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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 16 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the Academic Year 2008–2009. As usual, the first section contains articles based on the most innovative MA theses and papers presented by our students at conferences.

This year's thematic block concentrates on the topic of crusades and crusading, an issue in the forefront of international research. This theme has been studied and discussed in many ways and contexts during the existence of our department, including several MA theses and doctoral dissertations, as well as workshops, public lectures, summer university courses, and publications. Let us just mention here the very first volume in our Medievalia series, *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity,* edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, which became a much-sought-after handbook on the subject soon after its first publication in 2001; the second revised edition with an extended bibliography is currently in press.

The present block originates from two recent events. The first is the summer university course, "From Holy War to Peaceful Co-habitation. The Diversity of Crusading and the Military Orders," held at the Department of Medieval Studies in July 2008. The guest faculty of nine outstanding scholars introduced the concept and possible reinterpretations of holy war as a new type of warfare and interaction between Christian and Muslim societies to students of this course who came from across the world. The course highlighted regional development patterns in the Holy Land and other crusader states and discussed the very general concept of clashes of cultures. The faculty also engaged the participants with new research methods and approaches: archaeological evidence, environmental-historical studies, the architectural history of military constructions, and art historical interpretations of Christian-Muslim interactions, which, considered together with the growing body of written evidence, have fundamentally changed our understanding of the period.

The second event was a workshop on "Late Crusades – Les croisades tardives," organized jointly by Daniel Baloup (Casa de Velázquez, Madrid) and József Laszlovszky (CEU) in Budapest in October 2009. The aim of this conference was to discuss the problem of inter-confessional frontiers in the Late Middle Ages. The discussions focused on two crucial zones of contacts between Christianity and Islam in this period, Central Europe on the one hand and the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean on the other. Three main problems were discussed in particular: the pertinence of the notion of inter-confessional frontier;

frontiers as aspects of inter-confessional confrontation; and the characteristic features of zones of contact between different religions compared to other types of frontiers. The block presented here is a nice example of the common interest of several generations of scholars, featuring an international expert, Michel Balard; one of our alumni, Attila Bárány (MA '95), who has become a renowned scholar of international relations in the Middle Ages; and one of our current PhD candidates, Irina Savinetskaya, who presented a paper based on her MA thesis, defended in June 2009. For more information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, please consult our newsletter, the *Medieval News*, and our website: http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu.

Part II of the *Annual* follows the practice of previous volumes, thus, the Head's Report gives a summary of the main events of the Academic Year 2008–2009 and the abstracts of MA theses and the PhD dissertations offer insight into our new graduates' work. Besides, this part has a sad addition, a short but moving block devoted to the memory of Professor Ihor Ševčenko (1922–2009), one of the greatest scholars of the Byzantine world, who, as recurrent visiting professor of our department in the 1990s, had a crucial impact on the scholarly formation of a number of our alumni.

Finally, it is our pleasant duty to thank our coordinator, Annabella Pál, and our PhD students Divna Mandova and Noel Putnik, for their work and support in bringing together and presenting the material of this volume, and the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House, our constant partner, for turning the manuscript into a handsome publication.

DISH TO CASH, CASH TO ASH: MANDROGERUS THE APPLIED PARASITE AND THE EVOLUTION OF COMEDY[1]

Goran Vidović ⬇

The anonymous comedy called *Querolus siue Aulularia* ("The Complainer or The Pot of Gold")[2] is the only extant Roman comedy apart from Plautus and Terence and the first known drama after the tragedies of Seneca. The time and place of production are unknown, but the majority of recent scholars agree on late fourth- or early fifth-century Gaul. Considerable scholarly effort has been invested in identifying the author, but no satisfactory solution has so far been offered. The play poses a number of complex questions, many of which still remain unanswered.[3] In this paper I analyze one of the characters of the *Querolus*,

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[1] This paper is based on my MA thesis "Dish to Cash, Cash to Ash: The Last Roman Parasite and the Birth of a Comic Profession," (Central European University, 2009); the thesis emerged from a paper I delivered at a conference on ancient drama held at Belgrade University in October, 2008. For all the corrections, suggestions, and words of support, I express my utmost gratitude to my thesis supervisor Niels Gaul and my external readers R. Mathisen and C. Pieper, as well as to M. Pakiž, V. Nedeljković, D. Stevanović-Soleil, M. Molina Sánchez, D. Shanzer, T. J. Moore, M. Fontaine, and J. F. Drinkwater. I also thank A. Cain, I. J. Davidson, G. Nathan, and K. Smolak for sending me copies of their articles, not easily accessible to me at the time.

[2] The text and numbering I use is from an older edition, G. Ranstrand, *Querolus sive Aulularia, incerti auctoris comoedia* (Gothenberg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1951), which I found more reliable than the most recent one, the Budé edition of C. Jacquemard-LeSaos, *Querolus (Le Grincheux)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994). While I occasionally provide my own, for the most part I use the only existing English translation, G. E. Duckworth's *The Complainer or the Pot of Gold*, in *The Complete Roman Drama*, vol. 2 (New York: Random House, 1942), 891–952; a brand new translation by R. W. Mathisen is still in progress.

[3] Perhaps the best guide through the maze of the *Querolus*, though now somewhat outdated, is F. Corsaro, *Querolus: Studio Introduttivo e Commentario* (Bologna: Pátron, 1965); the 1994 edition of Jacquemard-LeSaos contains exhaustive discussions but usually leaves the reader with many more questions than answers, whereas I. Lana, *Analisi del Querolus* (Turin: G. Giappicheli, 1979) deals with less but offers proportionally more. Among older works, see a decent analysis of the *Querolus* by R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), 217–242. Also useful is M. Molina Sánchez, "Estudio escénico, literario y comparativo de *Aulularia* de Plauto, Querolus *sive Aulularia* y *Aulularia* de Vital de Blois" (PhD diss., University of Granada, 1985), as well as his other works on concrete topics, such as "*Plauti per uestigia*: La *auctoritas* plautina en la comedia latina medieval: los ejemplos del anónimo *Querolus siue Aulularia* y de la *Aulularia* de Vital de Blois," *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica, Estudios latinos* 27, 1 (2007): 117–133. Fine insights are also to be found

the parasite Mandrogerus, and his significance for the plot. I argue that the figure of Mandrogerus is a result of the unknown author's experimenting with the comic conventions, ultimately displaying a peculiar evolution of the stock character or even the whole genre. Two of Mandrogerus' traits are crucial for understanding his character: a radically revised form of comic gluttony and an ambiguous attitude towards parasitic dependence.

Parasitic Conventions

Before dissecting the last Roman parasite, I will briefly touch upon the traditional comic treatment of this role.[4] In Classical Roman comedy the role of the parasite always had broad entertainment potential which often proved rewarding.[5] The development of this stock character, as we know it from Roman playwrights, is rather complex.[6] In Roman comedy flattery and gluttony became, and ultimately

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in F. Sánchez Salor, "La ultima poesia latino-profana: su ambiente," *Estudios Clásicos* 25 (1981–83): 111–162. For studies on the *Querolus* prior to 1990, one may consult the annotated bibliography by D. Lassandro and E. Romano, "Rassegna critica degli studi sul *Querolus*," *Bollettino di studi Latini* 21 (1991): 26–51.

[4] The stock characters of the parasite and the flatterer are sufficiently explored; classical works, still of certain value, are O. Ribbeck, *Kolax: Eine ethologische Studie* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1883), and A. Giese, *De parasiti persona capita selecta* (Berlin: R. Trenkel, 1908). A recent survey of the Roman comic parasite is, e.g., S. Flaucher, "Studien zum Parasiten in der römischen Komödie" (PhD diss., University of Mannheim, 2002); the origin of Roman parasites is examined by E. I. Tylawsky, *Saturio's Inheritance: The Greek Ancestry of the Roman Comic Parasite* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); see research into the relation between Greek and Roman comedy through the role of the parasite by A. Antonsen-Resch, *Von Gnathon zu Saturio: Die Parasitenfigur und das Verhältnis der römischen Komödie zur griechischen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), with an updated bibliography. For a quick summary, see C. Castillo García, "El tipo del parásito en la comedia romana," in *Athlon: Satura grammatica in honorem Francisci R. Adrados*, vol. 2, ed. P. Bádenas de la Peña, A. Martínez Díez, M. E. Martínez-Fresneda, E. Rodríguez Monescillo (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1987), 173–182. The most useful for me was Cynthia Damon's work on the social aspects and literary image of the parasites, both in comedy and other genres, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[5] P. Legrand, *New Greek Comedy*, tr. J. Loeb (London: William Heinemann, 1917), 76, claimed that "[t]he talent of provoking laughter is one of the most useful assets of the parasite," while "the parasite is the 'funny' man par excellence," according to G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment* (Princeton: PUP, 1952), 265.

[6] Its roots stretch far and deep into Greek tradition, old Attic comedy, and Epicharmus. According to some convincing arguments, *parasitos* is a fourth-century label for the comic

remained, inseparable. The image of this poor creature was a spineless hanger-on, an adulator with no scruples, eager to do *anything* to achieve his goal: the goal is, as the name suggests, free food. In a word, the parasite was at his best as a voracious clown.[7]

In addition, the Roman comic parasite sometimes also carried out scams, impersonation, and foul play of all sorts, which rendered him similar to the Greek character of *sykophántēs*. Sykophants were swindlers and blackmailers, abusers of legal procedures who flourished in Classical Athens[8] and were quite likely to appear, in a certain form, as stock characters in Greek comedy.[9] Comic parasites thereby acquired multifunctionality, for they could occasionally, as a supplement to or a substitute for the *seruus callidus*, contribute to organizing the deceit necessary for the dramatic action. Parasites carried out these frauds exclusively on behalf of their sponsors, in order to win their favor, and John Lofberg makes a solid

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type earlier known as *kolax*, the flatterer, and the two terms from that point on were not easily distinguishable: see W. G. Arnott, "Alexis and the Parasite's Name," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9, No. 2 (1968): 161–168. For the distinction between the two terms, see the discussion in Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 13–19. See also the arguments of P. G. McC. Brown, "Menander, Fragments 745 and 746 K–T, Menander's *Kolax*, and Parasites and Flatterers in Greek Comedy," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92 (1992): 91–107, and L. Gil, "El 'Alazón' y sus variantes," *Estudios Clásicos* 25 (1981–83): 39–58. For a novel etymology of the term *colax* in Roman comedy, see M. Fontaine, "*Parasitus Colax* (Terence, *Eunuchus* 30)," *Mnemosyne* 60 (2007): 483–489.

[7] O. Wilner, "The Character Treatment of Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy," *CPh* 26, No. 3 (1931): 264–283, pointed out "their gluttony, propensity to solicit invitations, their fawning, ability at entertaining, and their abject lack of self-respect" (272) as the recurrent characteristics of the parasites.

[8] "Habitual prosecutors," as formulated by D. M. MacDowell, "Sycophants" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (Oxford: OUP, 2003). A thorough analysis of the sykophant-parasite connection is J. O. Lofberg, "The Sycophant-Parasite," *CPh* 15 (1920): 61–72; the Roman comic parasites resembling sykophants are not to be immediately identified with the Athenian sykophants in the technical meaning. For a study on sykophancy in general see also his *Sycophancy in Athens* (Menasha, WI: Collegiate Press, 1917 [PhD diss., University of Chicago 1914]), and R. J. Bonner, *Lawyers and Litigants in Ancient Athens: The Genesis of the Legal Profession* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 59–71. See also essays of R. Osborne, "Vexatious Litigation in Classical Athens: Sykophancy and the Sykophant," 83–102, and D. Harvey, "The Sykophant and Sykophancy: Vexatious Redefinition," 103–121, both in *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics, and Society*, ed. P. Cartledge, P. Millett, and S. Todd (Cambridge: CUP, 1990). I find Harvey's and Osborne's spelling 'sykophant,' 'sykophancy,' quite convenient to distinguish the Greek technical term from the modern English 'sycophant;' except in quotations, I will use this spelling in the present article.

[9] Lofberg, "The Sycophant-Parasite," 62, with references.

point in stating that the "identification of the parasite with the sycophant was but natural."[10] Perhaps the best example is Terence's Phormio, the parasite who is running the show by himself, and who is, according to Gilbert Norwood, "in fact, far less a parasite than a *sykophántēs,* a subtle and elegant blackmailer."[11] Be this claim perhaps overstated, it stresses well enough that in cases like Phormio's the parasite was granted a certain amount of independent action and so contributed considerably to the development of the plot.

This multifunctionality should be kept in mind for the inquiry about Mandrogerus. Cynthia Damon has provided an adequate formulation of the parasite's craft as the "combination of hunger, dependency and spinelessness."[12] The *content* of the role of the parasite is indeed best described as "a combination," and there can hardly be one satisfactory definition for all the parasites of Roman comedy, let alone Greek.[13] Regarding the very *nature* of the role, however, the comic parasite was accurately characterized by Michael Fontaine as a "permanently surrealistic cartoon character."[14] The inexplicably eternal and comically exaggerated parasitic desire for food – and nothing but food – was deprived of any "real" inner motivation or psychological consistency, and its existence was imaginable only on a comic stage.[15]

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[10] Lofberg, "The Sycophant-Parasite," 68. The comic type of the parasite thus occasionally united flattery and deceitfulness, which seems to be a reply to the claim that "[N]obody has yet come up with a good explanation of how the word [i.e., sycophant] got its modern sense of 'flatterer,'" MacDowell, "Sycophants".

[11] G. Norwood, *Art of Terence* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1923), 76. However, Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 97–98, with notes, challenges Norwood's and similar conclusions about Phormio, e.g., that of Lofberg, "The Sycophant-Parasite," 69–71. The examples of parasites with significant influence on the plot are Plautus' Curculio or Gelasimus. For Phormio see W. G. Arnott, "*Phormio Parasitus:* A Study in Dramatic Methods of Characterization," *Greece & Rome* 17, No. 1 (1970): 32–57; see also below, n. 35.

[12] Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 99–100; her combination seems to have roughly covered various possible assignments of this role, implied by the three terms, *parasitos, kolax,* and *sykophántēs.* On page 7, Damon also defines the parasite (not necessarily the comic one) as "a conveniently compact personified form of something quite abstract, of a complicated nexus of social irritants including flattery, favoritism, and dependency." As outlined by Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy*, 265, a parasite could be a professional jokester, a "handyman," or a flatterer.

[13] M. Bieber, *The History of Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton: PUP, 1961), 100, notes several different types of the theatrical masks of the parasites.

[14] M. Fontaine, *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy* (New York: OUP, 2010), 254.

[15] An important characteristic of comic parasitism is that the parasites typically fail to get their prey, and their hunt is to be continued *ad infinitum* (see R. May, *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on the Stage* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 146; and Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 25–26,

Fontaine's clever definition is suitable for all the Roman comic parasites – except for Mandrogerus. In Mandrogerus, I argue, for the first time one can see the parasite behaving almost like a human, albeit in the imaginary universe of comedy. It is exactly this degree of "realism" which makes Mandrogerus unconventional.[16] A brief outline of the plot and prior events, retrospectively narrated in the Prologue, is necessary for further discussion.

> Old miser Euclio hid a huge pile of gold in a funerary urn and set off on a journey without telling his son Querolus about the treasure. Having found himself on a deathbed abroad, Euclio shared his secret with a recent acquaintance, the parasite Mandrogerus, offering him a half of the treasure if he informs Querolus of the existence and the location of the gold. Mandrogerus decided to break the promise, trick the old man's son and heir, and get the entire treasure. Together with two of his accomplices, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus, he finds Querolus and manages to get access to the urn by simulating fortunetelling and divine inspiration. The impostors take away the urn – explaining that it contains evil fate – and flee. The urn, however, appears to contain nothing but ashes. The infuriated tricksters return to Querolus' house and hurl the 'useless' pot through the window. Dashed into pieces, the urn reveals the gold hidden beneath the ashes. Mandrogerus now takes his last chance and returns, boldly demanding a share of the gold initially apportioned to him by Euclio. After a prolix debate the defeated trickster capitulates and finally becomes Querolus' personal parasite.[17]

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who calls comic parasites "hungry, indeed insatiable."); risking a lapse into the trivial, I cannot resist the comparison of the ancient parasite with the cartoon hero Peter the Coyote and his perennial chase of the Road Runner.

[16] By "realism" I have in mind no specific theoretical concept; I use the term simply to denote a literary figure acting in a natural, understandable and, ultimately, human way – as much as one literary character is able to. In my experience, the most comprehensive analysis of the ancient comic characters, with several insights into their "realism," is [V. Jankovic] В. Јанковић, *Менадрови ликови и европска драма* [Menander's Characters and European Drama] (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1978), unfortunately, available only in Serbian.

[17] An interesting view of the plot of the *Querolus* was offered by D. P. Lockwood, "The Plot of the *Querolus* and the Folktales of Disguised Treasure," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 44 (1913): 215–232. Lockwood's hypothesis, one of the rare noteworthy contributions to the subject, was unfortunately not developed further in subsequent scholarship.

A quick glance at the plot is enough to see that there is nothing inherently funny in Mandrogerus' parasitism as such: no putting up with insults, no flattering, no suffocating on crumbs. So far he is at least unconventional inasmuch as he is devoid of what is seen as one of the most useful assets of his role.[18] It is also obvious that Mandrogerus is indispensable for the action; none of the events would have taken place were it not for his intention to deceive Querolus; his role in the play is practically the leading one. The novelties of this parasite are, therefore, even more noteworthy: Mandrogerus, as it turns out, is an atypical parasite in several respects and his unconventional appearance is precisely the foundation of the entire dramaturgical arrangement of the *Querolus*. In the pages that follow I shall attempt to analyze the instances where Mandrogerus displays his unconventionality.

From Dish to Cash

The first practical break with the parasitic conventions in the *Querolus* is the transformation of the gluttony *topos*. Mandrogerus' own introductory declaration of his program, parts of which will be referred to time and again further below, is worth quoting in its entirety:

> Many men pride themselves upon their ability in dealing with swift-fleeing animals or ferocious wild beasts, either in tracking them down, or catching them in their lairs, or overpowering them by chance. How much greater is my talent and my profit, for I hunt men in the sight of all! And what men? Why, particularly the rich, the powerful, and the cultured. *(proudly)* I am Mandrogerus, the most pre-eminent by far of all parasites. There lies near a certain pot, and the breeze has wafted its scent to me across the seas. Away, you mixers of sauces! Away, you concoctions of cooks! Away, you recipes of Apicius! The secrets of this pot were known to Euclio alone. *Why are you surprised? It is gold that I follow;* it is gold that sends its odour across seas and lands.[19]

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[18] See above, n. 5.

