthouse, where entertaining the noble guest is the sacred duty of the faqir in charge of the sanctuary, one side of the sanctuary soon became slippery with the blood of the victims, who were killed and cut up in front of the stairs leading to the rooms of the prince.

However, not much of this fervent activity could be seen or guessed on the first night: Lalish was still peaceful and clean. Hygiene is one of the major flaws of this feast. There is no sewerage in Lalish. Water for drinking, cooking, and washing is carried in containers from the Sacred White Spring—surrounded by a jostling crowd all day long—and dirty water is splashed on the ground.

I was taken to the main hall of the guesthouse adjoining the sanctuary, and invited to sit in the part reserved for men, a many-columned long hall with one side open to the courtyard. This was a great honor, for women invariably sit in their own section—though men can and do come visiting there. After having consumed some boiled goat-meat, boiled chicken and rice (the staple food for the week) for dinner, we went to witness the *Sema Evari* or the evening dance of the religious men, accompanied by the music of three *kewels*, sacred singers. Twelve men dressed in white walked in pairs with curious, ceremoniously choreographed steps following an old faqir, who was wearing a sooty black, long fur cape and hat (allegedly the one worn by Sheikh Adi). While the *kewels* played their plaintive tunes, the dancers slowly circled around the holy fire lit in the middle, said to symbolize both the Sun and the Godhead. Outside the circle stood a *faqra* (Yezidi nun) holding a small pail with what looked like smoking coals.

On the morning of the second day people were still just starting to arrive, so I had plenty of time to look around inside the sanctuary. I was accompanied by a number of enthusiastic youths, who immediately took me to see all the places non-Yezidis are not supposed to see, including the underground cave where the Zemzem River (or rather brook) springs forth from a rock—allegedly a miracle of Sheikh Adi, who made the water spring up from the rock in this previously barren place. The Zemzem is identified with the sacred river of

Mekka, and Yezidis claim that Sheikh Adi made the spring divert to Lalish. There is also "a wishing rock" in the cave opening from the cell of Sheikh Adi's tomb—if one manages to throw a piece of cloth on top of this rock over a lit candle, his or her wishes come true. At the holiest of holies, I saw the sacred *sanjak* (bronze image) of *Tawusi Melek* (the Peacock Angel, chief of the Seven Angels, and special protector of the Yezidis) displayed inside the sanctuary and kissed by fervent worshippers. For centuries outsiders were forbidden to see this bird image, although in the last 150 years there have been a few travelers and missionaries who claimed to have seen the Peacock. As their descriptions of the *sanjak* contradict each other, however, it may be assumed that at least some of them were shown a fake *sanjak*. The Peacock is taken around the Yezidi villages twice a year, accompanied by the *kewels* who pray and collect alms.

On the third day, the religious school from Bashiqe-Behzani came to visit. Bashiqe-Behzani are twin villages (on what used to be Saddam's territory) where the *kewel*s traditionally reside and traditions are much valued there. I first saw the students next to the sanctuary of the White Spring. They were dressed in pure white, except for the usual red checkered turbans of the boys. I thought they were going to be baptized, for the White Spring is the place for baptism, but was later disappointed to learn that it was not so. For my sake the *pir* (aristocrat) in charge of the White Spring sanctuary and baptism caught hold of a child and baptized him saying the appropriate prayers. Luckily Yezidis can be baptized repeatedly.

The principal of the school, when he learned of my presence, went into an ecstasy, along with his fellow teachers. A foreigner interested in his school! I was feasted and fed on home cooking from Bashiqe. I spent the afternoon sitting on the right of Kameran beg, the "viceroy" of the Yezidi prince, in the central square in front of the sanctuary watching and recording the schoolchildren reciting religious texts, poems, and songs and performing dances. Later I was introduced to the Baba Sheikh (the Yezidi "pope"), sitting with his court in front of the sanctuary under a sort of gazebo.

Mount Arafat, which Muslims believe to be in Mecca, is another important station of the yearly pilgrimage. Pilgrims walk in a circle around the sacred white stone on top of the mountain seven times, kiss it, then give some money to the faqir guarding the site.

Any visit paid to a holy shrine or site entails a gift of money. At the White Spring one pays for baptism or the ablution of sins (or for recording the prayer said at baptism). At the main sanctuary of Sheik Adi a faqir sits by the door collecting alms from visitors, who may also donate money inside. For example they give money to the guardian of the sacred *sanjak* or standard, a bronze image of the Holy Peacock, the guardian angel of the Yezidis, that they kiss reverently.

They pay to the man who owns the piece of cloth one has to throw on top of the "wishing stone." Finally, on leaving the sanctuary, they give further alms to the aforementioned faqir at the door in exchange for one of the little dried balls of earth and dust taken from Sheik Adi's grave. Among the Yezidis, it is believed to bring blessings and divine protection to the members of the household; it is held in a bag specially made for this purpose and quite often conspicuously displayed hanging on the wall. One middle-aged Yezidi woman (incidentally the wife of a teacher with strong communist convictions) told me how, if she could not sleep for her worries, she fetched the bag and put it under her pillow and then slept like a baby.

I was just about to return to the sanctuary when a 'concert' seemed to have started around the white stone. A group of *stranghej* (traditional Kurdish singers) from the Sinjar (a place of traditions, as we have seen) had just arrived on a pilgrimage to Mount Arafat and held a traditional "contest of the bards." At the concert I also made the acquaintance of a young man from the lineage of Alu Bakr, a holy ancestor of a *pir* family (*pirs*, like *sheikhs*, are the aristocrats of the Yezidis.) Through him, I learned something about being a *pir*. The *pir* descendants of the sainted Alu Bakr (or any other holy man) are in possession of a bag that is decorated with a number of medallions and metal pins cast in exotic forms, said to be "the signs" (or symbols) of Alu Bakr and his special descent. The *murids* (followers or subjects) of the *pirs* of Alu Bakr traditionally come to "visit" these signs, sometimes from quite far, and then leave a donation with the guardian of the bag, usually the oldest male child. It is also believed that the descendants of this lineage have curative power, as in fact do all those descending from sheikh or *pir* lineages.

Meanwhile, Tahsin Beg, the ruling *mir* or prince had arrived. He is something of a historical figure; he was elected a prince at the age of 13 in 1944. Today he is 73, but married his third wife, a 25-year-old schoolteacher, just a few years ago. He took up residence in my old room and held court sitting in an armchair on the landing in front of it, receiving people, giving blessings and arbitrating in disputes. In due course I was introduced to him, our conversation, however, was constantly interrupted by his fervent subjects, and once by a whole squad of *peshmerge*s (Kurdish fighters) clad in their traditional garb. Each of them ran up to the *mir*, kissed his hand, then ran to the wall and sat (or rather dropped) down cross-legged on the floor with his gun in his lap. This action was repeated, without the slightest variation, about twenty times. The next day, when I was invited to have some fruit and tea with the prince after lunch, I witnessed more of his "holding court." It had a definite medieval flavor to it. First a few sheikhs appeared, evidently from the Sinjar region, in traditional dress: Flowing robes, gold-edged capes, dignified behavior. They kissed the hand of the *mir* and

then sat down on the mattresses opposite him. They were courteously offered some food and the *mir* inquired after their well being in a ceremonious manner. In the middle of all this polite and courtly conversation, two plaintiffs appeared bringing their case to the *mir* for arbitration: Harun al Rashid in the twenty-first century. As it turned out, one had sold to the other the ox to be sacrificed the next day according to an age-old ceremony; the buyer had paid with 'bad' money.[3] They could not settle their dispute, and went on arguing with each other and the prince until the latter finally got fed up and angrily chased them away.

The prince did not arrive alone, but with his family, and it was decided that as a guest of honor I should stay the night with his daughter-in-law and her children and companions. Thus it happened that I also had a glimpse of a modern version of the traditional harem. The daughter-in-law was only 25, but with 4 children, the oldest of whom was 10. She had gotten married at the age of 14. Surprisingly, although from Mosul, allegedly a modern city, all the women were extremely conservative in their dress. They were wearing the traditional long pants under their skirts that no self-respecting town girl in Duhok would wear (unless as a protection against the cold in winter). There was a strange quality to their lifestyle. While their "inferiors" were enjoying the activities outside, the noble women mostly kept indoors, in their separate room, apparently doing nothing. When eating, they just threw the bones and any food they did not want on the cement floor—I guess on the assumption that it would later be swept up by servants. As for their retinue, a number of weathered-looking men with guns and paunches came and went. It was impossible to figure out who were the husbands, who the relatives or friends, and who the bodyguards and attendants. I also noticed later that during the ceremonies that demanded the presence of "guards" armed with sticks for chasing away the people (meant to be a part of the ceremony), the male members of the *mir*'s household were represented among the guards in a high number.

In any case I spent the night with the women of the family. Of course, this had its own advantages. For one thing, from my vantage point of their room overlooking the courtyard, I could safely observe all the goings-on below, like the idyllic scene of at least a hundred sheiks sleeping wrapped in their gold-edged robes on the floor of the men's hall. I could listen to one of the *stranghej* entertain the assembled sheikhs with his songs for hours on end, while his unattentive audience chatted and socialized, using his songs as a pleasant

[3] Meaning "Saddam dinars," that is, the "copy" money issued by Saddam that had no international market value, as opposed to the internationally recognized "Swiss dinar" used in the Autonomous Kurdish Region.

background noise (much in the way I would imagine medieval bards and the revelry of knights). I was dying to go down and make some more recordings, but of course this was considered most unseemly by the household of the *mir* (a young woman among the men, and in the evening, too!). But a guest is a guest and her whims must be satisfied, and the house of the *mir* has unlimited powers, so the *strangbej* was duly requested to interrupt his performance below, come up and sing his songs to the audience of the harem.

Before retiring to the "royal chamber" for the night, I revisited the *Sema Evari* (Evening Dance), where I struck up a conversation with a *kewel*, one of the musicians for the ceremony, whose face reminded me of a faun or satyr of Greek mythology. He happily acquiesced to sing some *kewls* (hymns) for my sake and invited us back to his room because the over-curious crowd was making even him uncomfortable. His room was one of those very dismal, windowless holes built in the wall or basement (or between the two) of the sanctuary. But the people staying there seemed to be perfectly content with the place. He locked the door on our company (the only way to have some peace), and did a lot of exciting singing, which nobody but he and his wife seemed to understand. At least nobody could translate it for me. After that we climbed up to the house of my new friend, where his family and their *murids* (followers, commoners) did some moonlit dancing. First they danced to music from a tape recorder, but then luckily the battery died so they were reduced to the age-old method of singing for themselves.

On our way down we came across a house (or rather a rooftop), where a young boy was giving a concert of his own for his friends. He was from Baadra (the traditional seat of the Yezidi prince), where he was a well-known singer of "new" songs. "New" here means songs recently composed and sung on festive occasions, as opposed to the style of the *strangbej*, who sing age-old ballads, mostly about Yezidi history—that is, they don't extemporize. "New" songs are not, however, to be confused with modern songs, the latter being mostly like Turkish *arabesk* (or bus-music) in their style, sweet, sticky love songs, while the former are composed by Kurdish (or Yezidi) poets in the musical style of the traditional songs. In any case, he was overjoyed to be recorded by me, and went on singing until he lost his voice. Then his place was taken by another eager young man who also wished to have his talent recorded by the foreigner.

This is an interesting development, by the way. David MacKenzie, who collected folktales in this region in the 1960s for his book, *Kurdish Dialect Studies*,[4] relates how many problems he had when trying to use a tape recorder. Some

[4] David MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies*. London Oriental Studies, vols. 9 and 10 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961–1962).

people flatly refused to speak if the machine was running, while others just could not grasp the idea that they had to wait until McKenzie set up his tape-recorder, and had happily told half of the story by the time he was ready. By comparison, these days, being recorded is seen as a wonderful experience and a great honor. What is more, I was repeatedly asked, in a worried tone, if I had enough space left on my tape. One *stranghej* I recorded kept his eyes on the little red light of the tape recorder. He broke off his performance repeatedly to check if the recorder was really working and when one side of the tape finished he immediately interrupted his singing and called my attention to it.

It was a night of unrest, for just before dawn I was awoken by some strange and insistent chanting of *kewels*. I had no idea what it was, in fact, I was somewhat irritated—what an ungodly hour to sing—until next day, when I learned that what I had heard was in fact nothing else than the *Beyta Cindy*, or "Song of the Commoner." It is sung by the pious every morning before sunrise to wake the faithful, a song that seems to have an imagery and symbolism rooted in Gnosticism—my research topic. And this was what I missed in my half-slumber! So I had to return two nights later to listen to it with an alert mind as a researcher should and record it!

The wake-up call came at six a.m., when it got light and people started waking up in the courtyard below. My host family also got up and as the leaders of their people dutifully proceeded to contribute their share to the general din. My only compensation was that I had my breakfast brought to the room by an armed guard, like some real medieval Yezidi lady. Following breakfast I spent long hours on a rooftop watching the ceremony of baptizing the pieces of colored cloth from the sanctuary. Each of the Seven Angels has a piece of cloth of a different color that represents him in the sanctuary, and once every year these cloths have to be baptized in the sacred water of the White Spring. In a painstakingly slow procedure, each of the seven cloths has to be transported separately to the spring from the sanctuary, accompanied by *kewels* playing on their instruments and a group of men with sticks in their hands chasing off the crowd. Then, while the *kewel*s play outside the sanctuary built above the White Spring, several *faqirs* take the cloths inside to immerse them in the water, and then return to the sanctuary.

On the sixth day the most important ceremony took place, the chasing and killing of the bull. In order to get a good view I climbed up on a wall above the main square, next to the main gate of the sanctuary, together with the princess and her friend. There I spent some of the most uncomfortable hours I enjoyed in Lalish. The ceremony was late and the day was uncommonly hot, with the sun straight above us, and the crowd was jostling and pushing. Finally a group of armed men appeared on the wall and after some nerve-racking moments

fired their guns, and at last a small group of men burst through the gates of the sanctuary hanging onto a "bull" for grim death. The poor "bull" rather resembled an undernourished dwarf cow. The men ran off with the bull in the direction of the sanctuary of Sheik Shems, where it is traditionally "caught" and killed, cooked and then distributed among the hungry—and with immense relief I backed out of the crowd and the sun.

I had planned to record some more oral traditions of *strangbej* in the afternoon, and climbed Mount Arafat again. Unfortunately, this time there was only one singer there, singing with the aid of an amplifier, which promptly made the song loose its traditional charm and esthetic value. However, I noticed one of the *strangbej* who had played the day before, listening to the meager performance of his rival. Luckily I had a Yezidi friend by my side and he thought nothing of going up to the bard and inviting him to his house for a performance, so that the "foreigner" could record him. The *strangbej* sent someone to fetch his accompanist and his guitar, for it is only when thus accompanied that a *strangbej* can really give his best. People silently emerged from the dark to listen to the singer, who only stopped singing when he lost his voice five hours later. He sang of the history of the Yezidis and their struggles with the Muslims, of doomed lovers, and tales of woe.

The next day was the last day of the festival—something of a relief, if truth be told. As a farewell ceremony the day ended with the baptism of the "throne of Sheik Adi," a construction of wood and red silk, not looking even remotely like our idea of a throne or even a chair. It is usually kept in Baadra, but is brought to Lalish for the festival of Sheikh Adi, and on the last day it is carried triumphantly to the White Spring to be baptized. Having honourably absolved all my duties as a field researcher I returned to Duhok, where the Middle Ages is cunningly disguised by all the trappings of the twenty-first century.

Crafts and Commerce in Late Medieval Towns

FOREWORD

Katalin Szende

Research on crafts and commerce has been part of studying the Middle Ages and Early Modern times for nearly a century and a half. During this lengthy period, the framework and purpose of such research has varied immensely, ranging from puzzling together the past of local handicraft branches and their guilds to using quantified data in establishing secular trends of economic activity; from compiling biographies of honorable masters to "discovering" the forerunners of trade unionism and the labour movement. Neither have relatively new disciplines such as historical anthropology, gender studies, and the history of mentalities neglected the potential of studying craftsmen and merchants in their milieus.

The common denominator of all these approaches must be detailed research on archival material, which everyone has to undertake whatever his or her intention in dealing with crafts and commerce. Most investigations based on literary works, narrative sources, national legislation, and so forth may be carried out with the help of good critical editions, printed or electronic, practically anywhere in the world. Research on crafts and commerce, however, almost always involves intensive work with unedited material in local archives—as testified by all three studies published in this block.

Ian Blanchard's and Edna Ruth Yahil's contributions were presented as papers at our Interdisciplinary Workshop "Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns" (20–22 February 2003). This workshop, as noted in the Report of the Year (see pp. 207–208) and discussed in greater detail in a report compiled by Lovro Kunčević (*Medieval News*, Vol. 4.2, May 2003), investigated a whole range of factors which influenced the organization of medieval urban space and society. Among these, ethnicity and religion will be addressed in a separate volume to be published in 2005, which will contain about two-thirds of the nearly 30 papers presented at the workshop. Other issues included legal status, occupational structure, and the integration or segregation of hospitals. The two contributions published here offer an insight into these themes, where neither ethinicity nor religion determined matters of integration or segregation.

The third contribution, that of Ágnes Flóra, is a condensed version of her MA thesis, defended in June 2003, which centers around representatives of the goldsmiths, a leading guild in Cluj, Transylvania's *civitas principalis*. She shows

how their integration into the political elite went hand in hand with their acquisition of the most prestigious buildings in the town. Through its use of a large amount of originally unpublished archival data, the article also shows that well-planned and conscious preparatory work can enable students even during a one-year MA study at CEU to take up such locally-based topics. Making available well-presented local investigations from East Central Europe to an international audience can also contribute to widening the comparative scope of research on crafts and commerce, be it in the more traditional line or along newly-established avenues.

URBAN IDENTITY, GUILDS, AND JUSTICE IN LATE MEDIEVAL SAINT GERMAIN DES PRÉS

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In the late Middle Ages, Paris was at once a single city, an intellectual, social, religious, and economic hub. Encircling this city was a stone wall with its tall, pointed towers and beautifully sculpted soaring gates. Judicially, however, the city was not a homogenous unit, but rather a complicated patchwork of overlapping interests and jurisdictions: most of the city was under royal control, but significant portions both *intra* and *extra muros* were under the jurisdiction of various ecclesiastical seigneuries, including the abbey of Saint Germain des Prés.[1] The late Middle Ages was a time when Saint Germain was attempting to increase its powers over the land and people who lived on the surrounding land and to guard against the ever increasing pretensions of the monarchy, yet at the same time the abbey and its people became tied socially and economically to Paris. The paradox of the *bourg* Saint Germain was that the monks valued its independence, but its very wealth and prestige depended on its proximity to Paris.

Perhaps the most famous description of Saint Germain's temporal power is found in a sixteenth-century cartulary which lists the thirty-nine streets in which the abbey had all justice—high, middle, and low—and held the right of first censive.[2] This document has been crucial to studying the geography and history of the bourg Saint Germain, yet scholars who quote the temporal declaration at length often omit the final, extremely significant paragraph, which declared that the abbey, in the guise of a seigneurial lord, controlled the creation of guild inspectors, the inspection of guilds and subsequent fines and confiscations "without the interference of the king or anyone else."[3] In this article, I shall

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[1] Célestin Louis Tanon, *Histoire des justices des anciennes églises et communautés monastiques de Paris, suivie des registres inédits de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, et du registre de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* (Paris, 1886) (hereafter, Tanon, *Justices*).

[2] Archives Nationales de Paris (hereafter AN) LL 1035, "*Inventaire et Cartulaire pour Paris XVIe Siecle.*" Sections are reprinted in Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Ecrous de la justice de Saint-Germain-des-Prés au XVIe siècle: inventaire analytique des registres Z² 3393, 3318, 3394, 3395 (années 1537 à 1579)* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1995), 9–10, and Tanon, *Justices*. A copy can be found at the beginning of AN LL 1119.

[3] "Item nous pouvons faire maistres jurez de chacun maistriere dedans les faulbourgs dud. St. Germain tant seulement: boulengers, crieurs de vins, bouchiers vendeurs de poysson, drappiers, cousturiers, chaussetiers, cordonniers, serruriers, chandeliers,

demonstrate that jurisdiction over guilds was a fundamental aspect of seigneurial power in the Late Middle Ages and that although the monks of Saint Germain would have loved to have held this right exclusively, they could not escape the pretensions of the Parisian guilds who were backed by the King and the Provost of Paris. The monks needed to emphasize constantly the bourg Saint Germain's position as a *ville separée*, a city distinct from Paris and one important way that they did this was by demonstrating the independence of their guilds.

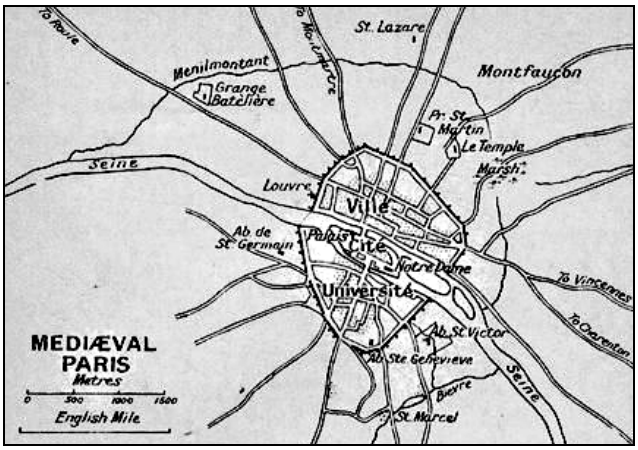

Fig. 1. The Topographical Relationship of Paris and St. Germain

When the thirteenth-century Provost of Paris, Estienne Boileau, recorded the statutes and customs of 101 guilds of Paris in the *Livre des Métiers,* he also established the independence of certain guilds in the Parisian seigneuries. Boileau left no doubt that some guild regulations applied only to those individuals who lived in Paris on the lands directly controlled by the king, specifying this exception in the first clause of the statute for the *Talemeliers* (i.e. bakers), which excludes bakers living in the ecclesiastical jurisdictions and

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grossiers, apotichaires, barbiers, cirugiens, tonneliers, et quelment de tous aultres mestiers quilz nous plaist. sans ce que le Roy notre Sieure ou autres quelconques y puyssent mectre aulcun empechement.

Item avons tout visitation amendes et confiscations a cause de notre seigneurie et justice sur toutes et chascuns les faulces mesures de blez, vins, huyles, sel, aulne, toises, poix, et qualement de toutes choses qui concernent les choses que dessus et aultres. Item avons puissance dedans lesdits faulbourgs de institutee maistres jurez cordonniers, mesureurs de blez, sel, foin, chevaulx, et qualement de toutes sortes de marchandese sans que le Roy notre Sieur ses officiers ou aultres y puissent mectre aulcun empechement." AN LL 1035 fol. 9, 9v, 1522.

specifically mentions the territory controlled by Saint Germain.[4] Guildsmen living in the neighborhood of Saint Germain often lived near their Parisian counterparts, yet their experience was necessarily different. They were, in theory, not subject to the same rules and regulations as Parisians, yet they were intricately tied to them economically and, in many cases, socially, creating a complicated network that extended not only to Paris but also the entire Ile de France.

The medieval guild or corporation was an economic, religious, social, and political system.[5] Guilds held monopolies over the production and sale of goods and services, and often the legal definition of a corporation was extremely specific, with rivalries erupting between similar groups such as the butchers and the pork butchers. Corporations and confraternities often overlapped, and certain guilds were protected by a patron saint. Members of a guild organized themselves into a hierarchy, with elites such as inspectors and masters at the top, followed by journeymen, varlets, and, finally, apprentices. Widows and wageworkers were sometimes allowed to practice the trade, but did not always have a fixed place within the corporate structure. Guild elites, often accompanied by local judicial officials, would conduct periodic inspections of workers and workshops and could fine offenders who did not uphold the guild's statutes. In royal lands, in order to incorporate, that is, to create a community around a given trade, members of a métier would present their statutes before the king in exchange for a patent letter that would then be registered before the *Parlement*. A parallel, and ostensibly independent, system existed in Saint

[4] "Nulz ne peut estre Talemeliers dedans la banlieu de Paris se il n'achate le mestier du Roi; se il ne demeure a Saint Marchel, a Saint Germain des Prez, hors de murs de Paris, ou en la viez terre Madame Sainte Genevieve, ou en la terre du chapitre Nostre Dame de Paris asise en Guarlande, hors mise la terre Saint Magloire dedans les murs de Paris et dehors, et la terre Saint Martin des Chans asise hors des murs de Paris." Boileau, *Le Livre des Métiers*, 3. The editors of the *Livre des Métiers* suggest that Boileau planned to treat the subject of guilds under seigneurial jurisdiction in a separate volume; if indeed this was Boileau's intention, he never realized this ambition. The seigneurial jurisdictions certainly regulated work and, more specifically, guilds differently than the king, but the *Livre des Métiers* and the later statutes and decrees from the Parlement, Châtelet, and Conseil du Roi are not always forthcoming about the extent of these differences. These documents were compiled in the nineteenth century, in René Lespinasse, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris XIV*^{e}*–XVIII*^{e} *siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886) (hereafter Lespinasse).

[5] James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000), 20. See also William Sewell, "*Etats*, *corps*, and *ordre*: some notes on the social vocabulary of the French Old regime," in *Sozialgeschichte heute: Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen, 1974).

Germain, where guilds registered their statutes before the abbey's seigneurial court.

Our story begins in 1400 in the cold, dank prison of the Châtelet. Several years earlier, a potter named Jehan de Baillon had opened a pottery workshop in Saint Germain with the permission of the abbey. He was not a member of the Parisian potter's guild, having never completed a masterpiece in that city.[6] The monks of Saint Germain maintained that they had exclusive jurisdiction over all the guilds in the bourg, and could grant him permission to open a workshop there. The Parisian potters' guild disagreed and complained to the king that their inspectors should have jurisdiction over Baillon. The king's procurator brought a case on their behalf against both the abbey and Baillon before the Provost of Paris. Over the course of two months, the Châtelet examiner, Robert de Tuilliers, examined several witnesses at the Châtelet about this matter and a unique document—a roll containing the testimony of six witnesses—survives.[7]

Baillon was neither wealthy nor important enough to warrant such a case, nor the subsequent appeal before the *Parlement*. He was, rather, a pawn of the abbey whom the monks used to flex their power before the king's procurator. The monks maintained that they held the exclusive right to inspect goods and services produced in the bourg, and the witnesses set out to demonstrate this. During the course of the inquest, one witness stated that the abbey had "jurisdiction over the guilds exercised in their city and over the masters and inspectors of these guilds,"[8] a claim supported by other judicial decisions. A judicial decision from 1300 stated that bakers of Sainte Magloire and Saint Germain could not inspect bread in Paris nor could the Parisian inspectors come to the faubourgs.[9] In a 1409 register of the Justice of Saint Germain, the *greffier* wrote that the Saint Germain leathermakers elected two inspectors in the presence of the provost, confirming that the abbey was policing at least some of its own guilds in the beginning of the fifteenth century.[10] There is further

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[6] "Arrêt du parlement en faveur des religieux, officiers de la justice et maîtres des métiers de Saint-Germain-des-Prés contre les prévôt et officiers du Châtelet, et mestiers de la ville de Paris" (3 July 1537), 8 (hereafer "Arrêt du Parlement," 1537).

[7] AN L 762, n. 1. See Françoise Lehoux, *Le bourg Saint-Germain-des-Prés depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de la guerre de cent ans* (Paris, 1951), 300 (hereafter Lehoux, *Bourg*).

[8] "La coignoissance et juridiction des mestiers exerce in leur dite ville et sur les maistres et jurez diceulx mestiers."

[9] *Livre de Justice de Sainte-Geneviève*, fols. 16–17, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève; r. in Gustave Fagniez, *Etudes sur l'industrie à Paris XIII–XIV siècles* (New York, 1970), 332 (hereafter Fagniez, *Etudes*).

[10] AN Z^2 3265, fol. 35v, r. in Fagniez, *Etudes*, 149 n. 2.

evidence throughout the registers of the Saint Germain court that its officers would occasionally accompany local guild inspectors on periodic inspections of workshops in the bourg.

However, all of the guilds that fell under Saint Germain's control shared one common factor: they all elected inspectors drawn from among the guild masters. The argument made by the king's procurator was that the potters' guild of Saint Germain lacked inspectors. According to customary law, the Provost of Paris could order Parisian guild inspectors to conduct inspections in lands with high justice, such as Saint Germain, only for those local guilds that did not have elected inspectors. In practice, this law was difficult to enforce since it was not always evident even to contemporaries which guilds had inspectors. During the inquest, Robert de Tuilliers asked the various witnesses whether the shoemaker's guild of Saint Germain had inspectors. One witness, a shoemaker named Guernier Morise, stated that his guild did not have inspectors, and therefore the Parisian shoe inspectors had conducted five annual inspections in the bourg without any objection from the monks. Three other witnesses—two tavern keepers and a weaver—contradicted his testimony. It is impossible to know if Guernier Morise was lying or whether the other witnesses were ignorant; there is no evidence for the existence of inspectors for the shoemakers' guild of Saint Germain prior to 1487, by which point the guild's situation could easily have changed.[11]

This sense of ambiguity and uncertainty about guilds was normal in the beginning of the fifteenth century even within the small world of Saint Germain. There was constant confusion over the rights certain institutions held over the bourg's inhabitants. Another witness named Maciot de Paris stated that until the last quarter of the fourteenth century, people who lived in the bourg or on the Parisian lands belonging to the abbey would at times pay "two fines, one to the king in his Châtelet, the other to the brothers."[12] According to Maciot, this had changed during his lifetime—in 1376 specifically—when the king and the abbey reached an accord that inspectors from each jurisdiction would not conduct inspections in the other, but no documentation of such an agreement survives.[13]

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[11] AN L 762, n. 1.; Lehoux, *Bourg*, 303, 339. An inspection by two *jurez cordonniers*, AN Z^2 3272, 20 December 1487. The 1491 statute of the *cordonniers* has no provision in it for the election of inspectors, but was signed by "Oudin Thube, Henry Grignet, Girarin Faulloy, Gullyme Hostin, Yvon Moulineaux tous maistres et jurez dud. mestier aud. St. Germain." AN Z^2 3273, fols. 120v–121v, 19 November 1491.