[19] *Quer.* 23.15–24.4: *Multum esse sese aliqui laudant qui uel pugnaces feras uel fugaces bestias, aut uestigiis insequuntur aut cubilibus deprehendunt aut casu opprimunt. Quanto mihi maius est ingenium et lucrum, qui homines uenor publice. Sed quos homines! Diuites et potentes et litteratos maxime! Mandrogerus ego sum parasitorum omnium longe praestantissimus. Aula quaedam hic iacet cuius odorem mihi trans maria uentus detulit. Cedant iuris conditores, cedant omnia cocorum ingenia, cedant Apici fercula! Huius ollae condimentum solus sciuit Euclio.* Quid miramini? Aurum est quod sequor: *hoc est quod ultra maria et terras olet* (emphasis mine). The (alleged) originality of the parasite's

A remarkable novelty of this parasite is that, regardless of the essence and the title of his role, he is no longer yearning for a full stomach – but a full sack. A new target, real and palpable, is now a substitute for the conventional, or better, the symbolic one. The parasite himself takes care to reveal his intentions, seemingly contrary to the expectations of the audience. Whether the audience was really meant to be surprised or this was just a generic formula perhaps already conventional by that time, his declaration is striking. Mandrogerus is not a gluttonous and harmless sponger, a ridiculous cartoon clown drooling over a piece of bread on the floor: he is a downright thief, motivated by age-old human desire. Nominally still hungry for food, this parasite is in fact hungry for gold.[20]

Thinking of precedents, one should remember the claim of Erich Segal: "In Plautus, money is meaningless, coins are merely tokens to be redeemed for pleasure."[21] Therefore, regarding the comic conventions, this transition from the nutritive motivation of the parasite to the financial in the *Querolus*, is, mildly put, surprising. From a wider perspective, however, I suggest that such an evolution was only natural. Namely, the comic *topos* of parasitic hunger must have been utterly worn out by the time the *Querolus* was composed.[22] The author needed a scrounger

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methods and the overall boastful tone of the passage remind one of the monologue of the parasite Gnatho in Terence's *Eunuchus* (241–254); "statements of purpose" of this kind were otherwise frequent in Republican comedy: compare the episode of the slave in *Quer.* 38.19–42.20 with Plaut. *Stich.* 707–733.

[20] The terminology is very indicative; Mandrogerus is called *parasitus* several times in the introductory prologues (3.18; 4.1, 5, 13, 16), and only once in the play, by himself, in the pompous exposé cited above (23.19); this is what he was *officially* supposed to represent. However, during the action of the play, he is only referred to by names implying criminal activities: thief, impostor, and sacrileger. Apart from being called *furcifer* (53.16), *scelestus* (53.20; 57.17), *sacrilegus* (57.22), he is most often labeled *fraudulentus* (5.3, 6; 6.6; 53.9), *perfidus* (6.6, 15; 49.3; 51.10; 53.1), and *fur* (4.3; 6.12; 51.5, 10; 52.4; 61.6, 7); likewise, his fellow-parasites are called *coniurati* (50.28). The most telling, however, is the frequency of the terms denoting his deeds, namely, *fraus* (3.20; 5.3; 6.15; 51.14; 54.18; 56.16) and *furtum* (4.15; 6.11; 23.11; 51.5; 59.8, 17, 18; 60.3; 61.3).

[21] E. Segal, *Roman Laughter: the Comedy of Plautus* (New York: OUP, 1987²), 61; his argument is that "[t]he characters of Plautus display an attitude diametrically opposed to the markedly Roman regard for profit. His comedies almost always involve money matters, but never the pursuit of wealth for its own sake" (57); for convincing explanations of such an inversion, which he calls "topsy-turvydom," and of its intended exceptions, e.g., the greedy *leno* and the stingy *senex*, see the whole chapter, 42–69 (see also below, n. 69).

[22] The social and literary importance of food, however, was evergreen; see the selected letters of bishops from fifth-century Gaul analyzed by D. Shanzer, "Bishops, Letters, Fast, Food, and Feast in Later Roman Gaul," in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Gaul: Revisiting the Sources*, ed. R. W. Mathisen and D. R. Shanzer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 217–236.

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less plastic and trivial than what the comic tradition had to offer him. Carnal hunger is indeed the most down-to-earth (and, so, typically the most humorous) manifestation of one's striving for wellbeing. In the *Querolus*, this essentially *animal* instinct is – at last – raised to the level of understandable *human* aspiration for material prosperity. Caricatured physical appetite was a commonplace motif which the anonymous author applied only as an appropriate comic excuse for Mandrogerus' purely criminal intentions. Yet even if one imagines that financial profit may have been an *implied* objective of a parasitic profession all along, this is the first time it is said out loud in a comic context.[23] After centuries of pretending, the fun is over and the masks are down, as if the anonymous playwright finally decided to disclose that the emperor is naked.

Gold, that Fragrant Object of Desire

It is most amusing to inspect in detail how the author presented this evolution. As I intend to exemplify, he was fully aware of the comic conventions he transparently adapted, generating an effective parody of traditional parasitic requirements.

Concretely, allusions to food and gluttony in association with gold occur constantly in the *Querolus*. As early as in his exposé quoted above, Mandrogerus twice stresses the power of the "scent of gold" which reached and attracted him because "it is gold that sends its odour across seas and lands." The parasite's expected objective, food, is neatly replaced with the actual target of these parasites, gold, which accordingly has a pleasant fragrance. Immediately follows the reference to cooks and food. One of the lines in this passage is based on Plautus' favorite play on the word *ius*, which means "law," and "right," as well as "soup." Starting with *iuris conditores*, which alludes to both "cooks" and "legislators," the author of the *Querolus* continues the "gastro-metaphor" with a masterful wordplay on *conditum*, which can denote either "spice," "flavor" (from *condire*), or "depository," "hiding-place" (from *condĕre*). Thus, the line *huius ollae conditum solus sciuit Euclio* (24.3) can be understood either as "only Euclio knew the flavor of this dish," or alternatively as "only Euclio knew the location of the urn." The joke makes sense only from the perspective of the unconcealed and humorous food-to-gold transition.[24] Shortly

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[23] Alciphron's *Letters* 9–10 record petty thefts by parasites; their prey was, conveniently enough, silverware from the table.

[24] Duckworth, *The Complainer*, 951, spotted the pun without entering into further discussion, rendering it fairly well with "the secrets of this pot."

after a brief meeting about the conspiracy, the tricksters approach the house of Querolus, and Mandrogerus is as explicit as earlier: "I smell gold inside."[25]

The pot itself was an excellent starting point for puns, since the Latin *olla* can be used for a funerary urn with ashes, a vessel with gold, or a dish with food[26] – all three of them being key points of the play. To the great disappointment of the parasites/robbers, that same gold which in the beginning smelled hypnotically pleasant will later begin to stink, when they think that the urn contains only the ashes of the deceased:

> SYCOPH. Oh! My breath is caught in my throat. I've heard it said that *gold had an odour*, but the smell of this is really strong… The lead cover is full of openings and it breathes forth foul odours. I never knew before this that *gold could have such a rank smell*. It ought to have a stench like this for moneylenders. MAND. So, what do the *ashes smell* like? SYCOPH. Expense and grief, the sort of smell a wretched funeral demands. MAND. These ashes would seem to have had honorable treatment if they still have such a worthy *smell*.[27]

Here it is noticeable that at first the impostors are allegedly disgusted by the smell of gold, while at the same time they believe there is no treasure in the urn. Furthermore, the gold reeks precisely and only *because* they lament over its absence and the malodor is the materialization of their regret. Formally speaking, in their misperception they would be able to smell nothing but the remains of a cremated cadaver, and their conversation thus proceeds in that direction. Insisting on the stench of the gold *invisible* to the impostors is by no means an author's lapse, but just another ironic reference to the aromatic attributes of this gold. Conveniently, the odor of gold is justified humorously by its "culinary heritage" in the play, and

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[25] 25.27: *Sed interius mihi aurum olet* (translation mine).

[26] In its original meaning of "cooking dish" it is used, in its archaic form *aula*, e.g., in Cato's *De re rustica (passim)*, and frequently in Plautus (e.g., *Curc.* 369); an *olla* found containing money is, e.g., Cic. *Fam.* 9.8.14.2–3, or Plaut. *Aul.* 809. In a sense most interesting in understanding the puns in the *Querolus*, namely, that of a dish suitable for keeping ashes, it is found, e.g., in Plaut. *Amph.* 134, and *Curc.* 395–396.

[27] *Quer.* 48.11–16: *SYCOPH. Anima in faucibus. Audieram egomet* olere aurum*, istud etiam redolet… Claustrum illud plumbeum densa per foramina diris fragrat odoribus. Nunquam ante haec comperi* aurum sic ranciscere. *Vsurario cuilibet faetere hoc potest. MAND. Quisnam* cinerum est odor? *SYCOPH. Ille pretiosus atque tristis, cultus quem poscit miser. MAND. Honorifice hoc bustum tractatum apparet, cuius adhuc sic* redolet *dignitas* (slightly modifed Duckworth translation; emphases mine).

technically by the stench of the ashes in the urn. Throughout the *Querolus* it is gold which smells instead of food. Now, the ashes smell instead of gold.[28]

This overlapping of the three motifs – food, gold, and ashes – is masterfully conceived. The impostors' tragic illusion in the passage above finally yields Sardanapallus' cry of despair: "Where are we to turn now, disowned as we are? What spot will give us shelter? What pot will give us food?"[29] Duckworth mirrored the almost untranslatable *aula/olla* wordplay (court/vessel) the best he could, with "spot" and "pot," but he seems to have ignored or missed the possible ambiguity of the last line. The Latin *Quae nos olla tuebitur* can be understood either, as in his translation, "what dish will feed us," or, in a slightly wider sense but in the same vein, "what receptacle will provide us a living." But I suggest it can also be rendered as "what urn will preserve our remains."[30] In my interpretation, the line is mora than effectively drawn, since it puns on the three leitmotifs of the play: the official target of all parasites (food), the means of providing it, the actual objective of these parasites (gold), and the visible contents of the urn, which disguise the gold and ultimately hinder these parasites' ambitions (ashes). The impostors' tragedy is total, and the essential irony of the whole comedy, the dish-cash-ash triangle, is expressed in one ingenious pun.

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[28] The "smell of gold" is found in one instance in Plautus *(Aul.* 216*)*, but without any development of a food-gold relation. The stench of a corpse was an association which did not escape Juvenal in describing his disgust at the smell of Vibius Crispus, whose reek is "more overwhelming than a couple of funerals" (4.109: *quantum uix duo funera redolent*; tr. S. M. Braund, *Juvenal and Persius* [Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2004], 65).

[29] *Quer.* 47.22–23: *Quonam redituri sumus, tot abdicati? Quae nos aula recipiet? Quae nos olla tuebitur?*

[30] In addition, this could be a double pun, one being the polysemy of the word *olla*, another on *aula* and *olla*, since *aula*, apart from meaning "court" *(*Gk. *aulē)*, is also an earlier form of *olla*, used by Plautus exclusively (see above, n. 26, and *OLD*, s.vv.); in that case, both the lines *quae nos aula recipiet* and *quae nos olla tuebitur* would in fact mean the same, "what pot will keep us." *Aula* used instead of *olla* is found in the *Querolus* as well (47.24: *accede, amice, aulam iterum atque iterum uisita)*; immediately after follows a proverbial phrase, perfectly fitting the recurrent ambiguous symbolism of the pot in the play; the impostors, having failed to see the gold in the urn, at last gave up: "You can look for another pot to give you hope, my friend: this one is not warming us" (48.1–2: *Aliam spem quarere, amice, poteras; haec iam non calet*; translation mine). The adage, humorously adapted in the *Querolus*, dates back to Petronius, 38.13.1 *olla male feruet*, "the pot boils poorly," i.e., "affairs are going badly." This pot let the impostors down, and conveniently so, by losing its original culinary purpose, constantly punned upon: the proverbial pot *boils* poorly—but the pot from the *Querolus* is not even *warm*.

Lastly, that the author was consistently transparent in his abuse of the conventional parasitic parameters suggests an almost unnoticeably ironic remark. It is inserted in the conversation in the fourth scene between the three impostors. Mandrogerus tells his accomplices his dream, which professed that he would be the only one to come into possession of Euclio's gold. The dream, however, also foretold that the treasure would only suffice to fill his stomach, and Sycophanta promptly comments: "Why, that's a damned fine dream! What else are we looking for except to satisfy our bellies and gullets?"[31] The gold-rush of the *Querolus* is here reduced to purely biological appetite, at first sight somewhat unexpectedly, since the "enormous pile of gold"[32] would have naturally been expected to provide for a great deal more than just a full belly. There the author admits once more that he was well aware of what was *supposed* to be expected from parasites, but through his characters he mocks the conventional frame he had to force them into.[33]

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[31] 25.3–9: *MAND. Dicebat nescio quis somnianti nocte hac mihi thesaurum istum quem requirimus mihi seruari manifesta fide nec cuiquam alteri concessum esse aurum illud inuenire nisi mihi. Sed insuper adiecit ex istis opibus hoc tantummodo mihi profuturum quod consumpsisset gula. SYCOPH. Optime edepol somniasti. Quid autem aliud quaerimus nisi tantum quod sufficiat uentri et gulae?* It is symptomatic that, although the three parasites are on a joint project, the gold is explicitly reserved only for the leader, Mandrogerus, and it will fill only his stomach *(nec cuiquam alteri… nisi mihi; mihi profuturum…).* Perhaps it is not a coincidence, given that a group of three parasites is not attested in earlier comedy; the only reference to three parasites together is in Alciphron's *Letters*, 7. Perhaps the parasite is imagined as too selfish to share anything, although, for that matter, no group of three characters appears in any of the preserved plays.

[32] *Quer.* 6.2: *enorme pondus auri.*

[33] A reflection upon the parasitic conventions is also to be found at the very end of the preserved part of the play. After Mandrogerus is installed as the personal parasite of Querolus, the two remaining parasites, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus, now left on their own, ask Querolus for some money; they do it quite humbly since they know that "one house can't provide for three gluttons" *(62.5–7: SYCOPH. Et nosmet scimus, Querole, quoniam tris edaces domus una non capit. Verum quaesumus, uiatici nobis aliquid ut aspergas, quoniam spem omnem amisimus).* An earlier line (21.5) also seems to reveal "parasitic" terminology; confused about Lar's announcement that he will become wealthy, Querolus is eager to know: *Numquid rex aliquid largietur?* Here the term *rex* was most likely chosen with respect to its meaning in the comic context (*OLD*, s.v. *rex*, 8), namely, the patron and the benefactor of the parasite, cf. Plaut. *As.* 919; *Capt.* 92; *Stich.* 455; Ter. *Phorm.* 338. Duckworth, *The Complainer*, 912, translates it in that meaning; Jacquemard-LeSaos, *Querolus*, 23, offers multiple interpretations of *rex*, and remains indecisive as usual.

Cash to Ash: the Fallen Trickster

The extraordinary appearance of the parasite in the *Querolus* does not end with the alteration of his target. Mandrogerus' self-proclaimed profession in his monologue quoted above, metaphorically presented as man-hunting, is swindling and trickery, even in public.[34] In two consecutive lines (23.18–20) he declares himself both an impostor and a parasite. Although tricks and scams, sometimes entrusted to parasites, have been powerful comic vehicles ever since, Mandrogerus' accumulation of these functions is drastically unconventional. He cannot even be classified as a "sykophant-parasite" or a "Phormio-type" parasite, for he is not conducting a fraud as an agent, at the request of and for the benefit of his patron, but – quite the opposite – against the latter's will and to his detriment.[35] To be sure, pretence of friendship was by no means foreign to the earlier comic parasites and opportunism was virtually mandatory.[36] But Mandrogerus' aim is atypical, not his means; he does not betray his patron to find a better one, but to be emancipated.

Here we see a potentially severe violation of not only the elementary parasite conventions but also of plain logic: a parasite does not exist without a host. The one and only typical trait Mandrogerus displays is the abuse of trust with a view to profiting from his victim's naïveté – which, incidentally, as Plautus' clever slaves prove, was by no means only characteristic of parasites. But even so, he betrays the comic type lacking the two basic ingredients, humble subservience and dependence; gluttony, as shown, has already been taken care of. Strangely,

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[34] *Quer.* 23.15–20 (see above, n. 19). Shortly after, Mandrogerus uses the hunting comparison again (26.1–3). Cf. Phormio's showing-off with the number of "victims" in 327–328 and the hunting metaphor in 330–334; see also below, n. 56, and Damon, *Mask of The Parasite*, 18.

[35] Similarly to sykophants, and just like Phormio (cf. *Phorm.* 374), Mandrogerus professes legal expertise (*Quer.* 61.11–20), although without having actually attested it in action. Also, Phormio, the most "sykophantic" of the parasites, is on several occasions, and deservedly so, called *amicus*: 324, 562, 598, 1049 (562 even *amico amicus*, "a [true] friend to a friend," cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 658). Giese, *De parasiti persona*, 21, called him *adiutor fidelissimus domini*. See also a charming essay of T. J. Moore, "Who Is the Parasite?: Giving and Taking in *Phormio*," in *Greek and Roman Comedy: Translations and Interpretations of Four Representative Plays*, ed. S. O'Bryhim, G. F. Franko, T. J. Moore, D. Olson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 253–264; Moore sees Phormio as "the greatest benefactor in a play filled with benefaction" (260).

[36] Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 100, reminds one that Plautus' Curculio, for instance, was ready to "transfer his attentions to a new patron when it looked like the old one had exhausted his resources."

even though Mandrogerus is visibly anything but the conventional parasite, he is labeled precisely so,[37] and frequent food-related puns are hardly a coincidence. I believe there are clear indications that the author deliberately insisted on the formal label of *parasitus* while investing his "parasite" with capacities improper to the type, aiming at giving birth to a new comic character: the freelance impostor as a separate role.[38] The parasite – traditionally greedy and ready for anything – was the best available candidate for such a conversion, but the parasitic conventions were apparently still binding. Although the author did modify and overtly *parody* them, in a deft manner he ultimately preserved them.

This was achieved through the experiment I mentioned above. Mandrogerus is introduced in the comedy as the former parasite of Euclio, and ends it as the parasite of Querolus. In between, however, he is striving to become what the author wanted, yet what a parasite by definition cannot possibly be: independent. Interestingly enough, if only Mandrogerus had played it safe and accepted his designated share of the treasure instead of risking for the whole – what a petty parasite, a born loser, would have been expected to do – he would have eventually become rich and ceased to be a parasite.[39] The outcome of his futile ventures is thus an amazing paradox.[40] If Mandrogerus had acted conventionally he would have ended utterly unconventionally. Unfortunately for him, but fortunately for the conventions, his illegitimate ambitions are frustrated, and a happy ending – the conventional, and indeed the only possible ending – was just a matter of time. The author, however, found a conveniently paradoxical solution: Mandrogerus was sent back where he belongs not only *in spite* of his efforts to escape being a parasite; he was restored to his initial and only appropriate status precisely *because*

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[37] See above, n. 19.

[38] *Quer.* 26.23 and 29.3–12 implies that Mandrogerus would have been imagined as just one among many impostors who were wandering around in the world of the *Querolus*.

[39] During his review of my drafts, Professor Timothy J. Moore expressed suspicion at this point as to whether a parasite would even want to become rich and independent at all, rightly quoting Terence's parasite Phormio (325–340), who celebrates the destiny of parasites, boasting how they are much better off than patrons. Although Phormio's statement appeals to reason (parasites get everything they need but are luckily relieved of responsibility), it only conforms to the conventionally festive mood seen also in, e.g., Plaut. *Stych.* 707–733 and *Quer.* 38.19–42.20, where the slaves praise their condition as "freedom." My impression is that within the theatrical cosmos the poor and the dependent are certainly happy as they are, but there is no instinct more innate to humans than the desire for freedom and material security – and the present study is all about that.

[40] As well pointed out by Jacquemard-LeSaos, *Querolus*, 26, and Lana, *Analisi*, 31, paradox is the foundation of the structure of the *Querolus*.

of those efforts.[41] In an original twist, he was assigned to violate the rules for the moment in order to observe them in the end.

The borderline between a mercenary trickster and an independent one was far thinner in real life than in a literary genre still limited by inherited conventions. This experimental parasite was dispatched to point to that line and to cross it for a moment on his way to the real world – a world in which criminals can succeed – but was withdrawn just in time to remain within the comic frame. In signaling one direction of the development of this comic role, the anonymous author still makes no attempt to deny that the *Querolus* is, before and after all, just a play, staged in a cosmos of fantasy.

The Applied Parasites

So much for comedy. But Mandrogerus' episode of independence, although one can regard it as an entertaining interlude, is all too symptomatic to be discarded as just an original artistic treatment of a stereotypic comic figure. For the most part Mandrogerus does not fit the pattern of the comic type, but could have been inspired by more concrete individuals.

The image of false friends perfidiously prowling around a rich acquaintance whose end was near was known already to Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Persius, Seneca, Petronius, Pliny, Martial, Juvenal, and Apuleius; literary references to this phenomenon are incalculable.[42] The practice became known as *captatio*, "legacy-hunting," and these predators, hoping for a share of the inheritance, were

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[41] As early as in the prologue, the restoration is actually announced: "The outcome is this: as a result of *fate and their own merit*, the master and the parasite are restored each to his due place" (*Quer.* 4.15–17: *Exitus ergo hic est: ille dominus, ille parasitus denuo* fato atque merito *conlocantur sic ambo ad sua*; translation and emphasis mine). The other factor of Mandrogerus' failure, *fatum*, intervening at the critical moment as a *deux ex machina*, hiding the gold beneath the ashes; artificial as it may seem, this touch of magic was after all a legitimate dramaturgical instrument.

[42] To list just the most celebrated instances, see, e.g., Cic. *Parad.* 5.39.1–6, Ov. *Ars am.* 2.271–272; Hor. *Sat.* 1.8, 2.1, 2.3, 2.5 (cf. Porph. *Comm. Hor.* 2.2,); *Ep.* 2.2.182–198 (cf. Porph. *Comm. Hor. Ep.* 2.5); Pers. 5.73; Sen. *Benef.* 4.20.3; Petron. 124.2–4, 125.3; Plin. *Ep.* 2.20; Iuv. 1.37, 6.40, 10.196–202; Apul. *Apol.* 100. Martial's epigrams are a treasury of *captatores*: 1.10, 2.26, 2.76, 3.76, 4.5, 4.56, 6.33, 6.62, 8.27, 8.38, 9.8, 9.48, 9.80, 9.88, 9.100, 11.44, 11.83, 11.87, 12.10, and 12.90. Martial, however, was far from allergic to *captatio* himself: see C. A. Williams, *Martial: Epigrams, Book Two* (New York: OUP, 2004), 105, with references.

sometimes called *captatores (sc. hereditatis)* or *heredipetae*, "legacy-hunters."[43] How long and by what means certain *captatores* had been preparing their profitable strategic positions and what their particular relations were with their prospective benefactors depended on each case,[44] but the favorite targets of *captatio* were the rich, the old, and the childless.[45] All of the *captatores* had in common that they expected substantial material compensation for their merits. The fact that a practice as concrete as *captatio* was a frequent topic of colorful satirical descriptions shows that it must have, in a presumably less colorful form, really existed; it is only human to hope for a great deal of money with as few investments as possible.

Naturally, one should be cautious in taking satire and epigrams for granted in establishing statistics; Edward Champlin is justly skeptical about interpreting the literary treatments of *captatio* as a source for social or legal history.[46] Indeed, the objects of satirical writings were not necessarily the most widespread patterns of behavior and social practices, but often merely the most inspring ones.[47] After all, Roman literary sources treated this potentially remunerative business as a moral and not as a social problem, and since the *captatio* was not a legal category,

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[43] On the notion of *captatio*, see V. A. Tracy, "Aut Captantur aut Captant," *Latomus* 39 (1980): 399–402; K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 237–248; and especially E. Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C. – A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 87–102. Champlin's definition of *captatio* in legal and social aspect is worth remembering: "Where *falsum* [i.e., forgery of a will] was a legal crime, easy to charge and difficult to prove, *captatio* was a moral crime, easy to charge and all but impossible to prove" (87).

[44] "Captators in literature come in all shapes and sizes, wives, fathers-in-law, cognates, mistresses, lovers, gigolos, freedmen, freedwomen, friends, priests, magistrates, even the emperor," Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 89.

[45] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 240; these three recommendations for attracting *captatores* are brilliantly summarized by Martial, 11.44.

[46] Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 94, warns that the term *captatio,* invented by Horace, does not occur in inscriptions and legal documents, and that "with *captatio* we are breathing a rather rarefied literary air, specifically that of Roman satire: it is not a word in daily currency" (95); he thus replies to Hopkins' statement that "[t]he very existence of a special word for them [*sc. captatores*] in Latin is evidence enough that their activities became a well-established element in Roman life," Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 239. Hopkins' "well-established element" might be a slight overstatement, but both authors are right to some extent, since the *captatio*, legally undefined, did not in fact require the word to be "officially" acknowledged.

[47] Here I could not agree more with Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 241: "I am not suggesting that such behaviour was universal, only that such humour had a sharp point because the behaviour it laughed at… actually occurred."

it was often a matter of personal impression.[48] In any case, the frequency and the power of the literary image are more significant for the present discussion than its measurable correspondence to Roman reality.[49]

The *captator*, then, became a literary *topos*. Originally a satirical stock figure, it also proved to possess developmental and associative potential. There were numerous points of contact between the *captator* and the parasite, which satirists did not fail to underline.[50] Typically, the methods of *captatores* were those of the parasite: persistent flattery, manipulating the victim's vanity, simulating friendship, keeping company whenever possible, doing dirty jobs, and so on.[51] In effect the parasites only differed in their prey. But for evaluating the literary portrayal of both, this difference, I suggest, goes beyond economic consequences. The *captator*'s expectation of a financial reward is simply more understandable, and thus closer to life, than the eternal parasitic craving for food-and-nothing-but-food. This is the "realism" of Mandrogerus that I argue for. Unlike parasitism, the *captatio* had certain detectable social connotations,[52] and where the parasite was but a symbol and a caricatured mask, for at least some *captatores* there is evidence that they existed.[53] Briefly put, in the conventional and *imaginary* setting of the comic stage the parasites were the champions, but beyond it they were outplayed and outnumbered by the *captatores*.[54]

And what of the *Querolus*? Although Mandrogerus' profile is portrayed only through the events that follow, according to all existing literary models he is to be

[48] Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 101 ff.

[49] "[W]hen figures like the *captator* become stock characters, there are two possible reactions, not mutually exclusive. One, perhaps the natural one, is to conclude that there was a lot of it about. The other, less obvious perhaps, is to look to quality, not to quantity: not that it was necessarily common, but that it was felt to be very, very bad," Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 102.

[50] In Classical comedy, legacy-hunting is coupled only with the "neighboring activity" of parasitism, sykophancy (Ter. *Andr.* 814–5). For an elaborate discussion of the literary image of *captatores* in connection with parasites, see Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite*, 118 ff.

[51] Cf. Cic. *Parad.* 5.39.1–6, and Juv. 10.196–202;

[52] All the factors that fostered *captatio* Champlin calls "social pressure points," Champlin, *Final Judgments*, 100–101; see also Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 239–240.

[53] For example, the infamous M. Aquilius Regulus (Plin. *Ep.* 2.20). Champlin, *Final Judgements*, 98, suspects that many more instances of *captatio* would have been recorded in non-satirical sources if the pen had been in less friendly hands – unlike, e.g., those of Cornelius Nepos when reporting on T. Pomponius Atticus (*Att.* 21.1).

[54] It was only logical that Juvenal professed this lucrative hypocrisy as one of the reasons which made it impossible not to write satire (1.29–38).

imagined as practicing some sort of legacy-hunting while a parasite of Euclio. Or, if one is naively sympathetic, he simply happened to be – how convenient – in the right place at the right time. Implicit as it may seem, Mandrogerus' *captatio* was the imperative prerequisite of his future enterprise, and it even continues after the death of the testator, albeit with adjusted tactics. Alongside two other faces of him that we see – that of the quasi-sykophant and the "would-be-independent" parasite – Mandrogerus is de facto a *heredipeta*. The written agreement between Mandrogerus and Euclio, announced in the Prologue and later seriously consulted as evidence for determining the legal heirs,[55] proves that the *Querolus* was not all about just *any* gold – but about *inherited* gold.[56] It was more than a random choice of words that the impostors' tragic disappointment with the contents of the urn was followed by Sardanapallus' instinctive reaction: "Treasure, you have disinherited us."[57]

The fact that Mandrogerus is not actually caught *in flagrante* is, in my view, no obstacle to labeling him *captator*; it is, in fact, only expected. Namely, the strategies of legacy-hunters often ridiculed in satire were, as listed above, nothing but parasitical. First, I hope to have demonstrated that humiliations of that kind would have been most inappropriate to Mandrogerus, whose "parasitism" was only nominal and temporary, and that for a reason. Second, the author's choice to omit the explicitly derisible, parasitic side of *captatio* – which in a comedy would be most welcome – and to use legacy-hunting merely as the premise of the plot instead, suggests that its humorous potential had already been thoroughly exploited in literature and thereby consumed. In the *Querolus*, this notoriously lucrative depravity was apparently downgraded to the level of ordinary human behavior, as common as any other basis of a plot; in Classical comedy it was love.

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[55] *Quer.* 3.19; 51.12–14; 54.9–26.

[56] The hunting vocabulary from Mandrogerus' exposé (23.15–20) was frequent in literary descriptions of legacy hunting, as noted by Tracy, "Aut Captatur aut Captant," 400–401, with references (cf. above, n. 34); *captatio*, after all, means "hunting." Tracy, ibidem, also quotes quite a few instances of the "hunted ones" making good use of the hopes of the "hunting ones," and the *captatores* ultimately ending up swindled themselves – just as was hinted in the Prologue of the *Querolus* (4.7; 6.13; later confirmed by Lar in 51.5–7), and just as Mandrogerus had feared (47.10–15; 49.1–4; 60.12–22). Lastly, it is perhaps more than coincidence that the name of Horace's *captator*, Pantolabus, "Take-all," (*Sat.* 1.8 and 2.1), is used in the twelfth-century remake of the *Querolus*, the *Aulularia* of Vital of Blois, for the role of the slave named Pantomalus in the *Querolus*; it may be that while reading the *Querolus* Vital of Blois was reminded of Horace's scrounger.

[57] *Quer.* 47.21: *Exheredasti nos, thesaure.*

What Might People Say?

The literary *topos* of legacy-hunting was not short-lived. A source approximately matching the composition of the *Querolus* both geographically and chronologically adds another clue. St Jerome's letter 117, dated before 406,[58] is addressed to an anonymous Christian woman and her daughter in Gaul. The former was a widow, the latter a virgin; the two women had been living separately and each had taken a monk into her home as a "protector." Among providing other moral instructions, Jerome warns the two women of the potential danger of their decisions, that is, that gossip might arise. Referring to one of the monks, Jerome demonstrates how the household, and consequently the community, might react: "This one calls him 'parasite,' that one calls him 'impostor,' another call him 'legacy-hunter,' some call him by any other name they can think of."[59]

The letter is usually considered to be fictional, composed as a rhetorical exercise.[60] This is likely, but even for that purpose no one would have chosen a topic so absolutely unimaginable. In words of Andrew Cain, Jerome "employed the epistolary medium to declaim about a hypothetical scenario that conceivably could have occurred anywhere in the Christian world."[61] It is beyond doubt that Jerome was adducing a valid example of legacy-hunting in depicting, like ancient satirists, quite a familiar image. But unlike them, Jerome was faced with one specific target group. In the fourth-century West, in the Christian empire, the various *captatores* of the Classical world were replaced by a new breed of opportunists, who could profit considerably from inheritance-hunting – the clergy.[62] Letter

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[58] J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 276, n. 9.

[59] Hier. *Ep.* 117.8: *ille parasitum, iste inpostorem, hic heredipetam, alius nouo quolibet appellat uocabulo* (translation mine).

[60] For a sound discussion on the nature of the letter, see J. Lössl, "Satire, Fiction and Reference to Reality in Jerome's *Epistula* 117," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998): 172–192. The most recent analysis is A. Cain, "Jerome's *epistula* CXVII on the *subintroductae*: Satire, Apology, and Ascetic Propaganda in Gaul," *Augustinianum* 49 (2009): 119–143. Cain classified the letter as "a specimen of the *suasoria* genre of rhetorical writing" (126).

[61] Cain, "Jerome's *epistula* CXVII," 127.

[62] I. J. Davidson, "*Captatio* in the Fourth-century West," *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001): 33–43, at 35; summarizing the phenomenon of *captatio* in antiquity, Davidson notes (p. 34) that "in reality the practice was just one among many social nuisances," while "*captatio* as a literary *topos* is intended to be a symptom of general moral depravity being traced in an individual or social context," and concludes (p. 43) that "[t]he underlying seriousness of the quest to secure assets undoubtedly produced individual excesses, which in turn rendered appropriate the persistence of classical caricatures in Christian rhetoric." Cf.

117 in particular was directed against the ancient Christian ascetic practice of *subintroductae*, the cohabitation of men and women in an intimate relationship without engaging in sexual intercourse.[63] Given that, Jerome's polemical remark on the legacy-hunting practice of certain monks as a potentially related issue in one concrete case was only a side-effect, but precisely as such a useful hint for the present discussion.

Jerome's technique is most suggestive. Josef Lössl qualified the letter as "a piece of fiction packed with satire,"[64] and Jerome's debt in this letter to both Horace and Classical comedy has long been identified.[65] Small wonder, then, that Jerome applied the known satirical association and effectively decorated notorious *captatores* with parasitical colors, just like Horace, Juvenal, or Apuleius – and just like the author of the *Querolus* – had done. In the quoted passage the choice of words is indicative. Jerome employed the three terms – *parasitus*, *inpostor*, *heredipeta* – approximately as synonyms, and all three of them perfectly fit the only known comic parasite of late antiquity. Albeit deliberately disguised under the comic mask of *parasitus*, Mandrogerus is in practice a *heredipeta*, one whose modus operandi is imposture.

This is far from proposing any intrinsic similarity between the legacy-hunting of the parasite in the *Querolus* and Jerome's concrete and gender-related *captatio*. The link I see is an adaptable commonplace. Two details are noteworthy. First, Jerome did not warn that he – a rhetorician with a profound Classical education – might evoke the learned satirical association of parasites with legacy-hunters at the sight of the monks in question. It was meant to be, so Jerome would have us believe, an immediate and logical association for everyone, reportedly even slaves. Provided that his referring to a "second-hand" source was not *only* a rhetorical trick for simulating objectivity, it is a good pointer for identifying the stock phenomenon. Second, and accordingly, Jerome mentioned the three rogues merely *en passant*, without finding it necessary to insert additional binding tissue among them. Such a casual remark, in a text so carefully constructed, is valuable for this study precisely because it appears so casual. It suggests that all

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also A. Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 115 ff.

[63] Cain, "Jerome's *epistula* CXVII," 127ff, with references, and Lössl, "Satire, Fiction and Reference to Reality," 183.

[64] Lössl, ibidem.

[65] See, e.g., N. Adkin, "Terence's *Eunuchus* and Jerome," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 137 (1994): 187–195, and Lössl, "Satire, Fiction and Reference to Reality," 181–183. For other Classical reflections in the letter, see Cain, "Jerome's *epistula* CXVII," 142, n. 88.

three members of the "extortive trinity" were by that time fully recognizable and *mutually complementary* stock figures whose interchangeability needed no further illustration. Hence, if indeed Jerome's association of a parasite, an impostor, and a legacy-hunter was only natural, then so was Mandrogerus' accumulation of these functions.[66]

As far as is known, Mandrogerus was unprecedented in comedy, but most likely inspired and assisted by the legacy-hunters who appear in the ancient satirists and St. Jerome.[67] The satirical connection was already there, but not the reciprocity; every *captator* was by definition a parasite, whereas until Mandrogerus appeared no known comic parasite had been a *captator*. The rules of the comic genre were thus significantly updated, and, I think, not unexpectedly so. *Captatio* was an upgraded version and the most practical application of parasitism, while parasitism was the most fertile literary ground.[68]

One must not forget, however, that *captatio* was less a social than a literary epidemic. Roman satire and epigrams, the quoted letter of St Jerome, and finally the *Querolus*, were concerned about nothing more than a "hypothetical scenario that conceivably could have occurred anywhere." The "realism" of Mandrogerus is thus only relative, but for comedy it was a giant step forward; all the earlier plays recruited their parasites for scenarios that conceivably could have occurred only

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[66] Sidonius Apollinaris' letter 3.13 (c. 480) employs the name of Terence's parasite Gnatho ("Chewer") as an emblem of parasitic craftsmanship; the lengthy and picturesque description includes numerous traits that cannot be attributed to the parasite of Classical comedy: Sidonius' parasite was accused of nearly everything vile and abominable.

[67] Whether the anonymous author of the *Querolus* perhaps alluded to the very same problem as Jerome, greedy and perfidious monks, would be a challenging question, all the more tempting given the other possible references to monasticism in the *Querolus*; see K. Smolak, "Das Gaunertrio im Querolus," *Wiener Studien* 101 (1988): 327–338. The very etymology of Mandrogerus' name is an issue: see Jacquemard-LeSaos, *Querolus*, 75; I. Lana, *Analisi del Querolus*, 32; and Smolak, "Das Gaunertrio," 333–335.

[68] More than a millennium had to pass until Ariosto's *Il Negromante* (1520) presented the charlatan-magician or Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1606) the legacy-hunter as fully comic roles. Interestingly, by the sixteenth century the legacy-hunter had become just as outdated as the Roman comic parasite seems to have been in the time of Mandrogerus: see B. Parker, D. Bevington, *Volpone of Ben Jonson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 2. For tricksters and legacy-hunters as stock characters, see J. L. Burgess, "The Trickster in Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama: the Development of a Western Archetype" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1979); W. R. Dynes, "The Trickster-figure in Jacobean City Comedy," *Studies in English Literature: 1500–1900*, 33, No. 2 (1993): 365–384; and J. D. Canfield, *Tricksters & Estates: on the Ideology of Restoration Comedy* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997).

on a comic stage. Previously the comic parasite had been nothing but an abstract symbol of inexplicable perennial hunger, an artificial depository of the lowest instincts, and a grotesque, almost bestial, mask without a human face behind it. Mandrogerus was the first "applied" comic parasite; he is the incarnation of a cartoon hero. From what is known of the history of comedy, Mandrogerus represents a decisive phase of development: the first definitional "bad guy" of comedy *in statu nascendi.*[69]

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[69] Segal, *Roman Laughter*, 70–98, through an impressive analysis and inspiring interpretation, proves that the only characters to be perceived as "negative" in Plautine comedy are those "spoilsports" (e.g., the *leno*, the *miles*, and the *senex auarus*) who are guilty only of being the "polar opposite" of the spirit of festival – and nothing else; cf. above, n. 21.