[12] "…les gens des deiz mestiers en paioient deus amendes, l'une au Roy en son Chastellet et l'autre ausdiz religieux." AN L 762, n. 1; Lehoux, *Bourg*, 302.

[13] "Et de ce vitil ainsi user jusques environ ledit temps de vint et quatre ans, qu'il oy dire que de ce avoit en grant debas et proces entre les diz religieuz et les gens du Roy et que

In the sixteenth century, judges would be able to decide guild disputes according to legal precedent from the litigious fifteenth century; but this was not an option for the Provost of Paris in the Baillon case. He based his decision instead on witness testimony and individuals' memories of "custom."

At the end of the trial, the provost of Paris found in favor of the Parisian masters and fined the abbey and Baillon 500 and 100 l. p. respectively.[14] The *Parlement* overturned this ruling on appeal seven years later, finding in the abbey's favor.[15] It was not the last time that the abbey of Saint Germain and the Provost of Paris would spar over guild jurisdiction. The *Parlement* continued to hear jurisdictional conflicts between inspectors of various Parisian guilds, including the weavers, carpenters, and joiners and the abbey of Saint Germain over the course of the fifteenth century and often decided in favor of the abbey.[16]

Almost a century and a half after the Baillion case, the *Parlement* heard a similar dispute involving a different guild from Saint Germain and its Parisian counterpart. The guild in question this time was the *étoffiers*, a guild that was originally responsible for making the equipment for *jeux de paulme*, an early form of tennis. By the sixteenth century, the *étoffiers* were also conducting inspections of *jeux de paulme* halls an occupation that was extremely lucrative, especially for those who were not adverse to corruption.

In April 1537, Guillaume Boullet, one of two inspector *étoffiers* from Paris, visited the workshops and *jeux de paulme* halls in Paris and then traveled to Saint Germain to continue his inspection.[17] When he was in the home of Blanche Estufier, the Procurator of Saint Germain arrived accompanied by his *greffier* and many sergeants carrying weapons and batons.[18] They arrested Boullet and tossed him into the Saint Germain jail on a fabricated charge, theft of a sword and a

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il avoit este ordonne entre eulx par accort que de la en avant les jurez desdiz religieuz ne feroient aucune visitacion en leur terre et justice dedans Paris et aussi ne feroient les jurez par le Rou aucune visitation audit lieur de Saint Germain sur les mestiers excercez en icellui lieu, mais appartendroit ausdiz religieux toute la visitaticion des mestiers excercez audit lieu de Saint Germain depuis lequel temps il a ainsi veu user de ces choses par lesdiz religieux et leurs gens." AN L 762, n. 1; Lehoux, *Bourg*, 302.

[14] "Arrêt du Parlement," 1537, 8.

[15] AN X1ª 54, fol. 386v.

[16] As demonstrated in Lehoux, *Bourg*, 303. These cases are not nearly as well documented.

[17] "Arrêt du Parlement," 1537.

[18] "Arrêt du Parlement," 1537. The *registre d'écrou* states that he was found in the house of Thomas Blaiche, *maitre esteuvier*, accompanied by three or four other men. Z² 3393, fol. 7, 24 April 1537.

live chicken belonging to Raoulin Theroust, a master *étoffier* from Saint Germain.[19] During the course of the trial at the seigneurial court, the Provost of Saint Germain asked Boullet who he was, what he had been doing in the bourg, and why he was carrying a sword. The prisoner replied that he was an inspector master *étoffier* commissioned by the Provost of Paris to conduct an inspection. He carried a sword because he was also a sergeant for the Bishop of Paris at For l'Evêque. The provost found against Boullet and he remained "in great misery" in the jail of Saint Germain pending appeal until June 9.[20] When the case finally reached *Parlement*, a great number of parties, including the abbot of Saint Germain, the Saint Germain inspector, pork butchers, the King's procurator, the inspector *étoffiers* of Paris, and the Grand Panetier joined the case. Once again, a member of a minor guild was used as a legal pawn, this time not only by the abbey and the provost, but also by other interested parties bent on obtaining economic and political gains.[21]

The arguments brought forth by both procurators were no longer limited to *étoffiers*, these men were fighting for control of work and workers in general. The Parisian guild as well as the institutions that backed them wished to expand their powers to include the suburbs of Paris, the monks of Saint Germain were jealously guarding the privileges they believed they had held since the sixth century.

As he made his case before the *Parlement*, the procurator of the abbey spoke of the many privileges that the abbey had over guilds in the bourg and provided documentary evidence of previous cases that the abbey had won. His strategy can be divided into four distinct parts. The first stage is a historical account of the abbeys' privileges. He began by giving the history of Saint Germain and its privileges, mentioning the foundation by Childebert in 541, the reconfirmation of the privileges granted by Charlemagne, and the tomb of the ancient bishop of Paris. These events could be found in the "annals of France," as could further reconfirmation of the abbey's privileges by Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, Charles the Simple, and many other kings including the present one (i.e., Francis I). The first document that he cited was a 1272 transaction between the abbey and Philip III, in which the abbey received high,

[19] AN Z^2 3393, fols. 7–8, 24 April 1537.

[20] In the *Parlement* case, he stated that he was in the Saint Germain jail for "seven or eight weeks." "Arrêt du Parlement, 1537." The record-keepers of Saint Germain wrote that his case was transferred to Parlement 1 June 1537, but that he was only released from jail on June 9, AN Z^2 3393, fols. 20 and 23.

[21] In this article, I am considering only the primary case, although the secondary cases warrant further study.

middle, and low justice, plus control over the *guet*, the *taille* on bread and wine, and the *ressort*.[22]

The second strategy was to demonstrate that guild inspectors from Paris and Châtelet officers had no authority in the land of Saint Germain. The transaction with Philip the Bold specifically forbade Châtelet sergeants and officers from conducting business in the bourg.[23] The procurator also gave another example, stating that "during the time of the wars, in 1370, during the reign of Charles VII [sic]," the king gave an ordinance forbidding Parisian officials from conducting inspections in the bourg. He argued that during the war, inhabitants from Saint Germain had to move *intra muros* and opened workshops inside Paris in order to earn a living. The king ordered that while these inhabitants of Saint Germain were living in Paris, they would be visited by Parisian guild inspectors, "clearly indicating that when they were no longer in that city, they were no longer subject to these inspectors."[24] This statement is quite suspect. Charles VII was not yet king in 1370, and no document even remotely resembling this survives. The sentiments expressed in this statement, however, do parallel the other accord, ostensibly from 1376, mentioned by Maciot de Paris in the Baillon case.

The third strategy of the abbey's lawyer was to give examples of precedents from the *Parlement* that favored Saint Germain. He began with the Jehan Baillon case and then mentioned a 1475 case involving the weavers, where inspectors from Paris had seized some canvas and tools belonging to the weavers of Saint Germain.[25] He followed with a discussion of a case from the same period involving a baker named Odart Hatterel. On March 28, 1467 (n.st.), the *Parlement* ordered that Hatterel had to make his bread according to the Parisian weight requirements, but that only officers from the justice of Saint Germain would inspect his work, unless he was planning to sell it in Paris. There

[22] *ORF* I, 296 is a fragment.

[23] "Les Sergens & Officiers du Chastellet de Paris ne pouroient faire aucun eploict en ladit terre de Saint Germain: suivant laquelle transaction lesdits de Saint Germain ont toujours depuis, ont eu Bailly, prevost, Sergent, & autres officers pour excercise de leur juridiction, & non este justiciables pardevant le Prevost de Paris sinon en cas de ressort & par appel."

[24] "…fut ordonne que tant que lesdits habitans de Sainct Germain seroient dedans la ville de Paris, ils seroient visiter par les jureez des mestiers de Paris, qui donne clairement a cognoistre que eux estans hors deladite ville, ils ne seroient plus suiects ausdits visitation de ceux de Paris."

[25] No registers from Saint Germain survive for this period, but a fifteenth-century cartulary refers to cases from 1475 and 1476 concerning the weavers before the *Parlement*. AN LL 1091, fols. 37–37v.

were then "many other decrees and sentences" given by the Provost and Bailiff of Saint Germain concerning reports of inspections by officers of Saint Germain covering a period of 200 years. In the final stage of his argument, the lawyer mentioned an ordinance of Philip IV stating that the city of Saint Germain des Prés was separate and distinct from Paris.

Analyzed together, the two métier cases demonstrate developments in Saint Germain's control over the guilds during this century and a half period. First, a caveat. These cases are unique in that a large amount of material survives. Although both cases were eventually appealed before the *Parlement*, different types of material survive for each case. The only surviving document from the 1407 appeal of Baillon's case before the *Parlement* is a brief summary of the case in Latin in the *Livre Jaune Ancient*. The witness statements were made by inhabitants of the bourg at an inquest seven years earlier in the Châtelet. These witnesses relied more on their memories and experiences than on written documents or legal precedents. The main surviving document from the 1537 case is an *Arrêt* of the *Parlement*. In this document, we can hear the lawyers of both sides making their cases based on documentary evidence and legal precedents. In other words, we must keep in mind that the voices that we hear from 1537 have legal training, whereas those from 1400 do not.

Yet keeping this in mind, we still see that the abbey's strategy vis-à-vis the Provost of Paris and the King changed little over time. The abbey was keen to emphasize the bourg Saint Germain's position as a city distinct and independent from the city of Paris, a *ville separée*, by emphasizing ancient privileges that the monks believed they had or should have had. The famous charter of immunity granted by Childebert in the sixth century was in fact forged by the monks of Saint Germain in the twelfth century. Yet this document was referred to again and again in documents produced by the abbey in the late Middle Ages and, to the monks, its contents eventually became true. The same can be said about the "agreement" reached between the abbey and a king during the Hundred Years' War. Maciot de Paris, the witness in the Baillon case, and the procurator of the abbey for the 1537 *Parlement* case did not necessarily agree on the details of this agreement, but to them it had become a historical reality. We do not know what sort of documents the procurator brought to the *Parlement* in 1537 to prove this agreement. Perhaps there may have been another forged document referring to this that is no longer extant?

The major difference between these two cases lies in the use of legal precedents. We have seen that Saint Germain came before the *Parlement* time and time again in guild-related matters over the course of the fifteenth century and was almost always successful. By 1537, the abbey had a long list of "successes" at the *Parlement*. Prior to the 1537 case, the abbot of Saint Germain ordered a list

drawn up of decrees from the *Parlement* concerning the guilds of Saint Germain and was confident of winning the *étoffiers'* case before the *Parlement.*[26]

There is one final puzzling twist to this tale. The registers of Saint Germain leave no doubt that the *étoffiers* were an established guild with its own inspectors in the bourg by at least 1517, when the master *étoffiers* came before the provost and published a new ordinance that established a system of inspectors in the bourg.[27] Furthermore, as late as 1534, the greffier of Saint Germain recorded that two inspector *étoffiers* were performing the "usual" activities of guild inspectors, such as supervising entry into the mastership and conducting inspections in Saint Germain.[28] Why were neither the guild ordinance nor the register proving the existence of active guild inspectors ever brought before the *Parlement*? We must conclude that by 1537, legal precedent in the *Parlement* was more important as a source of proof than internal bourg administration. In 1400, witnesses could swear in court that a guild had inspectors in the bourg Saint Germain; by 1537, even written documentation originating from the abbey's vast bureaucracy was no longer valuable as a legal proof before the *Parlement*.

The Provost of Paris lost the case before the *Parlement*. We must ask what the attorney for the Provost of Paris was trying to prove in 1537? He constructed an argument that was identical to the one that his predecessor had used in 1407. He claimed that the *étoffiers* of Saint Germain were a guild without inspectors and therefore the Provost of Paris had the right to send in the Parisian inspectors to inspect them.[29] He maintained that none of the evidence provided by the abbey's attorney addressed this fundamental point, mocking his references to privileges from Merovingian kings.[30] The abbey had developed successful legal strategies over time whereas the Provost of Paris had not.

Or hadn't he? For the story doesn't quite end with the Parliamentary decision in favor of the *étoffiers* of Saint Germain. For the Parisian *étoffiers* and their backer, the Provost, did not lose out entirely. The Parisian *étoffiers* had been

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[26] AN L 672, n. 2.

[27] AN Z² 3289, 5 September 1517.

[28] AN Z² 3312, 8 May 1534 and 16 May 1534.

[29] "…en sorte qu'un Maistre de Jeu de paulme de cette ville de Paris, pour avoir vendu & employé des esteufs qui luyu avoit esté vendus par aucun desdits fauxbourgs, pour ce qu'ils furent trouvez n'estre bons, a este condamne en vue grosse amande, & ses esteufs bruslez, suivant les statuts don't il a la sentence en la main. Car tous les privileges & arrests de partues ne parlent des Esteufuiers, mais de quelques autres mestiers dont y a Maistres Jurez esdits fauxbourgs, & non d'Esteufuiers."

[30] "Ne fait rien la fondation de Childebert, arrest du Potier & du Tisserand, le fief d'Issy jusques à Petit pont & tout ce que l'avocat a plaidé…"

trying to convince the king to ratify their statues since at least 1529. Jehan de la Barre, the provost of Paris, wrote a letter patent for the guild on 11 December 1529, and the *étoffiers* appeared before the Grand Conseil of the King the following January.[31] Yet Francis I did not take any action on this matter for over seven years. Then, suddenly, in July 1537 a few, days after the *étoffiers* lost their case in *Parlement*, Francis I suddenly reconfirmed the *étoffiers*' original 1467 statute and made some modifications that benefited the guild. He increased the number of inspectors from two to four, he set the amount paid to the confraternity to 10 s. p. for apprentices and 40 for masters, plus an additional 1 dernier a week.[32] Thus the Parisian *étoffiers* and the Provost of Paris (who was officially responsible for all of the Parisian guilds) after failing to make their plea before the *Parlement* received redress from the king.

In conclusion, as legal apparatuses were developing in the period between 1400 and 1550, there were constant struggles over territory and overlapping jurisdictions in and around Paris in which the monarchy attempted to reduce local rights and local authorities tried to protect their prerogatives. A primary concern of the monks of Saint Germain was maintaining the distinction of their land as an independent city, as a *ville separée*. Yet how does one define a city, a geo-political space, in *legal* terms at a time when the very nature of law is changing so dramatically? One solution that proved useful to both Saint Germain and the monarchy was to couch the debate in economic terms, to focus the dispute on the issue of guild control. Why were guilds at the very heart of this debate? Guilds were constantly changing their statutes, their requirements for entry and mastership, and their rules for production in response to social and economic changes. Guilds were at once restrictive corporations that limited membership and held monopolies over production, and at the same time local guilds were linked in highly complex social and economic networks that spread well beyond the walls of medieval Paris. Guilds played a pivotal role in the late medieval urban fabric, yet at the same time, the slippery, ever-changing nature of the guild made it a perfect instrument for effecting legal challenges.

[31] AN Y^9, fols. 96v–98, 21 December 1529; AN Y^9, fols. 97–97v, 18 January 1530 (n. st.).
[32] AN Y^9 fol 98v; $Y6^5$, fol. 71; Coll. Lamoignon, v. 6, fol. 479; BN mss. fr. 8080, fol. 385, r. in Lespinasse, v. III, 529.

FOREIGN MERCHANTS IN EARLY MODERN TOWNS AND INTERNATIONAL MARKET INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS

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Anyone who has perused the mercantile correspondence from the period of Antwerp's commercial prosperity, c.1470–c.1570, cannot but have been struck by the similarities between the content of these epistles and that of the present-day financial press. At the foot of each letter were the quotations of exchange rates and commodity prices prevailing in the city from which the dispatcher had sent his letter. This was a simple bilateral exchange of relevant information, which was usually effected within the organisational structures of his merchant house. At the height of Antwerp's prosperity these involved the use of "free market" institutions but later, as commercial activity within that city waned, they became more bureaucratic. An examination of the van Bombergen (1532–1533)[1] and Van der Molen (1538–1544)[2] papers reveals, amongst these houses that continued to dominate the overland trade to Italy, the organisational forms within which such exchanges of information took place. Both of these firms acted at Antwerp on commission for Venetian merchant houses, buying and selling commodities for their clients and organising the transportation of these wares, arranging the transmission of funds on the exchange and gathering relevant mercantile intelligence. Antoine van Bombergen in 1532–1533 undertook most of these operations himself, personally selling his client's wares at the Brabant fairs and buying there the English kerseys and long cloths which he would ultimately dispatch to Italy. He also visited the Bourse in person, some times to put out money on the exchange for transmission to Italy but more often simply to gather commercial and financial market intelligence. At every turn he used free market institutions to undertake his transactions and when

[1] W. Brulez, "Lettres commerciales de Daniel et Antoine de Bombergen à Antonio Grimani 1532–43," *Bulletin de l' Institute Historique Belge de Rome* 31 (1958): 169–206.

[2] F. Edler, "Winchester Kerseys at Antwerp, 1538–1544," *Economic History Review* 7 (1936): 57–62 together with the same author's "Le commerce d'exportation des says d'Hondschoote vers l'Italie, d'après la correspondence d'une firme anveroise, entre 1538 et 1544," *Revue du Nord* 22 (1936): 249–266, and "The Van der Molen, Commission Merchants of Antwerp: Trade with Italy, 1538–44," in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of James Westfall Thompson*, ed. James Lea Cate and Eugene Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938), 78–145.

such local facilities at Antwerp proved inadequate he had recourse to a series of occasional correspondents to extend the markets within which he could operate. His operations were conducted on the basis of excellent market intelligence in conditions of near-perfect competition. Van der Molen on the other hand in 1538–1544 operated at Antwerp within a much more bureaucratically organised trading system. He spent most of his days in his office where his perception of market conditions was formed from a constant and voluminous stream of correspondence delivered by rapid postal service from his customers and agents. On the basis of this information he formulated purchase and sales strategies, which were implemented through a commercial system which encompassed all aspects of the cloth trade from producer to customer. The house maintained factors in each of the main cloth-producing areas. Adam van Riebecke was situated at Bruges to buy Flemish cloths. Jacob van der Tombe bought at Hondschoot the says woven in the small town and the adjacent countryside, as well as the finer products of the Bergues-Saint Winoc sayetterie. In London they dealt with Italian cloth agents like Martino de Frederico or Maurizio de Marini, a Genoese whose activities at the English capital spanned almost the whole ambit of this paper.[3] In Lille and Valencienne they had agents through whom they could order worsteds. Whilst, therefore, they enjoyed some flexibility in purchasing by being able to shift orders between their agents, their overall pattern of cloth acquisition was more rigid and divorced from the free play of the market which had itself been marginalized. A similar rigidity may be observed, moreover, in their provision of transport services. At Arnemuiden they maintained a forwarding and shipping agent, one Piero di Negrino, but his major duties were confined to the trans-shipment of incoming cloths into *shouts* for passage to Antwerp where they were stored and subsequently transported, in the care of professional carriers, to Italy. Once again a fixed pattern, this time of transportation, had imposed itself on their trade. Cloth (without passing through a market) was despatched to Italy by land and in the absence of any demand alternative modes of transport withered and died. Thus when the land route was cut and the van der Molen sought other ways of getting their goods to market they found no satisfactory alternative and were forced to embark their wares on "tramps" which would wend a long and circuitous route to Italy. Under the guidance of houses like the van der Molen the free-market institutions, from which van Bombergen had gained such strength, were disappearing or becoming buried under a welter of bureaucratic organisations.

[3] A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270–1600* (Southampton: University College, 1951), 233–254.

An analogous process affected those multilateral informational systems that yielded the merchants the political and commercial news, which was entered at the head of their letters. At each of the nodes of the prevailing trading system, which extended from London via Antwerp to northern Italy and the Levantine ports beyond at the height of the contemporary trade boom, the mercantile houses maintained their offices. The daybooks of the traders inhabiting these offices, like those preserved in the Hengrave Hall MSS,[4] reveal the throng of people who visited these offices each day. Tendering bills-of-exchange to be honoured, making payments for goods which had been delivered to them and eagerly awaiting the cancellation of their outstanding debts or demanding payment for wares they had supplied, men flocked to the counting houses of the international traders. They also brought with them news of events that had occurred in their hometowns. Passing from office to office or to recognised sites for conducting their business, like the steps of St. Paul's in London, information was picked up and rapidly disseminated. Within an area only a little larger than a small village within each of the great commercial emporia, like London or Antwerp, everyone knew everyone else's business not only within the "city" but also from within each of those settlements which were embedded within its commercial hinterland. At the end of each day, moreover, this information was sifted and prècised and despatched by letter to the agents' masters across Europe. At each of the nodes of the prevailing commercial system the merchants had at their finger tips each day information provided by agents within their own commercial hinterland and transmitted to them by their agents from across Europe. The value of this intelligence-system was not only recognised by the merchants, moreover, but also by their political masters. Thus when spy-masters, like Walsingham, wanted information of clandestine military movements in the Low Countries, they utilised the services of Thomas Gresham, who through his commercial agents was in a position to gather such intelligence.[5]

At the periphery of this extended European intelligence network moreover were towns like Caffa, which were at the interface of other equally efficient trans-continental commercial intelligence networks. Caffa was a city inhabited by different ethnic and religious communities, such as Westerners (mostly people from present-day Italy, France, and Spain, in a word, Latins), but also Orientals, who probably formed the vast majority of the city population; among

[4] Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MSS, 78/1–2.

[5] See the *Gresham Letters*, which I am currently editing for the London Historical Society.

them were Greeks, Armenians, Muslims, and, later, Jews.[6] The two "groups" enjoyed intimate and amicable relations with each other and as such the "Latins" were privy to information circulating in the city concerning trading conditions prevailing in trans-Asiatic Islamic trading systems- information which they quickly despatched home. At one remove, the merchants of Genoa, Marseilles and Barcelona, thus received intelligence of trading conditions on the "Silk Road" or at the ports of the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and beyond. And from these nodes of the European informational system embedded deep in the European intelligence network the information was disseminated outward for all to share.

When, however, mercantile activity was deflected away from Antwerp (c.1527–c.1570) and merchants at London and other centres began to trade directly with their suppliers and customers, the advantages of access to such an intelligence network were lost. During the years 1527–1529 in English trade, for instance, there was an organisation of commercial activity within networks of "direct" trade. A system of permanent factors was established not only in the French and Levantine trades but also in the commerce to Hamburg and Danzig.[7] The factor permanently located abroad was in a position, at least theor-

[6] Stefan Stantchev, "The Economic Relations Between the Italian Sea States and the Bulgarian Black Sea: A Historiographical Overview" (MA thesis, Sofia University, 2000) and the same author's, "Money, Mentality, Community: Caffa in the Fourteenth Century (MA thesis, CEU Budapest, 2001) together with the paper "Business and the Limits of Tolerance in a Multi-ethnic Society : Caffa in the late Middle Ages" presented at the interdisciplinary workshop *Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns* (CEU, Budapest, 20–22 February 2003).

[7] On the establishment of permanent factors at Chios see *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* ed. J. S. Brewer (vols. III–XI); J. Gairdner (vols. XII–XIV); J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (vols. XV–XIX). (London: HMSO, 1867–1905 (henceforth *L&P, Henry VIII*), IV (3), no. 6357; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation:Made by Sea or Ouer-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compasse of these 1500 Yeeres.* 3 volumes. (London: imprinted by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598–1600), vol. 2. 96 (henceforth: Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*); the Lisle Correspondence preserved in the State Papers: *L&P, Henry VIII,* VI, nos. 1147, 1353, 1462; VII, nos. 191, 233, 274, 428, 436, 461, 587/23; VIII, nos. 83 and 88 subsequently edited by M. St. C. Byrne, *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981); *L&P, Henry VIII,* VIII, no. 1051; X, no. 538; Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 2, 96–99; *L&P, Henry VIII*, IV (3), no. 506/3; *Ibid*., VII, no. 938; *Ibid.,* X, no. 538. There are also references to similar practices at Bordeaux and Hamburg in J. Webb, *Great Tooley of Ipswich: Portrait of an Early Tudor Merchant* (Ipswich: Suffolk Records Society Publication, 1962), 48; Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office,

etically, to explore market opportunities and accordingly through better information to evolve more effective business strategies. He could discover where and at what time of the year goods were best bought or sold thereby diminishing price fluctuations in commodity markets and allowing price maximisation on the goods despatched to him and cost minimisation in the acquisition of the commodities he wished to obtain for shipment home. He could explore the merits of local money markets and credit systems as a source of loans or as an outlet for the balances he often held on an intra-annual basis, again widening his options and affecting his finance costs. Overall, in theory, permanent factorage resulted in an improvement in the market situation confronting the merchant abroad. Yet in reality such gains were not so instantaneously achieved, for with the establishment of such permanent factors in an alien environment the host merchants consistently tried to maintain market imperfections, restricting the incomer's movements and limiting his access to information. The location of a permanent factor abroad thus normally signalled the beginnings of a long and protracted process of negotiations. From these he only at best slowly, and sometimes never, achieved the reductions in transactions costs inherent in his position to the levels that had been achieved in the great metropolitan emporia.

The years c.1470–1570 thus saw the new metropolitan emporium of Antwerp assume the mantle of the great medieval fairs.[8] Merchants frequenting that city benefited from their access to an economic intelligence system which drew information, directly or indirectly, from within the bounds of a commercial system encompassing the whole of the known world. When, however, within that system factors' access to information was restricted, as in contemporary Transylvania,[9] or merchants abandoned the emporia to engage in trade directly with their suppliers and customers the advantages of access to such an intelligence network were lost, transactions costs rose and trade was impeded.

C13/15/1 fol. 131 together with the unfoliated sheets of voyages of the *Mary Walsingham*. In 1528 merchants, like Howell, were also establishing permanent factors at Danzig (Drapers' Company, London. Howell's Ledger, 1522–27, fol. 74). On the impact of a permanent factorage system upon transactions costs see D. C. North and R. P. Thomas, "An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World," *Economic History Review*, Second Series 23, no. 1 (1970): 12–13.

[8] John Munro, "The 'New Institutional Economics' and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: the Textile Trades, Warfare, and Transaction Costs," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 88, no. 1 (2001): 1–47.

[9] See the paper of Mária Pakucs "'Greek' Merchants in the Saxon Towns of Transylvania in the Late Middle Ages" presented at the interdisciplinary workshop *Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns* (CEU, Budapest, 20–22 February 2003).

TAKING PRIDE OF PLACE: GOLDSMITHS OF CLUJ (KOLOZSVÁR) IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

Ágnes Flóra

"…The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity."
(Thomas More, Utopia*)*

More's utopia, famous and brilliantly written, is a More-kind mirror, a sarcastic bitter social criticism of earthly reality and its scale of values. Earthly reality gave importance to gold in a world in which the one who possessed the most precious metal possessed wealth; who had access to it had access to power. Therefore goldsmiths have always been prominent. Although in several Western European towns the authorities barred craftsmen from public life, one or two goldsmiths always managed to be present in important city governments.[2] In Eastern Europe their participation in municipal services was even wider.

Cluj and its Goldsmiths

In the Transylvanian town of Cluj the lack of an organized merchant and banking community made the goldsmiths the most powerful social group within the town. This statement, often encountered in references, is in fact an answer to a question that has never been asked. Why? Was it a matter of personal

[1] This article is a condensed version of my MA thesis defended at the Deptartment of Medieval Studies, CEU, in June 2003. Due to the space limits the appendix (the gazetteer of the goldsmiths) of the topographical chapter and the detailed tables on the office-holding of each individual have been left out. Thus the path of life of each goldsmith cannot be followed here in detail.

[2] See Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter, 1250–1500* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988), 190–198; David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City 1300–1500* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 123; Rhiman A. Rotz, "Investigating Urban Uprising with Examples from Hanseatic Towns, 1374–1416," in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Stayer* ed. William C. Jordan et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 215–33; David Nicholas, "The Governance of Fourteenth-Century Ghent: The Theory and Practice of Public Administration," in *Law, Custom and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe. Essays In Honor of Bryce Lyon*, ed. Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990), 235–239.

prestige, individual economic achievement or more general reasons? In spite of the relatively voluminous literature, the sectional drawing of the social implications has never been studied. So far, the investigation has mostly been limited to guild history and it has never been asked if the sudden development of the craft at the turn of the seventeenth century happened as an influx of new settlers or as an internal social transformation or for some other reasons.

In answering the question of the status of goldsmiths in the late medieval[3] town of Cluj, the research will focus on three different aspects of the town life: the political involvement of the goldsmiths in the town leadership, the mercantile activity of the goldsmiths, and their topographical distribution within the townscape. Were the goldsmiths only artisans or were they merchant craftsmen? Did they invest their monetary capital in trade goods or display only incidental bartering? Assuming a role in the town government, did the goldsmiths make use of their cultural resources or of their economic position? The answers to these questions will clarify several aspects of the steady interactions between crafts and municipality.

In 1473 the town council of Cluj approved the statutes of the goldsmith guild. This document is the first written evidence of the existence of an institutional association of the goldsmith artisans in Cluj. Prior to 1473 three goldsmiths are known from the tax registers,[4] but it is uncertain that they formed or were members of a guild-like association. The precise date of the guild formation has been widely debated in the scholarly literature, some arguing for an establishment earlier than 1473,[5] some taking the guild statute as the foundation date.[6] In any case, by the second half of the fifteenth century the burgher society of Cluj had reached a level of complexity at which the demand for luxury products was increasing.

The advantage gained from a trial against the goldsmith guild of Sibiu (Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt) in 1573 opened the way for fast craft development, which can be traced mostly in the sudden growth of the guild. The number of enrollments exceeded that of any other period in the history of the

[3] I use the term 'late medieval' in the context of the Transylvanian social and political realities, i.e. extending it to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well.

[4] László Makkai, "Társadalom és nemzetiség a középkori Kolozsváron" (Society and ethnicity in medieval Cluj), *Kolozsvári Szemle* 2 (1943): 209–210. (Henceforth : Makkai.)

[5] Magda Bunta, *Kolozsvári ötvösök a XVI–XVIII. században* (Goldsmiths of Cluj from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century), Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historica 17 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 11. (Henceforth: Bunta.)

[6] Henrik Finály, "A kolozsvári ötvöscéh szabályai 1473-ban" (The guild statute of the Cluj goldsmiths in 1473) *Erdélyi Múzeum Egylet Évkönyve* 2 (1861), 1.

guild: 123 new members were registered between 1557 and 1600. This is a high number for a luxury guild.[7] The register also reveals that many goldsmiths never practiced the craft, but adhered to the goldsmiths' corporation. Apparently membership was more than guild affiliation. Was it an opening towards social advancement?