THE BYZANTINE ARMY IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS BETWEEN THE FIFTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES: A SURVEY OF MILITARY INSIGNIA

Jelena Jarić 🔸

Material culture is one of the basic means of establishing communication between two or more groups or within the boundaries of a single group. Sometimes objects speak louder than words, especially when surrounded by people of varied origins, languages, and customs. The Byzantine army in the Early Middle Ages was such a conglomerate of people with different backgrounds. The tumultuous period of the rise of the Byzantine Empire demanded that its army be flexible and open to new weapons and new ways of waging war, as well to the soldiers recruited. The constant need of *foederati* resulted in a great number of barbarians among the troops of the Byzantine army.

The army became the very place where the military and artistic experience of the barbarians and the *Romaioi* mixed. As a result of this, the personal military equipment of a soldier who served in the Byzantine army became eclectic. Some of the elements were inherited from the equipment of the Roman legions, some from the barbarians who served as *foederati*. Belts with a buckle and massive fibulae were universal parts of the uniform of every soldier, beginning with lower ranks and ending with the generals. They had a utilitarian function, but also served to mark the military profession and, possibly, military rank. They were worn on the belt and chest area and were clearly visible whether the soldier was an infantryman or mounted on a horse. More precious materials and more elaborated craftsmanship were reserved for the belts and fibulae of higher ranking officers, who could afford more costly insignia themselves, or received them as a sign of imperial gratitude after a successful military campaign.

I will try to approach the presence of the Byzantine army in the Central Balkans from the fifth to the seventh century via military insignia and try to find out how much can be learned by using only this material evidence. I will equate the presence of such insignia on a site with Byzantine military activity and, since most of the finds treated here come from fortresses on the borders with other provinces, I will try to discover if the presence of larger quantities of such material

along a border can be connected with a stronger military presence in that area as a result of it being more exposed to raiding activity.[1]

The material analyzed here is composed predominantly of stray finds: 16 belt buckles, 20 belt fittings and 36 fibulae. It comes mostly from the provinces of Macedonia Secunda (also known as Macedonia Salutaris) and Macedonia Prima. They bordered on the north with the province of Dardania, on the east with Dacia Mediterranea, and on the west with both Praevalitana and Epirus Nova (*Fig. 1*).

The belts worn by the soldiers of the Byzantine army were composed of several elements: a buckle on one end and a metal "tongue" on the other. Along the length of the leather base many metal fittings were applied, including so-called "ribs" to prevent the twisting of the belt. Sometimes they had little hooks on one side, used for hanging requisites like a sheath for a dagger or a quiver for arrows. A characteristic that distinguished the early Byzantine belt buckles from their Roman predecessors is how the buckles were applied to the belt; the Roman ones were applied by studs, but the Byzantine examples have three massive rings on the back.

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[1] The raids that hit the Central Balkans were not isolated ones; rather they were part of a wider raiding pattern. The raids usually started at the Danubian *limes* and if not stopped or weakened, they continued southwards. About the raiding activity in the Lower Danube Region, see István Bóna, "Die Awarenfeldzüge und der Untergang der byzantinischen Provinzen an der Unteren Donau," in *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.–7. Jahrhundert*, ed. Csanád Bálint (Budapest: Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 10, 2000). These raiding patterns are also visible in the numismatic material. See more in D. M. Metcalf, "Avar and Slav Invasions into the Balkan Peninsula (c. 575–625): The Nature of the Numismatic Evidence," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991): 140–148; G. L. Duncan, *Coin Circulation in the Danubian and Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire AD 294–578* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1993), 55–76; Vladimir Popović, *Aux origines de le slavisation des Balkans: la constitutions des premières Sklavinies macédoniennes vers la fin du Ve siècle* (Paris: Comptes rendus des Acadèmie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, 1980), 240–244; Maja Hadzi-Maneva, "Hoard of *solidi* and *siliquae* of Stobi," in *Coins and Mints in Macedonia,* ed. Cvetan Grozdanov (Skopje: Macedonian Academy of Science and Art and the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia, 2001), 69; [Z. Vinčić and M. Hadzi-Maneva] Ж. Винчиќ и М. Хаци-Манева, "Еден колективен нумизматички наод на римски бронзи од античкиот театар во Стоби" [A collective numismatic find of Roman bronze coins in the antique theatre in Stobi], *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* 4 (2000): 55–76; and [Jovan Kondijanov] Јован Кондијанов, "Прилог за упадот на Кутригурите на територија на Илирик во 540 година" [A note on the Coutrigur raid in the territory of Illyricum in 540], *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* 1 (1994): 75–81.
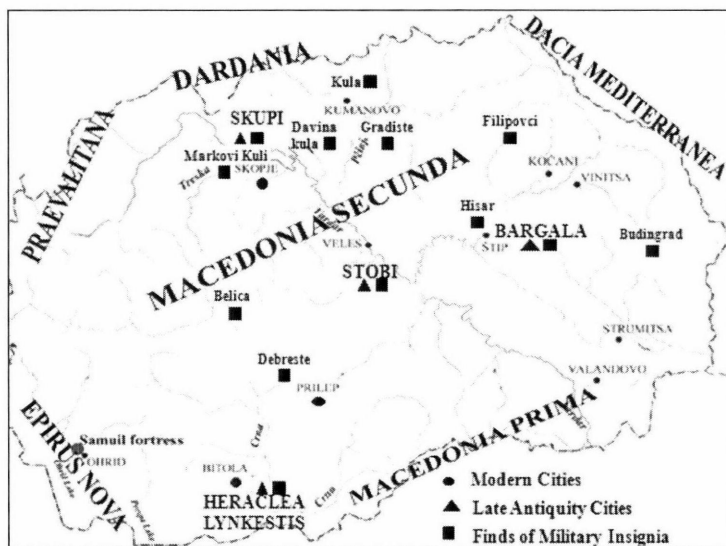
Fig. 1. Distribution of military insignia with the indication of provinces,
prepared by the author.

Belts with buckles and metal fittings probably originated from older, Roman forms.[2] Still, they were adopted by the Germanic tribes and the Avars after their arrival in Europe and new forms emerged, bearing elaborate decoration with mythological symbolism.[3] Byzantine buckles had a parallel evolution with the barbarian ones, probably serving as a basic pattern for the latter.[4] Yet, the barbarian

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[2] Professors Ivan Mikulčić and Viktor Lilčić dedicated a part of their research to the Early Medieval belt buckles and fibulae found on the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia. The results of this research, mostly distribution patterns and dating on stylistic analysis and parallels with similar finds, was published in: [Ivan Mikulčić and Viktor Lilčić] Иван Микулчиќ и Виктор Лилчиќ, *Фибули и појасни украси од 6 и 7 век во Македонија* [Fibulae and belt decorations from the sixth and seventh centuries found in Macedonia], (Skopje: The Faculty of Philosophy of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, 1995), 266.The drawings in *Figs. 2, 4 and 5* are taken from this publication. I would like to thank Professor Viktor Lilčić for his kind permission to let me use them in this article.

[3] [Ivana Popović] Ивана Поповић, *Златни Аварски појас из околине Сирмијума* [An Avar golden belt from the vicinity of Sirmium], (Belgrade: National Museum of Belgrade, 1997), 20.

[4] For more information about the relations between the Byzantine and Avar belt buckles, see Zdenko Vinski, "O kasnim bizantskim kopčama i o pitanju njihova odnosa s avarskim ukrasnim tvorevinama" [Late Byzantine belt buckles and the question of their relation to Avar decorative craftwork], *The Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum* 8, No.1 (1975):

and Byzantine art influenced each other, so one cannot really state which one was the archetype when it comes to belt buckles or fibulae.

The belt buckles are stray finds in most cases, so they lack an archaeological context. The dating was done on the base of stylistic analysis and typology.[5] Most of the buckle finds belong to the Sucidava type *(Fig. 2, no. 1–10)*. The Sucidava belt buckles represent the oldest type of Byzantine buckled belts, dating from 550–600 C.E. They have a quite wide range of distribution – from the Balkan provinces to the Crimea. The decoration of this type is quite simple, with a motif of a Greek cross and a lunette. This decoration can tentatively be identified as Christian. The decoration of the second variant represents an anthropomorphic mask. The imitation of human facial features is achieved by various combinations of the cross and the lunette, as well as by adding some additional decoration such as concentric circles. There are many sub-variants of the two basic variants that indicate a productive expansion in the late sixth century.[6]

So far, 12 specimens of Sucidava belt buckles have been found in the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia *(Table 1)*. Except for those from Stobi

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57–74. See also Joachim Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap, Albanien* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie die Wissenschaften 184, 1986), 61–62, and Zdenko Vinski, "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u Salonitskoj regii prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslovenskog substrata" [The Late Antique autochthonic occupation in the area of Salona seen through the archaeological remnants of the pre-Slavic substratum], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku* 69 (1974): 37.

[5] The typology employed in this article was created by Joachim Werner, Syna Uenze, and Zdenko Vinski based on military insignia finds from necropolises and coin-dated destruction layers of fortresses. That sets them in a closed archaeological context and makes it possible to build a relative chronological system for them. Joachim Werner was the first to indicate the possible Byzantine provenance of these belt buckles and made a typology of them, while Zdenko Vinski tried to find the origin of these artifacts in the older Roman and local, autochthonic traditions of the Balkans and Italy. Ivan Mikulčić and Viktor Lilčić have also adopted the typologies of Werner and Uenze, adding the local variants that are typical only for Macedonia. For Uenze's work and contribution, see Footnote 16. For this type of object the most important comprehensive study is: Mechtild Schulze-Dörlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge in Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum I–II* (Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 30/1 and 30/2), (Mainz: RGZM, 2009).

6 Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси*, 270. For more about Sucidava buckle belts, see Dumitru Tudor, "Spätrömische Gürtelbeschläge aus Südrumänien," *Dacia* 9–10 (1945): 513. Dumitru Tudor directed the excavation of the fortress of Sucidava. For more about the fortress of Sucidava, see Dumitru Tudor, "La fortificazione delle città romane della Dacia nel sec. III dell'e.n.," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 14, No. 3 (1965): 368–380.
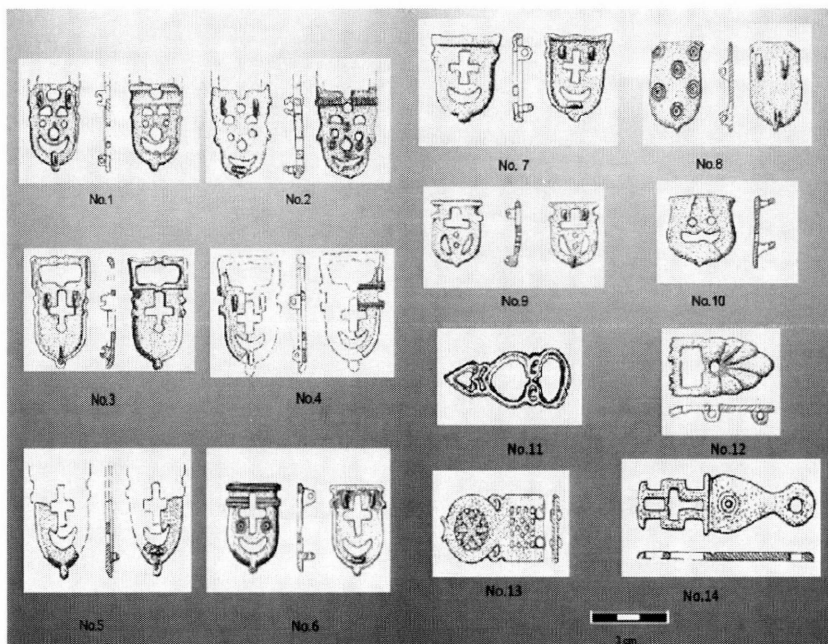
Fig. 2. Metal belt buckles, taken from Иван Микулчиќ и Виктор Лилчиќ, Фибули и појасни украси од 6 и 7 век во Македонија, *195–200.*

and Heraclea Lynkestis, they all come from the fortresses situated in Macedonia Secunda, which guarded the border passages to neighboring provinces – Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea. At the fortress Kale-Belica, another belt buckle was found. Its elongated form is quite rare, but still the lunette and the motif of

	Name of site	Vicinity	Material	Quantity	Drawing (Fig. 2)	Fortress of the border line with:
1	Stobi	Gradsko	Bronze	2	none	None, a city
2	Heraclea Lynkestis	Bitola	Bronze	1	No.7	None, a city
3	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Bronze	1	No.1	Dardania
4	Kula-Celopek	Kumanovo	Bronze	2	No.8,9	Dardania
5	Gradaiste	Kumanovo	Bronze	1	No.10	Dardania
6	Budingard-Budinarci	Berovo	Bronze	1	No.4	Dacia Mediterranea
7	Hisar-Creska	Stip	Bronze	1	No.5	Dacia Mediterranea
8	Kale-Belica	Brod	Silver alloy	1	No.6	Dacia Mediterranea
9	Markovi Kuli	Skopje	Bronze	1	No.2	Dardania
10	unknown	unknown	Bronze	1	No.3	unknown

Table 1. Sucidava belt buckles, prepared by the author.

concentric circles mark it as one of the many sub-variants of the Sucidava belt buckle *(Fig. 2, No. 14)*.[7]

Fortresses were not built only on the main border passages, but also near local roads inside the provinces. In one of these fortresses, the site Kale, Debreste, a belt buckle of the Bologna type was found.[8] It was excavated from a layer dated to the late sixth or early seventh century *(Fig. 2, No. 11)*. The Bologna type emerged at the beginning of the seventh century, together with the Balgota type. Unlike the Sucidava belt buckles, which were cast in one piece, the new Bologna and Balgota types consisted of two pieces connected by a hinge. These two types emerged in the first half of the seventh century; a closer dating is from 620 to 660. Although they co-existed as forms, the Balgota type is a more common find than the Bologna.

Bologna-type belt buckles typically have the shape of a heart. Their distribution pattern is connected with the coastline, starting in northern Italy (Bologna and Trento) and following the line of Byzantine ports in the Balkans and the Crimea (Istria, Salona, Corinth, Athens, Constantinople, Hersones).[9] All this makes the find of Macedonia unique; it is one of the rare finds of the Bologna type anywhere and one of the few finds that is inland, not on the coast. This might be explained by the fact that this site is not far from the Via Egnatia, an ancient road connecting the ports of Dyrrachion and Constantinople *(Fig. 3)*.[10]

Another border fortress with the province of Dardania is the site of Dolno Gradiste, Filipovci, in the vicinity of Kumanovo. A palmate-shaped belt buckle was found there. The palmate is reminiscent of old Hellenistic traditions, which were revived again in the Eastern Mediterranean. In spite of this decoration, the

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[7] Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси*, 270.

[8] Ibidem.

[9] Vinski, "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u Salonitskoj regii," 28. About the finds of Bologna-type belt buckles in Italy and along the Mediterranean, see Cinzia Cavalalari, "Fibbie et fibule altomedievali nel territorio Ravennate e nella costa Adraitica," in *L'archeologia dell' Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo*, ed. Fiamma Lenzi (Florence: Instituto per i Beni Artistici Culturali, Naturali della Regione Emilia Romagna, 2003), 631–635; M. G. Maioli, "Fibule romane, bizantine e barbariche del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna," *Felix Ravenna* 111–112 (1976): 89–123; Otto Von Hessen, "Byzantinische Schnallen aus Sardinien im Museo Archeologico zur Turin," in *Studien zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Festschrift für Joachim Werner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Kossack and G. Ulbert (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1974), 545–557; and Otto Von Hessen, "Il materiale altomedievale nelle collezioni Stibbert di Firenze," *Ricerche di Archeologia altomedievale e medievale* 7 (1983): 77–87.

[10] This site is about 45 km away from Heraklea Lynkestis (near today's city of Bitola), one of the stations on the Via Egnatia.
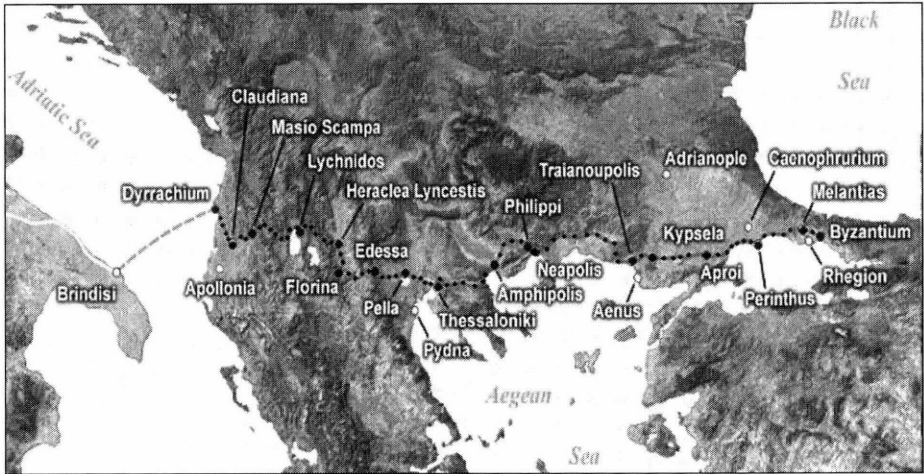
Fig. 3. Via Egnatia Route, taken from http://www.viaegnatiafoundation.eu/, last accessed on 16.02.2010.

rings on the back mark this buckle as Byzantine[11] *(Fig. 2, No. 12)*. The tongues that were applied on the other side of the belt are also a common find. The one from Heraklea Lynkestis demonstrates the fine craftsmanship of the capital. It was made of a silver sheet and was probably part of a belt worn by a high-ranking officer in the Byzantine army *(Fig. 2, No. 13)*.

Metal fittings *(see Fig. 4, No. 15–34)*, also called "ribs," are a common find in fortresses. The first use of such metal fittings dates from the fourth century; they are found in tombs of Roman soldiers.[12] During the fifth and sixth centuries a new form emerged, propeller-shaped ribs. In Macedonia, they occur as stray finds from the border fortresses. Beside the propeller ribs, many other types of metal fittings are found. The shapes and function of these belt fittings are shown in *Table 2*. The last two finds, those from Davina, are not as uniform as the rest. The griffon as a motif probably originated in the Middle East, not Europe. Ivan Mikulčić sees the influence of Irano-Sassanid traditions in this form, although the way they were applied to the belt betrays the Byzantine provenance. The finds from Davina may have belonged to a nomad warrior raiding through this area.[13]

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[11] Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси*, 272.

[12] Ibidem.

[13] Ibidem, 273.
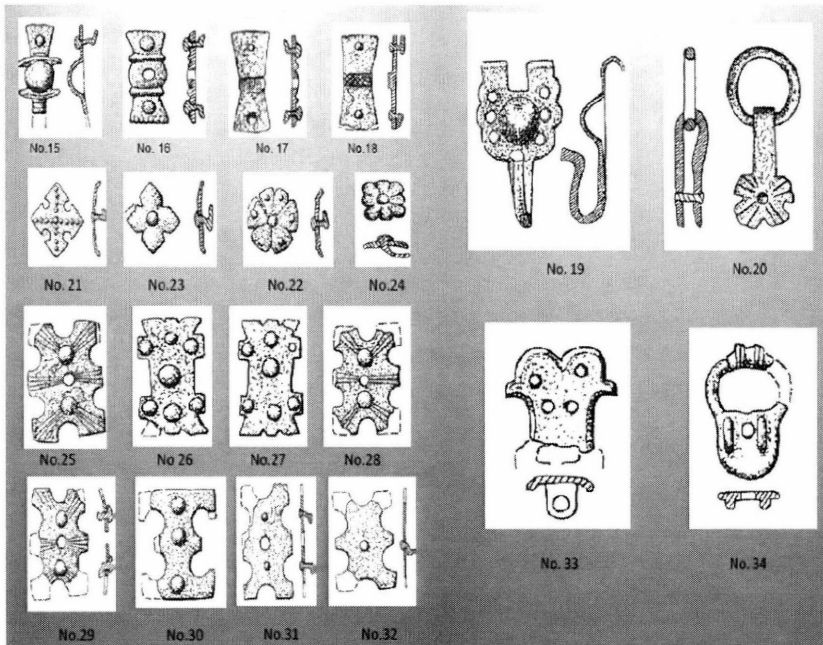
Fig. 4. Belt fittings, taken from Иван Микулчик и Виктор Лилчик,
Фибули и појасни украси од 6 и 7 век во Македонија, *195–200.*

Fibulae were also part of the personal equipment of a Byzantine soldier. They wore cloaks and mantles[14] that were clasped with massive fibulae. The most common type of fibulae from the early Middle Ages is the fibula with a bent leg[15] *(see Table 3 and Fig. 5)*. This type has a distant origin in the forms of the La Tène culture in Central Europe and the Danube Region. There is a certain hiatus in their usage during the Roman Period (first to third century C.E.), with some rare finds from the Lower Danube region, where they reappeared again in the fifth century. Their distribution expanded during the sixth century, reaching the maximum by the end of the same century. This type of fibula continued in

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[14] George T. Dennis, tr., *Maurice's Strategikon, Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 138.

[15] Syna Uenze dedicated an elaborate study to this type of fibula. She identified several prototypes dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, but most of the production was set chronologically in the sixth century. She refers to only one specimen found on the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia and she denotes it as a new south-Balkan variant, see Syna Uenze, *Die spätantiken Befestigungen von Sadovec (Bulgarien)* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992).

	Site	Vicinity	Shape	Dating	Quan-tity	Material	Function	Drawing *(Fig. 4)*	Borderline fortress with:
1	Kanarevo	Kumanovo	'propeller'	5th–7th c.	1	Bronze	Rib	No.15	Dardania
2	Belica	Porechje	'propeller'	5th–7th c.	1	Bronze	Rib	No.16	Praevalitana
3	Zdunje	Porechje	'propeller'	5th–7th c.	1	Bronze	Rib	No.17	Praevalitana
4	Zelezarec	Demir Hisar	'propeller'	5th–7th c.	1	Bronze	Rib	No.18	Near border with Dacia Mediterranea
5	Belica	Brod	Elaborated, many details	5th–7th c.	2	Iron	Hook	No.19, 20	Dacia Mediterranea
6	Celopek	Kumanovo	Maltese cross	5th–7th c.	2	Iron	Decoration	No.21, 23	Dardania
7	Celopek	Kumanovo	Six-leaved rosette	5th–7th c.	2	Iron	Decoration	No.22, 24	Dardania
8	Celopek	Kumanovo	Square, serrated edge	5th–7th c.	1	Iron, polished	Decoration	No.25	Dardania
9	Kamenica	Delchevo	Square, serrated edge	5th–7th c.	3	Iron, polished	Decoration	No.26–28	near border with Thrace
10	?	Veles	Square, serrated edge	5th–7th c.	1	Iron, polished	Decoration	No.29	Dardania
11	Koresnica	Demir Kapija	Square, serrated edge	5th–7th c.	3	Iron, polished	Decoration	No.30-32	Inland
12	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Two heads of eagle/ griffon	7th c.	1	Alloy of copper and silver	Decoration, hook	No.33	Dardania
13	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Miniature buckle	7th c.	1	?	Joint of case and belt	No.34	Dardania

Table 2. Belt fittings, prepared by the author.

use during the seventh century, but with a reduced distribution. The distribution was then focused on the few *limes* fortifications that were still under Byzantine control, especially in the Djerdap Canyon section of the Danube. Finds in the inland area of the Balkans are rare.[16]

The fibulae with Danubian provenances are the smallest group. All these finds are imported; they have no counterparts in local production. Their dates range from the beginning to the end of the sixth century[17] *(Fig. 5, No. 1 and No. 2)*. The strip-fibulae with a simple head are denoted by Ivan Mikulčić as clearly of local provenance. Probably there were several workshops, but so far only one has

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[16] Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси*, 258–259.
[17] Ibidem, 259.

|	Site	Vicinity	Variant	Origin	Material	Quantity	Drawing	Borderline fortress with:
1	Gradiste-Taor	Skopje	fibulae of Danubian provenance	Import	Bronze (cast)	1	No.1	Dardania
2	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	fibulae of Danubian provenance	Import	Bronze (cast)	1	No.2	Dardania
3	Heraclea Lynkestis	Bitola	fibulae of Danubian provenance	Import (?)	Unknown alloy	1	No.3	None, a city
4	Markovi Kuli	Skopje	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	5	No.4–8	Dardania
5	Kalja-Barovo	Skopje	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	3	No.9–11	Dardania
6	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	4	No.12–15	Dardania
7	Isar-Shipkovica	Tetovo	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.16	Praevalitana
8	Kale-Izishte	Brod	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.17	Dacia Mediterranea
9	Gradiste-Podvis	Kichevo	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.18	Both Epirus Nova and Praevalitana
10	Kula-Godivje	Ohrid	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.19	Epirus Nova
11	Kale-Brailovo	Prilep	Strip-shaped fibulae with simple head	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.20	Macedonia II to Macedonia I
12	Kalja-Barovo	Skopje	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.21	Dardania
13	Gradiste–Pcinja	Kumanovo	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.22	Dardania
14	Vukasija-Pezovo	Kumanovo	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.23	Dardania
15	Gradiste-Jegunovce	Tetovo	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.24	Praevalitana
16	Brikul-Lukovica	Tetovo	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.25	Praevalitana
17	Kalja-Gorno Cajle	Gostivar	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No. 26	Praevalitana
18	Budingrad–Budinarci	Berovo	Onion-shaped Fibulae	Local	Iron (stamped)	2	No.27,28	Dacia Mediterranea
19	Sobri– Orashe	Tetovo	Unknown	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No drawing	Praevalitana
20	Kalja-Barovo	Skopje	Unknown	Local	Iron (stamped)	1	No drawing	Dardania

Table 3. Fibulae with bent leg, prepared by the author.
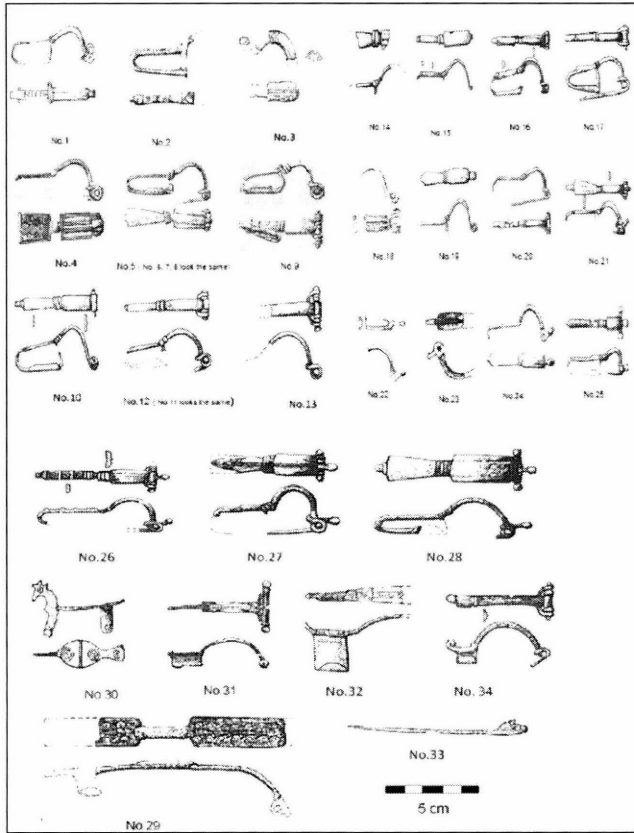
Fig. 5. Fibulae, taken from Иван Микулчиќ и Виктор Лилчиќ, Фибули и појасни украси од 6 и 7 век во Македонија, 195–200.

been found and excavated, the workshop that was part of the fortress of Markovi Kuli,[18] Skopje *(Fig. 6)*. Three fibulae were found in the workshop; one was found

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[18] During the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, about 400 fortifications were renewed or built in the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia as enhanced protection from barbarian raids. See Ivan Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien: Städte – Vici – Refugien – Kastelle.* Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, vol. 54 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002), 190–195. The fortified city at Markovi Kuli was one of the newly built fortifications. It was built on three leveled terraces with internal walls between them, all surrounded by a strong fortification built with the technique of *emplekton*. The fortification had 40 or more towers with triangular or pentagonal bases. The highest terrace was the acropolis of the town, where the workshop was found. For more information about this fortification and the excavations undertaken there, see [Ivan Mikulčić] Иван Микулчиќ, *Скопје со околните тврдини* [Skopje with the surrounding fortifications],
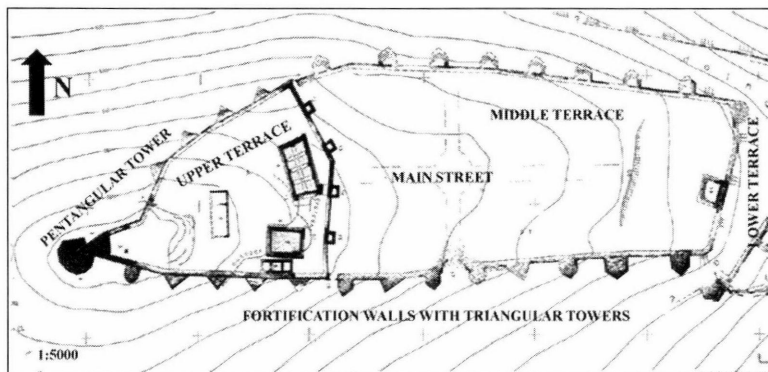
Fig. 6. Plan of the fortified city at Markovi Kuli, Skopje. Taken from Иван Микулчиќ
Скопје со околните тврдини, *48–49.*

earlier in a layer of burning and destruction, together with 16 coins of Justin II (565–578). The latest coin found dates to 569. The fifth specimen, minted in iron and decorated with a gilded copper sheet, was found in the nearby water tank.[19] These are the only fibula finds that came from an intact archaeological context and can be assigned close chronological dating.

The group of onion-shaped fibulae is of local production, as shown by their fabrication. The chronological limits of the use of these fibulae are from the fourth to the sixth century. Specimens coming from *limes* fortifications are usually made of gilded bronze. There are few examples from Pannonia;[20] the main concentration is in the area of Salona. Zdenko Vinski inferred that one of the centers for production must have been in the prefecture of Illyricum.[21] After 600, onion-shaped fibulae survived in two regions: among the Lombardi in North Italy

(Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1982), 50; [Ivan Mikulčić and Nada Nikuljska] Иван Микулчиќ и Нада Никуљска, "Рановизантискиот град Маркови Кули на Водно кај Скопје – истражувања 1977" [The Early Byzantine town of Markovi Kuli in the vicinity of Skopje – excavations 1977], *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 5 (1979): 65–74; Ivan Mikulčić and Nada Nikuljska, "Маркови Кули, Водно, Скопје, 1978" [Markovi Kuli, Vodno, in the vicinity of Skopje, 1978], *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 6 (1983): 123–133; [Ivan Mikulčić and M. Bilbija] Иван Микулчиќ и М. Билбија, "Маркови Кули, Водно, Скопје, 1979 и 1980" [Markovi Kuli, Vodno, in the vicinity of Skopje, 1979 and 1980], *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 7/8 (1987): 205–220.

[19] Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси,* 257.

[20] Endre Tóth, "Későrómai sír Tihanyból (A lemezből készült hagymafejes fibulák tipológiájához). Spätrömisches Grab aus Tihany (Zur Typologie der Zwiebelkopffibeln aus Bronzblech)," *Folia Archaeologica* 43 (1994): 127–167.

[21] Vinski, "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u Salonitskoj regii," 8.

and in the provinces of Dalmatia and Epirus Nova. The latter is known to have been the territory of the Komani-Kruja culture.[22]

Fibulae with a hinge are rarer finds than fibulae with a bent leg. They vary greatly in design and size *(see Table 4 and Fig. 5, No. 29–34)*; the only thing that unifies them as one type is the way the pin was connected to the main body of the fibula. One zoomorphic fibula was found in a fortress bordering the province of Praevalitana. It is fashioned as a peacock and the closest analogies come from the eastern Alps region (today's Slovenia and northeastern Italy). Zoomorphic fibulae and belt fittings of same design have been connected with the Germanic tribes, mostly with the Lombards and Goths.[23] In the late fifth century, continuing into the sixth and seventh centuries, Dalmatia and Praevalitana were administrative and political parts of Italy, first ruled by the Ostrogoths of Ravenna, then by the

	Site	Vicinity	Variant	Origin	Material	Quan-tity	Drawing *(Fig. 4)*	Borderline province with:
1	Gradiste-Jegunovce	Tetovo	Cross-shaped fibulae with equal ends	local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.29	Praevalitana
2	Kalja-G. Cajle	Gostivar	Zoomorphic fibulae	Import	Bronze (cast)	1	No.30	Praevalitana
3	Stobi	Gradsko	Fibulae with plate-shaped leg	Import	Bronze (cast)	1	No.31	None, a city
4	Gradiste-Stence	Tetovo	Fibulae with plate-shaped leg	Import	Bronze (cast)	1	No.32	Praevalitana
5	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Fragment, a needle	local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.33	Dardania
6	Davina-Cucer	Skopje	Fibulae with plate-shaped leg (with a spring instead of a hinge)	local	Iron (stamped)	1	No.34	Dardania

Table 4. Fibulae with hinge, prepared by the author.

[22] The older Albanian scholarship treated the Komani-Kruja culture as the beginning of the proto-Albanians, although the geographical boundaries seem quite wide. The *terminus ante quem* does not support this theory because the culture seems to have ended in the eighth century. Modern Macedonian scholarship treats the bearers of the Komani-Kruja culture tentatively as Romanized and perhaps Christian local people, whose task might have been to protect the areas around major roads such as Via Egnatia. For the Macedonian sites of the Komani-Kruja culture, see [Elica Maneva] Елица Манева, *Средновековен накит* [Medieval jewelry], (Skopje: Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1992) and Elica Maneva, *"La tombe 23 de Saint-Erasme – Ohrid,"* in *Homage to Milituni Garašanin, ed. Nikola Tasić (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2006), 607–616. See also* Luke Lawan and William Bowden, *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology.* (Late Antique Archaeology 1.) (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 59–75.

[23] For more information about zoomorphic fibulae and belt fittings, see Vinski, "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u Salonitskoj regii," 16–21.

Lombards. The short border with Praevalitana is probably the explanation for the appearance of such finds in Macedonia Secunda,[24] or maybe this item was worn by a *foederatus* of Germanic origin at the fortress.

The fibulae with equal ends have the same analogies as the previous variant. Only one find is known so far, again from a border fortification with the province of Praevalitana. Finds like this one come from sites in Istria and Dalmatia, apparently as a result of Lombard and Ostrogoth raiding activity. They are dated approximately from the late sixth to the late seventh century. The fibula from Jegunovce, Tetovo, is minted in iron, the same size as the Italian fibulae.[25] The minting in iron might denote it as a local replica, inspired by the influence of Germanic fibulae.

The fibulae with a plate-shaped leg are represented by two finds. The one from the city of Stobi was found in the *domus fullonica* building. It is the only find with a clear date; a coin of Justin I (518–527) was found in the layer above.[26] The other find comes from a fortification on the border with Praevalitana. This variant of the fibula with a hinge cannot be defined clearly as military. Although one find comes from a border fortress and another from a large city that probably had a Byzantine military presence in this period (as shown by other finds of military fibulae), this variant has no analogies and parallels anywhere. The method of minting in iron betrays a local origin, but until more finds are excavated or analogies are found, this specimen remains an enigma.[27] The typology of fibulae in the material presented here is summarized in *Fig. 7*.
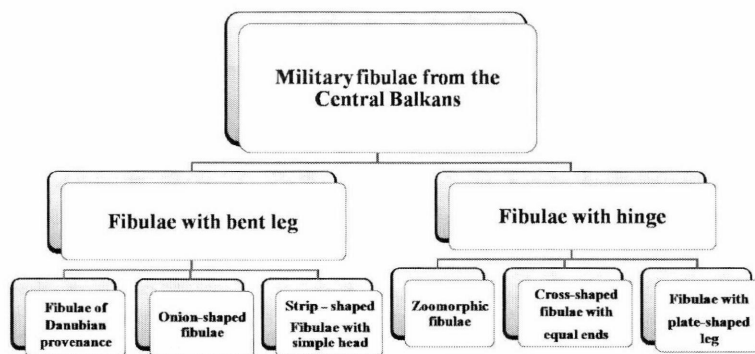

Fig. 7. Typology of military fibulae finds from the Central Balkans, prepared by the author.

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[24] Mikulčić and Lilčić, *Фибули и појасни украси*, 262–263.
[25] Ibidem.
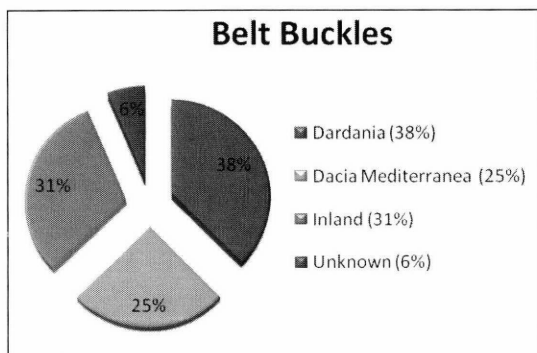[26] Ibidem, 263–264.
[27] Ibidem, 264.