The goldsmith craft in itself implied an increased income, but the fact of being solely an artisan did not open the way for a public career. As Western examples show, the towns' leading elite consisted mostly of merchants or bankers, who had permanent contact with the outside world. Since the urban community of early modern Cluj lacked these elements, the goldsmiths' role became upgraded.

The Goldsmiths in Town Leadership and in Commercial Life

In the town of Cluj artisans gained access to urban leadership without any major conflict. This might have been partially the consequence of the overall economic situation of the Transylvanian Principality, which was based to a great extent on a self-supplying system of a mainly agrarian society, or it might have been the result of the whole political process of a newborn state that needed a new type of burghers. The administration adopted the Buda town law[8] in 1448, which borrowed elements from the legal system of several German towns as well as from local customary law.[9] According to this system, the self-government consisted of two representative units; the minor unit was the town council of twelve jurors and the major representative body was the assembly of the *centumviri*. As a result of an agreement in 1458, the so-called "union" of the two major ethnic communities, a yearly rotating system of the main offices between Hungarians and Saxons on a parity basis was established.[10]

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[7] Ágnes Flóra, "Kolozsvári ötvösregesztrum 1549–1790" (Goldsmith guild register of Cluj 1549–1790) *Lymbus 2003. Magyarságtudományi forrásközlemények* (Lymbus 2003. Source-publications on Hungarology) (Budapest: Balassi Bálint Intézet, 2003), 25–74. (Henceforth: Flóra.)

[8] Karl Mollay, *Das Ofner Stadtrecht* (Budapest: Akadémiai and Weimar: Böhlau, 1959).

[9] Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története I–III kötetéhez* (Collection of documents for volumes 1–3 of the history of Cluj) (Buda-Budapest: Magyar Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1870–1888), vol. 1, 280–285. (Henceforth: JakabOkl.)

[10] JakabOkl, vol. 1, 223–224; Makkai, 204, 214; Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* (Towns and crafts in fifteenth-century Hungary) (Budapest: Művelt Nép, 1955), 330. (Henceforth: Szűcs.) A framework created by new regulations of King Matthias in 1486 urged the adoption of the Buda town regulation. See András

The presence of goldsmith artisans in the town government of Cluj is reconstructed from a "puzzle" of data provided by archival materials, especially the Town Protocols.[11] The case studies here have been selected for their importance from the point of view of the cultural and political history of the town. This material will reveal the importance of the goldsmith masters in urban politics and within the medieval town society and point out their individual merits.

Of the 236 guild-registered craftsmen between 1549 and 1625, sixty-six exercised some kind of political role in the town.[12] The most common position—and probably the least demanding as far as time and loss of incomes was concerned—was a seat among the *centumviri*, a 'compulsory' step in achieving higher-ranking offices. Sixty-one members of the goldsmith guild stopped at this level of public life. Six were elected to the highest position of the mayor.

Goldsmith Tamás Budai was mayor three times (1580, 1588, 1592). He entered the goldsmith guild before 1573 when he absolved his first forfeit.[13] A letter dated to 1570 and addressed to Prince John Sigismund by the town council mentions his name as one of those goldsmith masters who received his craft license abroad.[14] In the year he became the dean of the guild he was also nominated to the *centumviri*. Afterwards he had an impressive public career; he was elected to all major offices, including that of *judex regius* three times (1583, 1587, 1591).

Mihály Íjgyártó became *judex primarius* of the town in 1590. As far as the scarcity of the documents can reveal he apparently had no other mercantile

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Kiss, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése az 1458-as „unióig" és kiteljesedése az 1568-as királyi ítélettel" (The administrative evolution of Cluj until the "Union" from 1458, and its perfection within the royal judgement from 1568), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 8 (1997): 289–297.

[11] *Adunări generale 1557–1612* (Town protocols, 1557–1612), Direcţia Naţională a Arhivelor, Cluj-Napoca (Romanian National Archives, Cluj-Napoca), Microfilm Collection, Roll nr. 144–146. (Henceforth: *Town Protocols.*)

[12] The number might have been higher, but the surviving documents do not permit us to go beyond these numbers.

[13] Flóra, 28, 41.

[14] *Scrisoarea adresată lui Ioan Sigismund cu privire la cazul Vas Gergely* (Letter addressed to John Sigismund concerning the case of Gergely Vas), Direcţia Naţională a Arhivelor, Cluj-Napoca (Romanian National Archives, Cluj-Napoca) Collection of Guild Documents, fond 554, Documents of the Goldsmith Guild, 14, 1r.

activity besides his profession, but was a highly respected person within the craft, being elected dean for two successive years (1577 and 1578).[15]

Mihály Katonai joined the guild in 1576[16] and became its leader in 1583.[17] His political career could be regarded as lobbying for a disgraced ruler, Sigismund Báthory, who needed to ensure the support of the town in his campaign against the Ottomans by placing one of his loyal men in the leadership. Moreover, he had to calm public opinion after he had executed his main opponents in the center of the town and afflicted the town with an extra tax.[18] Therefore Katonai was appointed twice as *judex regius* (1593, 1595) and once *judex primarius* (1596) in the most agitated times. He never gave up his loyalty, nor did the town, in spite of the raids and reprisals of Basta's army. In 1598, when the rash prince made his second return to the principality, Katonai hosted him in his house.[19]

András Ötvös led the town in 1606, 1608, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1618, and 1620, but his name was not introduced in the guild register although he was a craftsman. He had good relations with the ruler: in 1595 the prince's wife Maria Christierna spent one day in one of his houses that was kept especially for important guests.[20] He might have possessed an individual privilege or he might have been recorded under another name and the name 'Ötvös' (Goldsmith) is a later cognomen. The town protocols reveal a prominent public career.

Goldsmiths also held another important public office, the *judex regius*. Seven goldsmiths (Péter Filstich, Mihály Katonai, Ferenc Kőműves, Mihály Tótházi, András Ötvös, and Gergely Bonchidai father and son) were incumbents of this office. In 1612 Péter Filstich, a descendant of an old goldsmith family originating from Braşov (Brassó/Kronstadt), provided this service. His career was probably promoted by a visit he and another goldsmith, Bálint Balázsfi, made to the prince in December 1611, shortly before the council

[15] Flóra, 27, 29, 33.

[16] Flóra, 35, 45.

[17] Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* (History of Cluj), vols. 1–3 (Buda-Budapest: Magyar Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1870–1888), vol. 1, 314. (Henceforth: Jakab.)

[18] *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, ed. Béla Köpeczi (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 745.

[19] Jolán Balogh, "Késő renaissance kőfaragó műhelyek" (Late Renaissance mason workshops), *Ars Hungarica* 2 (1974): 275. (Henceforth: Balogh, "Késő renaissance"); Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Mason workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century) (Budapest: MTA, 1985), 171; Jakab, 2, 300.

[20] Balogh, "Késő renaissance," 250.

election.[21] The aim of the delegation was to express the town's support for the prince in his moves to use military force to make the Saxons of Sibiu—the strongest competitors of Cluj—pay their taxes.[22] This visit also seemed the best opportunity for Filstich to renew his position in the minting house of Cluj. The mission must have benefited both the town and Filstich, who after his return was nominated as *judex regius*.[23] One year later the new prince, Gabriel Bethlen, gave a new privilege of minting to the town and Péter Filstich was appointed to its head.[24]

There was a strong family tradition of entering public career in the case of the Bonchidais. Father and son succeeded each other in the main municipal services.

In other council functions such as the office of *dispensator* (steward) the number of goldsmith representatives was higher; 18 of them fulfilled this public function. In four years (1602, 1614, 1616, 1619), goldsmiths held both the Hungarian and the Saxon stewards' offices. That meant that the goldsmiths handled the whole town revenue.[25] The monetary crisis at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with much poor quality money on the market, may have influenced these elections. In such cases placing goldsmiths in the financial positions may have ensured a closer verification of the town incomes. They had exactly what such a service demanded, accounting ability and, what should not be neglected, literacy. Just to stress the importance of this function, Gáspár Heltai, an important bibliophile and owner of a print shop, also held this office. Tradition says that the famous workshop was run in the house of Mihály Eppel, a goldsmith master who also undertook the role of steward in 1619.[26]

The most important goldsmith who was the incumbent of this function (1602) was Máté Vicei. Being a Calvinist, he could not accede to higher offices, especially not to that of the mayor.[27] Although it is hard to confirm, Vicei might

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[21] *Town Protocols,* 145. I/5, 118., JakabOkl, 1. 380.

[22] JakabOkl, 1. 380.

[23] *Town Protocols*, 145. I/5, 126.

[24] *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek* (Documents of the Transylvanian diet), Monumenta comitialia regni Transsylvaniae 1540–1699, vols. 1–21, edited by Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1875–1898), vol. 6, 14. (Henceforth: EOE.)

[25] "Ut omnes pecunie ex Censu colligende in Consulatum inducatur. Et ad Manus Civium Dispensatorum assignentur, ut nullus alter nisi dispensatores cives dispensent." JakabOkl, 1. 380.

[26] *Town Protocols,* 145. I/5, 264.

[27] It happened only once that the mayor elected was not a Unitarian but Catholic. It was a special decree of the emperor Rudolf II: "1603 die 26 Decembris Centumpatres

have used his membership in the goldsmith guild only for his political ambitions. At that time there was no Calvinist church in Cluj that could have delegated him to the assembly. Apparently the merchants had no guild either, because Vicei, who always considered himself as belonging to the merchant category, did not use this way to promote himself into politics. The guild register of the goldsmiths recorded his entrance in 1580,[28] but afterwards there are no further mentions of his guild activity, which may permit us to infer that he had never practiced this craft. Although his shop was full of goldsmith merchandise[29] this does not mean that they were his own products, only that the guild membership allowed him to trade in guild-marked objects. Probably Máté Vicei chose this guild for its prestige. His public career started with a very important mission with Péter Filstich to Basta (1601) after Prince Sigismund Báthory lost the battle of Goraslău (Goroszló).[30] He must have proved to be a good mediator as he participated in most of the town delegations during this agitated period of the Fifteen Years' War (1593–1606). In 1603 his name appears among those who went to Prague to negotiate with the emperor, Rudolf II.[31] More important was his relation with the prince, especially Gabriel Bethlen, who had the goal of promoting Calvinism. This issue is well documented in Bálint Segesvári's chronicle, where many details are given on Vicei's diplomatic activity. Not only did he maintain cordial relations with the prince, but he also contacted important Calvinist scholars of the time to prepare for founding a church in the town.[32] Except for one time, when another goldsmith (István Seres) hosted the prince, Gabriel Bethlen was always lodged in Máté Vicei's house.[33]

In the casual services of the town, goldsmiths were usually elected for economic functions such as assessor, auditor or tax collector. The reason seems

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congregati elegerunt in futurum annum novos gubernatores: Nicolaum Nyreo in Judicem primarium ex Catholicis iuxta mandatum Sacratissimae Caesareae Maiestatis…" *Town Protocols*, 145. I/5, 233.

[28] Flóra, 46.

[29] András Kiss, "Egy XVII. századi irodalompártoló polgár" (A bibliophile citizen from the seventeenth century), in András Kiss, ed., *Források és értelmezések* (Sources and interpretations) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1994), 191. (Henceforth: Kiss.)

[30] „…and after Sigismund was defeated by Basta at Goroszló, the town sent a delegation to Basta. Although I [Vicei] was not a member of the centumviri I went with Péter Filstich and a pater rector to this mission." Quoted in Kiss, 380.

[31] Kiss, 193.

[32] Kiss, 194.

[33] Kiss, 193.

apparent, since they were able to determine the quality of money or to evaluate the inventories of houses.

From the number of goldsmith masters who had political careers only a few could be said to belong to the merchant-craftsman category that was so widespread in Western Europe. Most of them carried on the family tradition and acted as associates in running the workshop and mercantile activities. Otherwise the demands on their time could not have permitted them to hold public offices. Such families in this period were the Bonchidai, Bornemissza, Dési, Fenesi, Filstich, Seres, Szakáll, and Szegedi, in which several generations of goldsmiths worked together. Máté Vicei, who was never an active goldsmith but a merchant, was a special case. Neither could he be categorized as a merchant artisan.

To conclude, the great number of goldsmiths present in the self-government of the town was due to personal ambitions, connections, and prestige. Otherwise there is no other explanation for the clear dominance of goldsmiths in the town government, outnumbering the representatives of any other profession in the council.[34] Representatives of an ambitious new element, the goldsmiths rapidly succeeded integrating themselves in the community. Besides—since money was not a problem in luxury crafts—goldsmiths had the wealth to aspire to leading roles. If someone had the capability to develop a lobbying system for the benefit of the town and for himself as well, his business prospered at the same time. Holding a position in the central leadership of the town was more than a simple public function, it gave wide access to information.

For those who inherited a workshop it was much easier to undertake a complementary activity than for those who had to earn their living by building up a business. In this survey it will be referred to as the "second generation phenomenon." It can be asserted that a local goldsmith group that combined tradition and wealth was permanently present in the leadership of Cluj at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. Due to prohibitions on precious metal export the goldsmiths could not integrate into the group of artisans that were marketing their own products in long distance trade. Most of them carried on occasional bartering led by the immediate demands of Western markets or by local needs.

From the 52 goldsmiths referred to in the thirtieth tax register, representing just 20% of the guild-registered goldsmiths, eight or nine masters carried on intensive trading either following the family tradition or creating a market by their own effort. In the period between 1599 and 1637, 186 import

[34] E.g. in 1588, 1592, 1602, 1603, 1604.

and 72 export wagons of the goldsmiths paid custom duties, as an average one could assume less than four wagons for each master, which does not show very intensive trading activity. Moreover, eight goldsmith masters made more than half of the import transactions; among them, Máté Vicei had the most dynamic mercantile traffic with 29 duty-paid import consignments.

The goldsmiths' trading activity fits well into the general tendencies of the town's commerce. Most frequently at the custom office they listed goods from Vienna (60 times), then Poland (42 times), Upper Hungary (22 times), northern Transylvanian towns (15 times) and three times from Ottoman territories. The provenance is unknown for about 38 wagons. Sorting by items, the preponderance of different types of textiles is evident, and within this category, the goldsmiths traded in good quality cloths.[35] In cases where there were large quantities of different items, it is reasonable to infer the existence of a merchant network in which the goldsmiths, but not only them, were mediating between Occident and Orient.

On the other hand, the outgoing wagons carried various local agricultural products, which would suggest the bartering transactions of an early urban society.[36] The low number of exports and the great number of import items suggest important capital investments, which points to the development of a burgher society, as had happened 200 years earlier in Western Europe.

The tax registers reveal all kinds of associations and mutual services, which can best be described in the framework of familial cooperation, from father to son. Neither the intensity nor the goods recorded in the goldsmiths' wagons showed an increased interest in mercantile activity. Most of the goldsmiths did not invest their wealth in commerce and long distance trade. Then how did they maintain and enlarge their fortunes? Did they focus more on the craft or invest in real estate? The answer may be partly found in the topographical distribution of the goldsmiths.

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[35] *Kolozsvári Harmincadjegyzékek* (The thirtieth tax registers of Cluj), edited by Ferenc Pap (Bucharest: Kriterion , 2000), 32, 26. Henceforth: Pap.

[36] Szűcs, 64; Ferenc Kováts, *Nyugat-Magyarország áruforgalma a XV. században a pozsonyi adókönyvek alapján* (The trade turnover of Western Hungary in the fifteenth century as reflected in the tax books) (Budapest: Politzer Zsigmond és fia, 1902), 2. See also Lajos Gecsényi, "Bécsi kereskedők memoranduma a kelet-nyugati kereskedelemről, 1615" (The memorandum of the merchants from Vienna about the east-west commerce), in *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europaeae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. Születésnapjára* (Festschrift for the eightieth birthday of the history professor Éva H. Balázs), ed. János Kalmár (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1997), 79–88.

The Social Topography of the Goldsmiths[37]

Luxury crafts needed special management and marketing. Although the glamour of precious metals and stones always fascinated potential customers, the price turned them away. Goldsmiths' works were produced for a certain restricted circle of commissioners. Both self-esteem and 'product marketing' can be traced in the distribution of the goldsmith artisans within the townscape. In important goldsmith centers like London, Paris or Prague[38] the concentration of the goldsmiths was mostly around the main market places, in order to get better advertisement for their shops.

Segregation of the goldsmiths in the town of Cluj did not happen on the scale it could be encountered, for instance, in the Bohemian capital. In spite of the great number of goldsmith masters and the fame of their guilds, no tradition of their residence patterns can be traced even in the vivid folk tradition. Did they stand apart within the integral settlement grid? If so was it because of economic needs or personal or family reputation? The tax registers of the town archives can provide answers within the limits of this study.

The taxpayers of the five quarters of the town—*Vetus Castrum, Media, Luporum, Longa*, and *Rapular*—are registered in separate volumes. The sixteenth-century material is not only discontinuous but very fragmentary. The first volume from Luporum dates back to 1554, followed by a tax book of Rapular (1557), Vetus Castrum, and Media (1564). The smallest number of volumes of the town archives have survived from Longa, lacking the whole series until 1590.[39] As far as the early seventeenth century is concerned, the material is much better preserved, almost complete until 1620.

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[37] I would like to express my gratitude to András Kiss and to PhD student Melinda Mihály (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj) for helping me in this part of my research.

[38] See Derek Keene, "Metalworking in Medieval London: A Historical Survey," *The Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society* 30:2 (1996): 95–102; Dietrich Denecke, "Sozialtopographische und sozialräumliche Gliederung der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. Problemstellungen, Methoden und Betrachtungweisen der historischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie," in *Über Bürger, Stadt und städtische Literatur im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Stackmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980), 161–202; Imre Holl, "Középkori városi topográfia és a kézműves műhelyek" (Medieval urban topography and the artisan workshops), *Dunántúli Dolgozatok. Történettudományi Sorozat 3* (1991): 33–37; András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza. Középkori háztulajdonok a budai Várnegyedben* (The medieval topography of Buda. Medieval properties in the castle area), PhD dissertation (Budapest: ELTE, 2002).

[39] During the Second World War the holdings of the Romanian National Archives went through various vicissitudes and the series from 1570 to 1582 was lost.

Tax collecting followed a certain order regulated by the municipal law of 1537.[40] Its Paragraph 4 enacted the nomination of tax directors, who would circulate through the quarter and adjust the *dica*s ("tokens"), which did not mean the duty in money but rather the value of the assessable property. The tax books mirrored this procedure. They recorded door by door the subject of taxation, usually the head of the family or the owner of the house, and the absolute value was shown in *dica*s.[41] The florin value of a *dica* was established by the council of the town and by the office-holders elected for this purpose. Commonly, from one half up to one 'dash' was the average sum of payment, while more than this reflected wealth. Sometimes the route of the tax collector is difficult to follow. The townscape altered during the centuries, and one-time features mentioned in the records as coordinates are no longer visible and did not survive even in folk tradition.

Vetus Castrum

This quarter is the oldest part of the town within the first fortification concentrated around the Dominican friary. In the fifteenth century, when the new church was built and the town was extended, it became just one quarter of the dynamically growing town. Later, when the minting house was transferred to the town, its importance increased. The tax registers of this quarter are the most extensive ones because it included also the so-called Hostat/Hofstadt (in some documents Neustadt), the largest suburb of the town. Of the total taxed properties between 1564 and 1570 more than a half (180) were recorded outside the walls. The quarter kept its strong German character, as far as the recorded names reflect it. This was the least dynamic quarter of the town until the minting house was installed there, which gave a new impetus to town development.

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[40] Jakab, 2. 134, 136–137.

[41] If more than one family was living together, the scribes mention it, although this cannot be asserted in every case (cum filio/filia). It is a problematic issue to identify certain people from the lists for two reasons. First of all in this period personal names were still unstable and might appear in many forms in as many sources; second, it depended very much on the scribe himself, how he understood the communicated name. This can explain the record's differences in successive years, and not ethnic change as is stated many times in the scholarly literature. András Kiss drew my attention to this detail, see András Kiss, *Kolozsvár város XVI. századi adókönyveinek forrásértéke* (The source value of the sixteenth-century tax books of Cluj) (Manuscript, 2001), 9–10. Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului* (The history of Cluj) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academică, 1974), 79.

In this quarter the goldsmiths had the lowest ratio of houses per number of plots, only three out of 175. Their owners must have belonged to the old lineage and kept them through family tradition. Even their detection is difficult, mainly because the guild register is fragmentary for this period. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were three adjoining goldsmith houses opposite the friary, forming a kind of segregated group of important artisans. First to be mentioned is Péter Filstich. The rise of his career can also be traced in yearly tax items, which show a constant growth in his wealth. In 1601, when the first data about him appear, two *dica*s were registered beside his name;[42] four years later, in 1605, the sum increased by one *dica*. It reached six *dica*s by 1612, just before he was appointed head of the minting house by Prince Gabriel Bethlen. Afterwards, his name became more and more frequent in the registers; he started to invest his assets in properties, an advanced mercantile attitude seen especially in the cases of the important trading families, such as the Kaundert or Bácsi. By 1620, he had purchased four properties in the neighborhood of the mint, paying altogether more than 11 *dica*s.[43]

Another important phenomenon in this quarter was the increased number of tenants, including already established goldsmith craftsmen like Mihály Minerker or Máté Nagy; moreover, Dániel Linczig also paid rent in the vicinity of the mint house. The importance of the mint cannot be overestimated. Its presence in the town brought prestige, increased attention of the central authority, more support and protection. In addition, it provided a good overview on the monetary system of the principality and gave the masters supervising it a chance to foresee eventual money depreciation. For practical reasons, the goldsmiths were the most capable craftsmen for supervising the minting. That could be a reason why more and more artisans gathered around the *domus cementaria*. One might even infer that they were employees of the minting house. Certainly they were high-ranking personalities among their contemporaries, some of them were real humanists educated in Western European universities.[44]

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[42] *Registrul de taxe 1554–1620* (Tax Registers 1554–1615). Direcţia Naţională a Arhivelor, Cluj-Napoca (Romanian National Archives, Cluj-Napoca), Microfilm Collection, 10/VII, 26. (Henceforth *Tax Registers*.)

[43] *Tax Registers*, 17a/VI, 14,17,18.

[44] E.g., Bálint Pekrecy, who studied in Padova; János Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei* (Old tombstones from the Házsongárd cemetery) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 306. (Henceforth: Herepei.)

Longa

Known also as Hungarian Street, the Longa district consisted of the north-eastern part of the town. Its name suggests the one-time ethnic composition and segregation of the town, no longer relevant for the period under discussion.

Of the total of 75 taxable properties, goldsmiths are recorded in 12 cases, in groups with two gaps between the items twenty to thirty and forty to fifty. To give a reason for the concentration of the goldsmiths in this quarter of the town, one plausible argument is that this was a kind of "industrial park of the less hygienic crafts." This statement is based on the massive number of soap-makers next to the river, important butchers' and tanners' workshops, and the existence of mills and bakeries.

The first group of goldsmiths started with the first house in the tax register, formerly situated in the place of the present Lutheran church and parsonage, owned by the above-mentioned well-known goldsmith András Ötvös.[45] In 1616 he still owned the house, but he had moved his home to a centrally located house in Rapular.[46] Both of these properties must have been spacious and luxurious enough to lodge a visiting princely couple in 1595.[47] Tradition, habits and even commonplaces concerning the fame of one or another place, street, or house were very important details in the mentality of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century urban society. As a result of internal mobility the goldsmith habitat at the beginning of the street was no longer present by the 1610s. In the case of András Ötvös the motivation could have been pure desire for luxury, since by then he possessed as much fame as earthly wealth. Economic reasons might have led Pál Ombózy to move away from this neighborhood. He stayed with this group just until he entered the guild and started a business. Then he bought the house of another goldsmith and probably his workshop, too, which may clarify the economic reasons for changing his residence. Being a goldsmith somehow in itself gave an impetus for social well-being, as the example of István Ötvös Turi shows, whose sobriquet Ötvös (Goldsmith) denotes professional change within the family and also shows the endeavor of his parents to direct their sons towards a prosperous and approved craft. The neighborhood of these goldsmiths consisted of important merchants or craftsmen: for example, the barber Mert Auner, the Csanádis,

[45] *Tax Registers*, 4/XXII, 1.
[46] *Tax Registers*, 7/I, 1.
[47] Bunta, 220.

involved intensively in trading activities,[48] and Gergely Diósy, one of the most famous notaries of the sixteenth century.[49]

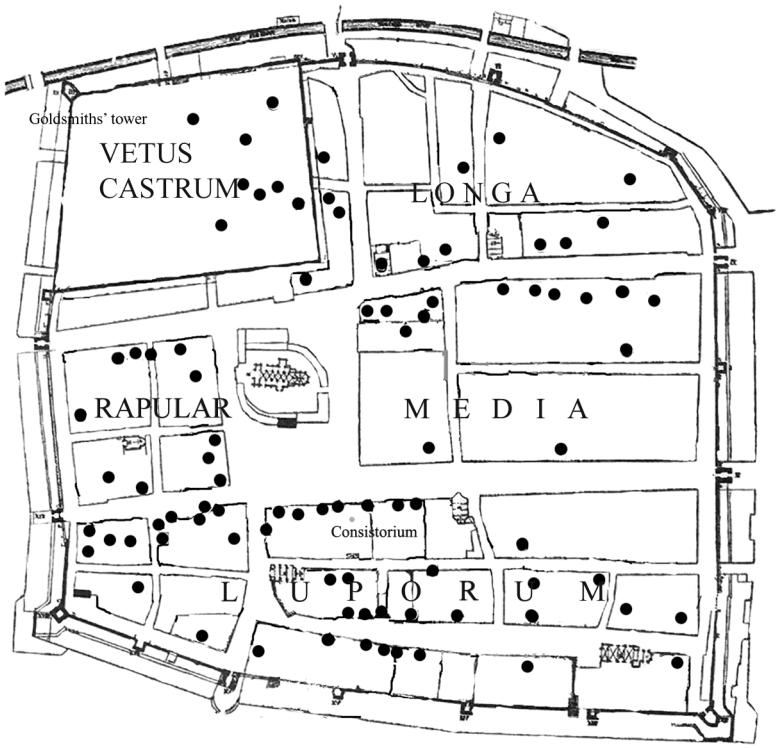

Fig. 1. The goldsmiths' distribution in the townscape of Cluj.

The further the tax collectors moved from the center, the less we know about the emerging goldsmiths. Logically, more is known about those who had a more intense public life. The next tax unit, around today's Emil Isac Street 32, is interesting mostly because the house kept its 'goldsmith-house' character through four generations of artisans. Presumably the Cheob goldsmith family

[48] Samuil Goldenberg, *Clujul în secolul al XVI-lea. Producția și schimbul de mărfuri* (Cluj in the sixteenth century. Production and bartering) (Bucharest: Editura Academică, 1958), 5.

[49] Kiss András, "Diósy Gergely: Judex Privilegiorum civitatis cuius Coloswar, eidem propter indefessam fidelitatem divis olim regibus et principibus Hungariae Transylvaniaeque collatarum. Anno Domini Jesu 1592." *Levéltári Közlemények* 66 (1995): 197–219.

atelier had a good reputation in town circles, and their residence was passed from hand to hand among goldsmiths.[50] Approaching the walls, the number of masters evidently decreased, hardly reaching one goldsmith per fifteen houses.

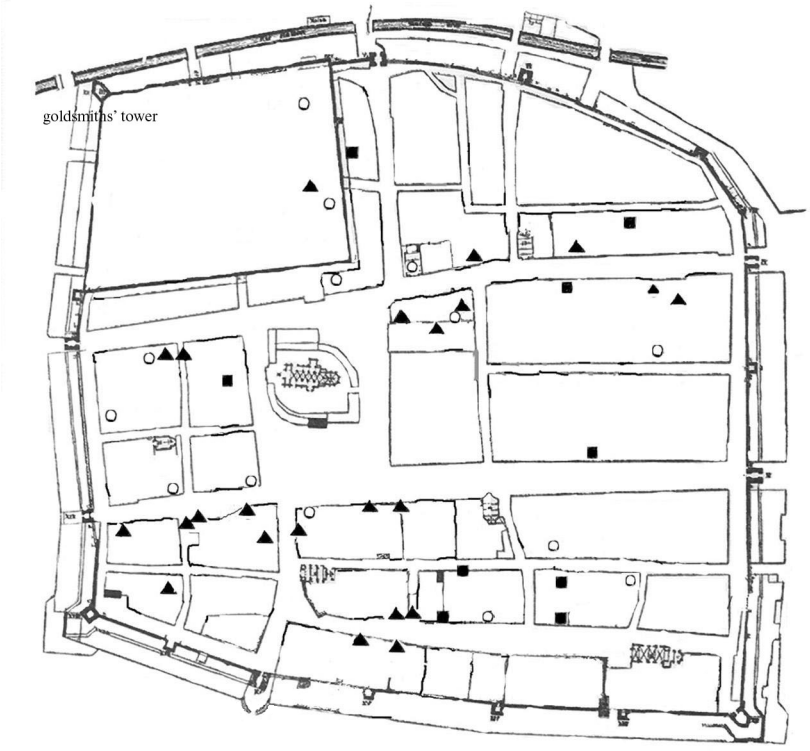

Fig. 2. Goldsmiths of Cluj with extra-craft pursuits.

■ *goldsmiths with mercantile activities;*
▲ *goldsmiths with public functions;*
○ *goldsmiths with mercantile activities and public functions.*

The general picture from the tax books reveals a strong concentration of goldsmith houses in the sphere of the town center and a looser distribution towards the peripheries, especially after the turn of the seventeenth century, when practically no goldsmiths are represented on the peripheries (see *Figs. 1* and *2*).

[50] *Tax Registers*, 4/XXII, 21; 8/IV, 23, 153.

Media

As the name itself shows, this quarter is situated on the eastern side of the town, between the Longa district and the Luporum (to be discussed next), consisting mainly of two important streets, Holy Church and King Street. The records from 1564 to 1566 contain 208 plots with houses, and by 1601 around 20 new houses had been built. While in 1564 only ten goldsmiths' names are to be found in the register, by 1593 their number had almost doubled (to 17) and in 1601 the records show over twenty goldsmiths, a constant average during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. In spite of the numerical changes even in the earlier period the 'Median' goldsmiths may be divided into two more or less compact groups, one at the beginning of the tax-route, close to the *teatrum* (i.e. the market square), and another at the end in the vicinity of the town hall. In 1593, although comprising different names, the lines of the two groups are still clear, and did not change during the next thirty years although the simple division of the quarter into two was dimmed by the goldsmiths moving to the middle of the quarter. Housing development**,** allotment changes, and the permanent mobility of the tenants sometimes create difficulties in following the history of a house.