Fig. 8. Distribution of belt buckle finds,
prepared by the author.
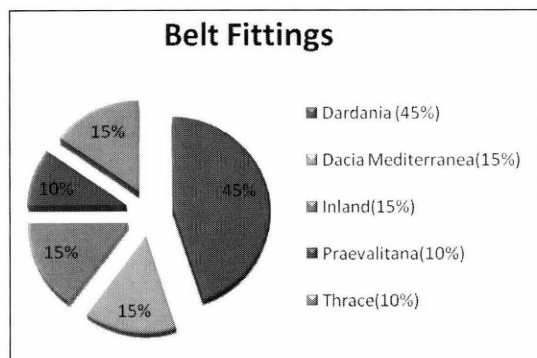
Fig. 9. Distribution of belt fittings finds,
prepared by the author.
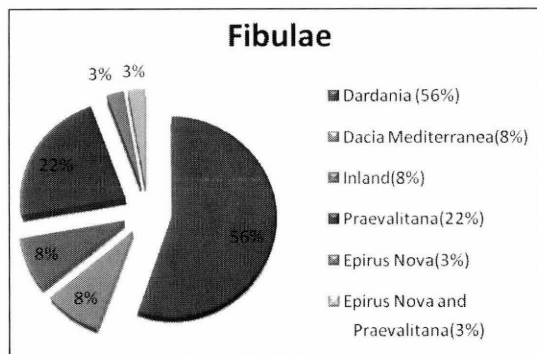
Fig. 10. Distribution of fibulae finds,
prepared by the author

These dress accessories are usually taken as indicators of the presence of the Byzantine army, although one cannot really say that they were exclusively associated with it. Their origin is a unique compilation of older Roman forms, some local forms, and the influence of barbarian traditions. The fibulae and belt buckles were worn by the soldiers of the Byzantine army, irrespective of being *foederati* or *Romaioi*. The more luxurious and expensive specimens were worn by the higher-ranked officers. They were quite favored and produced in many centers, as shown by the multitude of finds and great variations in decoration. A concentration of such material on a site can be interpreted as showing the strength of the military presence there. The fortresses that were the most exposed to raiding activity had the greatest number of soldiers, who in turn brought larger numbers of insignia. The density of fortresses was less related to the length of the border than to the jeopardy of frequent raids.

As shown in the graphics below *(Figs 8–10)*, the border fortresses with the province

of Dardania are the richest in finds of belt buckles and military fibulae. They were the first line of attack if a raid was not stopped or weakened on the Danubian *limes*, so it is not a surprise that they were the most guarded keeps. Another important factor was the Morava–Vardar route, which followed the valleys of these two rivers. This route, having no great mountain ranges as obstacles, made the province of Dardania and the entrance to the province of Macedonia Secunda easily accessible to raiding activity.

The quantity of such finds is not only related to the number of military troops in these fortresses. When studying the number of such finds in certain areas, one should also take into consideration why these objects ended up as archaeological finds (they were lost by contemporary people). In this context, it should be noted that the higher number of finds may indicate a greater number of raids, because the loss of such finds may have been the result of periods of turmoil as the result of raids, not normal deposition.

THE ROLE OF EMPEROR HERAKLEIOS IN MEDIEVAL GEORGIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Nikoloz Aleksidze

And Emperor Herakleios cleansed the Christian faith and left.[1]

After taking the throne in 610, Emperor Herakleios faced two great threats to the Empire, the Persian invasion and a considerable religious disorder. Therefore, he had to wage war on two fronts, although in many cases the two – religious and political – overlapped. This was especially felt in the Caucasus, one of the regions most vulnerable to the Persian offensive, where the religious stand of the population directly determined the political affiliation.[2]

The seventh century was a crucial period for the whole Caucasus, not only for the Georgian kingdom. The beginning of the seventh century was marked by one of the most important events of the period: the schism between the Georgian and the Armenian Churches. The Caucasian kingdoms of Iberia, Armenia, and Albania (not to be confused with Iberia and Albania in Europe) soon afterwards took their final cultural, religious, and political shapes. The importance of Herakleios' policy towards the Caucasus is attested by numerous Armenian authors in both historical and legendary traditions. Herakleios was no a less hero in Georgian historiography, and Georgian narratives and tradition attributed a quite distinct function to him. I will try to demonstrate what the role of Herakleios was in the "life of Kartli" according to the medieval Georgian historiographers.

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[1] *მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ.* [The Conversion of Kartli] ძველი ქართული ჰაგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ძეგლები 1, V-X საუკუნეები [Monuments of old Georgian hagiographical literature 1, from the fifth to tenth centuries], ed. Ilia Abuladze (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1963), 95–96.

[2] On the reign of Herakleios and religious situation in the period see: Walter Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Walter Kaegi, *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1982); Nina Garsoian, *Armenia Between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London: Variorum, 1985); Paul Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, 2 vols, (Paris: Geuthner, 1951–1965); John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael Whitby, *Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

After the death of King Vakhtang Gorgasali around 502, the unity of the kingdom of Iberia[3] began to shatter. During the reign of Vakhtang's son, Dachi,[4] the nobles started to rebel against the central authority. Soon, in the 520s, western Georgia-Lazika became independent from the kings of Iberia. In 523 the Laz rebelled against the Persians and accepted Roman supremacy. In the same year, Gurgen, king of Iberia, rebelled against the Persians, which provoked a long war in the Caucasus between Rome and Persia. In 532 an "eternal peace" was established between the Persians and Romans which divided the spheres of influence: western Georgia (Lazika) entered Roman dominion, while eastern Georgia (Iberia) had to accept Persian supremacy. As a result, around 541 the Persians abolished kingship in Iberia (having already abolished it in Armenia in 428). During the reign of Khosrau Anushirvan (531–539), Iberia was incorporated into the Persian Empire and the highest authority became a Persian *marzpan*,[5] who resided in Tbilisi. According to Georgian sources *(The Life of Kartli,*[6] *The Conversion of Kartli*[7]*)*, around the last decades of the sixth century, during the reign of King Hormizd IV (579–590), the princes *(eristavis)* of Iberia decided to institute local authority and chose Guaram Kouropalates as the *erismtavari*[8] of Iberia. From that moment on the *erismtavari*s of Iberia received Roman titles. Around 571 the Armenians also rebelled against Persian rule, under the leadership of Vardan Mamikonean.

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[3] The Georgian name for Iberia is Kartli and Egrisi is used for Lazika. Here I will use the European names for convenience.

[4] The exact dates of his reign are unknown.

[5] A ruler of a province in Sassanian Iran in the fourth to the sixth centuries. They were usually appointed where the kingship was abolished.

[6] ქართლის ცხოვრება [The Life of Kartli], ed. Simon Khaukchishvili, vol. 1 (Tbilisi: Saxelgami, 1955), 1–50.

[7] On *The Conversion of Kartli* see: G. Patsch, "Die Bekehrung Georgiens," *Bedi Kartlisa* 33 (1975): 291–292; Margaret Wadrop and Oliver Wadrop, "Life of St. Nino," *Studia Biblica and Ecclesiastica* 5, No. 1 (1900): 1–88; Zaza Aleksidze, "Le nouveau manuscrit Géorgien sinaitique N50, Edition en facsimilé," in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Lovain: Peeters, 2001); Zaza Aleksidze, "Four Versions of the 'Conversion of Georgia'," in *Die Christianisierung des Kaukasus / The Christianization of Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia, Albania), Referate des Internationalen Symposions (Wien, 9. bis 12. Dezember 1999)*, ed. Werner Seibt (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1999), 9–16; Robert W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 84–152; ქართლის ცხოვრება, [The Life of Kartli], ed. Simon Khaukchishvili, vol. 1 (Tbilisi: Saxelgami, 1955), reprinted as *K'art'lis c'xovreba: The Georgian Royal Annals and Their Medieval Armenian Adaptation*, with a new introduction by Simon H. Rapp, vol. 1 (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1998).

[8] A Georgian word (literally the head of *eristavis*) for the prince of princes. Supposedly Guaram was the first ruler of Kartli from the Bagrationi family.

Iberia also took part in that rebellion and in the 570s all of Georgia and Armenia entered Roman protection. In the 580s the war for the Caucasus broke out again. Although the sources about the end of the sixth century are quite confused, one might suggest that Iberia was still under Roman dominion until the very end of the sixth century, when the Persians took over once again. Such was the situation in Georgia before the ecclesiastical schism between the Churches of Iberia and Armenia and before the period of Herakleios' invasion.[9]

The first thing that the student of Georgian history discovers in studying the first half of the seventh century is the fact that the sources give little information about the period. Almost all of the available Georgian chronicles date to a later period, namely, the tenth and eleventh centuries, except *The Conversion of Kartli*, which is from the seventh century. The events of this period seem to have been obscure to later historiographers. Only two Georgian authors mention the events at the beginning of the seventh century, that is to say, the schism between the Georgian and the Armenian sources and the main figure of the event, Katholikos Kyron. These are Arseni of Sapara in the eleventh century and Vakhushti Bagrationi, an eighteenth-century historian. At the same time, every source focuses on the person of Herakleios and his role in the Caucasus; he became the central figure in Georgian narratives. One thing is evident: the period around the invasion of Herakleios is mythologized and is heavily influenced by a general apocalyptic perception of his reign.

The role of Herakleios in Georgian historiography becomes clear if one pays attention to the scope and aims of medieval Georgian history-writing, how it perceived Georgian history and its role in universal history. As the title itself suggests, the program of *The Conversion of Kartli* is to tell the story of the process of Christianization in Georgia. For this narrative as well as for the other sources Christianization was not a single act at a single moment of history,[10] but a long-term process with a beginning and an end. I would argue that the seventh century, namely, the invasion by Herakleios, was perceived as a closing moment in the whole history of "salvation" or the conversion of Georgia, after which peace, unity, and "orthodoxy" flourished in the kingdom.

Looking closely at *The Conversion of Kartli*, only a few passages in the text take the form of a narrative, otherwise it is a mere chronicle, partly only a list of kings and rulers. The three instances at which the annalistic structure turns into a proper

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[9] For the history of Kartli of the period see: [Davit Musxelishvili] დავით მუსხელიშვილი, *საქართველო მეოთხე-მერვსე საუკუნეებში* [Georgia in the fourth to eighth centuries], (Tbilisi: Mematiane, 2003), 200–300.

[10] Although a separate extensive passage is dedicated to St. Nino's work.

narrative are: the invasion of Alexander the Macedonian and the founding of the kingdom of Iberia by King Pharnavaz (fourth–third century BC); Constantine and the baptism of King Mirian (first half of the fourth century AD), together with the institution of the office of *katholikos* (patriarch), that is, the granting of autocephaly to the Church by King Vakhtang Gorgasali (c. 540–602); and finally, the invasion by Herakleios and the "final cleansing" of the faith.[11]

Thus, there are three focal points in history as presented by *The Conversion of Kartli*: the founding of the Georgian kingdom by Pharnavaz and the first idea of Georgian unity, Christianization, and autocephaly; and three central figures: Pharanavaz – the founder of the kingdom, Mirian – the first officially Christian king, and Vakhtang – a great king and the one who secured autocephaly for the Georgian Church. By analogy, three imperial figures triggered these pivotal points in the history of Kartli: Alexander the Great, Constantine, and Herakleios. Therefore, when analyzing Herakleios' role in Georgian narratives, one must keep in mind that he had a concrete function for the sources and needed to fit into the structure of Georgian "salvation history," which was nurtured by the general apocalyptic ideas of the period.[12] The activities of Herakleios, both religious and military, played a crucial role in later events in the Caucasus. Herakleios remained in the memory of Georgia as the third great "king" who came and brought radical and long-term changes to the region after Alexander the Macedonian and Constantine the Great. Herakleios was perceived as just as important for the formation of the Georgian kingdom as the first two. According to this semi-historical tradition, Alexander created the kingdom of Iberia: "He ordered the faith for the whole land [of Iberia] and left"[13] and Constantine baptized it. But

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[11] *The Conversion of Kartli*, 95–130.

[12] For the apocalyptic ideas around Herakleios see: Gerrit J. Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander: Apocalyptic Prophecies during the Reign of Heraclius," in *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 81–94; Gerrit J. Reinink, "Die Entstehung der syrischen Alexanderlegende als politisch-religiöse Propagandaschrift für Herakleios' Kirchenpolitik," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. C. Laga, et al. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18 (Louvain: Peeters, 1985), 263–281; Wout Jac van Bekkum, "Jewish Messianic Expectations in the Age of Heraclius," in *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 95–112.

[13] *The Life of Kartli*, 19. The whole passage says: "And Alexander ordered Azon to worship the sun and the moon and five stars and to serve an invisible god, the father of all, for there was not a prophet and teacher of true faith in those times, to teach and to show, but he himself made up a faith ordered it for the whole kingdom [of Iberia] and left." (და უბრძანა ალექსანდრე აზონს, რათა პატივსცემდენ მზესა და მთოვარესა

what did Herakleios do that remained in the memory of Georgians? The problem is to distinguish what is historical fact from what is another myth[14] of an alien king coming and introducing changes in the history of a people.

Herakleios is widely regarded as one of the few late Roman emperors who left the capital city and personally took part in military campaigns.[15] But the question of how trustworthy the sources actually are which deal with his sojourn in the Caucasus has not yet been posed.[16] In the history of the Caucasus the invasion of Herakleios plays a double role. From the seventh century onward, the three Caucasian kingdoms received their final geopolitical and religious shapes; the process of the unification of Iberia and Lazika started and the Chalcedonian faith finally prevailed there. Armenia chose the anti-Chalcedonian faith, that is, a pro-Persian position. After several decades of uncertainty Albania ceased to exist as a kingdom and a cultural entity.

The march route of Herakleios in the Caucasus has been reconstructed from sources. In 619, Herakleios established a truce with the Avars and, having moved his troops from Thrace to the east in 621, started to prepare a major offensive against the Persians. According to the traditionally accepted route, Herakleios first took quarters near Nikomedia. He spent the winter in Pontus and in April 623 crossed Armenia (Erzerum – Kars – Shiraq – Dvin) and invaded Atropatene (Dvin – Nakchevan – Khoi – Ganzak). In Pontus he met and discussed Christological issues with Kyros of Phasis. In the spring of 624, the allied army of Laz, Abazgs and Iberians[17] joined him. The campaign ended in failure and in the winter 625–626 Herakleios returned to Pontus. In summer 626 Herakleios started another campaign and passed through Lazika; with the Khazars as allies he crossed the Likh ridge and assaulted Tbilisi in 627. He left the Khazars there and invaded Persia and returned victorious to the city of Ganzak in Atropatene

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და ვარსკულავთა ხუთთა და პმსახურდებდნენ ღმერთსა უხილავსა, დამბადებელსა ყოვლისასა. რამეთუ მას ჭამსა არა იყო წინასწარმეტყუელი და მოძღუარი სჯულისა ჩეშმარიტისა, რომელმანცა ასწავა და ამხილა, არამედ ოჳკი მოიგონა სჯული ესე ალექსანდრე. მეფობასა შინა მისსა ყოველსა ქუეყანასა სჯული ესე დაუდვა. და წარვიდა ალექსანდრე.)

[14] I would rather use the word *myth* than *legend* to stress the foundational meaning of Herakleios' invasion.

[15] Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium,* 156–192; James Howard-Johnston, "Heraclius' Persian Campaigns and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–630," *War in History* 6 (1999): 1–44.

[16] Hereafter I will mention the Caucasus as a single geopolitical entity.

[17] Laz, Abazgs, and Iberians lived in southwestern, northwestern, and central Georgia, respectively.

in the spring of 628.[18] He returned to Constantinople via Armenia and, according to other sources, once again passed through Iberia. Georgian historical chronicles are more or less unanimous about his sojourn in Iberia and the assault on Tbilisi, but reconstructing the whole story is still problematic. However, they do not say anything about his travel to Lazika.[19]

The attitude towards Herakleios was affected by the period when the historian was writing. For example, Sumbat Davitisdze had a definite mission as a historian in the eleventh century, when Georgia was a united kingdom with great ambitions. The main aim of his treatise *The Life and the History of Bagrationis*[20] is to chronicle the lives of the members of Bagrationi dynasty and how they came to power.[21] The story starts, of course, from the creation of the world and argues for a Davidic descent of the royal dynasty. But the chronicle has another aim, too: By that time (the beginning of the eleventh century) the idea of a united Caucasian kingdom was flourishing in Georgia and, most importantly, this idea was formed in opposition to the Greeks. The Georgians had the ambition of being equal to the Greeks, deserving a strong kingdom which would be an alternative power in the region.[22] Therefore, Sumbat wanted to tell the story of opposition and enmity between the Greeks and Georgians and starts the narrative from Herakleios' invasion of Iberia. This time Herakleios appears at the beginning of the narrative, followed by two crucial events in the history of Georgia: the invasion of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer (976–1025) and the battle with King George I of Georgia, and later the war with Constantine VIII (1025–1028).[23] Therefore, once again the history of Georgia is shown through the prism of the world, i.e., Byzantine history, but this time not as the acquisition by but as opposition to the Greeks. For Sumbat, the united Georgian kingdom was formed by rivalry with the Greeks and Herakleios' invasion was the first step in this process. Thus, Herakleios was a central figure

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[18] Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium,* 122–156.

[19] Except for one, an eleventh-century compilation entitled *The Wonderful Stories of the Deeds from the Old Books*, which repeats the Greek narratives.

[20] For Sumbat Davitisdze see: Stephen Rapp, "Sumbat Davitisdze and the Vocabulary of Political Authority in the Era of Georgian Unification," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, No. 4 (2000): 570–576; Cyril Toumanoff, *Medieval Georgian Historical Literature (VIIth–XVth Centuries)* (New York: Traditio, 1943), 149–153.

[21] See Rapp, "Sumbat Davitisdze," 570–576.

[22] The work of the Georgian Athonite fathers is another witness to this new ideology.

[23] *The Life of Kartli* 1, 229–245.

in the Georgian conception of a united Georgian history.[24] On the one hand, he was seen as the finalizer of Georgian "salvation history" and, on the other hand, as the initiator of "national" history.

Sumbat repeats *The Conversion of Kartli* almost word for word when describing Herakleios' activities in Kartli, but he adds some additional information.

> After he left the fortress of Tbilisi, he went to Gardabani, to Varaz Gageli, and camped on the place called Khuzasheni, and blessed Varaz Gageli and all of his people. And he started to erect a church – the most splendid one of the churches. And he went to Berduji and stood in the middle of the village. And here he erected a stone cross and laid the foundation of the church of the Holy Mother of God and finished its dome... and from Gardabani he left for Lal and he summoned Prince Metsekevneli and blessed him and left for Baghdad.[25]

Once again, foundation myths mention Herakleios, and moreover, as blessing two local princes, Gageli and Metsekevneli. One should not think, however, that most of the information provided by Georgian sources is either purely mythological or inaccurate. The existence of the Albanian house of the Metsekevneli is attested in other Georgian sources. Namely, according to the N/Sin-50 manuscript, recently discovered on Mt. Sinai, the Metsekevnelis transferred the bodies of the Georgian royal family from one place to another at the beginning of the Arab invasion.[26] By the first half of the eighth century they were already a

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[24] This is the period when the term Georgia *Sakartvelo* emerged for the first time to describe the territory with one language and one faith under the single rule of a member of Bagrationi dynasty.

[25] *The Life of Kartli* 1, 374–375. და მივიდა გარდაბანს,ვარაზ გაგელისასა,და დაილაშქრა ადგილსა მას, რომელსა ჰქვიან ხუზაშენი, და ნათელ-სცა ერეკლე ვარაზ გაგელსა და ყოველსა ერსა მისსა. და იწყო შენებად ეკლესიათა, რომელი იგი უბრწინვალეს არს ყოველთა ეკლესიათა. და წარვიდა ბერდუჯს და დადგა გულსა სოფლისასა. და აღმართა ჯუარი ქვისა და დადვა საფუძველი წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისა ეკლესიისა,და აღასრულა გუმბათი მისი. ხოლო მან ჯიბღუ წარიღო კალა და ციხე იგი ტფილისისა გამოიღო, და ციხისთავი შეიპყრა. და დრაკჳნითა პირი აღუჴსო ამისთჳს, რამეთუ თქუა სადიდებელი იგი მეფისა ერეკლესი. ხოლო კადრებისა მისთჳს ტყავი გაჰ ადა და მეფესა მისწია იგი გარდაბანს ვარაზ გაგელისსა. და გარდაბანით მეფემან მიცვალა ლალს,და უწოდა მეწკეკნელთა მთავარსა,ნათელ-სცა და წარვიდა ბაღდადს.

[26] [Zaza Alexidze] ზაზა ალექსიძე, "გარეჯიდან სინას მთამდე:უცნობი მასალა სამონასტრო კომპლექსის შესახებ სინას მთის ქართულ ხელნაწერთა ახალი კოლექციიდან" [From Gareja to Mount Sinai: Unknown material in the Gareja Monastic Complex from the new collection of Georgian manuscripts from Mt. Sinai], in *Desert Monasticism – Gareja and the Christian East*, ed. Zaza Shkirtladze (Tbilisi: n.p., 2001), 48–62.

powerful dynasty in the Kingdom of Georgia.[27] The main point is that almost all the important building activities are more or less close to that period and the roots of the great families are directly connected to Herakleios.

Another text, attributed to Leonti Mroveli, *The Martyrdom of Archil King of Kartli*, is a good example of how the period of the Heraclean invasion was blurred:

> Don't you know who this Archil is? He is the son of Stephanoz, relative of great King Vakhtang of the descendant of Mirian, the son of Kasre. And he was with his father when the latter was burying the treasury of the kingdom of Kartli. And he knows that King Herakleios buried his treasure... Know firmly that I was young in my years when King Herakleios passed through these lands, for my father and brother hid all the treasure in that fortress, which that deaf emir[28] assaulted and which belongs now to the Greeks.[29]

The burying of treasure is another *topos* around Herakleios. The information that Herakleios or somebody connected to him buried a treasure is repeated by every medieval Georgian narrative. The text is also full of anachronisms. Archil (738–762) claims to be a witness of events which happened a hundred years earlier. The reason is that the author mixed Archil's father, Stephanoz III (711–735), with Stephanoz II (639–663) – a contemporary of Herakleios. Herakleios' invasion or, perhaps better, his personal role, affected almost all accounts of seventh-century history in medieval Georgian historiography.

Although Herakleios was a popular hero in Georgian narratives, most of them see him as a conqueror and the one who liberated (or captured, according to the point of view) Tbilisi. Few of the sources mention Herakleios' religious

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[27] The mention of Gagelis may be a scribal or other kind of error because at that time the Gageli house did not exist yet. One could also suggest that this was an attempt of Gagelis to legitimize their rule.

[28] "Deaf" was a popular Georgian nickname for Murvan because of his exceptional cruelty.

[29] *The Life of Kartli* 1, 246–247. არა უწყია, თუ ვინ არს ესე არჩილ? ესე არს ძე სტეფანოზისი, ნათესავი დიდისა მეფისა ვახტანგისი, რომელი იყო ნათესავისაგან მირიანისა, ძისა ქასრესა. და ესე იყო მამისა თჳსსა თანა, რაჟამს იგი დააფლვიდეს საგანძურთა სამეფოსა ქართლისათა; და იგიცა იცის, რომელ ერაკლე მეფემან დაფლნა საგანძურნი თჳსნი, რამეთუ ერაკლეცა უფუენებდა, სადაცა დააფლვიდა... უწყოდე მტკიცედ, რამეთუ მცირე ვიყავ ასაკითა, ოდეს-იგი განვლო ქუეყანა ესე ერაკლე მეფემან. ხოლო მამამან ჩემმან და ძმამან დასხნეს ყოველნი საგანძურნი ციხესა მას, სადათ-იგი მიექცა ყრუ ამირა და აწ აქუს იგი ბერძენთა.

policy. *The Conversion of Kartli* gives an account of Herakleios' campaign in the following way:

> Then the king of the Greeks, Herakleios, came. And the commander of the fortress[30] called upon him and called him a goat, but the king was stubborn and he brought the book of Daniel and found the words: 'The goat of the west will come and will destroy the horns of the ram of the east.' And he said: 'For these are the words of the prophets regarding me and you will receive what you deserve.' And he left Jibgho[31] to fight the fortress and went to Babylon to fight Khosrau. And soon Jibgho overtook the fortress and captured the head of the fortress and filled him with Drahkans, then tore [off] his skin and sent it to the king. And King Herakleios came to Babylon and captured Khosrau and destroyed Baghdad. And he brought the Wood of Life, turned back and started to rebuild Jerusalem by the Lord's command. And he put Modestos as a patriarch.[32] And he left and before he came to Tpilisi, they had already finished building Sioni[33] and only the dome was left. And the king sent the messengers to Tpilisi, Mtsketa and Ujarma and ordered all the Christians to gather in the churches and all the *magi* and the fire worshipers should either be baptized or perish. But they did not wish to be baptized and they mingled [with the Christians] and the king took the sword and blood flooded the churches. And the emperor cleaned the Christian faith and left. And the *erismtavari* at that time was the same great Stephanoz and the katholikos was Barthlomeos II.[34]

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[30] *Kala* (კალა) – a Georgianized form of the Arabic *Qaa'lah* – fortress. Sometimes it is mistakenly considered as a proper name for a city, see Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium,* 144–145. Kala is a just a word for the main fortress or the citadel of the city.

[31] The person of Jibgho has not yet been identified in prosopography. According to one theory, Jibgho was the title of the Khazar viceroy, the second person after the khagan. Movses Kalankatuatsi mentions "Jibghokhakan," which might mean "vice-khagan". On the Khazars, see Svetlana Pletnjowa, *Chasaren, Mittelalterliches Reich an Don und Wolga* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1978).

[32] Patriarch of Jerusalem in 632–634.

[33] A cathedral in Tbilisi built by Vakhtang Gorgasali in the fifth century and later rebuilt by *erimstavari* Adarnase in 639.

[34] *The Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographical Literature*, 95–96. მაშინ ჩამოვლო ერაკლიმ მეფემან ბერძენთამან. და უჴმო ციხის თავმან კალათ თფილისით მეფესა ერაკლეს გამოძრახვად, ხოლო მან ფერჴი დაიპყრა და დანიელი წიგნი მოიღო და მოიძია სიტყუაი ესე გითარმედ:"მაშინ მოვიდეს კაცი იგი მზისა დასავლისა და შემუსრნეს რქანი იგი ვერძისა მის მზისა აღმოსავლისანი". და თქუა ერაკლე:"უკუეთუ ესე ესრეთ იყოს სიტყუაი წინასწარმეტყუელისაი ჩემთჳს, მე მიგაგო მრჩობელი მისაგებელი

The mention of the Book of Daniel is an apocalyptic insertion in the text and a popular topos. Taking this information literally and, moreover, drawing some general conclusions from it, like "Herakleios here took counsel from the Book of Daniel, which he used to vindicate claims to divine aid. Frequent resort to the Bible reinforced the religious character of this campaign,"[35] is not acceptable. This passage rather shows the attitude of the sources towards Herakleios – he was perceived as an apocalyptic figure with a divine mission.

The expression: "The emperor cleaned the Christian faith and left" is subject to different interpretations. Some see this action of Herakleios as an issue of Church dogma, claiming that according to this sentence the victims of Herakleios were local Anti-chalcedonians or pro-Persian Christians.[36] A slightly different interpretation says: "Herakleios' efforts to restore ecclesiastical unity were also recorded in Georgia."[37] Neither the first nor the second interpretation sounds reasonable to me, first of all because nothing of this kind is said in this or any

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შენ". დაუტევა ჯიბღო ერისთავი კალას ბრძოლად და იგი წარვიდა ბაბილოვნად ბრძოლად ხუასრო მეფისა. ხოლო ამან ჯიბღო მცირეთა დღეთა შინა კალა გამოიღო და იგი ციხისთავი შეიპყრა, დრაჰკანით აღვსო, და მერმე ტყავი გააჰხადა და მეფესა უკან მიაწია. მოვიდა ერაკლე მეფე ბაბილოვანს და შეიპყრა ხუასრო მეფე და შემუსრა ბალდადი და ბაბილონი. და მოადგინა ძელი ცხორებისაჲ, უკმოიქცა და იწყო ბრძანებითა ღმრთისაჲთა შენებად იერუსალჱმისა. და მოდისტო დასუა პატრიარქად. და წარვიდა კუალად მუნვე. და ვიდრე მოსლვამდე ტფილისს სიონი გაასრულეს, ხოლო ჯუარისა ეკლესიასა აკურთხა. ამან ერაკლე მეფემან ტფილისს და მცხეთას და უჟარმას განავლინნა ქადაგნი, რაითა ყოველნი ქრისტეანნი ეკლესიათა შინა შემოკრბენ და ყოველნი მოგუნი და ცეცხლის მსახურნი ანუ მოინათლნენ ანუ მოისრნენ. ხოლო მათ მონათვლაჲ არა ინდომეს, ზაკუვით თანა აღერივნეს, ვიდრეღდის ყოველთა ზედა წარმართთა მეფემან იჰჳადა მახჳლი. და ეკლესიათა შინა მდინარენი სისხლისანი დიოდეს. და განწმიდა ერაკლე მეფემან სჯული ქრისტესი და წარვიდა. ერისთაობდა იგივე დიდი სტეფანოზ და კათალიკოზი იყო ბართლომე.

[35] Kaegi, 144.

[36] "In cleaning the Christian faith, as correctly suggested by scholars, the extermination of Monophysites is meant, whose anti-Chalcedonian stand was supported by Persia." [Mikheil Gogoladze] მიხეილ გოგოლაძე, *ქართლის სოციალური და პოლიტიკური ისტორია მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲს მიხედვით* [The social and political history of Kartli according to *The Conversion of Kartli*], (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University Press, 2004), 193–194.

[37] Cyril Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 66. This is a mistranslation of the source. First of all, *Qadagi* is not a priest but rather a messenger or a prophet and, secondly, it is not said that *all Christians would be united in the Church*, but that all Christians should enter the Church. In entering the Church a mere physical entrance is meant and not receiving the union. Otherwise it would not be possible to explain how the magi could have mingled with them and been exterminated in the Church.

other source. Judging from the syntactic construction this sentence directly follows the passage in which the author describes Herakleios' slaying fire worshippers. The religious policy of Herakleios also enters the picture. It is improbable that he would have slaughtered the Anti-chalcedonians if at the same time he was trying to create a union with them. This sentence might have two explanations; it might be a logical conclusion from Herakleios slaying the fire worshippers and "cleaning" Christianity – in short, another *topos* befitting a "holy king." But it also might be the case that attributing the cleansing of the faith to Herakleios was an allusion to the "real cleansing" of the faith by the break with the Armenian Church and returning to the Chalcedonian, i.e., imperial faith.

The same information is repeated almost word for word by Sumbat Davitisdze and Juansher. The only indication of Herakleios' religious policy is that he slaughtered pagans and enforced Christianity. No Georgian source records anything about an "imperial heresy" and Monotheletism/Monenergism. The only negative information on Herakleios' religious activity appears in the *Life of Vakthang Gorgasali* by Juansher:

> Some years after this there appeared in Greece a man who was a vassal of the Emperor Maurice, by the name of Herakleios. He slew the Emperor Phocas and seized Greece. He grew powerful and brought Turks from the west. He gathered innumerable troops and attacked Persia in order to seek out the Wood of Life. First he came to Kartli. Stepanoz did not wish to betray the Persians. So he fortified the citadels and took up his position in Tpilisi. King Herakleios arrived and laid siege to Tpilisi. But Stepanoz was a valiant and resolute warrior. Daily he made forays out of the city gates and fought against the Greeks. Then in one encounter they cut down Stepanoz and killed him. So the emperor seized Tpilisi.[38]
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> King Herakleios entered Persia and slew King Khuasro. He captured Baghdad and took away the Wood of Life. He returned along the same

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[38] *The Life of Kartli*, 223–224. ხოლო შემდგომად ამისსა რაოდენთამე წელიწადთა გამოჩნდა საბერძნეთს კაცი ერთი, ოჳსი მაჳრიკ კეისრისა, სახელით ერაკლე. ამან მოკლა ფოკას კეისარი, და დაიპყრა საბერძნეთი. განძლიერდა იგი და მიიყვანნა დასავლეთით თურქნი, და შეკრიბნა სპანი ურიცხჳნი და წარმოემართა საპარსეთად ძებნად ძელისა ცხოვრებისასა. და მოვიდა პირველად ქართლს. ამან სტეფანოზ არა ინება განდგომა სპარსთაგან, და განმაგრნა ციხე-ქალაქნი, და დადგა ტფილისსა შინა. მოვიდა ერაკლე მეფე და მოადგა ტფილისსა, ხოლო სტეფანოზ იყო ქველი მჴედარი და შემმართებელი: დღეთა ყოველთა გამოვიდის კართა ქალაქისათა და ებრძოდის ბერძენთა. მაშინ უკუე მას წყობასა შინა ჩამოაგდეს სტეფანოზ და მოკლეს. და დაიპყრა კეისარმან ტფილისი.

road to Kartli in the seventh year since he had set out. The Church of the Venerable Cross and the Sioni of Tpilisi had been completed by Adarnase, *mtavari* of Kartli. Then King Herakleios took away the footrest and nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had been given to Mirian by Constantine. Adarnase, *mtavari* of Kartli, importuned and begged the emperor not to remove these gifts from God. But the emperor did not heed his request and took them away. In the time of Adarnase three katholikoi passed away: John, Babila and Tabor. Adarnase died, and his son Stepanoz succeeded [him].[39]

The information that Herakleios took relics from Georgia may be the mirror image of his same action in Jerusalem. According to one Armenian text, *On the Holy Cross and the Narrative on King Herakleios*, after having regained the Holy Cross, "he put it on a wagon and with a multitude of troops he took it on the main road of Iberia and brought it to the kingdom of the Greeks, Constantinople."[40] Although in reality he did not pass through Iberia with the Cross, the "main road of Iberia" really did exist and was a pathway through the broad valleys of the ridge connecting the basins of the Chorokhi (according to Arrian, the Acampsis River in the southwest of modern Georgia) and Euphrates rivers. It is interesting to note the motifs of Herakleios taking the relics from Georgia, thus stressing his apocalyptic role. This might also be a mirror image of Herakleios' similar activities in Armenia.

Several manuscripts of the text have an interesting addition from a much later period (the eighteenth century), which indicates the strong tradition of the foundational activities of Herakleios:

And he came to Samtskhe and heard about the wonder-working nature of the icon made by the Holy Virgin and given to Andrew the Firstcalled, who brought it and put in the chapel at Atskhuri. So the emperor came to see and venerate the icon. And the emperor began

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[39] *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 236.

[40] [Nicholas Marr] Н. Марр, "Антиох Стратиг: Пленение Иерусалима Персами в 614 г." [Antiochos Strategos: The capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614], in [N. Marr] Н. Марр, *Тексты и разыскания по армяно-грузинской филологии* [Texts and studies in Armeno-Georgian philology] 9 (1909); Antiochus Monachus, "La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Georgi* 203, ed. and tr. G. Garitte (Louvain: Peeters, 1960), 15–30.

to build the foundation of the great church of Atskhuri which was finished later by faithful men and made into a bishopric.[41]

No Georgian source mentions anything about Herakleios introducing the Monenergist heresy or him traveling to Lazika. The narrative of his invasion of Iberia sounds rather like legendary information based on Herakleios' real travel to Georgia. Herakleios appears suddenly and out of nowhere, captures the city, cleans the faith, leaves to fight the Persians, on the way back passes through once again, victorious, and while passing by takes with him the relics Constantine had given to the king of Iberia. A conclusion one can draw from these stories is that these sources were interested in Herakleios only insofar as he concerned the ruling dynasty of Georgia. The story of baptizing the magi might be another literary topos. The fact that Herakleios's heresy is not mentioned at all, however, might mean that it did not exist in Georgia, but it also might be the case that this fact was deliberately omitted by the historiographers.

Herakleios' effect on dogma in Armenia is recorded by the eleventh-century Georgian polemicist, Arseni of Sapara. Even this great dogmatic polemicist of the period, who should definitely have known what the essence of Monenergism/Monothelitism was, does not mention anything about this heresy.

> After a while Emperor Herakleios came to Armenia and saw the heresy of the Armenians and was worried for their damnation because of their involuntary rejection of the true faith. He summoned a big council of the bishops and priests of Armenia and wrote a letter to Katholikos Ezr and the princes to gather at the city of Karin and study the creed of the council of Chalcedon and for the Armenians to accept the true two natures in Christ. So everybody gathered there in front of the king and after much study they received the truth. And the Armenians obeyed by signing the document so that nobody would object to it."[42]

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[41] *The Life of Kartli*, 224. მოვიდა სამცხეს, და ესმა სასწაულთ-მოქმედება ხატისა მის, რომელი წმიდასა ღმრთისმშობელსა გამოესახა და მიეცა პირველწოდებულისა ანდრიასთჳს, და მას მოესვენა და დაესვენებინა მცირესა ეკუდერსა შინა აწყუერს. მოვიდა კეისარი ერაკლე ხილვად და თაყუანისცემად ხატისა მის. მაშინ იწყო ერაკლე აწყუერს დიდისა საყდრისა საძირკუელისა შთაგდებად და შენებად, ვიდრემდის მიერითგან განსრულნა მორწმუნეთა კაცთა მიერ, და მიერ შექმნეს საეპისკოპოსო.

[42] Z. Aleksidze, *Arseni of Sapara:, On the Severance of the Armenians from the Georgians* (Tbilisi: Mecniereba: 1980), 90. მოვიდა ჰერაკლე მეფე სომხითს და იხილა წვალება სომეხთა და ფრიად შეწუხნა წარწყმედისა მათისათჳს უნებლიებით მიქცევითა. და ბრძანა კრებად დიდი ყოფად ეპისკოპოსთა და მოძღუართა სომხითისათა და მიწერა წიგნი ეზრა კათალიკოზისა და აზნაურთა, რათა შემეკრბენ კარნუ-ქალაქს და გამოიძიონ სარწმუნოება კრებისათჳს ქალკიდონისა და ცნან ჭეშმარიტად ორი

To the best of my knowledge, even the Armenian sources do not speak about the religious policy of Herakleios. The most popular Armenian cycle around Herakleios deals with the story of the travel of the True Cross through the Caucasus, namely, Armenia. Authors like John of Draskhanakert (John the Katholikos), Asoghik, and other sources like the *Tshar'ntirs*[43] tell stories of the travel of the Holy Cross to Armenia. Although these stories do not have a direct relation to the subject here, it is useful to show the kind of popular narratives which existed around Herakleios in the region. Herakleios was once again in the center of a semi-mythological cycle of the restoration of the True Cross and just as in Georgian sources he is portrayed as the founder of churches and monasteries. Once again, there is no indication about Herakleios' religious policy. The religious policy of Herakleios is mentioned in a single case, when the story of the ecclesiastical union with Katholikos Ezr is told.[44]

A problem arises here, namely, that none of the Armenian sources mention a union achieved by a dogmatic compromise between Herakleios and Ezr, nor does John of Odzun, the author of the history of Church councils of Armenia, mention anything about any Monenergist or Monothelite formula of Herakleios. According to the unanimous testimony of the sources the reasons for accepting the union were purely political. Then where do the claims such as "a union based on Monenergist formula was accepted and signed at the synod of Theodosiopolis"[45] come from? Logically speaking, there is only one possibility, that in the midst of the Monoenergist controversy Monoenergism was the basis of the union with the Armenian Church. Even if such a compromise based on a Monoenergist

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ბუნებასა ქრისტჱსი სომეხთა. და მოიწივნეს ყოველნი ერთობით წინაშე მეფისა და გამოიწულილეს მესამედ მრავლითა ძიებითა და დაამტკიცეს მართალი. და დაემორჩილნეს სომეხნი ფიცით ჰელ-წერილითა, რაჲთა არღარავის წინააღუდგნენ ცილობად მისთჳს.