This was not the case with Gergely Balázsfi, the first goldsmith encountered in the register of 1593, and starting from 1601 it can certainly be inferred that he purchased the house of Ferenc Ötvös, known from the 1564-1566 tax books.[51] He owned the house until 1611, when it was sold to another goldsmith, Pál Ombózy.[52] Moreover, between 1605 and 1611, Gergely Balázsfi also hosted one of his goldsmith colleagues, János Pesti.[53] Actually, all five goldsmith houses from the tax register of 1564 kept the tradition; (see *Fig. 1*) although the hiatus in the sources does not allow tracing the successive owners.

Between the first and the second groupings of goldsmiths from King Street only one master's name appears: Péter Ötvös.[54] To identify him is somewhat problematic, but interesting from the point of view of how the craft gained popularity. The thirtieth tax register records the name of a Péter Szappanos (Soap-maker) Ötvös, who often transported soap to northern Transylvanian towns. Apparently he maintained the family tradition of soapmaking while he set up a goldsmith workshop, which also explains why his house was situated in the periphery close to the wall. Scholarship has regarded him as a

[51] 1593: *Tax Registers,* 5/XX, 62.; 1601: *Tax Registers,* 9/XXII, 4.; on Ferenc Ötvös: *Tax Registers,* 1/X, 5, 78, 172.

[52] *Tax Registers,* 13a/XVII, 334.

[53] *Tax Registers,* 13a/XVII, 40, 78, 118, 158, 198, 242, 288.

[54] *Tax Registers,* 9/XXII, 40.

soapmaker and son of a former goldsmith, a supposition based on his exclusive soap trading activity, although abandoning a goldsmith's workshop for soap-boiling is unlikely. Moreover, the division of the plots reveals that he actually bought the former house of Mihály Tótházi[55] where he resided when he entered the guild and before he started his outstanding public career. It is unlikely that Péter Ötvös bought a goldsmith shop to transform it to soap boiling. His tombstone, still standing in the Házsongárd cemetery in the 1920s, did not disclose the date of his death but reveals its circumstances.[56] Along with eight other burghers, Péter was slain by Walloon mercenaries who terrorized the region during the first decade of the seventeenth century.[57]

A bakery in the same neighborhood, as strange as it might seem, also belonged to a goldsmith. In 1593 Ferenc Kalácssütő (plain-cake baker), who similarly to Péter Ötvös carried forward the family tradition, oriented himself towards a more prestigious craft. He resided in the Luporum quarter, as a goldsmith guild fellow from 1604.[58]

Proceeding towards the *Consistorium*, a second goldsmith grouping can be traced from the records. From 1564 until 1566 it basically consisted of four artisans, three of them from the two most important families of the town: Filstich and Vicei. First was Péter Filstich the elder, father of the later minting house-director, and then on the two sides of the town hall the two Vicei brothers. The facts speak for themselves. This position is not only a manifestation of overdone prestige, but almost a strategy or a reflection of conscious aspiration for a prosperous career in local politics. The actors changed during the years, but the goldsmiths always held the flanks around the most important municipal institution.

Luporum

The development of the goldsmith's craft can be followed through the town topography most efficiently in the Luporum quarter on the southeastern side of the town. In the tax books between 1554 and 1556 the placement of the goldsmiths is more incidental and they were fewer in number, basically, single family aggregates forming the three-quarters of the total number of goldsmiths.

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[55] *Tax Regusters,* 5/XX, 72.

[56] Herepei, 62

[57] *Georg Krauss krónikája* (Georg Krauss' chronicle), in *Erdély öröksége. Erdélyi emlékírók Erdélyről* (Transylvania's heritage. Transylvanian memoire writers about Transylvania), ed. László Cs. Szabó and László Makkai (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1942), vol. 3, 65–95.

[58] *Tax Registers*, 11/XIV, 83.

By the end of the century the 'quarterscape' developed the shape that lasted into the seventeenth century, where the goldsmiths were to be found in larger numbers at the beginning of the tax-route, closer to the center of town, and around *Feoni interior* (Hay Street). This arrangement, however, was not as compact as the segregation of the Media. The Luporum quarter was the largest in extent, with 218 *intra muros* taxable houses in 1554 and 221 in 1601. As far as the number of the goldsmiths is concerned, from seven taxable artisans in 1554 their number grew to 21 in 1593 and to 23 in 1617. Once more the flourishing period of the craft at the turn of the seventeenth century becomes evident.

Not only the increasing number of masters can be seen, but also the internal mobility between the two more or less separated groups. In 1601 the prominent figure of the first group was Bálint Balázsfi, whose name appears a few years later in the second group owning the former home of Gergely Bornemissza,[59] while in the place where he had formerly lived, another goldsmith, György Ferenci took up residence. A skillful master, Balázsfi often executed important commissions even for the prince. His wealth must have grown rapidly, since the rate of *dicas* for him was changed from three-quarters to three.[60] Gergely Bonchidai's widow is recorded in 1601 next to Balázsfi.[61] Bonchidai entered the guild in 1556 and during the journeymen's strike in 1573 he held the first master's position, along with Péter Filstich.[62] In 1591, when a less serious internal rebellion took place among the young masters, Bonchidai was charged with investigating the motives and those responsible.[63] After a long life Bonchidai left the workshop to his son, also named Gergely, who owned a house not far away in the second goldsmith group.[64]

The second extensive concentration of goldsmiths basically developed by the internal movings and family ties of the Balázsfis and Bonchidais. Between them was integrated Dániel Talmácsi's name, which shows up first in the burghers' book in 1588 as the son of Gergely Vas.[65] In the same year he was

[59] *Tax Registers*, 11/XIV, 83.
[60] *Tax Registers*, 1/XIV, 123.
[61] *Tax Registers*, 9/XXV, 2.
[62] Lajos Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és céhek története Magyarországon 1307–1848* (Craft development and guilds in Hungary 1307–1848), vols. 1–2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913), 1. 108.
[63] János Novák, *Kolozsvári ötvöscéh története a XVIII. századig* (The history of the goldsmith guild of Cluj until the eighteenth century) (Cluj, 1913), 52–53.
[64] *Tax Registers*, 17b/XXI, 13; 11/XIV, 83, 123.
[65] *Burghers' book,* Diversa VI/1–2.

accepted into the guild, but in 1601 he was already dead and his widow is named as owner of the house.[66]

Starting with István Ötvös, who was one of those goldsmiths about whom one might infer that he worked as a goldsmith and did not bear this name as a family name, the third long grouping of goldsmiths counted seventeen goldsmith names. Some important ones, like Antal Kapusi or István Kolozsi, were marked as tenants in another goldsmith's house. Renting a house did not automatically mean a more modest way of life, but might have had economic reasons such as tax reduction and less responsibility towards the town. Mostly because of his trading activity, Antal Kapusi's name is often mentioned in the sources, but less is revealed about his career as an artisan after he executed his license in 1600.[67] Along with István Kolozsi, he was a tenant in Mihály Kalotaszegi's house in 1601, but it may be inferred that this was just a temporary solution until the newcomer goldsmiths could afford to keep their own households. In 1605 Kapusi was already recorded as a house owner at the beginning of Luporum, where formerly a Balázsfi widow had lived.[68]

The first house in the so-called *Lutifigulorum* part of the town belonged to Márton Gyulai, who was member of the largest goldsmith family, although the exact relationships cannot be established. In this case the elder Márton must have been recorded, he who became a goldsmith master in 1595 and still owned this property in 1620. His name also appears among the *centumviri* between 1610 and 1625.[69] Other members of the same lineage are present on the list. On the reverse part next to Buday's *pistorium,* lived Miklós Gyulai, whose house remained in the tradition and was purchased later by another goldsmith, Ambrus Ötvös.[70]

Comparing this quarter with Longa or Media, the concentration of goldsmith houses in the southwestern part of the town is much higher. The spatial distribution of the goldsmiths shows that most of the artisans settled in this quarter were engaged in public services (*Figs. 1* and *2*). The explanation for this phenomenon could be that the southern part of the town was better fortified and protected by natural features, or the proximity of the town hall could have influenced the goldsmiths' residential pattern.

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[66] *Tax Registers*, 9/XXV, 140.
[67] Flóra, 52.
[68] *Tax Registers*, 11/XIV, 34.
[69] *Town Protocols*, 145. 17b/XXI, 130.
[70] *Tax Registers*, 17b/XXI, 130.

Rapular

In the smallest quarter of the town, the concentration of goldsmiths was higher. The most important families of the seventeenth century had their residences here. The quarter's name suggests that this territory was populated later, when handicrafts were already developing, and *nouveau riche* artisans built new houses facing the main square. In 1558, from a total of 72 houses, goldsmiths were living in five; in 1616 their number reached nine on the same number of plots. (*Figs. 1* and *2*).

What is even more outstanding is the sum of the tax payment, especially for the first five houses of the register. Two of those five houses were owned by Máté Vicei and one by András Ötvös. Vicei handed in almost eleven *dica*s of taxes, three or four times more than his neighbors.[71] Besides, his house had a definable goldsmith history. From different sources it is known that he bought the first house from another goldsmith, Péter Zók. As far as the tax registers permit tracing back the ownership of the house, before Zók it belonged to an artisan named András Mód.[72]

A goldsmith lived in Vicei's second house as well. Could this be a reflection of the family tradition and connections at the same time? Or rather Vicei's acumen for business molded the ownership of the houses? Letting out the houses was a general phenomenon in this district. Important personalities of contemporary public life are mentioned in the registers as tenants.[73] Apparently it was a good investment to hold property on this side of the town, where they could easily get a proper lessee. Vicei's tenant, for example, paid a tax of more then ten *dica*s and must have been a wealthy man.[74] The registers give some hints to why this part of the town was more expensive than the others. First of all it was less densely populated and probably more sophisticated since was a relatively newly built quarter. It may have been more hygienic since more handicrafts were present than farming occupations.

The goldsmiths integrated properly into this elite milieu both as owners and tenants mostly in the *teatrum* area and in the southwestern part of the town. If the main square and its close surroundings, especially the neighborhood of the *consistorium,* had formed one tax unit, the presence of the goldsmiths in the town center would be even more apparent. It was a general phenomenon that soon after a goldsmith established his business as a *homo novus* he moved into a

[71] *Tax Registers*, 17b/XXXI, 23.
[72] *Tax Registers*, 1/V, 9.
[73] E.g. István Kassai, *Tax Registers*, 17b/XXI, 28.
[74] *Tax Registers*, 17b/XXI, 23.

more lavish home. Very often the real estate transactions happened between two goldsmiths. In the so-called "goldsmith houses," goldsmith owners were followed each other. The fame of the house certainly played a role in the development of this tradition, but the practical argument that it was easier to buy a house with an equipped workshop than to build up a new one sounds even more reasonable.

The topographical survey also answered another important question, revealing that the increasing number of goldsmith craftsmen was not due to an influx of new settlers, but to an internal social transformation and to the appearance of the second generation artisans. Craftsmen who established a business and gained a solid capital promoted their sons towards a more prestigious craft. The smaller groupings of goldsmiths within the quarters show a kind of professional cohesion. This was even more relevant in the old part of the town after the reestablishment of the minting house (1608), which resulted in a massive concentration of goldsmiths and gave a new impetus to the general development of the craft.

Conclusions

The increased number of goldsmiths in the governmental system of the town was a consequence of their economic capital and resources, combined with personal aptitudes and a solid cultural background. As the trading activity of the goldsmiths, or more precisely the lack of such activity, shows, they had no major interest in improving their earthly wealth by commerce. The trade of the goldsmith artisans had the character of incidental bartering, led by present demands of the market. This statement is argued both by the irregularity and the randomly collected merchandise. The goldsmith craft in itself was a great investment; those who could afford to maintain a workshop could hope for multiple profits, even if a much better income could have been earned by assuming risky trading journeys.

Those who pursued office-holding scarcely appear in the customs registers. However, the part of this survey on topography revealed that investments in real estate had major importance within goldsmith circles. In many cases one master owned more than one house or bakery at the same time.

The spatial distribution of the goldsmiths within the town network also reveals both prestige and economic motivations. The great guild development from the turn of the seventeenth century was the result of an internal professional shift, not of a massive influx of external masters. The increased number of goldsmiths implies at the same time an accentuated competition, which also became one of the potential engines of topographical mobility

towards the center of the town, where the concentration of goldsmiths was the most intense. Internal professional rivalry strengthened the goldsmiths' high-ranking position within the municipal community. Laid on the town map, the residential pattern of the goldsmiths also reflects a kind of positive professional separation.

The fact that the goldsmiths succeeded in combining wealth, prestige and self-achievement so well was not the consequence solely of "gold," of earthly wealth, although at the outset this was the most important factor. One more element played a great role in the goldsmiths' success: the family, which bound the three other aspects together as a basis for individual advancement.

Goldsmiths were exceptional personalities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cluj, a real patriciate with a developing elite self-consciousness. They were the leaders in the period when the town became *civitas primaria* of the Transylvanian Principality. Questions have been answered, but what is more important, many were raised, which can open the way for further, more profound, investigations. The goldsmiths were the elite of the town. Who were the others?

PART II
Report of the Year

REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovszky

The report on the activity of the department normally follows a chronological pattern, listing all the important academic and social events. However, the academic year 2002–2003 was a very special one in the life of the department, being the tenth anniversary of the creation of our program. The year of celebrations was equally a year of discussion, not only looking backwards but also thinking about the future. It was extremely good for us to meet many of our alumni/ae during the special programs (especially the summer course "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages in Post-'89 Central and Eastern Europe," the alumni meeting, the medieval party) organized for the anniversary. The celebrations provided us with an opportunity for remembering the most exciting, and sometimes the most difficult, moments of this decade. In all discussions we always addressed the issues: What is our role? What is our place at CEU and in the academic milieu of Central Europe? This short report cannot answer these questions, but they should be kept in mind while dealing with the more everyday aspects of the past academic year.

To follow the regular chronological sequence of our program, I shall start with the character of the new MA group beginning their studies in September, 2002. Concerning the nationality of our new MA students, the usual colorful picture emerged as a result of the selection process. Central and Southeastern European countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) were well represented just as before. It was quite promising that some other countries which do not recur so often, like Serbia, also appeared in the list. We also acknowledged the return of students from the Caucasus (Armenia and Georgia), who formed a significant part of our student body in the early years of our program, but somehow disappeared later. This revival of interest also contributed to the interdisciplinary selection of topics amongst MA students. One of the Armenian students dealt with a medieval Islamic topic and our Georgian MA student was an artist who explored the experimental aspects of medieval studies. As usual, we had a very strong representation of Hungarians and students from Romania, but the group was still balanced. We also found important the arrival of our first Canadian student, who decided to continue his

studies in Budapest after a study period in Dublin, and then went even further east to continue his academic life in Tajikistan after his graduation from CEU. We also noted the significantly smaller number of students than before coming from Russia and the Ukraine, a change that calls for a closer examination of our recruitment policy. Maybe this decrease is connected to the changed stipend policy of the University and/or to the impact of the emerging study centers in the former Soviet republics.

Concerning the selection of MA thesis topics, the group was very well balanced, representing all the major fields of our educational program. There was a significant group of students dealing with material culture and monuments, but interestingly, some of them came with a former education in traditional historical studies or with a very strong interest in the written record. Another small group dealt with Slavonic and Latin textual problems, not only from a philological point of view, but quite often in a comparative or contextual way. The topic selection of our MA students was also influenced by the presence of new faculty members. Aziz Al-Azmeh, distinguished visiting professor of the CEU Humanities Center, dedicated a large part of his teaching activity to our department and supervised topics in Islamic studies. Piroska Nagy, visiting professor from France, became the mentor of several students dealing with a very new field of study, the history of emotions.

The interdisciplinary character of the program became clear for all our MA students already when they heard about the topics of their fellow students for the first time during the initial meeting of the whole group. It became even more evident when we went for our traditional fall field trip during the very first week of their studies. This time, we decided to visit the northeastern part of Hungary, an area very rich in historical monuments and buildings, which also has a spectacular landscape not lacking medieval elements. The first day was dominated by Romanesque and Gothic monuments. The very complex architectural history of the church at Feldebrő was the basis of a first introductory course in architectural history, with some comments on medieval frescoes. Later that day the magnificent ruins of the castle at Diósgyőr provided the first academic insight into the complex problem of medieval residences. On the second day we entered the hilly region of northeastern Hungary, with even more spectacular castles in their landscape setting. After climbing up to Regéc castle and having a longer walk around it, the students were given a short introduction to the method of "reading the landscape" as we visited a medieval fishpond and the remains of terraces used for agriculture.

Reading images and, indeed, texts, was also a part of the program when we discussed the medieval frescoes and the first printed Hungarian Bible at Vizsoly. After meeting so many different aspects of historical studies, the day finished by

us visiting a historical cellar of Tokaj wines near the castle of Sárospatak. The long and very scholarly introduction to medieval and early modern wine production was not regarded as a boring exercise, particularly because it was accompanied by a very well selected range of old and excellent wines to taste. The last day of the field trip included visits to two very different types of castles, the late medieval and Renaissance complex at Sárospatak and the eleventh-century earthwork fortification at Szabolcs. However, perhaps the most genuine medieval experience for many of our students was crossing the Tisza River on a ferry, which is still functioning at the point of a medieval ford.

Teaching at the department in the fall semester was characterized by research methods courses, mainly taught by resident faculty members, while visiting professors offered new insights into other aspects of medieval studies: Peter Meller, professor emeritus from the University of California, Santa Barbara, gave a course on Renaissance Portraiture, based on many years of research. This also yielded an MA thesis on the physiognomy of King Matthias (see the article of Enikő Békés in this volume). Our long-lasting cooperation with the Vienna Byzantine Center resulted in a course on Byzantium in the Medieval World (610–1204) taught by a young Greek scholar from the Center, Dionysios Stathakopoulos. The fall term also offered our students a small workshop, organized in cooperation with the Curriculum Resource Center. The topic was "Virtual Museums as Teaching Material in the Field of Cultural Heritage Studies," which also contributed to the "Megaproject" of the department. This project is a cooperation between our department and Russian regional universities to develop virtual museum materials for their reformed educational system.

While the first term was mainly taught by the resident faculty, the winter term incorporated a number of significant courses offered by guest professors. Two very distinguished scholars of medieval studies agreed to team-teach a course on problems of "Frontiers, Regions, and Peoples." In this course, Herwig Wolfram and Patrick Geary discussed both early medieval issues and later and modern aspects of the emergence of nations. Our guest professors also significantly contributed to the interdisciplinary character of our program by offering courses in religious and historical topics, including art history, historical anthropology, and legal history. Although these courses were mainly offered for MA students, many PhD candidates joined them, particularly the course offered by Moshe Idel on "Kaballah and Eros" and another course by Jens Wollesen on "Crusaders in the East: History, Art, and Life."

This large group of guests, including recurrent visiting professors Elissaveta Moussakova, Felicitas Schmieder, and Michael Richter, was further enriched by the presence of scholars who came to participate in our regular interdisciplinary workshop at the end of February, combined with another

Curriculum Resource Center program. This year the organizers, Katalin Szende and Balázs Nagy, initiated a discussion on "Segregation, Integration, and Assimilation in Medieval Towns." The general issues they raised included the crucial problem of whether diversity was a precondition, a catalyst, an essential phenomenon or an unwanted consequence of urbanization. The papers offered by the guests and PhD students of the department also discussed the patterns developed over time to handle the challenges arising from the complex situations typical in medieval towns. The examples discussed represented a very wide geographical range from late medieval London to Caffa on the Black Sea and from Baltic Livonian towns to the Jewish Quarter in Marrakesh. Another important issue was the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character of medieval urban centers, including Saxon towns in Transylvania, medieval Buda, and early modern Antwerp. The social and legal status of the different groups living in the very mixed population of medieval towns was also discussed in the context of multi-lingualism, conquest and colonization, and self-definition. The closing excursion to Visegrád and Esztergom in the late winter sunshine helped us to see the physical milieu of Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, and "Latini," all different groups who were segregated, integrated or assimilated in these two important medieval urban centers.

The very busy and academically demanding winter semester was followed by a memorable academic field trip. During the last ten years our spring excursions have always been organized within a radius of 600 to 800 km around Budapest in all possible directions ranging from Moldavia to Prague and from Cracow to Split. One major travel route that we had not explored was the one that leads to Venice, although it was a crucial track of trade and intellectual exchange from Central Europe to the Mediterranean. Selecting this south-western direction and travelling to the Adriatic also reflected a deliberate decision to prepare ourselves for the large gathering of the sixth annual congress of the Mediterranean Studies Association, organized in May at CEU on the problem of contacts between Central Europe and the Mediterranean.

Before we could admire the lagoons of the most important medieval trade center, we had to follow the routes of medieval merchants and students who traveled to northern Italian markets or universities. This long journey before our arrival at the sea coast included a visit to spectacular alpine areas with their high mountain passes at Semmering and the silver mine zone near Friesach. We stopped at important monasteries and churches to admire frescoes or pilgrim centers like St. Lambrecht. The long alpine trail led us to the Adriatic and to center of early Lombard culture in Cividale, a small north Italian town with very rich archaeological remains and early medieval churches. The history of the early medieval period was further explored in the two most important centers of this

region as we visited Aquileia and Grado, with their late classical and early medieval treasures of art and architecture.

For many of us on the departmental faculty, familiar with the medieval miracle of Venice, just as for many of our MA students who had never visited this place, the most memorable moment of the trip was to approach San Marco by boat for the first time at sunset. Venice was crowded, so that it was almost impossible to move, because it was St. Mark's day, which we were lucky to experience in the town of the patron saint. However, the silent streets of the medieval ghetto, far from the main tourist routes, gave a sense of the medieval atmosphere. The multi-national and multi-cultural character of Venice was also enriched by the presence of our group because many of us went to the Greek Orthodox church in Venice for the liturgy on Good Friday as Orthodox Easter was impending.

The sea dominated not only the topics of the excursion booklet prepared by our MA students, but also our travels around Venice, where we visited Murano, Burano, and Torcello. These three islands were centers of medieval glass-making, early ecclesiastical institutions, as well as the ice cream culture of the Mediterranean, already well documented in the sixteenth century. From Venice we made an excursion to Padua, mainly to visit the most famous frescoes of northern Italy in the Scrovegni Chapel. After the most recent major restoration project, such a visit is not so simple and needed long preparations and a well-timed arrival, otherwise one cannot enter this small chapel. The rather strange acclimatization for this short visit indeed paid off as the other most memorable part of the excursion. Travelling back from the Adriatic, we stopped briefly in Austria to see another important pilgrimage center at St. Paul im Lavanttal and to stay for a short while in Graz, cultural capital of Europe in the year 2003.

The short spring session was not only a busy period for PhD defenses and comprehensive exams, but also witnessed a large gathering of scholars from America and the Mediterranean countries. From May 28 to 31 we hosted the international congress of the Mediterranean Studies Association, an event covering all historical periods. Many of our alumni and doctoral students contributed to the program of this meeting and, led by János Bak, they also had a very active role in the organization of the congress.

Concerning the publication activity of the department, having established the regular publication of the *Annual* and later the *Newsletter*, we wanted to create a series of scholarly monographs as well. The success of the first three volumes of the *CEU Medievalia* series proved that this was a good idea and important for our international reputation. As a result, CEU Press agreed to publish Aziz Al-Azmeh's monograph on Ibn Khaldūn in the Medievalia series and this gave us

four volumes on the market. With the *Annual* and other department-related publications of CEU Press such as Marianna D. Birnbaum's *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendez* or the Medieval Central European Texts series, we were able to organize a small book exhibition of our publications for the Mediterranean congress. This clearly demonstrated that works by faculty and students of this department have a strong impact on the scholarly world.

The spring semester culminated with the defenses of the MA theses and the graduation ceremony. As usual, guests were invited to chair the public defenses, Patrick Geary and Marianna D. Birnbaum acting as our recurrent "quality controllers." Graduation was not only a ceremonial event for our MA students, but also a spectacular demonstration of the success of our doctoral program. In the Head's Report of the previous *Annual,* I discussed in detail our concerns and our attempts to encourage students to finish their doctoral studies with a successful defense. We have worked out a number of schemes and strategies for getting students through. The academic year 2002–2003 can be regarded as a breakthrough in this field, eight PhD candidates having earned their degrees this year (see their dissertation abstracts in this volume). So in mid-June the graduation ceremony comprised the largest-ever group from our department to be hooded in front of several hundred MA students, distinguished guests, and George Soros, the founder of our University. This event could be regarded as the culmination of the academic year, but in fact it was followed by the week-long celebration of the tenth anniversary of the department.

As we planned the program for the anniversary, we identified two main goals for these festive events. One of them was to organize a scholarly gathering to discuss important issues for our program, including the experience from the past ten years and suggestions and plans for the future. We wanted to discuss them in a scholarly manner but also to see them on the changing background of our globalizing world. We could achieve this by inviting all of our alumni to contribute to these discussions. In this way we also hoped to reach the other main goal of this celebration, to keep and reinforce contacts with our former students in order to strengthen the position of medieval studies in this region as well as at CEU.

Our alumni now number more than 250 scholars, most of them active in the field of medieval studies or in related academic activities, teaching at universities, doing post-graduate studies, working in the heritage field, or using their international educational background in various other ways. We also created a small publication (*Ten Years of Medieval Studies at CEU*) in which all of the alumni are listed with their thesis titles. In the same volume, our activities over the last ten years are summarized, sometimes in a serious way with graphs and statistics, sometimes less formally, in poems or personal memories. Our

alumni are crucial points to our recruitment strategy and in developing research or educational projects in the region.

As part of the anniversary celebrations, with the help of the Open Society Archives, we launched a research project led by Gábor Klaniczay on the uses and abuses of the Middle Ages. This incorporated the problem of national history as a heated issue in the post-1989 period, or the dilemma of religious revival or political propaganda using medieval monuments, ideas, or modern scholarship. Country reports were prepared by alumni representing more than a dozen states, who discussed these issues and also quoted examples of positive approaches to the Middle Ages, such as the protection of heritage and monuments or the publication of sources. These reports formed an important part of the summer course (SUN) organized on the same subject. The different images of the Middle Ages in our modern world also emerged in an exhibition in the Galeria Centralis, organized by faculty and students of the department. Movies, objects created by experimental projects, posters, theater costumes, and "realia" of medieval historical tourism were entertaining but also very illuminating source material for the scholarly discussions during the workshop.

A kind of re-vitalization of the Middle Ages and the creation of a virtual medieval world were also a part of our alumni meeting, even if it did not have such a strong academic character. For most of us and for the more than one hundred alumni who attended it, the medieval tournament at Visegrád remains a compressed time capsule of the last ten years of the existence of this department.

From the very beginning we have acknowledged that the success of the program relies on the strong academic basis offered by the faculty, talented students with very different backgrounds, and devotion and dedication to this field. However, one more element has always been very crucial and that is international visibility of this scholarly enterprise. By organizing the ten-year anniversary, we wanted to emphasize this aspect. Therefore we planned an even more international and larger discussion of such issues. The tenth anniversary of the largest medievalist gathering, the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, offered the best opportunity. In close cooperation with the organizers of the congress, in mid-July 2003 a symposium was incorporated into the program of the IMC, discussing the state of medieval studies in the larger Central European, European and global contexts. Therefore a strong presence of CEU faculty, students, and alumni/ae in the academic work of the congress sessions was further emphasized by the round-table discussion with the participants from CEU and the most important organizations in the field of medieval studies. Like this particular program, the whole academic year 2002–2003 can be regarded as successful, particularly for our PhD program and the international presence of our department.

MA THESIS ABSTRACTS

Ibn Khaldūn on Magic and the Occult

Mushegh Asatryan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Aziz Al-Azmeh
External Reader: Sándor Fodor (ELTE, Department of Arabic and Semitic Studies)

The fourteenth-century Muslim thinker Ibn Khaldūn dedicated several sections of his most important treatise *Muqaddima* (*Prolegomenon*) to the refutation of occult sciences, such as alchemy, magic, divination, and so on, and to the nature of prophecy and sainthood. He also composed a separate book called *The cure for one who asks for the improvement of questions* (*Shifā' al-sā'il li tahdhīb al masā'il*), where he discusses the nature of sainthood. Not much has been done in the scholarship to analyse Ibn Khaldūn's views on these matters. There are only a few accounts of them, and even these generally constitute parts of larger works and are therefore of a very general character, with relatively little analysis. The present work analyses Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards these specific matters, to highlight the main arguments he used in his refutations, and to show how these arguments correlate with each other. In particular, I point out Ibn Khaldūn's interest in occult sciences from the point of view of their significance for human civilisation and the state. In order to situate Ibn Khaldūn in the historical context and to show the reasons for his keen interest in prophecy, sainthood and the occult sciences, my introduction gives a brief account of those political movements in northern Africa which in their origins had a messianic impetus.

The thesis shows that the great importance that prophetic and messianic movements had for the history of Islam, and for the history of northern Africa in particular, were the main conditions that determined Ibn Khaldūn's keen interest in matters of prophecy, sainthood and all kinds of occultism. However, the main subject of my study is the analysis of the text itself, the task of situating Ibn Khaldūn's work in the historical context providing the overall framework.

Physiognomy in the Descriptions and Portraits of King Matthias Corvinus

Enikő Békés (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Árpád Mikó (Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest)

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the representations, both textual and visual, of King Matthias Corvinus in the light of Antique physiognomical theories. I focused mainly on those descriptions and portraits which were influenced by the lion's physiognomy. The portraits and the iconography of King Matthias have been studied exhaustively; however, hitherto scholars have not dedicated more than a paragraph to the topic of physiognomy, except for Peter Meller, who was the first and almost the last in publishing an article about the lion's physiognomy as applied to Matthias. The last chapter deals also with the portraits of Matthias, but with the Attila-faun-like images. These representations, however, reflect an entirely different image from that of the lion. They must be treated separately also because they are not contemporary portraits and the circumstances of their commission are very obscure.

The method of my analysis is mainly philological: I compare the characteristic traits of the textual and visual portraits with the physiognomical writings, and try to demonstrate that the theories could indeed have influenced the representations. I provide an overview of two main ideas before this examination: the tradition of physiognomical representations from antiquity onwards and the symbolism of the lion, in order to outline the context of King Matthias' images. The approach in the case of the Attila-type images is the same: after a survey of the tradition of Attila's textual and visual representations I analyse the portraits of Matthias again by comparing their features with the physiognomical doctrines.

The physiognomical analysis of King Matthias' portraits supports the hypothesis that the ruler's representations were indeed constructed according to certain ideals by applying patterns inherited from antiquity onwards. It can also be stated that in the shaping of Matthias' physiognomy the ruler had an even more important role than the Italian Humanists. We can plausibly place the leonine images of King Matthias among the Renaissance state-portraits, which were also in accordance with the king's political intentions.

The analysis has also proved by philological evidence that physiognomy could indeed have influenced the descriptions and portraits of the king. The role of Galeotto Marzio must have been crucial in mediating the physiognomical

theories in the Buda court. Furthermore, in his work physiognomy appears as an element of the theories related to good governance.

A Comparative Study of Jewish and Christian Vernacular Bibles in Medieval Italy

László Benke (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Piroska Nagy
External Reader: Géza Komoróczy (ELTE and Research Center for Jewish Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

The most consistent conflicts between Jews and Christians have hinged on their differing readings of Biblical passages. For Christians, the chief value of the Old Testament lay in the prophecies and "prefigurations" that, as they believe, were fulfilled in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. Jews reading the same texts might understand them as personifications of the vanquished people of Israel, apply them to the future redemption or, in many cases, fail to discern any messianic content whatsoever. Nevertheless, they certainly had to react to the attacks against their faith, forming a response to soften the effects of Christian proselytising; as in most districts of central Italy during the sixteenth century, Jews were compelled to attend missionary sermons delivered by mendicant preachers. The most suitable spaces for such a reaction were the synagogue and the elementary school—two places where vernacular translations were in use for the edification of the most vulnerable part of the community, that is "simple people," women and children.

No scholar has yet dealt in depth with the only complete Judeo-Italian Bible: mere sample texts have recently been studied, chiefly from the linguistic viewpoint. The greatest ambition of this thesis is to take the first steps towards an explanatory treatment of an uncharted Biblical tradition. Moreover, this step is made from the standpoint of what I hope is a rather innovative approach: the paper tries to bring to light the manner in which medieval translations of the Bible prepared by Italian Jews contained anti-Christian polemical material. It aims at the analysis of Christological proof texts that were among the most accentuated ones in the course of Jewish-Christian religious encounters, and thus most probably form a doctrinal fault-line between the vernacular Bibles of the two communities.

The Goldsmiths of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Ágnes Flóra (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Reader: Derek Keene (Institute of Historical Research, Centre for Metropolitan History, London)

The social status of goldsmiths within the urban community of the town of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) has never been discussed in the context of a scholarly work. The present thesis is an attempt to follow the tripartite division of Pierre Bordieu's theory and to create an analytical survey of goldsmiths' role in municipal life.

First, as a reflection of the goldsmiths' cultural "capital," the artisans' presence in the town's self-government is discussed. They had a large representation in the town councils, fulfilling important municipal services, which demonstrates not only their personal aptitude and education, but also the high respect of the whole community which delegated them. The main basis of this respect was certainly money, earthly wealth earned by work. Although the goldsmiths did not intensively pursue trade, they usually made a profit from their money by investing in real estate, as many examples from the third chapter reveal.

The goldsmiths' buildings were usually located around the main square of the town, which was due not only to economic reasons, but also to their endeavour to gain respect and prestige. Reviewing the tax registers, one might notice a kind of professional cohesion inside the quarters of the town. More and more goldsmiths gathered around one nucleus, forming a kind of positive segregation. The topographical analysis also reveals that the great development of the guild at the turn of the seventeenth century was not the effect of an external influx but an of an internal transformation of the craftsmen's society.

Being a goldsmith in the early modern society of Kolozsvár was equal to the integration into the patriciate of the town—a fact accentuated even more after the minting house was transferred to the town and the goldsmiths' role became even more important.

Encaustic:
Relations between Requirements and the Ancient Painting Technique

Maria Grechulevich (Georgia)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács.
External Reader: István Bóna, Jr. (University of Fine Arts, Budapest)

The theme of this thesis is the encaustic method of painting in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Research on the encaustic technique is based on two important primary sources: surviving visual material and literature written by ancient writers. I discuss the technique of encaustic and consequently its tools (*cestrum*, *cauterium,* and *peniculum* or brush), and materials (wax, pigments, and additional materials that were meant to make the process of painting easier). I also refer to the reasons why only such a small number of encaustic icons existed in Christian iconography. Through the historical analysis of images created in the past, I tried to find a link between the date of the disappearance of the technique and facts contradicting this statement about encaustic as a lost art—an idea that appears in almost all the secondary literature on encaustic.

This thesis is not limited to a historical approach. Besides research on when and why encaustic can be regarded as a lost technique, or whether it should be regarded as such, my approach is also experimental. My experiments follow the course of the painting process sequentially and provide analytical information deriving from my experiments in this technique, conducted in April 2003 under the supervision of Dr. István Bóna Jr. I use the results of my experiment to revisit information previously presented in the literature.

In order to better understand the questions of whether encaustic really did disappear and when or whether its track was merely lost in time, I refer to a sample of known images created in encaustic in the past. After organizing them in four separate groups by chronology and places of preservation, I use them to interpret encaustic as painting method that was probably used in periods after antiquity, when it was believed to have been forgotten, and to show that encaustic painting was appreciated in different geographical areas. One can suspect that other encaustic pictures unknown to art historians may exist in some abandoned churches or in private collections, awaiting future discovery.

Emotional Narratives as Legitimation: Studies of the Polish and Hungarian *Gesta* Traditions

Max Hamon (Canada)

Thesis Supervisor: László Veszprémy
External Reader: Patrick Geary (UCLA)

This thesis involves a literary analysis of narrative histories in the High Middle Ages that analyses the way in which emotional narratives were used to construct chronicles or *gesta* of certain communities. Taking the traditions of Hungarian and Polish *gesta* writing as examples, a comparative approach is used to discuss the narrative structure and artistic style that were used in writing these histories.

By combining literary and social analyses of the emotional narratives, this thesis proves that there was great concordance within the *gesta* genre. Using the tools of biblical exegesis, intertextual comparison and narrative analysis, a picture of high medieval historical writing appears. The conclusion is that there was considerable use of similar themes and even phrases in constructing a narrative history.

The examples of emotional narratives which are studied here are weeping and anger. Looking at the representation of these emotions in the texts allows us a better understanding of the medieval concept of emotions in general, and these two specific case studies in particular. This thesis argues that emotional narratives were easily used to represent positive or negative characteristics in individuals. Furthermore, the practice of positive or negative representation allowed a strong ideological, or even propagandistic, construction of history. Thus emotions could be used as a tool for legitimizing a certain institution.

For the purposes of legitimation certain *topoi* were used which were socially understood and recognised. This thesis explores those *topoi* and their function. The most striking results can be summarised in a few sentences. Weeping seems to represent an emotion which was generally ascribed in a positive manner, interestingly, it seems also to have been associated with suffering and inaction. In contrast to weeping, anger was much more ambivalent. It could describe both positive and negative characteristics depending upon the context; moreover, anger was associated with effective action.

This thesis offers a contribution to both the study of emotions and the study of *gesta* as a tightly knit class of literature which ought to be explored further. It has been a useful study and will at least allow, and hopefully even encourage, new perspectives and approaches to an old field.

The Evolution of Gregory Akindynos' Religious Stance as Given by his Correspondence

Andrei Konovalov (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Basil Markesinis (Catholic University of Leuven)

The purpose of this study is to examine the figure of one of the polemists of the hesychast controversy, Gregory Akindynos, and analyse the evolution of his religious and philosophical stance as seen through his letters, which were written in the 1330s and 1340s. From the nineteenth century onwards, researchers showed a growing interest towards the letters of Akindynos; however, it is surprising that even after the complete publication of all the preserved epistles of Akindynos by A. C. Hero in 1983, scholars (except for a few researchers) were not inspired to revise generally accepted notions of the comparatively "insignificant" role of Akindynos in the hesychast controversy and emphasise his individual theological position.

Analysing Akindynos' epistles, I came to the conclusion that his own position before 1341 remained equally alien to Barlaam's critique of the hesychast psychosomatic method of prayer and to Palamas' teaching about God's essence and operations. The first serious charge against Palamas, which was worked out by Akindynos after the Councils of 1341, was the likeness of Palamas' doctrines to Arianism, insofar as Arius thought that the Son was created and consequently He does not have any common essence with the Father, and Palamas taught that the operations of God are likewise distinguished from His essence. Although the first charges of Messalianism appeared in Akindynos' letters approximately simultaneously with the charges of Arianism, the detailed explanation of the "Messalian heresy" of Palamas was developed by Akindynos two years later. These accusations were directed exclusively against Palamas and his followers, and concerned the fact that both groups desired to see God with bodily eyes.

At the same time Akindynos did not attack the hesychasts *en masse*, limiting himself to attacks on Palamas. One of the main errors of Palamas, according to Akindynos, was the separation of the operations of God from His essence; this made God not all-transcendent and omnipotent. According to Akindynos' argumentation, the essence and the operation of God must be the same: if there had been something in God that had not been the operation then God would not have completely acted by Himself. The defenders of Palamas' doctrines were not able critically to oppose Akindynos' reasoning without changes in the teaching itself, and it was only in the fifteenth century that the followers of

Palamas moderated Palamas' teaching, when the anti-Palamite resistance had already been broken. Akindynos' correspondence contains some information that allows us to suppose that even in Palamas' time there were a number of Palamites who tried to moderate his teaching.

In general, in the same manner that Barlaam's critique of the hesychast prayer furthered the development of Palamas' doctrine as a response, Akindynos' charges facilitated the evolution of Palamas' teaching to the form that was accepted by the Church in the fifteenth century.

Christ before His Judges: An Iconographic Study of Central European Gothic Paintings

Jana Kováčová (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Zsuzsa Urbach (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba)

Paintings of Christ before his Judges are one particular element in the sequence of the trial of Christ in his passion. Scholars have not paid attention to the particular scenes yet; often the same painting is described and iconographically identified in the literature in two or more different ways. On a sample of collected Central European paintings this study describes the details, such as vestments, headgear and gestures, depicted on these scenes that could be the attributes of individual judges of Christ. The two religious judges, Annas and Caiaphas, Jewish high priests, may have as one attribute headgear which symbolises their social status. But the most significant attribute of Caiaphas is his gesture of ripping his tunic, because the mitre he wears is the sign of his priesthood, not his anger when he said *Blasphemavit!* as the answer to the words of Jesus. The headgear is not a sufficient attribute for any of the judges; the identity of a judge has to be supported by his position on the throne, because on some paintings another Jewish priest, wearing a mitre, but not questioning Jesus, appears in the crowd.

The scenes of the religious trial are more established, and the significant gesture of Pilate, washing his hands, is his strongest attribute. The second political ruler judging Christ, Herod, keeps the symbols of power, the crown and sceptre, as his attributes. Describing the two parts of the trial, religious and political, separately, the concluding part compares the representation of both and places them into the framework of the passion cycle.

Comparisons show regional differences in picturing the sequence of the trial. While a longer sequence of the trial was traditional in the northwestern

areas, mostly in Silesia and western Pomerania, in the southern parts and regions, such as Tyrol or Slovenia, the authors depicted one single scene as the symbolic representation of the whole trial. In Slovakia, in Kyjatice and Žehra, scenes of questioning appear with a rare iconography that combines the attributes of the judges. In Jawor, Silesia, we can see the depiction of a unique iconography based on the meditative literature.

Besides the scenes where the figures can be easily identified by their attributes, there is one type of the questioning scene where the lack of attributes does not allow us to identify the judge. The Angevin Legendary accompanying the illustrations with written sentences shows that the identity of the judges on the depictions was not clear in the Middle Ages either. The different depictions of this scene convey different interpretations: while the long sequence of questioning scenes underlines the narrative aspect, the single-scene representation of the whole trial expresses its symbolic meaning.

The Foundation Myths of Medieval Ragusa

Lovro Kunčević (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak
External Readers: Zdenka Janeković-Römer (University of Zagreb), Norbert Kersken (Herder Institute, Marburg)

Several medieval chronicles, originating in the period from the tenth to the fifteenth century, contain the account of the founding of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). These narratives, written in Ragusa and the neighbouring Dalmatian cities (Split and Bar) offer, at moments quite different, stories concerning the beginning of the city. These stories have been much analysed by scholars, however mostly from the standpoint of the possible historical nucleus behind them. Assuming a different standpoint, this paper—premised on the conviction that the account of one's origin was (and still is) a tale of great political relevance—seeks not to reveal the historical truth behind them, but to understand this delicate kind of memories in the context of their own time: as narratives which served to (de)legitimise different political interests and to instrumentalise the city's past. Thus, it addresses the different ways of constructing and "using" the origins of Ragusa in medieval narratives: the accounts of origins serving to provide legal ground for institutions, such as the (arch)bishopric; origins serving to legitimise territorial aspirations; origins serving to glorify and justify the aristocratic republic, and so on. However, besides these glorifying and legitimising accounts of origins, their constructions by the enemies of the city are also addressed,

serving to denigrate and delegitimise Ragusan self-glorification and claims: origins which served to back the claim of the neighbouring kings over the city or those which sought to undermine the legitimacy of the Ragusan ecclesiastical claims.

The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century

Stanislava Kuzmová (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Stanisław A. Sroka (Jagiellonian University, Krakow)

Saint Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, lived and died in the eleventh century and came to the attention of Western Christianity when he was canonised in 1253. One of the images of Saint Stanislaus that the hagiography offered was that of an ideal bishop. This study examines this specific case in order to identify its relationship to the general tendencies of episcopal sainthood established by other scholars. The focus was to connect the legends and the sermons that presented an image of a saintly bishop, changing through time, with the bishops who perceived him as their model and contributed to the formation of his image, a relationship that has often been taken for granted.

This study analyses the hagiographical works and contemporary sermons on Saint Stanislaus, discussing the particular aspects of episcopal sainthood and episcopal interests in the Polish situation in the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. The personal characteristics and description of the episcopal activities of Saint Stanislaus had to be constructed to a certain extent, as there were no authentic sources about his life. The thirteenth-century description in the oldest hagiographic source, the *Chronica Polonorum*, was not rich, but its main tendency was clear: Stanislaus was one of the martyr-bishops, a type popular after the canonisation of Thomas Becket. The thirteenth-century *vitae* offered a picture of a reform bishop, virtuous and ascetic, but at the same time an able administrator and zealous defender of the Church. In the fifteenth century the image was embellished, accentuating the bishop's care for both the Church and the country.

The image of St. Stanislaus is correlated with the bishops contemporary to these sources. Bishops such as Prandota in the thirteenth century and Zbigniew Oleśnicki in the fifteenth century supported his cult. A related circumstance was that these bishops had great authority in the country, often at the expense of the

secular rulers. The very fact that it was a bishop martyred in the conflict with a member of the Piast dynasty who achieved canonisation was significant.

The sermons on Saint Stanislaus accentuated and spread the image of an ideal bishop and good shepherd. Peregrinus of Opole's sermon from the turn of the fourteenth century and a sample of three sermons from the fifteenth century presented Saint Stanislaus as an example for contemporary prelates.

All the sources about Saint Stanislaus presented an image of a virtuous prelate with great authority, although varying in the themes they accentuated in different periods, such as the problem of Hussite heresy or the luxurious way of life of prelates. This image fitted well with the bishops' concerns and interests, increasing their prestige and justifying their interference in the country's social and political life.

Dimitrie Cantemir's Writings on Islam and the Turks: An Early Modern View "on the Middle Ages"

Andreea Mărculescu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Aziz Al-Azmeh, István Perczel
External Reader: Andrei Pippidi (University of Bucharest)

The aim of this thesis is to analyse how a non-Muslim belonging to the south-eastern European region, Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723), regarded the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the eighteenth century. Is he critical of the Grand Turk? And if so, what would be the perspective from which he makes this critique, the reasons and the solutions which he gives in the broader political and historical context of the Orthodox Southeastern Europe of that age? Cantemir was familiar with the Ottoman political, social and cultural realities and, to a certain extent, even sympathetic with the Ottomans as a nation that was able to develop a coherent imperial order. However, he had political projects which changed his attitude to ambivalence versus the Ottomans. This shift is not to be understood as pure political opportunism, but it is justified within a religious-eschatological framework emerging out of a militant Orthodox-Christian trend in which Cantemir was brought up and in which he believed. I consider his political and religious sympathies projected onto his biographical background augmented by Cantemir's own treatises regarding the Ottoman world, the *Incrementa atque decrementa Aulae othomanicae*, *Monarchiarum physica examinatio* and *De muhammedana religione*.

Constructing Conformity: Pastoral Care and the Role of Images in the *Passional of Abbess Cunigund*

Christopher Montoni (United States)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: David Griffith (University of Birmingham)

This thesis considers the extensive program of mystical and devotional illuminations contained in the *Passional of Abbess Cunigund,* a fourteenth-century codex from the convent of St. George in Prague Castle, with regard to its function as part of the *cura monialium*, the pastoral care of nuns. Furthermore, the present study attempts to place the *Passional*'s images in their mystical and devotional context, and to consider how particular forms of Christocentric and Marian piety were used to guide the nuns simultaneously in their spiritual and communal obligations. In doing so, images are read in reference to the wider "visual culture" of St. George's convent, the interpretative environment created by various extant textual, performative, and visual sources from the time of Cunigund's abbacy.

After placing the *Passional* in its historical and devotional context, a clarification of the manuscript's mystical orientation is offered, based on the cycle of *De strenuo milite*, a parable written by Kolda of Koldic, Dominican spiritual advisor to the convent. Narrative elements in the parable and subsequent texts indicate that the theological basis of the *Passional*—and by extension the convent during this period—is to be found in the Christological *Brautmystik* of the Rhineland mystics.

Following the narrative divisions of the parable, the first section of the codex uses Christocentric devotional images focused on the passion narrative to structure individual practices of meditation and imitation. Through these exercises, the nuns were led through the expiation of sin, after which they could symbolically enact confession and communion. Thus this section is read as comprising the purgative stage of mystical ascent. Marian piety defines the second and third sections of the codex, where the focus shifts to communal exemplification. Changing images of the Virgin provided a fitting model both for communal obligations, and for identification to guide them through the transformation from secular individuals to spiritual and corporate brides of Christ. The transformation is read as marking the illuminative stage, after which images of procession lead the nuns in contemplation of their final mystical and institutional destination, the *clausus paradisus* of monastic segregation.

Consideration of function inevitably raises the question of oversight and the relationship between the abbess and her Dominican advisor. In addition to

Cunigund's royal secular status, the rich dedication page appears to have been intended to bolster the abbess's spiritual authority as well, thus leading to the conclusion that the codex was produced as part of a strategy of pastoral care guided primarily by the abbess rather than her advisor. It remains for future scholarship to explore more specifically the cross-currents of devotional themes, to determine whether the codex merely reflects larger spiritual trends, or stands in the forefront of image-based devotion in female convents in Central Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Discipulus quem diligebat: Stephen Maconi and his Efforts for the Canonisation of Saint Catherine of Siena

David Movrin (Slovenia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Daniel E. Bornstein (Texas A&M University)

Stephen Maconi (1350–1424), a disciple of Saint Catherine of Siena and later the prior general of the Urbanist faction of the Carthusian Order during the Great Western Schism, was one of the persons responsible for the canonisation of his Sienese spiritual mother. His role has been neglected in the literature so far; with the single exception of an article by Giovanni Leoncini a decade ago, Maconi has not received any serious scholarly attention.

The thesis builds upon the findings of previous research, reassessing and re-evaluating the data gathered. At the same time it builds on new primary material, such as the recently edited Carthusian *Urbanist Chartae* from the period of the Great Schism, as well as the still unpublished archival remnants from the Charterhouse in Žiče, the seat of the Urbanist faction and the centre of Maconi's activity, or the Ljubljana Ms 12, an early copy of Raymond of Capua's *Legenda maior* with Maconi's autograph glosses.

All this allows a further step in the interpretation of the relationship between Stephen Maconi and Saint Catherine. Maconi appears to be the crucial person among those responsible for her beatification, seemingly staying in the background yet at the same time co-ordinating the whole gamut of activities related to the promotion of her cult. What is more, his work here seems to be fascinatingly intertwined with his work for ecclesiastical unity, mirroring Catherine's own mission and reaching all the way to the pope. This topic calls for further research, for which the present thesis hopefully provides a solid basis.

The Conciliar Doctrine of Marsiglio of Padua: Political Resonances and Theological Connotations

Martin N. Ossikovski (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Piroska Nagy
External Readers: Sylvain Piron (Centre de Recherches Historiques, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris), Péter Molnár (ELTE, Budapest)

The approach towards the ecclesiastical doctrine of Marsiglio of Padua (1275/80–1342/3) as a "transposition" of his secular political theory has a certain tradition in Marsilian scholarship. The present study attempts to re-consider this parallelism with regard to one of the chief aspects of Marsiglio's ecclesiastical theory, the doctrine about the *generale concilium Christianorum*, the general council of the faithful Christians. The study's first chapter mainly outlines the starting problem by reviewing some basic interpretations of the Paduan's conciliar doctrine which consider it to be "derived" from a larger political context (Karl Hirsch, Alan Gewirth, Hermann Segall, Jeannine Quillet). The second chapter attempts to analyse the turning points of the conciliar doctrine from the point of view of Marsiglio's two most speculative texts, *Defensor pacis* (1324) and *Defensor [pacis] minor* (1342). The analysis focuses on the two central aspects of his conciliar idea: (i) the council's being directly assisted by the Holy Spirit, as had happened in Apostolic times, and (ii) its being a gathering, limited in terms of membership, of men proficient in matters of faith. On the basis of this analysis, the third chapter returns to the opening questions of the study. Several conclusions are reached: firstly, Marsiglio's doctrine about the general council was hardly elaborated by analogy with his secular political theory; secondly, the argumentation of the conciliar thesis was, above all, accomplished after a series of crucial Biblical references, in the interpretation of which much speculation was introduced. Towards the end of the work, and from this corrective point of view, a reconsideration of the "derivative" perspective of the reviewed interpretations is offered.

An Important Witness to the Old Slavonic Monastic Miscellanies – Krka 4 (1346)

Stefka Pileva (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Ralph Cleminson
External Reader: Cynthia M. Vakareliyska (Oregon University)

Codex Krka 4 (264/62) is a fourteenth-century Church Slavic manuscript, containing part of the text of the Scete Paterikon (chapters 2–18, omitting chapter 8), homilies and sermons of the Church Fathers and monastic *vitae*. A full codicological and textological study has not been provided yet. Scholars take the manuscript into consideration only when dealing with Slavonic Paterika in general and the Scete Paterikon in particular. This thesis provides a relatively complete description of the codex in terms of both its physical features and content. Unfortunately, the manuscript has probably been lost, and the description is based on photocopies.

Combining and interpreting the data provided by the physical description of the codex, its decoration, number of scribes, marginal notes, colophon and contents, the thesis brings forward several hypotheses concerning some of the circumstances in which the manuscript was compiled: 1. Krka 4 consists of originally two distinct parts (ff. 1r–224v and ff. 225r–279v) which later were bound together, but which, nevertheless, were produced in the same monastery by the same monk-scribes; 2. the principal scribe of the first part was Vissarion, who wrote the colophon at the end and who is responsible for the elaboration of the decorated initial letters in both parts; 3. the text of the Scete Paterikon is found only in the first part; 4. both the first and the second parts were produced in the same monastery, called according to the colophon the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel. The appearance of two scribes in both parts and the same style of decoration testify to the unity of the codex; 5. there must have been a scriptorium in the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel, where manuscripts were produced and where traces of educational activity are to be found as well. The Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel has not been identified yet, although the supposition about the rock monasteries near Ivanovo sounds reasonable. Therefore, some of the features suggested here can be used as a clue for further investigations in defining the precise location of the monastery.

Economic Privileges in Transylvania: The Sicklemakers' Guild from Heltau

Daniel-Cristian Roiban (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Katalin Szende and Balázs Nagy
External Reader: Ian Blanchard (University of Edinburgh)

Scholars dealing mainly with urban history have found it interesting to approach the history of handicrafts not only from the technological and economic viewpoint, but also from a more social perspective, such as solidarity among individuals, daily life, social care, gender, and so on. In the last decades, the history of handicrafts in Transylvania has gained a significant place within social and urban history. Works dealing with the history of the crafts have tended to become more specialised, and there is a strong interest in guild monographs. This tendency goes hand in hand with an increased interest in the small Saxon settlements.

Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century the Transylvanian market reached maturity. Due to the increased competition for markets, raw material, and fame, there was a need for special laws, namely, privileges meant to protect certain economic agents. The possibility that economic privileges may have caused in some manner the decline of a guild, although in an initial phase they had furthered the guild's development, is the main hypothesis of this thesis. The case study is based on the archival material of the sicklemakers' guild from Heltau (a small German settlement in Transylvania). This particular guild had general features that were common for all Transylvanian guilds and particular ones that gave its development a peculiar course. The thesis focuses on the privileges and their effect on the guild's evolution. A complex set of factors and circumstances that caused the guild's extinction are also analysed.

Late Medieval Moldavian Castles: Functions, Images, Perceptions

Sabina-Lacramioara Stanila (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Gerhard Jaritz
External Readers: David Austin (University of Wales, Lampeter), Adrian Rusu (Institute of History of Art and Archaeology, Romanian Academy of Science, Cluj-Napoca)

The present study is concerned with the multifunctionality, images and perceptions of late medieval Moldavian castles (from the second half of the fourteenth

to the first half of the sixteenth century). The sample chosen is made up of the following castles: Suceava, Şcheia, Cetatea Neamţului, Cetatea Albă, Hotin, Soroca, and Tighina. The first part of the study is a description and a deconstruction of the image of Moldavian castles as reflected in traditional historical discourse. It consists of individual descriptions of castles done by framing them in a rigid standard, that is, by using a framework consisting of the following parameters: location, builders and building stages, plan, type and functions. The purpose of these descriptions (although the information may seem at times broken down and disparate) is to uncover patterns. These patterns lead, in the second part, to identifying the images and perceptions of late medieval Moldavian castles, that is, to see their common features and to establish possible differences in terms of the parameters that constitute the headings of each description.

This study indicates that a castle-building programme seems to have been initiated, promoted, and carried out by Moldavian voievodes of one ruling house. This was part of the larger European framework wherein a dynasty concentrated on castle building as a means of consolidating both its internal and external power. What was peculiar to medieval Moldavia, and in this sense the Moldavian castles do not resemble their European counterparts, is the fact that all of them (although it is true that they are not many) belonged to the voievode. The idea of a systematic programme or policy was supported by the following arguments: a certain location, incorporating an elevation and water as natural components, and a commercial settlement as part of a trade route, seems to have been preferred by voievodes belonging to one dynasty. A certain castle type (regular square four-tower) was selected and employed rather consistently. There were stages in the programme (two salient ones and another two which were less important); during these stages new functions were added to castles: they started mainly as fortified habitations, then the habitation turned into a residence, then the residence was provided with comfort, richness, and decorations and became an image of the voievodes' power and prestige.

The *Slavonic Book of Enoch* and the *Secret Book of the Bogomils*: Possible Connections and Wider Heretical Resonances in a South Slavic Context

Milena Varzonovtseva (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Boriana Hristova (National Library of Bulgaria, Sofia)

This thesis deals with the widely assumed, but rarely investigated, connection between the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*, or *2 Enoch*, and the *Secret Book of the Bogomils* as major representatives of the main doctrinal points of the "great heretics"—the Bogomils. While inspecting the possible origins of such a steady concept, which puts into one coherent framework apocryphal writings and heretical knowledge, I turned to the earliest studies on *2 Enoch*. Three theories proved to be instrumental for my research: the theory of the possible influence of *2 Enoch* on the *Secret Book* (Sokolov), the theory of the participation of Bogomils in some of the redactions of *2 Enoch* as copyists, who inserted Bogomil elements into the text (Ivanov), and the theory of the Bogomil origin of the *Slavonic Enoch* (Maunder). My aim, considering these theories, became to investigate the possibilities *pro* and *contra* all these suggestions.

In my first chapter I presented the controversial textual history of *2 Enoch* with the aim of drawing a picture of the research that this text underwent: all the possible theories connected to its dating, place of writing, and provenance. Finally, I tried to present the theories which link it to the Bogomil movement in its existence in the First Bulgarian Kingdom. My second chapter was situated around the possible origins of Bogomilism, the presence of Bogomils in the context of the First Bulgarian Kingdom and the essence of their dualist beliefs (with concentration on their Monarchian implication). My third chapter aimed to inspect, on the basis of the texts of *2 Enoch* and the *Secret Book*, whether there are grounds for their linkage and, if so, how they could be connected.

On the basis of the comparative analysis some conclusions were drawn. The theory of Maunder does not appear to be tenable, because, even though *2 Enoch* shows some interesting points of relation with dualistic doctrines, it is non-dualistic, with a very strong Christian element built upon a Judaic fundament. Although my thesis suggests a possibility of Bogomil interference in the text of the long *2 Enoch,* such an interference could not serve as a strong argument proving a uniquely Bogomil character of *2 Enoch*—a text, which, according to the scholarship, underwent heavy interpolation and presents various beliefs from various sources: Jewish apocalyptic lore; a strong Christian element; even some Gnostic elements; finally, and indeed probably, dualistic

incrustations in places. Some of the latter could have been inserted by a Bogomil scribe, or perhaps the Bogomil scribe simply developed and added details to these older beliefs. Much more possible is the more modest suggestion that *2 Enoch* was popular in the Bogomil milieu and some details of its narrative along with other apocryphal motifs were utilised by the Bogomils in their *Secret Book*.

Sorrow in Twelfth-Century Literature: The Case of Chrétien de Troyes

Cătălina-Maria Veber (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Piroska Nagy, Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Ioan Pânzaru (University of Bucharest)

In the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, the episodes describing the sorrow caused by the loss of the beloved always seem to follow a pattern which shapes the emotional behaviour of those who experience it. This study aims to focus on the observation of the social component of sorrow as it appears in its literary representation in the romances. The analysis takes into account several instantiations of sorrow, and investigates both the gender and contextual distinctions. The male-female opposition in the romances is based on the different manner of social assessments of men and women. Women do not pursue the achievement of personal goals in the public community, but within the private realm of love and marriage. Female identity is defined by beauty and by their appurtenance to a man. In this context, the female sorrow caused by the loss of the beloved is described in terms of deprivation of *valor*, which is attained by beauty and marriage. Male identity is defined within the search for public renown in the world of men, which always appears in conflict with the attainment of a private goal involving commitment to a woman. Men experience sorrow when they have to act outside a social, that is, a public, context, or within a contradictory one. Male sorrow emerges between personal and social concerns, from the impossibility of coping with opposing values; it is described more in terms of inner torment while female sorrow is focused on the manifestation in the outer appearance. Male is spirit, female is body. At the level of the text, the sorrow experienced by the people in the textual community of the romances is shaped by several indispensable patterns of contrast: outward vs. inward, frenzy vs. madness, public vs. private, passive vs. active. The male-female opposition appears to be the principal opposition at work in the enactment of sorrow.

Nevertheless, the texts also allow us to observe the presence of the individual and the interference of male and female attitudes in the experience of sorrow.

The Origin of the *Unus de Trinitate* Controversy: Textual, Contextual and Metatextual Considerations

Dana-Iuliana Viezure (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Patrick Gray (York University)

From a Christological perspective, the first decades of the sixth century represent a period in which the decisions taken in the Council of Chalcedon (451) continued to be disputed and interpreted. Different attempts were made in this period to determine and expound the veritably Cyrillian character of the council. A group of Scythian monks came to Constantinople in 518 and claimed that the formula *Unus de Trinitate passus est carne* (Cyrillian, in its essence) should be added to the formula of faith adopted in Chalcedon in order to protect the orthodoxy of the council: the Christological controversy which resulted from their initiative should be situated within the aforementioned framework.

There are few explicit indications in the sources concerning the origin of the Scythian enterprise. Thus, any reconstruction of it will necessarily be based on the interpretation and contextualisation of the implicit references. The most common such reconstruction in recent scholarship is that the initiative of the Scythian monks originated in a Constantinopolitan Christological tradition. Yet this interpretation is founded on the rejection of some explicit indications included in the sources, according to which the controversy originated in a regional Scythian context.

Starting from the idea that the sources deserve the "presumption of innocence," and that, in restoring a historical context, one should not underrate the value of the ostensible *nugae*, this study reconstructs the regional context from different sources, going back in time until the late fourth century, and examines how apparent the context in question is in the sources dated to the early phase of the Scythian controversy.

PhD DEFENCES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2002–2003

Dissertation Summaries

Learned Magic and its Readers in Central Europe

Benedek Láng (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on May 13, 2003 consisted of: László Kontler (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, University of London); György E. Szőnyi (University of Szeged); the external reader was Richard Kieckhefer (Northwestern University).

My study had a double objective. Firstly I intended to provide a catalogue and an analysis of the texts of learned magic which have survived in Central Europe, and secondly I attempted to characterize the circle of those persons who can be related to these magical texts. These two objectives can be divided into two sets of questions:

1a. What texts of magical content (belonging to the fields of natural, image and ritual magic, as well as to those of alchemy and divination) can be found and identified in the manuscript collections of Central Europe?

1b. What are those further texts which have not survived, but which surely existed, since we can conclude their fifteenth-century existence from the extant source material?

1c. To what extent does this group of magical texts represent an "original" intellectual production of this region? In other words, were these texts written in this region by local authors, or were they simply imported from the West by local scribes?

2a. Who are those persons who were in one way or another responsible for the emergence of the magical sources, that is, who were their authors, scribes, owners, readers and users? How can we describe the circle of these persons?

Were they magicians, outsiders, marginal figures living on the periphery of society or ordinary monks, average courtiers, and everyday university people?

2b. What was the place of learned magic in their interest: primary or accidental? Why were these sources copied or written? What was the purpose of copying: actual use or mere reading? Did they intend to apply the divinatory procedures, magical formulae and ritual invocations? Or did they just want to learn about them, and did magic simply belong to a pure "academic interest" of the collectors?

2c. Finally, did these scribes, collectors, authors and practitioners form a coherent group, a company of friends? Did they copy the texts from each other's codices, did they discuss the content, did they put this content into practice together or were they isolated intellectuals with no visible connections?

Let us see systematically what the answers to these questions are, as offered by my research.

1a. I believe that my study has convincingly shown that Central European manuscript collections offer a smaller number but an equally rich variety of magical texts as Western European libraries. It was not just by chance that Polish, Czech, and Hungarian scribes and collectors included natural and image magic, alchemy and divination, as well as various types of ritual magic, in their codices. This is the region which preserved, *inter alia*, the following: one of the first extant versions of the *Liber vaccae*, a crucial source of natural magic which explains the generation of monsters; the first long version of the famous handbook of magic, the *Picatrix,* which is also the only illustrated copy; and two of the four extant copies of the *Liber runarum,* a short tract combining hermetic talismans with Scandinavian runes. In addition, this part of Europe gave birth to the following: a unique version of ritual magic, the prayer book of Wladislas, which incorporates crystallomancy; long paragraphs of the *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny; the *Bellifortis* of Conrad Kyeser, a work on military magic and engineering; the *Antipocras* of Nicolaus de Polonia, a theoretical work on the border of medicine and natural magic; and Nicolaus Melchior's alchemical Mass. These were four texts of "local authorship" which also inspired wide interest in Western scholarship.

1b. Some of the extant source materials contain clear indications of the fact that certain further magical works were in use and had been read in late medieval Central Europe. Precise textual borrowings in the *Bellifortis* attest that Conrad Kyeser, when writing and compiling his work, had in front of him a copy of the *Liber vaccae* and two texts attributed to Albert the Great, the *Experimenta*, and *De mirabilibus mundi*. We have every reason to infer that the latter two texts were also read with great attention by the doctor returning from Montpellier, Nicolaus de Polonia, who was obsessed with the application of

snake flesh for medical problems. The *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny, a copy of the *Ars notoria*, and some further magical and crystallomantic texts were without doubt on the table of the author of the prayer book of Wladislas, who copied long paragraphs from these sources into his handbook. In addition, two persons from Cracow, Nicolaus, a *tortor*, and Henry the Czech, an astrologist, were accused of possessing magical books and even though these books cannot be identified today we may infer that they belonged to the field of ritual magic. Finally, the author of the short book list of the Dresden manuscript (Dresd. N. 100 f. 173v) was well acquainted with the eleventh chapter of the famous *Speculum astronomiae*, where the author of the *Speculum* classified the hermetic, Solomonic and natural books; he must have also read the *Picatrix*, and he seems to have had firsthand information about at least some of the magical and necromantic books that he lists, such as the *Clavicula Salomonis,* the *Liber Semphoras,* the *Liber veneris*, the *Liber quattuor annulorum Salomonis*, the *Liber ad demoniacos,* the *Liber machometi de septem nominibus,* the *Liber institutionis Raziel,* the *Liber lunae,* the *Liber Almandel*, and so on. Even though these texts have left no traces in the extant book collections, we can plausibly suppose that they were accessible to a Cracow student at the end of the fifteenth century.

1c. It is perhaps naive but certainly reasonable to inquire about the originality of this wide range of magical texts. As a rule, we can see that while Central European scholars proved to be most fruitful and "original" in the fields of medicine and astronomy and their scientific outcome constitutes an important chapter of the history of science, their texts on natural and image magic as well as on divination were mere reproductions of well-known Western material. We have only a few, albeit striking, examples when a text is not a simple copy of an Italian, French or German codex, such as the four texts listed in point 1a. Interestingly, alchemy provided the most inspiring topic for the authors of this region as can be demonstrated through the Latin works by Johannes Ticinensis, the Czech *Rightful Way* of Johannes Laznioro, or the alchemical process in the form of a Christian Mass by Nicolaus Melchior. While we have less reason to speak about Central Europe's own group of *magician*-authors, the region certainly had a considerable number of practicing *alchemist*-authors.

2a. Identifying the persons who can be related to magic, we observe that none of them can be seen as a real outsider, that is, a marginal figure of the society. In Polish, Czech, and Hungarian territories we find only insiders related to manuscripts of magic: university professors; monastic figures; ecclesiastical and courtly officers; medical doctors and engineers—that is, intellectuals whose activity was not monopolized by the topic of magic. Even Nicolaus de Polonia, whose medical methods and obsession with snake flesh shocked and terrified

many, and caused no little scandal around Cracow, was a doctor trained in the best schools of his time and no one considered him an obscure magician.

Among the three categories in which readers of magic can be classified, monastic context yielded the least evidence for a reconstruction of magical activity or interest. The courtly context was much more fertile soil for a curiosity about learned magic, and this curiosity was not limited to telling the future. Courtly intellectuals were in the position of being able to read a wide range of magical materials, as is attested by Wladislas' prayer book, by Kyeser's military handbook, and by Henry the Czech, who was accused of practicing crystallomancy and of invoking spirits in order to find treasure hidden in the earth. The largest number of tracts, however, appear in the codices of the masters of the newly founded Central European universities, especially in the milieu of the chair of astrology in Cracow. The *Picatrix*, the *Liber runarum,* the *Liber vaccae* and a variety of other magical works may be found in the late medieval professorial libraries of Cracow and Prague. Compared to other medieval book collections, the masters' libraries enjoyed the best chances of survival, and are consequently the easiest to reconstruct. Modern national libraries (such as the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow and the National Library of Prague), which were the main "suppliers" of this study, were originally based on private and institutional medieval book collections related to the university.

2b. The fact that texts of magic were frequently owned by university people also explains the nature of their codicological context. Generally speaking, works on natural magic and on talismans became integral constituents of medical and astronomical manuscripts, reflecting the fact that they had an organic place in the scientific interest of the collectors. A close study of cases, such as that of Johannes Schindel, the owner of the Prague copy of the *Liber vaccae*, has shown that certain examples of natural magic—however weird they may seem to the modern reader—fitted perfectly among medical readings without being considered particularly magical or problematic.

As for image magic, a close analysis of the library and life of Johannes Virdung de Hassfurt has demonstrated that a clear awareness of the magical character of talismans did not discourage some *magistri* from including image magic in their books. We do not know whether he practiced the methods which he studiously copied on the blank folios between scientific tracts. The great number of these texts, however, along with his later interest in the magicians of Europe, indicates that he was an attentive reader of image magic, and that he thus turned to the talismans with deep intellectual interest.

In most cases, no definite answer can be given to the most interesting question as to whether the inclusion of magic in the codices indicates actual practices or simple curiosity. The texts of the *Picatrix*, Thabit's *De imaginibus* or

the *Liber vaccae* contain no indication about whether their scribes tried to follow the instructions and fabricated talismans or tried to give birth to artificial monsters. This taciturnity is not surprising: medieval folios usually do not start to speak and answer our questions concerning the intentions of their scribes. Fortunately, in a few cases of divination and ritual magic the sources are not so silent. The long list of successive manuscript pages representing geomantic charts in the BJ 793 (among other examples), the sophistication with which these charts are elaborated, the indications and cross-references in the margins, and the omission of theoretical introductions to the methods of divination not only point to a general, theoretical interest in divinatory methods, but indicate their concrete application. Therefore, I am convinced that at least some sections of the BJ 793 were copied with the definite purpose of fortune telling.

More interestingly perhaps, the actual use of ritual magic, crystallomancy, and the invocation of angels were also revealed. On the one hand, we have external evidence proving that Henry the Czech not only read in his handbooks how to practice crystallomancy and how to invoke demons, but also tried these methods in practice. On the other hand, internal evidence left in the magical texts may also show actual application. While in the excerpts of the *Ars notoria* of the BJ 551, the operator is designated by the letter 'N' in a general way, implying that the actual user has to substitute his name wherever he reads 'N', in the royal prayer book of Wladislas, 'N' is always replaced with the name Wladislas. The source which the prayer book follows here is the *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny, which gives precise instructions according to which each person who wishes to operate with its prayers is to copy his own volume by his own hand, substituting his name for that of John, and finally he is to consecrate the book. Now, the substitution of the name Wladislas in the prayer book implies that the text which has come to us was made for real use, it was consecrated, and its crystallomantic formula and angelic prayers were probably indeed applied by a certain Wladislas. It is not likely, of course, that a king copied the text with his own hand in order to render the prayers effective, but this is not a problem, because John allows that somebody else may copy the book as long as it is under the name of the prospective user. To sum up, we are faced here with an exciting case, when a text informs us about the fact that the book containing it was consecrated and used.

2c. The last issue to be addressed is whether any cooperation, correspondence or intellectual contact of magicians is detectable. If so, it remains to speculate whether we can claim that any of the intellectual centers (courts, cloisters or universities) of the region were particularly magical in nature.

A popular and widely read book of the late sixteenth century, the *Locorum communium collectanea* by Johannes Manlius, stated that Johannes Faust studied

magic in Cracow, where this science was publicly instructed. We know today that this statement is not very informative about what actually happened: Faustus' name was in fact Georgius, and although he was truly interested in magic, nothing supports the idea that he ever turned up in Cracow. The reason for not going there may have been not only that magic was not studied publicly in Cracow in the late fifteenth century, but also that the city did not yet have the same magical fame as it achieved a hundred years later. The pieces of evidence collected during my research do not support Manlius' opinion that Cracow was a particularly magical milieu at that time.

Still, if not the functioning of a public chair of learned magic in the heart of Cracow University, then the presence of some important cooperation related to magic can be pointed out. It can be reconstructed in detail that in the early fifteenth century Henry the Czech worked together with other university people, a certain Stanislas, the Italian professor Monaldus de Luca, and the Polish Nicolaus Hinczonis de Casimiria, on his crystallomantic treasure-finding projects in the royal gardens of Kazimierz. Sixty years later, two students at Cracow University, Johannes Virdung de Hassfurt and Egidius de Corinthia, simultaneously prepared surprisingly analogous collections of astrological texts together with a representative selection of image magic and hermetism. One can easily imagine how they got involved in the discussion of the content of the *Liber runarum* or of the hermetic *Liber de stellis beibeniis*. In addition, Egidius' list of magical titles also testifies to a certain theoretical interest of the scribe in how to classify magical texts, a problem that may also have easily been a topic discussed with other students at Cracow University. We know, furthermore, that Virdung, upon returning to Germany, started a consistent program of becoming acquainted with all of his contemporaries who were interested in magic on a technical or on a spiritual level. Thus, he was in contact with Abbot Trithemius, the English necromancer Nicolaus de Pulchro Monte (Schonberg) and the humanist Konrad Celtis (also a former student in Cracow); in all probability, he also met Johannes Mercurius and Georgius Faustus.

One of the reasons why Central Europe may have seemed an adequate place for a student satisfying his interest in magic, and why especially the University of Cracow could have been an institute where magical texts were frequently copied, could have been the relative lack of condemnations of magical activity in the region. I am not suggesting that Central Europe provided students and courtiers with a particularly magical milieu (compared with the West); however, it is undeniable that it was a relatively calmer place with regard to criminalization. There were not such severe condemnations on the part of the university or other authorities as one can observe in contemporary Paris.

A second—rather global—reason for the emergence of magical texts in the fifteenth century might have been a general European tendency, namely that from the twelfth century onwards certain forms of magic had more and more chance to cross the border of legitimate science. It seems that the notions of both science and magic were (and are) historically changing, dynamic constructions. What counts as scientific knowledge teachable at universities and what is excluded as dangerous and harmful error, what is seen as rational enterprise and what is considered irrational are not ahistoric givens. While arguments against certain practices and ideas related to magic reflect a growing severity, more and more frequently other forms of magic in other sources were labeled as scientific. This tendency—called the "positivization of magic" by Claire Fanger—can be well exemplified by such classifications as that of Conrad Kyeser or the author of the Dresden book list, where alchemy, theurgy and certain forms of natural and image magic appear as respectable elements of science. The authors of such categorizations did not have to be afraid of the consequences of arguing for the benefits of certain branches of magic. This relative tolerance is probably closely related to the fact that the authors, scribes, and collectors of learned magic did not want to preserve their anonymity, but can be identified as members of respectable social strata.

In the Western European context the social stratum of the readers and the authors of magical texts is described in terms of an "intellectual proletariat" (R. R. Bolgar, William Eamon) or a "clerical underworld" (Richard Kieckhefer), implying a "group composed of university-educated laymen who had failed to find useful or permanent employment." It seems that the readers of magic in Central Europe were neither full-time, semi-literate nor self-made magicians nor anonymous university members whose number "outran the demand" and who remained without a job. As the sporadic traces let us reconstruct the picture, the late medieval collectors and readers of magical manuscripts in the region benefited from the tolerant milieu of the Central European universities and courts and belonged to a higher and more respected intellectual stratum than that to which the expression "underworld of learning" refers.

A Cult with Images. Christian Attitudes towards Sacred Art from Constantine to Justinian

István Bugár (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defense on May 26, 2003 consisted of: Averil Cameron (Keble College, Oxford University), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; László Török (Hungarian Academy of

Sciences, Budapest); Mar Aprem Mooken (Metropolitan of the Syrian Chaldean Church in India); the external reader was Andrew Louth (University of Durham).

The question of when Christians started to develop religious art first arose during the Iconoclastic Controversy in the Byzantine Empire. The iconoclasts pleaded that the entire cult of icons was a recent development and that even at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681), no one among the Fathers had even conceived the idea of using images in Christian worship. The iconodules, on the other side, referred to an ancient practice stemming from the apostles' time. In the East the issue was settled with the final triumph of the iconodules in 843. In the West, the doubts of the Franks expressed in the Councils of Frankfurt (794) and Paris (824) vanished soon thereafter. The problem was revived during the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and thus inherited by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship.

This simple question, however, appears to be quite complex when we try to answer it and look for evidence. First, we have to clarify what we mean by "sacred art" and "attitudes" in a Christian context. Second, there is a geographical complication of the question: one can assume that the development of religious art exhibited significant differences in different regions of the Christian oecumene. Third, we have to face different problems of sources.

We can approach the first question, that is, what makes art sacred, in different ways. There are spatial, functional and thematic aspects of the phenomenon. As to the first, the presence of art in the cultic space (sacred shrines, churches, and the altars within churches) is already a mark of its sacred nature, although to a different degree. However, it is not the ecclesiastically controlled art alone that can properly be called sacred, since images from the very beginning until today have played a crucial role in private devotion and appeared in public space, thus becoming part of everyday life.

Function is obviously essential in defining art as sacred. In this respect I would distinguish two main headings under which different roles can be enumerated that religious art was meant to play. First, art perceived as didactic is analogous to verbal communication. This may well be the first form of Christian art as we know it in the pre-Constantinian period, where the art-objects surviving often served as mere image-signs. The question that arises concerning didactic art is what it teaches. It may *recall* Biblical events or general religious truths expressed in them (mnemonic function), or indeed teach things unknown (as in the case of pictures retelling the story of the martyrs at their shrines). I shall call the second group of functions "mediative." The mediation can work in two main directions: "upwards" (from the believer to the subject of cult) and

"downwards." In the first direction images transmit prayers or gestures of veneration by forwarding these religious acts performed in front of them or by being votive offerings themselves. In the second direction they mediate grace and salvation by evoking the person depicted or thus by turning away evil (an apotropaic function) or by evoking the appropriate religious disposition in the beholder (compunction).

Certainly when defining sacred art one cannot disregard the subject. The person depicted, or hinted at, must belong to the central content of faith, such as the Trinity, angels, Biblical saints, martyrs and holy men. They can be depicted either in action, which brings the art closer to the didactic function, or simply portrayed, which is more appropriate to the mediating function.

In this thesis I have examined evidence concerning all these aspects of sacred art in the period between Constantine and Justinian, and point out that a Christian art that can be called sacred in all respects evolved during this period. Although I had to consider art historical evidence over and again, I have concentrated more on what people thought (that is to say, wrote) about religious art: where they saw its function, how they applied it, or, in short, what their attitude was towards it. As soon as people go beyond occasional remarks and start to make consistent statements about the proper function, place, and subject of religious images, we can speak of a theology of images. The period under investigation is not the phase of Christian art when we can properly speak of such a theological development. Nonetheless, I have considered the theological implications of the intermittent comments by Christian writers of the period, and in the concluding chapter I have made some observations concerning the first developments of a theology of images, which is tightly bound up with the first buds of a wider controversy concerning their legitimacy in the sixth century. As the role of images grew, so did the resistance against it, and thus the theological discourse concerning them became ever more subtle, culminating in the iconophile and iconoclastic theologies of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Looking at the sources, generally speaking, we must admit that we have too few at our disposal. As to the question of literary sources, on the one hand, it seems that ecclesiastical art was rarely a subject to be commented on in the given period. On the other, when it became a consideration during the Iconoclastic Controversy, people destroyed and faked evidence, and almost all that we have—often fragmentary—was transmitted through this filter. Thus we first have to face the philological problem of authenticity and dating of the sources.

We are better off with art sources, although their distribution is uneven. As regards church decoration, which would be the most informative for us, barely

anything survives intact from before 400, and in the East little even from several centuries after this. In the latter case, again, Iconoclasm (along with the later Muslim invasion) is largely responsible for depriving us of evidence, but many of the early Western sites were also destroyed by barbarian invasions. Thus the early evidence is concentrated in sepulchral art (catacomb paintings and sarcophagi) and small-scale objects often belonging to the sepulchral sphere: gold, glass, ampullae, lamps, and so on. Several attempts have been to reconstruct large-scale church decoration on the basis of the latter. Some early book illustrations also survive, but most of them are later than the period we are interested in, and one often has to rely on the "virtual evidence" of reconstructed prototypes.

The revival of the debate about images during the Reformation resulted in some philological attempts to clarify the sources, and the Counter-Reformation promoted Christian archaeology. By the beginning of the twentieth century both philological and archaeological work had reached an apex in the oeuvre of Wilpert, on the one hand, and in the work of German philologists like H. Koch and K. Holl on the other. The latter agreed that there was no Christian sacred art before Constantine and not even much later. The most comprehensive and balanced achievement of this German tradition was that of W. Elliger, collecting in a separate volume the literary evidence and attempting to match the written sources with the art historical development in a second volume.

In the middle of the twentieth century a more balanced view was presented, for example, by the theologian A. Bevan and the art historian A. Grabar. Grabar, with other scholars, including András Alföldi, emphasised the decisive role that imperial art and cult played in the birth of Christian sacred art. At about the same time, the discovery of a fragment on the veneration of images by the early sixth-century bishop Hypatius of Ephesus and the murals in the synagogue and the Christian chapel at Dura Europus radically changed the range of evidence. It was commonly held before that that there was no theology of images (much) before the iconoclastic controversy and no ecclesiastical art before Constantine, and that Judaism, whence Christianity sprang, was essentially an an-iconic religion. A more recent discovery from the centre of late Roman Palestinian Jewry is even more revealing, although it has remained practically unnoticed.

Grabar emphasised the importance of Justinian's age in the formation of the cult of images, while E. Kitzinger, in a widely known article, suggested that in fact there is little if any evidence for such a cult before Justinian. A less cautious reading of his article is the basis of the views on the problem presented in a recent influential book by H. Belting. The same general dating is accepted by the author of a recent collection of sources, H. G. Thümmel. Thümmel, and

some twenty years earlier R. Grigg, argue for an an-iconic Christian Church under Constantine. This was compounded with Kitzinger's mistakes by M. Ch. Murray. She had an unfavourable reception in the scholarly literature and has only recently been more vindicated by P. C. Finney. Finally Th. Matthews and J. Elsner have presented a more comprehensive picture of Christian religious art in the context of contemporary Roman practice.

Thus, the most controversial period remains the time from Constantine to Justinian, and this is why I have chosen this epoch. My first aim was to present a comprehensive corpus of written sources by introducing new passages, by examining the authenticity of known texts, and by reinterpreting some. Indeed the number of testimonies I have used exceeds twice those of H. G. Thümmel. The reason is partly that he ignored the Western evidence, claiming that the cult of images was an Eastern phenomenon, and partly that he was less attentive to Oriental sources. Elliger's book remains the best for the Latin Christian authors. As for the Byzantine sources, I have found C. Mango's collection very helpful. In the case of the by far most important—supposedly—pre-Justinian source, the fragments of Epiphanius of Salamis, I discuss the questions of authenticity extensively in chapter 3. My conclusions are that the most important pieces, the *Treatise Against Images* and the iconoclastic passage in the *Letter to Theodosius*, together with the sole "fragment" of a *Dogmatic Letter* are iconoclastic forgeries. The fragments of the *Testamentum Epiphanii* are at least dubious and may well come from Origenist-inclined monastic circles of the late fourth century. In the appendix I have prepared a complete edition of the fragments of the *Letter to Theodosius*, reconstructing both the authentic part and the later insertion. Other dubious sources are discussed in passing.

From the Constantinian period pilgrimages became an increasing new form of religious devotion. Pilgrim sites were also the place where Christian sacred art grew the most perceptibly, as Kitzinger remarks for the post-Justinian period. Thus it seemed reasonable to discuss the appearance of sacred art in this context. This is the subject of chapter 1. By collating the evidence from martyria and the Holy Land, I have pointed out that all the different aspects of the later cult had appeared by the Theodosian period. I have drawn attention to the Holy Land as a source of authentic images and also re-examined the evidence for the early history of the famous portrait of Christ at Edessa. Sources present us a fairly unitary picture in different parts of the Christian oecumene. The importance of sculpted images before 400 and their later disappearance is also remarkable.

The rest of my dissertation is concerned with the first reflections on the use of images in the Church. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the role of images in two theological controversies of the fourth century: the Arian and Origenist

debates. It appears that it was partly these controversies that first raised arguments *pro* and *contra* Christian religious art. I have suggested that some evidence (both textual and art historical) connected to Roman Pannonia corroborates the hypothesis that resistance against Christian depictive art was stronger in Arian circles. I have also pointed out that the Origenist views of eschatology and the Evagrian idea of non-iconic prayer also promoted a long-lasting hostility towards religious art in intellectualist circles starting from Eusebius and the Origenist controversy around 400.

In chapter 4 I present new evidence for the practice of venerating images and the first attempt at its justification. Since the key text, a passage from the anonymous *Consultationes Zacchaei cum Apollonio philosopho* strongly suggests the context of imperial images, I have reconsidered the role of the imperial cult in the spread of the habit of venerating images in Christianity. I point out that the first records of images in martyria, the most important locale of Christian sacred images in the early period, reveal obvious borrowings from imperial imagery.

Finally, in chapter 5 I analyse some of the *topoi* in favour of or against Christian art that are to be found in the writings of the period. It appears that often the very same Christian writer was ready to borrow arguments from the pagan stock both for praising and criticising art. I have examined the first attempts that aim at justifying the authenticity of images by ancient origin or miraculous events, dreams and visions.

As a result, a picture emerges that shows the Constantinian-Theodosian epoch as a key period in the development of both Christian sacred art and the main practical and theoretical attitudes towards it. Thus, the Justinian period brings a change that is rather quantitative than qualitative in this respect.

Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)

Anca Gogâltan (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on December 19, 2002 consisted of István György Tóth (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; András Kovács (University Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj); Zsuzsa Urbach (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba); Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was Wolfgang Schmid (Universität Trier).

On 28 March 1424, the chancery of Pope Martin V registered the *supplicatio* of a certain Nicholas Aba, *militis, fundatoris capellae Sanguinis Christi.* According to the document, this building was raised on the border of the territory conquered by the Turks, at a place called Malenkrach, in the diocese of Transylvania. Nicholas Aba requested the granting of indulgences from the pope for those who visited his chapel during its dedication feast and on the feast of Corpus Christi. In spite of its brevity, the indulgence request contains several pieces of valuable information. The document directs our attention to a specific place in Transylvania, Malenkrach, where it is said that sometime before 1424, a 'chapel' was built.

Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék) is a small Saxon village situated in a picturesque hilly area between Sighişoara and Mediaş, near the Târnava Mare River. During the Middle Ages and later, until the eighteenth century, this village was part of a larger estate belonging to a Hungarian family of nobles called Apafi. The oldest form of the family name was Apa, used during the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Therefore it is more than probable that the founder Nicholas Aba, mentioned in the supplication of 1424, referred in fact to Nicholas Apa, an important member of this family.

Situated on a hill in the western part of the settlement, the medieval church dominates the entire village of Mălâncrav. Surrounded by a fortified wall, the building is a basilica with one nave and two side aisles. Its two-bay-long choir, ending in a polygon, is the only structure supported by buttresses. On the northern wall of the choir a sacristy and a spiral staircase tower are placed in the angle between the eastern wall of the sacristy and the northern wall of the apse.

From an architectural point of view this church is but one example of a series of Saxon basilicas situated in the region of the Târnava Mare River. Their common feature is a central western tower incorporated into the body of the building. During the Middle Ages, the main access to the church was through the western tower. The nave is divided from the side aisles by three pairs of rectangular pillars that support a row of pointed arches. On the western side of the nave is a wooden gallery where the organ is located. The whole northern wall of the nave is covered by frescoes.

The sanctuary is lit by high, two-partite pointed windows decorated with traceries. There is an additional circular window in the middle of the southern wall of the western bay in the sanctuary. Three of these windows are ornamented with simple quatrefoil and fivefoil patterns whereas the eastern one has a more complex quatrefoil. The sanctuary is covered by cross-ribbed vaults which contain two keystones. The western one is decorated with a mask surrounded by grapeleaves. The eastern keystone shows a helmet with a crest ornament of a grapeleaf with grape bunches on each side. The margin of the

keystone has an inscription which includes the name of the patron family Apafi + AN o AVTV o APPA o. The ribs situated at the meeting point between the two bays, have niches for statues. Above them, one may see Gothic stone baldachins that are triangular in cross-section. The whole sanctuary including the vaults together with the ribs, is covered with medieval frescoes.

The architectural history of the church is little known. As is the case with the great majority of medieval monuments in Transylvania, there is no direct written data referring to the period when the building was constructed and how it developed in earlier times. The first indirect indication concerning the existence of churches in Mălâncrav, Criş, Stejărenii and Nou Săsesc, (all properties belonging to the Apafi family at that time), dates from 1309. The second piece of information comes from 1320, but is quite laconic as it refers only to a certain *ecclesia de Albkarak*. What that earlier structure actually looked like and how it may be related to the existing medieval church cannot be known without archaeological research.

The present form of the church is the result of restoration work from 1913 to 1916. The positive aspect of this restoration is that, as much as the situation permitted, the original elements were preserved or replaced with copies of the originals. The negative side is that, in order to obtain a 'harmonic' Gothic monument, the side aisles were entirely rebuilt and thus the construction phases are not clearly visible.

Dating the architecture and the phases of construction presents difficult problems. Besides the modifications caused by the restoration work, another obstacle is imposed by the simplicity of the architectural details. The most important impediment, however, is the absence of archaeological data. The architectural details indicate that the construction began with the nave, side aisles, and tower and then continued with the Gothic sanctuary some time in the second half of the fourteenth century. The newly raised sanctuary was painted with frescoes at the end of the fourteenth century or around 1400.

The fresco cycle decorating the sanctuary is quite significant among the Transylvanian corpus of medieval mural paintings, since the decorative program is almost entirely preserved. The iconographic program contains narrative scenes (depicting the childhood of Christ, his passion and resurrection), devotional images (such as the Man of Sorrows) and a large number of representations of saints. Four significant moments in the story of Christ's infancy are depicted on the vaults: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple. The narrative continues with the Passion of Christ, represented in several scenes appearing on the northern wall: the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Arrest, the trial in front of Annas and Caiaphas, the Crowning with Thorns, the Flagellation, the Carrying of the

Cross, Judas's repentance and death, and the Crucifixion. The frescoes of the third register on the northern wall were not preserved. The story sequence continues with the Resurrection (appearing in the second bay), a representation of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, *Noli me tangere* and the Ascension of Christ. A few of the images are dedicated to the Virgin Mary (on the southern wall and the eastern side of the triumphal arch): the Holy Kinship, the Coronation and the Virgin of the Mantle.

Besides these representations, there are a large number of iconic images of saints: ten representations of female saints with their attributes appear on the vaults and near them depictions of the four Church Fathers shown together and the symbols of the Evangelists. Nine male and nine female saints are painted in the space between the windows and in the window splays. The southern wall concentrates on a number of individual saints such as Saint George, Saint Michael, Saint Lawrence, Saint Francis, the Holy Kings of Hungary, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Christopher, and so on.

The lower register of the sanctuary was decorated with a row of illusionistic architectural structures with niches in which several bust characters appear. Only traces of these paintings may be seen of this register on the northern and southern walls. The frescoes on the northeastern, eastern, south-eastern and southern walls were entirely preserved in their original state. Under the illusionistic architecture, the walls were painted in alternating planes of colour that may still be observed on the southern wall.

The sanctuary frescoes were painted in the International Gothic style before the date of 1405 mentioned by the graffito on the southeastern wall in the sanctuary. The origin or the artistic background of the master who created these paintings is difficult to establish. Generally, the opinions of scholars oscillate between two main provenances: Tyrol and Bohemia. However, Styrian art, especially the frescoes appearing in the Minorite church in Bruck an der Mur (Austria, end of the fourteenth century) seems to provide a closer analogy to the frescoes in the sanctuary in Mălâncrav than the Bohemian or the Slovakian art of the time.

The decorative program of the sanctuary of the church in Mălâncrav offers the impression of a disrupted narrative. From a visual and spatial point of view, the main focus of this iconographic program is on two representations of the *Vir Dolorum*, the visual manifestation of the cult of the Holy Blood and Body of Christ. Both images are very much highlighted. One appears in a prominent place on the eastern axis of the sanctuary, in the centre of a very interesting composition; the other image sits above the tabernacle and symbolically illustrates its function. The narrative cycles appearing on the northern and northeastern walls of the sanctuary surround and also enhance in a meaningful

way the importance of the image of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* and of the whole composition formed by the tabernacle and the Crucifixion relief above it. The recurrent representation of the *Vir Dolorum* in the iconographic program of the sanctuary in Mălâncrav is not fortuitous. It carries what is probably the most important message in the frescoes and it recalls the indulgence request of Nicholas Apa from 1424 about the veneration of the Holy Blood in Mălâncrav.

There are a number of indications that support the hypothesis that the Holy Blood chapel of Mălâncrav was identical to the sanctuary of the local church. The most important argument is offered by the emphasis laid on the representations of *Vir Dolorum* or Man of Sorrows, the primary visual manifestation of Christ of the Eucharist in late medieval art. The presence of pilgrims' graffiti near the *Vir Dolorum* in the eastern axis of the sanctuary also has a major relevance to the argument claiming the identification of the sanctuary of the church with the Holy Blood chapel mentioned in the document from 1424.

Beside their elegant style, which shows the donor's wish to follow current fashions, the wall-paintings in the sanctuary include a variety of themes and motif. Many of them were promoted by nobles gravitating to the royal court in Buda and by the royal family itself. One such example is the preference shown for knightly saints such as George and Michael, who appear in a prominent place on the murals in the sanctuary. The presence of the 'Holy Kings of Hungary,' signifying the connections of the family with the royal court, reflects the donor's influence on the decorative program.

The formal analysis of the frescoes in the sanctuary suggested that they were primarily designed to function as a round system of meanings, enclosed by the architectural structure of the sanctuary, and directed to a viewer situated inside this space. Moreover, the interpretation of the themes depicted indicated the importance ascribed by the patron to his artistic donation. The choice of a specific style of painting as well as the influence of the ideological messages contained in the program may thus be suggested. This opens up the question of whether the donor (and his family) were physically present within the space of the sanctuary during religious services. Their presence would explain the fact that important images such as the Virgin of the Protective Mantle can only be seen from this location.

The interest in embellishing the family church in Mălâncrav did not cease with the death of Nicholas Apafi. The late medieval winged altarpiece (dated to the second half of the fifteenth century), still preserved in the church, is also a family donation, as indicated by the Apafi coat of arms painted on the left side of the predella. The altarpiece is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but it also contains a representation of Christ as Man of Sorrows

A detail of major importance for the study of the patronage in the church in Mălâncrav is the fact that the donors are represented on both lower corners of the central panel as a man and a woman kneeling in adoration. The presence of the patron saints is very important for the dating as well as for the identification of the two donors. In this case, the presence of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint behind the young, indicates that the male donor is in fact Michael Apafi, Nicholas's grandson. The identification of the female donor is suggested by her saintly patroness, Claire of Assisi. Consequently, the woman donor must be Claire Apafi, Michael Apafi's wife

Theoretically, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Mălâncrav, three generations of donors may be inferred to have initiated and financially supported the building of the church and the sequence of decorative programs (the cycle in the nave, the sanctuary cycle and the winged altarpiece). Historical information, however, only permits the identification of two members of the family who were benefactors of the church: Nicholas and Michael Apafi. These two figures constituted two generations of donors (one from the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, the other one from the second half of the fifteenth century). In themselves they represent interesting case studies through the similarities as well as the differences implied by the form their donations took.

The differences between the two donations reflect (besides changes in the medium: wall paintings versus panel paintings) general changes in religious practice and liturgy over two generations in this part of Transylvania. Both donations evidenc the continuity of certain iconographic themes (or specific choice of saints) implying the persistence of a family consciousness from one generation to another. Therefore, it may be said that at the moment when they were created, both donations expressed the spiritual and cultural fashions of their time. Their form and style were influenced by the donor who initiated them and both represent local examples of the larger phenomenon of late medieval patronage in Europe. In the area of Central Europe this subject requires further research in order to discover the variety of local manifestations as well as to establish more general patterns in the patronage of works of art in late Medieval Transylvania.

Eremitism in Central Europe Between East and West (Eleventh Century)

Marina Miladinov (Croatia)

The examination committee at the public defence on May 20, 2003 consisted of: Katalin Péter (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Kaspar Elm (Freie Universität Berlin); József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), László Veszprémy (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was Sofia Boesch-Gajano (University Roma Tre).

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the sources and manifestations of eremitism in Central Europe around the year 1000 and over the course of the eleventh century, as well as to make a first step towards a monograph that would view this phenomenon in a broader context, complementing and surpassing the articles that have hitherto been written on individual local occurrences of hermits. The phenomenon proved to be very heterogeneous, so it was crucial from the outset to redefine the term so that it could be applied to the time and space in question. The personalities practising a way of life that was recognised as eremitic by both themselves and their social environment covered a broad range of origins, statuses, and eremitic principles. Salvation and spiritual perfection, which were the final goal of all these individuals, were correspondingly pursued in versatile ways.

The reasons for the strong presence of hermits in the formation of spirituality in newly Christianised regions of Central Europe were an important focus. The border areas between old and new Christianity represented virgin soil for the transplantation of religious ideas from the areas with a centuries-long Christian tradition. Thus, one witnesses a highly interesting situation: a complex religious ideal such as eremitism was perfectly able to flourish in regions where a considerable proportion of the population still adhered to pagan practices and, moreover, it soon produced new autochtonous forms. The frontier character of East Central Europe evidently inspired and stimulated spirituality that had originated in the desert and similar uninhabited or hostile regions. In such ferocious environments, asceticism could recover its semblance of martyrdom characteristic of early Christianity; moreover, it frequently ended in martyrdom.

Nevertheless, we must be cautious in proclaiming the existence of independent Central European eremitism. It must be kept in mind that for this early period it is indivisible from the developments in neighbouring countries, particularly Germany, which was far more thoroughly permeated by Christian spirituality and was politically dominant in the region. The artificial separation of

the young states (Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia) from the German Empire seen in scholarly literature has been largely the result of the modern political constellation. It is even more important than the language barrier, which is commonly made responsible for the lack of communication between scholars and the consequent appearance of missing links in history itself. The present-day process of reconnection between the Eastern and Western Europe is bound to open entirely new views on historical processes. For the border regions at the turn of the first millennium, the development of Christian spirituality holds a prominent place among these processes, since it largely determined the worldview of the social forces that created history.

Notwithstanding the variability of the eremitic phenomenon, it was primarily those hermits who achieved fame that have reached us through the sources down to the present day. Most of the individuals that have been included in this dissertation acquired the status of saints and their cults flourished locally or within a broader geographical territory, sometimes even outside the region (though only to limited extents). This cult was not always official or only became so after centuries of unofficial veneration. However, their *fama sanctitatis* was sufficiently strong and persistent to find its way through the turmoil and vicissitudes of various periods, including the Reformation.

The dissertation is structured in three parts. The first part establishes a setting for the investigation of individual cases by discussing general issues such as the historical background and the relationship of eremitism to other strata of tenth- and eleventh-century society. The connection to monasticism, with which eremitism has been linked most closely throughout the history of Christian spirituality in terms of a dichotomy from cenobitism, kept the foremost importance. However, precisely for the period in question, the importance of clerical and royal orders for the development of particular eremitisms should not be underestimated. Various paths of irradiation of the eremitic concept from the regions with centuries-long Christian traditions (Germany and Italy, Byzantium and Eastern Europe) were investigated. The first section ends with the analysis of two cases of German eremitism, Bruno of Querfurt and Günther of Niederaltaich. They were chosen because they illustrate two entirely different directions that eremitism could take in this period (mission and martyrdom versus land cultivation) and also because both hermits were intricately connected with the Slavic world and with Hungary.

The second part of the dissertation is dedicated to an analysis of six case studies covering individual hermits, eremitic groups and communities. The great divergences that can be observed among them are not due primarily to their geographic distribution, but rather to the variety of the sources of their spirituality. The analysis was carried out on several levels, concentrating in turn

upon the ascetic ideal reflected in the eremitic practice, the organisational forms adopted, and the peculiarities of each case. The source material consisted primarily of hagiographic accounts. In some cases, however, such as the supposed *laurae* of Tihany and Visegrád (chapter 2.5) or the case of the "spurious hermits," Martin of Podsused and Ivan of Bohemia (chapter 2.6), the evidence was exclusively archaeological and moreover scarce, only circumstantially supported by literary sources, so that the argumentation necessarily remains rather speculative. By combining sources of various types (archaeological and written, that is, not hagiography, but rather scattered indications that helped in the construction of a hypothesis), analogies were established with other eremitic individuals and groups whose way of life was better documented. Despite the lack of direct evidence, the investigation of such cases rendered valuable information about the presence of eremitism in specific regions at a particular historical moment, both in the sense of actual engagement in eremitic practices and as an ideal that was considered holy and desirable and was therefore supported and encouraged by the ruler and the ecclesiastical establishment.

This dissertation also represents an attempt to shatter certain petrified convictions about individual hermits that have been taken over from one hagiographer or scholar by another literally for centuries, modern scholarship included. This was the reason for integrating a third section into the dissertation, that is, one in which the birth of such convictions was traced back to early modern hagiography and historiography. Because of limitations in space and time, this open-ended epilogue had to be restricted to the Middle Ages and later periods entered the discussion only when this proved particularly important (for example, when such information is all we possess about certain hermits). However, the research for this part of the dissertation demonstrated the usefulness of viewing hermits and their cults through the eyes of later periods, which were guided and constrained by their own aims and worldviews.

Two appendices have been added for the same purpose. The first is dedicated to the question of the anachronistic "adoption" of several hermits into eremitic orders during the period when the first great histories of orders flourished. The second appendix, covering the veneration of Ivan of Bohemia in Croatia (seventeenth century) is important because this issue had not previously been researched systematically.

The investigation of Central European eremitism of the eleventh century has yielded valuable results. Its most evident peculiarity, at least to the extent that it can be deduced from the sources, is the complete absence of a rebellious or reforming eremitism with respect to the ecclesiastical establishment, such as could be witnessed in the spiritually more developed regions of the West in

France or Italy. The co-operation of the two estates of religious life (the monastic and the clerical) is particularly evident at the very beginnings of Christianity in Central Europe, since many of the individuals who practised a solitary ascetic life in that period were precisely those who also participated in the establishment of the first ecclesiastical and monastic network of the young states. Moreover, from the tenth century onwards, it can be observed that the Benedictine scheme of cenobitic training followed by a plea to the abbot for permission to retreat into solitude was observed much more rarely than before. A search for an ascetic identity sometimes followed a diametrically opposite path and this phenomenon was directly related to the fact that hermits no longer came primarily from monastic circles. Clerics and laymen who felt a vocation for solitary life often chose to take the direct path and avoid the preparatory period, thus taking the fate of their religious progress into their own hands. The duration of their eremitic existence was correspondingly variable: not only could it last for any period of time, but a person could also walk in and out of eremitic status, or even reclusion, at will. Individuals were equally free to join together, sometimes forming colourful groups with varied backgrounds. Moreover, the links of hermits to the royal courts, present in almost all Central European case studies as well as in the background examples gave the eremitism of the period a distinctive character. The final goal of this dissertation is therefore to contribute to the understanding of eleventh-century spirituality on the basis of one of its aspects: eremitism, viewed not as a common denominator for a number of anonymous individuals detached from society, but as a spiritual ideal of a broader social stratum, which served a number of purposes within the framework of private and public piety.

The *Bdinski Sbornik*: A Study of a Medieval Bulgarian Book (Historical, Typological, and Textual Analysis)

Maya Petrova-Taneva (Bulgaria)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on July 7, 2003 consisted of: Jasmina Lukic (CEU, Dept. of Gender Studies), chair; Anisava Miltenova (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences); Ralph M. Cleminson (University of Portsmouth); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Vladimír Vavřínek (Czech Academy of Sciences); the external reader was Ihor Ševčenko (Harvard University).

One of the most interesting medieval Bulgarian manuscripts, the *Bdinski Sbornik*, has a distinct place in medieval Bulgarian and Slavonic literatures. Its name

derives from the medieval town of Bdin (present-day Vidin) situated on the right bank of the Danube in southwestern Bulgaria, where, according to the information given in the colophon, it was written in 1359/60 at the special request of Anna, the wife of Tsar John Sracimir (1352/3–1396).

The codex, now kept in Ghent University Library (Ghent Manuscript 408) in Belgium, is valuable for several different reasons. First, the scarcity of well-established facts explaining the rise of the Bulgarian secessionist principality of Bdin makes the *Sbornik* one of the most quoted sources for the history of this political unit, which during the fourteenth century strove to achieve its independence and to find its own place on the map of the medieval Balkans. Second, along with its value as a historical source, the *Sbornik* cannot be neglected when trying to reconstruct the cultural life of the principality (and, in general, of medieval Bulgaria). It is one of the very few still existing manuscripts witnessing the development of the not well studied provincial (and thus even more interesting) literary school of Bdin. Furthermore, the *Bdinski Sbornik* is the only existing manuscript which belonged to the library of the court of Bdin and the only surviving book created by the direct commission of a Bulgarian tsaritsa.

Yet what singles out the *Sbornik* among the rest of the codices from the period, and expands its merits beyond its local importance as a witness of the past of Bdin principality and of medieval Bulgaria, is its contents. The *Sbornik* is an anthology which incorporates a selection of lives of only women saints (Mary, the niece of Hermit Abraham, St. Theodora of Alexandria, St. Thecla, St. Paraskeve of Rome, St. Barbara, St. Marina, St. Thais, St. Theophano, St. Euphrosyne of Alexandria, St. Catherine, St. Juliana, St. Mary of Egypt and St. Eupraxia) and it ends with a description of the holy places in Jerusalem. As such, the *Bdinski Sbornik* has been widely regarded by modern scholars as the only Slavonic representative of the hagiographic genre of Meterika collections, that is, books containing texts on women and designed to be read by women. In addition, the *Bdinski Sbornik* is the only preserved South Slavic manuscript which incorporates only *vitae* (if we do not count the last entry) and not, as is typical of both South Slavic Reading Menaia and Panegyrika collections, a mixture of homilies and saints' lives. Furthermore, at the level of the texts included in the codex, the *Sbornik* is also unique because it represents versions of the *vitae* quite rare in medieval South Slavic literature and reveals some language peculiarities, grammatical mistakes, and changes which deserve to be studied separately. Though all these enumerated peculiarities have often been pointed out in the secondary literature, none of them has been the object of a special study.

The dissertation starts with a standard palaeographic, orthographic, and codicological analysis of the *Bdinski Sbornik*'s manuscript (Chapter 1). The conclusion is that although the style of its illumination, the hand of its copyist

and its orthography do not in general contradict the year stated in the colophon—1360—some pieces of evidence (along with the modest appearance of the codex, the almost illiterate scribe, and multiple corrections) suggest a later date. The examination of the watermarks (four, not three, as is stated in the Introduction to the Belgian diplomatic edition) was decisive in this respect, all independently pointing to the period between 1400 and 1410. Since the time when the paper was produced should be the *terminus post quem* of the Ghent manuscript, it is clear that that the Ghent manuscript is not the original but a later copy of Tsaritsa Anna's book.

In Chapter 2 of the dissertation the *Bdinski Sbornik* is examined in detail as a historical source for the turbulent years directly preceding the Turkish conquest of the Balkans and for the events which shook the Bulgarian ruling family and society at the end of the fourteenth century—the divorce and the re-marriage of Tsar John Alexander (1331–1371), the disturbed succession to the throne, the rivalry of John Alexander's sons, and the disintegration of the state into weak and mutually hostile provinces. The colophon preserved in the Ghent manuscript (where Tsar John Sracimir of Bdin for the first time proudly announces himself to be "supreme and autocratic Tsar of all Bulgarians and Greeks") not only testifies to all these events, but also contains some hints suggesting the specific political ideology created by the Bdin dynasty in order to justify and support its growing aspirations.

The principality of Bdin came into being through its separation from Tărnovo and through John Sracimir's opposition to his father and his younger half-brother, the son of a converted Jewess (because of whom John Alexander repudiated Sracimir's own mother Theodora as a nun called Theophano and deprived his eldest son Sracimir of his rights to the throne). The contents of the *Bdinski Sbornik*, especially its colophon, suggest that, confronting his father and brother in his struggle for independence, John Sracimir sought to underline his superiority over the Tărnovo court with the help of his female relations, stressing the saintly origin of his wife and the piety of his own mother—a background that the Tărnovo court could not boast of. The *Sbornik* includes two texts usually interpreted as "an attempt at the rehabilitation" of Sracimir's mother: the legends of St. Theodora and the holy Empress Theophano. The insertion of these stories not only reveals respect towards the heavenly patrons of former Bulgarian tsaritsas, but also points out the similarities of her fate and the fate of the Byzantine Empress Theophano, the estranged wife of Leo VI (886–912), thus tacitly implying Theodora's chastity. Along with pointing to an important moment from Sracimir's political propaganda, the way his wife is referred to in the colophon of the Ghent manuscript—"the holy-born Tsaritsa Anna"—could be interpreted as a decisive piece of evidence revealing her not as

Wallachian, but rather Serbian in origin. In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Balkan history this term has an exact meaning ("descending from a saintly family") and is a "trademark" of a particular dynasty, the Serbian Nemanjids.

The *Bdinski Sbornik* is also studied in the context of some similar preserved miscellanies of stories about women (Chapter 3). Although not particularly widespread, these collections existed in medieval hagiographic literature in both the Catholic West and the Orthodox East. Yet the assertion widespread among the scholars who dealt with the Ghent manuscript that the Latin tradition had a certain impact on the *Bdinski Sbornik*'s structure, on the selection of *vitae* and on the textual level (some of the saints' lives being translations from Latin) turned out to be wrong. On the contrary, there are cogent grounds for believing that Byzantine hagiography provided the *Sbornik*'s compiler not only with the raw material, that is, the Greek originals of the *vitae* themselves, but also with the very framework of this type of collection.

In the secondary literature Tsaritsa Anna's anthology is often referred to as a Meterikon, a term which in Byzantine studies is used to define three different types of books: 1. collections of sayings of the desert mothers; 2. miscellanies encompassing mainly monastic *vitae* of women saints and exemplary tales about women excerpted from various monastic miscellanies, such as John Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow*, the *Lausiac History* of Palladios, and writings of authors as Cyril of Scythopolis and Paul of Monemvasia; 3. anthologies of women saints' lives proper. While searching through different manuscript catalogues for parallels to the *vitae* included in the *Bdinski Sbornik*, I came across some Slavic miscellanies which, to my mind, can be classified as belonging to the literary type of Meterika and thus serve as good typological parallels of the *Bdinski Sbornik*. When compared to Byzantine tradition, however, the Slavic Meterika as a group display a number of peculiarities, the most important of which is that most of them did not reproduce in a pure form any of the types of the Greek Meterika mentioned above: on local Slavic ground different types were often incorporated into one and the same Slavic codex.

The result was the appearance of hybrid hagiographic miscellanies, which comprise women saints' *vitae* combined with stories of women excerpted from the Paterika and famous sayings ascribed to the desert mothers. The manuscripts were often completed by adding edifying sermons, monastic rules, excerpts from the Nomocanon and direct advice on how to obtain spiritual salvation. It is evident that the texts included in the South Slavic codices were gathered from various books and that, while compiling them, the scribes consulted more that one source. The compilation of the Slavic Meterika is carried out in agreement with the "principle of the kaleidoscope" defined by William Veder as one of the main features of the poetics of the medieval *Slavia*

Orthodoxa. In the Slavic miscellanies a limited number of available texts, taken out of their specific context, are often rearranged by simple randomisation, just like a kaleidoscope's small pieces of coloured glass, so as to provide an unlimited number of new textual structures. Mixing up texts of different characters from various types of books in order to fill in a codex of a normal size must have been part of the strategy of the scribes outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire (who, unlike their Greek colleagues, did not have at their disposal the ten-volume edition of the Metaphrastic Reading Menaion).

There are only two examples of "pure" anthologies of women saints' *vitae*: the *Bdinski Sbornik* itself and a Russian manuscript (St. Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, MS P.I.30) which belonged to the family of Tsar Peter I the Great (1682–1725). The Russian manuscript contains the *vitae* of the women saints after whom Tsar Peter's grandmother, mother, and four sisters were named, and is thus the closest typological parallel of the *Bdinski Sbornik* (commissioned by Tsaritsa Anna and containing two texts about women saints who were patrons of her mother-in-law). These two manuscripts as anthologies comprising only female *vitae* remain rather isolated within the framework of the Slavic tradition. Maybe the fact that they had been commissioned by members of imperial families reflected upon the compilers' assiduity and persistence in searching for suitable texts, as well as upon the scope of the sources available to them. Even in these cases, however, the texts included had to be carefully searched through and selected from different Reading Menaia and miscellanies.

Chapter 4 is an attempt at a structural analysis of the *Sbornik* and an investigation of its sources. It provides a catalogue of the preserved South Slavic copies of all the *vitae* and their versions (aiming to establish the chronology of the appearance of the translations and their classification) and a detailed textual analysis of the *Bdinski Sbornik*'s texts outlining the possible changes (insertions, omissions, grammatical mistakes, and so on) peculiar to the *Sbornik*'s versions. Close reading of the texts included in the *Bdinski Sbornik* and their comparison to some parallel versions in the preserved South Slavic manuscripts and to the variants of the *vitae* selected in the Reading Menaion of the Russian Metropolitan Makarios led me to some important conclusions. All the saints' lives incorporated in the anthology are early Slavic translations from Greek pre-Metaphrastian versions made before the period of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In this respect, the compiler of the *Sbornik* displayed a clear preference for the literary production and the legacy of the First Bulgarian State, neglecting newer translations and the revised variants created in Tărnovo and on Mount Athos and circulating among the Balkan Slavic-speaking population at the time of the commission of Tsaritsa Anna's book. The selected texts, however, are in no way synchronous: for some of the *vitae* it is possible to admit the existence of

a Glagolitic protograph (the stories of Abraham and Mary, Thecla, Mary of Egypt and, probably, Euphrosyne) and their translations into Slavic probably preceded that of the other legends. To this earlier stratum of the *Bdinski Sbornik* I would also add the Life of St. Theodora of Alexandria, since, although there are no clear traces of a Glagolitic original, the text displays very archaic language and vocabulary.

With the exception of some legends of saints which were read on several occasions during the liturgical year, became parts of different types of manuscript collections, and were thus copied more frequently, most of the *vitae* in the *Bdinski Sbornik* are rather rare texts (the number of their South Slavic parallels usually does not exceed four). Notwithstanding the scarcity of the comparative material, it is still possible, on the basis of the collation of the extant copies and the close investigation of the *Bdinski Sbornik*'s entries, to gain insight into some common features of the *Sbornik*'s texts. It is clear that the texts included in the anthology went through some editorial changes. Thus, most of them are shortened: entire paragraphs, shorter passages or individual words and phrases are missing in each of the *Sbornik*'s entries. Among these significant interventions, however, only three: the omission of Hermit Abraham's young years, St. Thecla's miracles, and the retelling of the content of the Description of Jerusalem could be, with more or less probability, attributed to the pen of the compiler of the Bdin codex. Although the rest of the abridgements enumerated above either do not have parallels in the manuscripts examined or correspond to South Slavic codices written after 1360 (so it is theoretically possible that they were undertaken at the time of the *Sbornik*'s compilation), the time of the appearance of these revisions could not be unequivocally established, and the possibility remains that the sources used in Bdin were already edited. Along with these traits the Ghent codex displays some other characteristics common to all the texts included, which reveal the work of an inattentive and not especially well-educated scribe, such as minor omissions and multiple mistakes of all possible kinds. These alterations are signs more likely left by the copyist of the Ghent manuscript than by the compiler of his model.

The most important (as well as the most difficult) question provoked by the study of the *Bdinski Sbornik* concerns the sources used by its compiler. Unfortunately, among the preserved South Slavic manuscripts there is none that corresponds to it or, for that matter, includes a great number of texts parallel to those in the Bdin anthology. As a rule, the texts from the Ghent codex have their closest parallels (disclosing some but not all of the same omissions, mistakes or lexical variants) in manuscripts that have no other common parts with the *Bdisnki Sbornik*. None of the transcripts studied is close enough to the

respective text of the Bdin anthology to make it possible to regard it as an immediate antigraph or copy. As for the type of the book that the Bdin compiler excerpted the saints' legends from, it is clear that the main corpus was extracted from one (but quite possibly two) selective one-volume Reading Menaia. Some of the texts, however, were, as it seems, taken from other manuscripts. Thus, whoever compiled Tsaritsa Anna's book was evidently working from several source books: one or two selective Reading Menaia, a Prologue (or a Festal Menaion with Synaxarion readings), and the source for Mary, Abraham's niece, Thais, and the Description of the Holy Places (at least one miscellany, potentially three). All of them were old or perpetuated with old texts without most of the innovations characteristic of Tărnovo or Athonite codices of that time.

Some of the problems raised during this investigation still await solution, and many of its conclusions turned out to be negative. The Ghent manuscript is not the book ordered by Tsaritsa Anna; Anna was not a Wallachian princess and the daughter of Nicolae Alexandru Bassarab; the *Bdinski Sbornik* is not the only preserved Slavic representative of the hagiographic genre of Meterika collections; it does not include texts translated or created in connection with its compilation, and displays no connection with the Latin tradition. Negative though they might be, I believe that these answers can put further research of this very interesting and important medieval Bulgarian codex on a better track than those which I had when commencing this work.

Plant Depictions in Late Medieval Religious Art in Southern Central Europe: An Archaeobotanical Approach

Ülle Sillasoo (Estonia)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on June 12, 2003 consisted of: László Bartosiewicz (ELTE, Budapest), chair; Gerhard Jaritz, (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Marlu Kühn, (University of Basel); the external reader was Axel Bolvig (University of Copenhagen).

Late medieval art may be considered a source of data for archaeology and ethnology because it contains images of "realistically" depicted material objects. However, even if realism and naturalism intrude into the images, they do not show the reality itself but represent the effect of reality. These images are not copies of the objects, but only hints at real historical examples and their cultural contexts. Even then, real and not real frequently occur side by side and

intermingle. Material objects in late medieval art are related to some sort of dramatics, but as one may draw parallels with performances, the purpose of the objects is not supposed to represent reality, but rather the *topoi*. In relation to subject matter, such as legends and persons, these material objects form a context that is at the service of the subject.

This investigation utilized two phenomena in late medieval religious art: the "realism" and the frequent occurrence of plant depictions. With the help of these phenomena, art was used to discover "new" plant species, to specify the varieties of late medieval cultivated plants and their dating as well as to investigate the patterns of their representation: realism versus symbolism. I concentrated my research on a digitalised database of about 20,000 images, mainly late medieval, located at the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences situated in Krems an der Donau (Lower Austria). For the analysis, I used only the panel paintings in the database (a sample of about 5000 individual pictures), because (1) my main interests were images and plant representations in pictures displayed in public spaces, and (2) the medium and the quality of panel paintings permit botanical identifications of the depicted plants better than, for instance, in wall-paintings or sculptures. The paintings under investigation originate from a number of regions in southern Central Europe, including today's Austria, Southern Tyrol (Italy), Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, and southern Germany. Concerning the archaeobotanical approach to the images, these areas were considered to provide a geographical background for the plant depictions in the paintings. The majority of the images date to the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Approximately 250 individual paintings were presented in this study and used as a basis for a more specific archaeobotanical analysis.

My research relied on methodology used to investigate the depictions of material objects in paintings. From the point of view of the objects in consideration, i.e. plants, my archaeobotanical approach to late medieval pictorial sources was innovative. Earlier, late medieval plant depictions were investigated from the point of view of symbolism, whereas I have focused on the "realism" of their representation. Three questions lie at the heart of my analysis:

- What are the patterns of intention for the plants depicted?
- Which plants are found in the images and are they the same ones found in archaeobotanical assemblages from this period?
- What are the possibilities and limitations of using art as a comparative source in archaeobotanical research?

The answers to the first question are discussed in the first part of my dissertation. I discovered that there is more than one pattern of intention for plant depictions. Images of nature are used for explaining and exemplifying religious messages. Certain features of plants such as the places where they grow, their appearance, smell or being evergreen, for instance, are linked and compared to human vices and religious virtues. The selection of such "plant-messengers" or symbols in art, however, is socially, culturally and naturally determined and conditioned by whether they were well-known. Connotations of the use of plants in ceremonies and festivals were ascribed to plants appearing in art and literature. These uses include examples of ceremonial plant-related practices: the use of wreaths or garlands, scattering or strewing, and the use of maypoles or palm fronds or flowers in their place. Here one also sees that the selection of plants is socially, culturally, and naturally determined. These floral elements have little to do with natural landscapes, but sometimes they are also depicted in the context of nature if not as particular plant species, then either as flowers or "palms."

Different kinds of knowledge about plants might have been extended to religious paintings. Religious people represented an official view of plants. Plant studies were carried out by theologians in connection with medicine, but there was also a non-official interest in plants. The knowledge of plants was different among various groups of people, also depending on the social, cultural, and natural environments they functioned in. The knowledge of common people was oriented towards exploitation of local natural sources. The experience and knowledge of the upper strata of society also extended to distant natural resources; they crossed both natural and economic borders by collecting both rarities and knowledge of them.

Part two of the dissertation represents the results of archaeobotanical research by means of identified plant depictions as well as a comparison to archaeobotanical assemblages from this period. In the sample of 250 images that I selected from about 5000 panel paintings I found around 650 "realistically" depicted plants representing nearly 300 different taxa. Out of 650 identified plant depictions, 471 were shown growing in particular landscape contexts. These landscapes were characterised by at least one feature, and the plant depictions were divided into groups according to this feature, including plain meadows, road-sides, cliffs, embankments, courtyards, execution sites, woods, and gardens. The plants shown in these landscapes were supposedly selected based on their frequency of occurrence in nature, their use in religious rituals and symbolism, and the roles they played in the lives of patrons, masters and beholders. Plants removed from the natural environment formed another large group of paintings containing 182 plant depictions out of the total. They include

the images of plants that were not shown growing in nature, but rather used in different religious and cultural contexts. One finds depictions of potted plants, plants in vases and baskets, woven into wreaths, and scattered on the tables or on the ground; they may be held in hands or decorate the halos of saints. Plant species used in these contexts mainly represent cultivated garden flowers. Most regularly, they are red and white or even sometimes tinted blue. Consequently, these plant images in paintings may represent evidence of contemporary existing vegetation, but they are not necessarily painted in their natural contexts. These depictions also reflect contemporary knowledge about the plants.

Botanical evidence from art certainly differs from evidence deriving from archaeological excavations. Comparing them reveals how useful pictorial sources can be for research into vegetation history. Archaeobotanical sources represent physical evidence found in settlements while pictorial sources give only indications in the direction of this evidence. The major similarity between these two kinds of data is that both are parts and products of the human environment that played an important role in daily and festive life. I have not used all pictorial evidence for the comparison to archaeobotanical data, but only plant taxa identified to species or conferred species; the same restrictions concern archaeobotanical findings. These plants are discussed individually within the following sections: cultivated plants, weeds and ruderal plants, and plants of wild habitats. This comparison results in general information about the late medieval vegetation in southern Central Europe. A more detailed comparison might have been much more effective, because the provenance of the paintings does not precisely refer to the specific geographical origin of depicted plants.

The comparison with archaeobotanical results from the area revealed that pictorial sources may complement in large part the information received from archaebotanical material about late medieval and early Renaissance vegetation. This information particularly touches upon the group of plants growing in wild habitats and the group of cultivated plants. Concerning cultivated plants, pictures may be used for improving our knowledge of plants which were cultivated not for their seeds and fruits, but for their leaves, stems, flowers, and perhaps their roots. Weeds and ruderal plants are well represented in archaeological material; pictorial sources may still be used to improve our knowledge about their frequency of occurrence in natural landscapes of this period.

In conclusion, pictorial evidence represents one of the three major sources for learning about the cultural history of plants in the late Middle Ages. Botanists may consider pictorial sources to be of low value because these do not contain the full complex of identification features. Plant images frequently appear impressionistic and sometimes suggest more than one species. My

investigation showed that "reading" and "translating" images from a botanical point of view is difficult but not impossible. Much information may be gleaned about plants from late medieval pictorial sources. I was looking for realism in the pictures and I found it. Concerning plants in the context of the natural environment, one may speak about "disguised symbolism" or rather "disguised realism." Landscapes are depicted as mosaics composed of different bits of knowledge. They include pieces of natural, social and cultural realities that represent the intimate relationship between the patrons, the painters and beholders of the paintings, all of whom are in the service of the religious subject and the purpose of the painting. I infer that plants in the paintings were also selected according to how commonly they occurred in natural and cultural contexts. Plants removed from the natural environment were mainly cultivated flowers made into wreaths and scattered in late medieval ceremonial realities; in baskets—partly as representations of the legend of St. Dorothy but partly, however, reflecting one of the late medieval notions of paradise. Hand-held flowers represent persons by whom or for whom they hold certain recognized values. Flowers in pots and vases certainly belong to late medieval realities, although at the same time, they may refer to both depicted persons as well as scenes. There also are "more direct" symbols in paintings with their meanings explained by banderolls. Their selection, again, depends on natural, social, and cultural factors.

The selection of plants in religious images is certainly different from the composition of plant remains in archaeological deposits. Archaeological plant remains primarily reflect the economic and ecological roles that these plants played in everyday life. Since archaeobotanical investigations tend to be oriented towards discovering traces of the local environment in human settlements, they result in a collection of consumption- and settlement-related plant species. Plant images in paintings may also refer to the plants, but in religious contexts these images also contain evaluations of these plants, something necessary for the representation and mediation of ideas. Plant images in religious paintings concentrate on spiritual questions and deal with plants that are important from the spiritual and aesthetic points of view. Remains of plants which fulfilled such spiritual and aesthetic functions are underrepresented in archaeological deposits because they were not used in amounts comparable to subsistence plants, and they did not produce remains which preserve. It is therefore difficult to separate out the religious aspect of plants in late medieval archaeological deposits unless they are found in burials.

My research shows that late medieval pictorial sources are very important from the point of view of broadening the scope of investigation into late medieval plants. They open up new perspectives along with the identification of

undiscovered plant species. They allow researchers to work with information that comes from fields other than botany. Interdisciplinary comparisons have proved very enlightening. The interpretation of plants as symbols without direct written indications is complex, revealing broad patterns in plant species that are traditionally related to culture. The patterns in the symbolism of plants that are not traditionally related to culture may be numerous and differ tremendously between different geographical regions. By using pictorial evidence, one learns more about the perception and use of plants in their social contexts, helping researchers to better understand the lives of people in the late medieval natural environment. What we know depends on our sources of knowledge. The question of why images are used in research on vegetation history is obvious. The more important question is how they should be used? I would like to emphasise three significant points: a) depictions are reflections of reality but not the reality itself, b) the cultural context of images has to be well-defined, and c) the function of depictions as parts of a whole must be acknowledged.

Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary

Péter Szabó (Hungary)

The examination committee at the public defence on May 6, 2003 consisted of: Richard C. Hoffmann (University of York), chair; József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Karl Brunner (University of Vienna); László Bartosiewicz (ELTE, Budapest); the external readers were Oliver Rackham (Cambridge University) and Pál Sümegi (University of Szeged).

I began studying ancient Hungarian woodland and its management seven years ago. My interest initially focused on upland areas that were Royal Forests in the Middle Ages, therefore the examination of both woodland, as a type vegetation in an area, and Forests, as the medieval administrative framework of the same area, appeared self-evident. As far as woodland is concerned, I had basically no Hungarian scientific literature to rely on. Earlier works on the history of woodland were really histories of forestry: they tried to find the methods of modern forestry in medieval sources and failed in this anachronistic task. The history of Forests (with capital F to mean an administrative unit and not necessarily a territory covered with trees) is a better studied subject, here my main aim was to put Hungarian Forests into a broader European context and interpret them therein. My research involved the study of written material (published and archival) as well as the use of archaeological evidence. I also

carried out woodland-specific archaeological fieldwork, which was the first such attempt in Hungary.

In the first part of the dissertation, I outline the basic features of medieval woodland management in Hungary. A very important element in this investigation was the compilation and critical description of the list of available sources. Undertaking research on a hitherto unstudied subject, this part of my work served to establish the possibilities and limitations of woodland history in Hungary, while it also encouraged me to find new—and by Western standards sometimes unusual—sources to handle the deficiencies of the available material.

Palaeoenvironmental studies prove that woodland has been cleared in the Carpathian Basin, the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, since at least the early Neolithic, although we know little about how this was done. Trees have had their ups and downs for millennia, and in certain parts of the Basin the dominance of open landscape goes back to Celtic or Roman times. I stress that the conquering Hungarian tribes arrived to a largely transformed cultural landscape, where woodland was not quite as dominant as is usually believed. The first solid written data about the proportion of woods in the countryside come from as late as the fifteenth century, and even then their quantity is hardly adequate. From estimations (a peculiar Hungarian legal institution of estimating one's landed and other property) I gathered data about different types of land-use for 300,000 hectares. Reflecting an earlier inheritance and the internal colonisation process of the thirteenth century and later, the data suggest that woods covered about twenty percent of the kingdom at the end of the fifteenth century. However, the distribution of woodland was uneven: some parts were more wooded than others, a feature which probably goes back to pre-medieval conditions. This had the important consequence that woodland was sparse enough in parts of medieval Hungary to inspire conservation measures and intensive management.

All three traditions of medieval tree management were present in contemporary Hungary, although direct written evidence about these is again sparse. The most important clues in written sources turned out to be the names of different types of woodland. Coppice woods, intensely managed and relatively small, were found all over the kingdom and had their own vernacular name: *eresztvény*. Large stools (the permanent bases of trees cut at short intervals) can still be found in Hungary, while woodbanks were certainly present and can be studied through fieldwork, although nothing yet positively proves that they existed in the Middle Ages. Wood-pasture was usually called *rubetum* in Latin, and although it was a land-use in a wide swathe of the countryside, I could not find its Hungarian name. Free-standing trees abounded in perambulations, and, as elsewhere in Europe, oak was most often recorded. Connecting pasture and

free standing trees, pollards (trees cut 2 to 3 metres above the ground to prevent animals from grazing the young shoots) were also present, and a number of medieval pollards are still alive. Their medieval Latin name in Hungary was *troncus*, which was the translation of *tőke* and *törzsök*. These terms may have had somewhat different meanings unknown at present.

Thus far I have only summarised those features that were similar to what emerges increasingly as *medieval European woodland and tree management*. However, anything that has to do with nature necessarily reflects local conditions as well. This is especially true for the Carpathian Basin, a huge tract of which—the Great Plain—is ecologically very different from northwestern Europe: its natural vegetation is woodland-steppe, not woodland. Furthermore, traditions and customs affect the management of land as much as they do that of society. What were the specifically Hungarian elements in woodland management? First, one has to emphasise animal husbandry. The Great Plain probably supported many large mammals in prehistory, and the pastoral tradition has been continuous ever since. The fifteenth century is of special significance in this aspect, because it saw the emergence—probably through deliberate breeding—of the large Hungarian Grey cattle, of which tens of thousands were driven to Western Europe yearly. This might easily have led to the creation of savannah-like landscapes. In connection with the flood-plains that once were so extensive in the Alföld, I suspect that the Hungarian *berek* and its Latin equivalent *nemus* refer to a local way of simultaneously handling trees, water, and grazing. Beside cattle, pigs were also important. Although in Western Europe pannage was often no more than a *topos* connected to woodland, in Hungary pigs really created considerable incomes for the owners of woods. Pannage appeared in estimation guidelines, and we know that pigs were not only theoretically regular visitors to woods, but, as reported in many court cases, this happened in reality as well.

The second part of the dissertation comprised two case studies of wooded Royal Forests: Pilis and Bakony, both in upland regions in the Hungarian Middle Mountain Range. I chose these two Forests because they are representative examples of Forests but are at the same time unusual in being within early settled regions. Pilis and Bakony were fully integrated in the county system as early as the eleventh century, therefore administrative marginality, traditionally associated with Hungarian Forests, was not characteristic of them. This forced me to interpret their history (and consequently the history of Hungarian Forests) not as 'wasteland transformed into cultural landscape' but rather as 'economically marginal land managed for a specific purpose.' Sources allowed me to investigate the history of these two Forests in four main directions. First, I outlined their histories as Royal Forests, then I moved on to

woodlands and trees in the Forests. After this, the settlement histories of the Forests followed, and I also dealt with monastic orders, whose characteristic presence is one of the strongest links connecting the histories of Pilis and Bakony.

Royal Forests definitely existed in medieval Hungary, although the distinction between woodland and Forests was never as clear as in contemporary Western Europe. This is also reflected in terminology: sources used the same *silva* to refer to a small wood and to a Royal Forest, although there was a tendency to call the latter *silva regalis*. The most fundamental reason behind this lack of distinction is that in medieval Hungary ownership of land and rights over land (the prerequisite for the formation of Forests) could not be separate. In general, Hungarian Forests resembled early medieval Continental Forests more than late medieval British or French Forests. Hungarian Forests were originally loosely defined units with royal servitor populations. Providing hunting was a very important function of early Forests; both Pilis and Bakony had a dense network of royal residences for the itinerant court. Forests were organised into functional units in the thirteenth century. In an administrative sense, they were 'counties:' they had a *comes* and a boundary detectable on the ground. The people in charge of this kind of land were called Forest-guards (*custodes siluarum*). As early as the thirteenth century, however, physical royal presence in the Forests was gradually declining. The residences in Pilis, for example, were transformed into monasteries. In Bakony, fundamental changes started in the 1270s. For some time the *comites* were exclusively members of the powerful Csák kindred, who also received donated villages in the region. Their influence was further strengthened when they built a castle in Ugod and possibly another one in Hölgykő. From the 1280s to the 1320s the situation was rather confused in Bakony. Many Forest-guards were ennobled, and the *comes* was missing for more than three decades. At the same time, the physical boundary of the Forest seems to have existed as before.

The reign of Charles Robert was a turning point in the history of both Bakony and Pilis. The king, having secured his position in the country, took the time to handle such minor issues as Forests. In Pilis, this was done somewhat unintentionally when he moved his court to Visegrád, locating a powerful centre in the Forest and creating an influence that no element in the later history of the Forest could avoid. On the other hand, Charles Robert's choice was not accidental. Pilis was, after all, in the *medium regni*, with or without Visegrád. The new royal centre only insured the stability of this position. In Bakony, the king grouped the remaining Forest populations into three privileged villages in an ambitious relocation programme and made them royal hunters. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were ongoing conflicts between these

people and the holders of the *honor* of Bakony Forest (especially when the powerful Gara appeared on the scene) concerning the territory and the administration of the Forest. No one was really right in these debates: *what* one was considered to be was largely influenced by *who* was looking at the person. With the appearance of the Gara family a remarkable process commenced, in which the Royal Forest was transformed—at least in the eyes of the Gara—into a private Forest.

Sources on trees and woodland had a different structure in Bakony and Pilis. While in the latter there were few written sources and more archaeological evidence of high quality, in the former, archaeology comprised only my own fieldwork, but there was more written material of various kinds. Thus, the two analyses were particularly useful side by side because they complemented each other. As far as individual trees are concerned, the species that would have caught the eye of the medieval traveller as unusually abundant in Pilis appears to have been the walnut. This tree was well-represented in both the written and the archaeological sources. Fruit trees, in general, were a speciality of the region. How intensely fruit gardens were managed, however, remains an open question. Probably there were many versions ranging from the formal gardens of the Royal Palace and the Cistercian monastery to the extensive treatment of fruit trees in woods envisaged by ethnographers. Information on woodland composition is missing from the written sources, but archaeological material suggests that we should imagine it as similar to the "potential" vegetation of botanists. This, however, is rather vague and disregards local variations, changes in time, the effects of coppicing, and other factors. Perambulations from the Bakony showed the dominance of oak, walnut, and willow. Data from estimations suggested that the Bakony region was approximately sixty percent woodland in the fifteenth century. This is less than what was imagined before, which becomes especially interesting when compared to the area west of Bakony, which was more wooded. Mentions of individual woods were numerous in charters, however, their distribution map required caution in its analysis. Such mentions appeared somewhat similar to the mentions of trees in perambulations in the sense that they could not be interpreted straightforwardly. Just as many oaks in perambulations did not signal the dominance of oak in woods, many woods in charters did not mean the dominance of woods in the landscape. As a special feature, Bakony seems to have been a stronghold of wood-pasture, also discovered in fieldwork, although written sources and field evidence are hard to connect as yet.

The settlement histories of the two Forests were markedly different. The Pilis region was not an exception to the general patterns of change in the medieval Hungarian settlement structure. The fact that many settlements

disappeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was an overall trend in Hungary—and also in Europe. The settlement system of the Bakony region, however, was complete by the thirteenth century (or possibly earlier) and changed very little until the sixteenth century. There was no internal colonisation because places that were considered habitable already had people in them, and those remaining were in a Royal Forest and were not intended to be populated. The spatial distribution of the settlements did not demonstrate any pattern of changes, either. What the sources (both written and archaeological) seem to show is a system that developed at a time before these sources were made. Then, the different settlement stories of Pilis and Bakony were dramatically brought together by the Ottoman invasion. Both places were deserted: some continuity up to the present can be claimed for a mere ten percent of all settlements.

Altogether four monastic orders were present in Pilis and Bakony Forests, but monastic presence was more diverse in the latter. In addition to the Cistercians and the Paulines, the Benedictines and the Carthusians also had monastic houses in Bakony. The Benedictine monastery in Bél was a foundation that made Bakony Forest similar to early medieval European Royal Forests. Here, there was no direct evidence for the presence of an early royal residence; however, an analysis of the monastery's estate structure in the late eleventh century strongly suggested that the monks had taken over an existing system. The strongest similarity between Bakony and Pilis was the presence of the Cistercians. The Pilis and Bakony monasteries were established at roughly the same time and as parts of the same royal enterprise. In Zirc, the early royal centre was identified both in the written and the archaeological sources. The monasteries were also similar in their dependence on the secondary economy and in the apparent lack of land-colonisation and other such activities traditionally associated with the order. The Paulines, although present in both Forests, had different histories. They were missing from Bakony Forest until the fifteenth century, but they had many early monasteries nearby. While the Paulines were established in Pilis through royal power, foundations were established in Bakony by the nobility. An interesting aspect of the history of the Porva monastery (Bakony) is that its noble founders imitated, even if not intentionally, thirteenth-century royal deeds in the fifteenth century. The appearance of the Carthusians in Bakony in the fourteenth century was, in many respects, a repetition of what had happened to the Paulines in Pilis one hundred years before. Lövöld was a royal foundation, and was intended to revive the ascetic discipline that was reported to have loosened among the Paulines. All monasteries, except for Bél, were similar at least in one respect. They were isolated and in a strategically important position at the same time. In practice,

this meant a location comfortably close, but not quite on, a main commercial route. In Bakony, the location of the Carthusian monastery in particular displayed features in which monastic ideology and commercial reality were intricately mixed, and the same held true for the Cistercian house in Zirc.

As an important aspect of the relationship between the monasteries and woodland, I studied the industrial activities of the orders. In the Pilis Cistercian monastery, workshops for metal, brick, and floor tile production are inferred to have existed around the monastic complex, which imply the intensive use of woodland resources. Far less is known about the possible industrial activity of the orders in the Bakony. This is entirely due to the absence of archaeological excavations at the sites. Even in Zirc, where there have been excavations, nothing is known about the monastic precinct. Given the very limited nature of the written evidence, if we want to know more about the interactions between woodland and the monasteries we shall have to hope for considerable advances in the monastic archaeology of the region.

Religious Drama and Performance in Early Modern Krakow

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The Examination Committee at the public defense on July 10, 2003 consisted of: Diana Urge-Vorsatz (CEU, Dept. of Environmental Sciences and Policy), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Andrzej Dąbrówka (Institute of Literary Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences); Wolfgang Greisenegger (University of Vienna); György Karsai (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was Alexandra F. Johnston (Toronto University).

The study takes a multi-disciplinary approach to the problem of religious performances in early modern Krakow (Little Poland). The basic assumption is that the church plays and devotional ceremonies as we know them from the written record, were combined with an act of performance. The chronological framework for the study is 1520–1611, the main part of the evidence coming from the period following the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The articles of the Council were received in Poland, first at the Council of Piotrków (1542), and then at the diocese council of 1549. Following these Councils, forms of preaching and ceremonial life changed, parish life was enriched by the activities of the emerging confraternities, while many of the old cult forms were discontinued. The study focuses on some of the dramatizations and rituals that had begun to fall into disuse in the 1560s and attempts to show how the pre-Tridentine 'anachronisms' were received by the Catholic Church reformers.

The question that informed the study was how various forms of religious observance and spectacle functioned within the culture of early modern Krakow. I built this question into the structure of the thesis by writing across administrative and cultural sources concerning topics such as urban festive display and liturgical observance, public devotion and entertainment.

In Chapter 1, forms of urban ceremony have been placed in the socio-cultural context of a sixteenth-century city. The involvement of the urban community in festive display and performance is discussed against evidence from the financial records of the councils of Krakow and Kazimierz. Special emphasis was placed on forms of religious display and the objects related to them, such as sculptures.

Chapter 2 explores the ways in which public religious ceremony and 'theatre' intersected with forms of monastic and confraternal devotion. I concentrated on the monastic contribution to the dramatic and representational practices of the town and enumaterated some of the monastic and religious communities that can be traced among the patrons, directors or actors of the Holy Week dramatizations, Easter plays or Palm Sunday processions.

This discussion led to a consideration of the surviving playtexts/performance texts in Chapter 3. A single codex that has strong connections with Krakow Franciscan circles was analyzed in order to establish what type of stage and audience early devotional theatre might have called for. Devotional church ceremonies of the kind found in the Horodecki Codex (1590s) witness an attempt to reach as broad an audience as possible. By relying on a series of versified monologues or dialogues between Angels, Marys or the Apostles and Sinner, a metaphorical dialogue was orchestrated between the popular and the clerical audience, between the emerging humanist tradition in semi-liturgical forms of worship and the centuries-old supplications and laments that the popular audiences found so appealing.

All the dramatic performances discussed in the dissertation, a sixteenth-century Biblical play, Corpus Christi processions and the Passion devotions from the Horodecki Codex, I believe, were part of a larger early modern system of public devotion. These are all devotional programs with different levels of emotional, moral and contemplative appeal. During the course of the research, major communities were identified that shaped public piety and ceremonial life in Krakow and Kazimierz: the clergy with particular emphasis on the religious orders (including the Franciscans, the Paulines and authors such as Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko and Stanislas Grochowski) and the religious confraternities (e.g. the Archconfraternity of the Passion). The city council was also involved in maintaining the ceremonial life that ran parallel to the economic life of the two towns. Its members initiated and supported public entertainment and were

actively involved in liturgical and ceremonial forms of worship through their affiliation with the confraternities. The city councils of Krakow and Kazimierz actively supported Corpus Christi processions which became the subject of negotiations and tensions between the clergy and the council on some occasions.

The analysis of the type of processional images that were used in Krakow, a close reading of an Easter play from the region and an analysis of a Krakow dramatic codex, gave us a better understanding of the type of stage and audience of the early devotional theatre in southern Poland. The 'stage' of the procession was the urban stage where objects such as the *Palmesel* on Palm Sunday or sculptures of the Virgin on Marian feasts received close attention and became the *foci* of fervent admiration and devotion. The 'stage' for the Passion devotions of the Horodecki Codex was also marked by the use of devotional objects: the Arms of the Passion, the cross and statues of Christ. It has been observed that the re-enactment of the Passion and Resurrection in liturgical and extra-liturgical forms with both human and sculpted 'actors' created a narrative quality and a strong sense of immediacy comparable to the effect of the Biblical stories told through Biblical plays. As opposed to the Biblical plays, however, the appeal of the statue lasted much longer since it could be activated for the time of the ceremony and could then be withdrawn to a location where it would have been gazed upon by the audience, as happened with the *Palmesel* or with articulated statues of the crucified Christ. It has been concluded that articulated and processional statuary was employed in various dramatic representations mainly due to its capacity to reproduce an infinite number of profiles for the passive viewer. The statues elicited emotional responses and devotion to God and facilitated a dialogue between God and the faithful—one mediated through the image. For the faithful, just as for the audience of the mystery plays, realism, physical immediacy and faith, excited by the senses and manifested in the emotions, allowed an intimate bond to be forged with the spiritual as much through plays as by means of a sculpted image.

The analysis of *Historyja o chwalebnym Zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim* by Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko and the texts from the Horodecki collection provided insight into two types of Catholic plays from sixteenth century Poland. It has been established that the *Historyja* was not meant to be a voice in the disputes of the Reformation. Rather than displaying reformational and doctrinal awareness, the author's interests seem to lie in creating a play for the general public, eager to be instructed in matters of faith, those who became involved in the entertainment not only through watching the play unfold but also through communal singing and prayer. Like Thomas the Disbeliever, they would be invited to touch the core of the mystery of the Resurrection, a mystery laid out before them in a

simple, at times crude, form. Besides presenting the concrete reality of New Testament events, the *Historyja* stays close to the contemporary world. It brings the audience to a realization of the consequences the events presented in the play had for mankind at all times. It thus, opens yet another temporal dimension in which the play has to be seen, that of salvation history.

The texts discussed in Chapter 3, the Horodecki collection, were part of the world of devotional representation and meditative reflection on the Passion of Christ. The concept of the Christian play that is at work here, presupposes a limited use of devotional images and elaborate descriptions of the Passion. It is mainly due to the inclusion of the congregation in the texts in question that we can talk of 'performance texts', not simply devotional verse. The dramatic structure of these texts allows the congregation to make the passage from devotion and penance to a renewal and restatement of their faith within the context of Christ's Passion and the Good Friday celebration. The passional texts contain elaborate prayers for the city, showing that the drama of the Passion combined the historical reality of Jerusalem with the local reality of Krakow. Members of the Catholic community of Krakow were, thus, destined to spiritually partake of the redeeming power of the Passion and rejoice in the Resurrection while their communal prayer was directly related to the hardships of plague they were going through at the time. Special attention has been paid to the fully-developed Passion plays from the Horodecki Codex which introduce several dramatic characters and a number of devotional objects and images onto the 'stage'. The formal analysis of the Horodecki passional texts shows that they were closely related to devotions such as the Good Friday lamentations or ways of the cross. Many of the old forms of representation, such as lamentations, were redefined, rewritten and placed in this new devotional context, as may be seen in Horodecki's second dialogue on the Lord's Passion.

The meditation on the Arms of Christ, lamentations at the Sepulchre or Christ's burial lyrics obviously focused on the agony of Christ as a source of contrition and conversion for the congregation. These texts show that a passional strain prevailed in religious vernacular dramatic texts around the year 1600 and after. The Catholic community at the turn of the sixteenth century was inspired by the contemplation of the afflictions that befell the Son of God by means of drama, which constitutes an important aspect of early Polish religious theatre.

The identification of the specific affiliation of the Horodecki collection was based mainly on internal evidence. It appears that it was compiled within the context of the early modern forms of piety practiced at the Franciscan church in Krakow and the lay circles associated with this monastic community. It was the Archconfraternity of the Passion established by Martinus Szyszkowski

in 1595 at the Franciscan church in Krakow that imitated aspects of the piety of the religious order and that may have been the addressee and the user of the type of devotional texts preserved in the Horodecki collection. The profile of the confraternity was based on the late medieval forms of devotion and social care (liberation of the prisoners and comforting rituals). The Horodecki Codex shows that there was a large part of medieval devotional tradition that was being re-worked, re-written and re-adapted for the new lay associations.

The plays and dialogues from the Horodecki manuscript were also considered in light of the on-going debate of the Catholic church with the Protestant community of Krakow. Although there are no explicit references in the codex to the polemics with the Protestant reformers, the plays, just as the confraternity that used them, must be seen as an efficient means of promoting the Catholic faith in the diocese. One of the tasks of the Krakow confraternities established at the turn of the sixteenth century, was to provide devotional programs with different levels of intellectual appeal in order to edify the faithful of the parish. Passion plays and dialogues would have been an important part of these devotional programs.

All forms of mimetic activity discussed in the dissertation were essential to the expression of group identity, be it a confraternity, a city council or a city guild. Much early modern devotional drama was nurtured in these communities. City processions, Easter plays and Passion plays provided the laity with an appropriate form of festive expression and allowed them greater participation in the religious life of the city. More importantly, the dramatic forms practiced in this period reflected lay spiritual interests as well as clerical cares. Some of the faithful responded to the spectacular processional celebrations, others to the meditative Passion plays, while the details of the Easter story with all the comic elements spoke most directly to many of the pious. This wealth of performance forms practiced in the city of Krakow and Kazimierz reflects sensitivity by the clerical circles and lay groups associated with them to the growing religious sentiment and spiritual, affective, and contemplative needs that characterized the devout during this period of social, economic, and religious change in sixteenth-century Little Poland. It can be concluded that sixteenth-century Krakow was a centre where long-lasting patterns of devotional life and drama were generated and a place whose festive and religious life also called for the preservation of texts from neighboring religious centres.