[43] Literally, *The Chosen Words*, the equivalent of the Georgian *Mravaltavi*.

[44] The story is that Herakleios tried to achieve a union with Katholikos Ezr based on the compromise formula of Monenergism. According to John of Draskhanakert, Ezr yielded to temptation after having received one third of the revenue of Kolb and the revenues from the salt mines in exchange. Herakleios also threatened Ezr that he would establish a parallel hierarchy if he rejected the union. Soon, in 632, a synod was summoned to Theodosiopolis, which Herakleios himself supposedly attended. Five *katholikoi* after Ezra and just before John are usually considered as Chalcedonian and therefore heretical and condemned by the Armenian Church. These are: Nerses III, Anastasius, Israel, Sahak III, and Elias. The union was kept until 726, when Katholikos Hovaness of Odzun finally rejected Chalcedon at the Council of Manazkert and returned to the Monophysite formula.

[45] Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 65.

insertion really occurred, then the next five *katholikoi*, who were condemned by the Armenian Church, would have been adherents of the Monothelite doctrine and condemned by the council of 681. Or there should be some indications that after Monoenergism was condemned the Armenian Church was requested to do the same. This is not the case, however, and the Armenian Church at that time was even collaborating with the Church of Constantinople without any problems. The one and only text which I have yet found where the Armenians are accused of Monoenergism is the Georgian translation of the Greek text *Thirty Chapters of the Armenian Heresy*:

> The evil Armenians say that after the union the Son of God has one nature, one will, and one energy, which is the faith of Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and all the communion of theirs which was condemned by the sixth Holy Synod called in Constantinople by one hundred and seventy fathers during the reign of Constantine.[46]

The problem here is that "one nature, one will, and one activity" was not the faith of Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, but two natures, one will, and one activity. This formula could not have been the compromise achieved at the council of Theodosiopolis because it was already the faith of the Anti-Chalcedonian Armenians. However, this might be explained by the polemical character of the treatise.

As noted above, the evaluation of Herakleios' invasion of the Caucasus in particular and the attitude towards his person in general differs between Georgian and Armenian sources. It also depends on the period when the author was writing. The approach of a seventh-century Armenian author might be different from that of an eleventh-century author, because by that time Armenia had joined an ecclesiastical union with Herakleios. In the later period, however, this union was an object of execration for Armenians. Generally speaking, the Armenian sources give more detailed information on Herakleios' travel to the Caucasus than the Georgian ones.[47]

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[46] [Zaza Alexidze] ზაზა ალექსიძე, "არსენი ვაჩეს ძის "დოგმატიკონში" შესული ანტიმონოფიზიტური ტრაქტატი და მისი გამოძახილი ძველ სომხურ მწერლობაში" [An anti-Monophysite treatise included in the *Dogmatikon* of Arseni Vachesdze and a reaction to it in the Armenian literature], *Mravaltavi* 1 (1971): 133–158.

[47] See: James Howard-Johnston, "Armenian Historians of Heraclius: An Examination of Aims, Sources and Working Methods of Sebeos and Movses Daskhurantsi," in *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 41–62; *The Armenian Sources Attributed to Sebeos*, tr. Robert W. Thomson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

To conclude, one can say that the role of Herakleios in the Georgian medieval tradition was highly overestimated. Moreover, his overemphasized character was the reason for neglecting other crucial events of the period. This period of Georgian history was much confused and almost every major event, including the building activities of the period and the ecclesiastical and dogmatic reforms, were attributed to Herakleios. Later historians such as Sumbat inserted Herakleios in their ideological program, thus attributing a pivotal role to the emperor in the formation of Georgian cultural, religious, and political identity.

PATTERNS OF INTERDEPENDENCE:
AUTHOR AND AUDIENCE
IN THE *HISTORY* OF LEO THE DEACON[1]

Ivana Dobcheva

Ingela Nilsson and Roger Scott have recently provided an overview of trends in the field of Byzantine historiography. One of the key points of their analysis is the notion of "the subtlety of much of Byzantine literature and the tacit assumption of Byzantine writers of history that their audience knows its history and its literature."[2] They rightly point out that there is a danger of misunderstanding the message of the text if the researcher underestimates the sophistication of the literature and its audience. This presupposition should be set out as a basic principle for evaluating the works of Byzantine historians rather than simply as a criticism of their tendency to modulate events in the narrative.

This new way of looking at Byzantine history writing was preceded by Margaret Mullett's groundbreaking work in 2002, which provoked interest in literary analysis in the field of Byzantine studies.[3] The new approach to analyzing Byzantine literature has opened a new perspective on reading Byzantine chronicles and histories, not as "an endless series of unoriginal compilations which either 'lie' or tell the 'truth'… [but rather] as consciously devised compositions that may be read both as sources

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[2] Ingela Nilsson and Roger Scott, "Towards a New History of Byzantine Literature: The Case of Historiography," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 58 (2007): 319–332.

[3] See Margaret Mullett, "New Literary History and the History of Byzantine Literature: A Worthwhile Endeavor," in *Pour une «nouvelle» histoire de la littérature byzantine*, ed. P. Odorico and P. A. Agapitos (Paris: Boccard, 2002), 37–60. In 2004 two major conferences were held – in Nicosia the Troisième colloque international sur la littérature byzantine devoted to Byzantine historiography ("L'écriture da le mémoire: la littérarité de l'historiographie") and the XIVth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies in Melbourne, which concentrated on Byzantine narrative; see *Byzantine Narrative*, ed. John Burke (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006).

of historical information and as textual products of their time."[4] In other words, the fact that Byzantine historiographers were reshaping their account of history is not a shortcoming but an advantage that enables Byzantinists to examine these works, if not as evidence for historical events then as evidence for the writing and reading practices of the milieu in which they were produced.

Keeping this in mind, the aim of this article is to establish the intrinsic pattern of interdependence between author, text, and audience in the *History* of Leo the Deacon. This work can be analyzed as the setting where the author's intentions and the reader's expectations entwine and give birth to the body of the text. Thus, I believe that many questions regarding the style and content of the *History*, and even Leo's way of interpreting historical events, can be explained by analyzing features of the text and contextualizing them within the framework of political, social, and cultural interactions in tenth-century Byzantium.

One of these questions is, namely, how a historian writing the history of three emperors – the *porphyrogennetos* Romanos II (r. 959–963) and the usurpers Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) and John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) – could describe them all in a favorable light. Was it not rather "schizophrenic" to twist one's opinion so radically or was there a specific reason to do so? This article will discuss various features of the *History* in order to show *how* this effect was achieved and *why* it was used. Thus I will first touch upon the various quotations imported by the author into his work, which mark both the literary works that were supposed to be imitated and the author's and reader's sophistication, aesthetic criteria, and preferences regarding literature. The narratological analysis is the next main feature of the text, elucidating how the author worked with the historical data and further suggesting who the *History* was supposed to please. Going back to the "schizophrenic" twist in the second part of the work, I will try to demonstrate that Leo the Deacon made his contradictory sources conform and consequently built the image of both his heroes guided by the specific role his work was intended to play and by the specific audience that was meant to read it.

Quotations

The significant number of references to Homer, both direct and indirect, create a strong impression throughout the whole *History*. Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis Sullivan, in their limpid translation of the *History* of Leo the Deacon, identified

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[4] Ingela Nilsson, "To Narrate the Events of the Past: On Byzantine Historians and Historians on Byzantium," in *Byzantine Narrative*, ed. John Burke (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006), 48.

25 quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* compared to 16 from the New Testament and 25 from the Old Testament.[5] The relation between the quotations and their place in the text, however, reveals that Leo and his audience must have been familiar not only with the Homeric language but also with the exact usage and context of the phrases. Of the many examples, I will mention only one by way of illustration.

In the first book, the author gives an account of the military operation of Nikephoros Phokas on Crete. In the passage narrating the misfortunes of the Cretans (Arabs living on the island of Crete) after the capture of the city of Chandax, one finds a clear quotation from the *Iliad* where Leo, in order to describe the lamentation and wailing of the Cretans, used the words ἀνδρῶν *οἰμωγαὶ, καὶ κωκυτὸς* γυναικῶν ἠκούετο, καὶ σχῆμα τὸ *ἄστυ* κατεῖχεν ἁλώσεως, ὀλοφυρομένων ἁπάντων καὶ ἀποκλαιομένων τὰ φίλτατα.[6] Even a modern reader of the *History* who is acquainted with the poems can detect the typical Homeric lexica *οἰμωγαὶ, καὶ κωκυτός*. In this respect, for a Byzantine reader it must have been even easier, taking into consideration the revival of interest in Homer and the study of the *Iliad* in school.[7] Even if it is an exaggeration to consider that they knew the whole *Iliad* by heart, this passage in particular – the famous combat between Achilles and Hector – is likely to have been part of the readings. Thus the quotation from the *Iliad* would not only have added delight to the reading experience by its refined lexical choice, but would also have drawn a comparison between the lamentations of the Cretans and those of the Trojans, who ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ / *κωκυτῷ* τ' εἴχοντο καὶ *οἰμωγῇ* κατα *ἄστυ* / τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον ὡς εἰ ἄπασα / Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ

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[5] *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, tr. Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), 261. For the English translation I cite this edition.

[6] *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828), 15, lines 11–12 ("the lamentations of men and the wailing of women were heard, and the town took the appearance of one that had been conquered…," Talbot – Sullivan, *Leo the Deacon*, 67–68).

[7] On the use of Classical authors in Byzantium see Herbert Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969–1970): 15–38. On the revival of Homeric studies in the period of the Macedonian renaissance see Robert Browning, "Homer in Byzantium," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1975): 15–34. On the commentary tradition on Homer and lexicons used in school see *Epimerismi Homerici*, vol. 2, ed. Andrew Dyck (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995).

σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄρκης.[8] Leo not only used direct quotation, but also described the town *(ἄστυ)* of the Cretans in such a way as to recall the conditional comparative clause applied to Ilion in the passage from Homer cited above.

In his choice of references, Leo was expecting his readers to identify both the Homeric lexis and allusions to events and personages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This leads to the conclusion that the two poems were equally well-known to the writer and to the audience. Hence, the reader was expecting to find the product of this *mimesis* in the texts, and to evaluate them on this basis.

Another proof that the Homeric epic was a model for the *History* is the way actions on the battlefield are represented. John Haldon has indicated an important characteristic, namely, Leo's tendency to describe "individual combats, hand-to-hand struggles between the heroes of two opposing armies, challenges to resolve whole battles on the outcome of a duel between the two chosen heroes of the Byzantines and their foes, the martial skill and courage of particular leaders."[9] Taken together with the significant number of references to Homer, such images and mis-en-scènes remind the reader of Homer's way of describing a battle.

Quotations from earlier historians, on the other hand, can provide further information on the texts available, known and preferred by the author and readers, and suggest what the preferred style of historiography was in this period on a general level. Talbot and Sullivan have identified ten citations from Prokopios of Caesarea and fourteen from Agathias.[10] In contrast to the use of the Holy Scripture and Homer's poems, from which Leo took only separate phrases or even single words, he copied whole sentences or rephrased others from the histories of these two authors. For instance, Leo Phokas' speech of exhortation in front of the army draws from a similar exhortation speech from Prokopios' *Wars*. Comparing the two passages together can reveal Leo's skill in using and refurbishing previous writings.

> I have brought you together at the present time, <u>not</u> in order to stir up your minds against the enemy by addressing to you any reminder or exhortation (<u>for I think that you need no speech that prompts to</u>

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[8] Homer, *Homeri Opera,* ed. D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen (Oxford: OUP, 1920), XXII, 408–411. "…and around them the folk was holden of wailing and groaning throughout the city. Most like to this was it as though all beetling Ilios were utterly burning with fire." Quoted from Homer, *The Iliad,* tr. Augustus Tauber Murray (London: William Heinemann, 1960).

[9] See John Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London: University College London Press, 1999), 244.

[10] Talbot – Sullivan, *Leo the Deacon*, 261.

daring), but in order that we may deliberate together among ourselves, and choose rather the course which may seem fairest and best for the cause of the emperor. For war is wont to succeed by reason of careful planning more than by anything else.[11]

Therefore I exhort and advise you, not so that you may face the enemy bravely (for I believe that there is no need of words to inspire to courageous deeds you men, who from your childhood have practiced bravery and daring), but so that you may face the enemy after planning the best course of action. For wars are usually won not so much by a pitched battle, as by cautious planning and victories won with cunning at the opportune moment.[12]

The similarity is apparent. Leo not only kept parts of the phrasing, but also followed the syntactical construction of Prokopios, "advise you not so that… but so that" (even clearer from the Greek text with οὐχ ὅπως… ἀλλ' ὅπως). This provides evidence that the historian had read the two histories from the sixth century. The question that remains is whether his audience was familiar with them to such a degree so as to be able to estimate and appreciate Leo's references and allusions. Answering this question is important for understanding the writer's intentions and strategy for writing history. The choice of books that he quotes is of significance in this sense. During the tenth century there was particular interest in the works of four sixth-century historians – Prokopios, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes. They were greatly esteemed by Constantine VII, who considered them as exemplary and included many excerpts from them in the *Excerpta*. Another clue toward this interest in the four historians is the existence of a glossary on these particular writers, namely, the so-

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[11] ξυνήγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας ἢ παραίνεσίν τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίουσ ὁρμήσω (Οὐ γάρ λόγου δεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνάγοντος οἶμαι), ἀλλ' ὅπως ξυμβουλήν τινα ἔν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἑλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἅπερ ἂν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εἶναι. πόλεμος γὰρ εὐβουλίᾳ πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. Procopius, *History of the Wars, Books I and II*, The Loeb Classical Library, ed. T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse, tr. H. B. Dewing (London: William Heinemann, 1914), 398–399.

[12] Talbot – Sullivan, *Leo the Deacon*, 73. "παραινῶ τοίνυν καὶ συμβουλεύω, οὐχ ὅπως γενναίως ἀντιτάζοισθε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς (οἶμαι γὰρ μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων ὑμᾶς ἐναγόντων ἐς εὐτολμίαν, οἷς ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ἀνδρία μετὰ τόλμης ἐξήσκηται)· ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἄριστα βουλευσάμενοι καταγωνίσοισθε τὸν ἐχθρόν. πόλεμος γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἀντιπάλου κατορθοῦσθαι ῥοπῆς εἴωθεν, ὅσον εὐβουλίας προνοίᾳ καὶ τροπαίων ἐπαγωγῇ ῥαδιουργουμένη κατὰ καιρόν." Leo, 20, lines 18–21.

called Lexicon Αἱμωδεῖν.[13] Although it is not certain whether Leo himself or his readers knew about and consulted the lexicon in their reading of the histories, the mere existence of such a glossary, as Dyck suggests, demonstrates that the four historians had "attained a kind of canonical status for students of literature by the date of our lexicon," the tenth century.[14]

Hence, a reasonable question arises: Why did Leo the Deacon cite only Prokopios and Agathias? One could argue that Menander Protector is preserved only in fragments and therefore quotations from him may perhaps exist in Leo's work but cannot now be identified. The absence of Theophylaktos Simokattes, however, can be explained by looking and comparing the character of the works, for the account of the sixth-century Theophylaktos "ranges beyond military matters to detailed accounts of the imperial ceremonial at Constantinople."[15] This is precisely what one cannot find in Leo's *History*, as its interest lies mainly in the military activities of the emperors and it referred to ceremonial only briefly. On the other hand, however, the accounts in Prokopios' *Wars* and Agathias' account of the eastern and western campaigns during the *renovatio imperii* of Justinian I correspond thematically to the events retold by Leo and this is why he is using these two authors especially.

This reflects Ingela Nilsson's definition of the task of the historian as "to determine the historical content and find a suitable form for it – a form that suits both the content, the writer, and the presumed audience."[16] The Homeric similes and references and the implications of the work of previous histories centered on military activities reveal the horizon of expectations of the audience to whom the historian was addressing his text. Since the text is a mode of communication, the author should consider not only the pre-existing literature and the norms of the genre, but also the cultural code of the readers. As Margaret Mullett suggests, when reading a text one must look at "the relationship of the text with what is beyond the text, with the world, with the milieu (or milieux) in which the text was generated, with the interpretative communities which first received the text."[17] Leo was writing for an audience that was eager to listen to stories about heroic deeds,

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[13] "Lexicon AIMODEIN," in *Epimerismi Homerici* vol 2, ed. Andrew Dyck (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 825–1016.

[14] Ibidem, 857.

[15] *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* gen. ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, 3 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1991), vol. 3, 1901.

[16] Nilsson, "To Narrate the Events of the Past," 49.

[17] Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop,* Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 2–3.

glorious campaigns, and military tactics, and this is what he offered, drawing upon the Homeric epic and previous war historians.

A further confirmation for this theory can be found in the strict division between the "good" events taking place outside the capital and the "bad" events that happened inside the city walls and especially at court. This tendency is not stated explicitly, but can be traced throughout the background of the narrative, when looking, for instance, at what happened to Leo Phokas, the general responsible for the successful operation against the Arabs in 960. At the beginning of book II he is greatly praised as a courageous man with excellent judgment, helped in battles by divine force (Leo, 18). After accepting the titles of *kouropalates* and *magistros* from his brother, Emperor Nikephoros, however, the same Leo Phokas is described as a heartless, city-dwelling, greedy entrepreneur (Leo, 64).

This sharp contrast between the glorious victories on the battlefield, the discipline and high virtue of the military life, and the degenerate city-life is a hint to the readers that the text was intended to address. Hence, one is prone to think that Leo's audience had a negative perception about the life and dignity of the people living and working at court. This description fits the image of the tenth-century Byzantine provincial military elite and can be further supported by the social changes and the struggle for power within the ruling classes over the traditionally centralized government of the empire. Reading the text of the *History* one can foresee the dramatic changes in the division of the high military elite – the group consolidating itself around the ruling Komnenian dynasty then acquiring power – while the other group, outside of the Komnenian clan, "disappeared or entered the rank of civil nobility."[18] Before being able to identify the audience, however, another important element of the *History* has to be taken into consideration, namely, the work of the author in structuring and fashioning the narrative. The examination of the different segments and the leading idea connecting them reveals the meaning of the text as a message and consequently the recipients of this message.

Narratological Analysis

In order to see how the narrative functions, it is best to compare the text with another Byzantine history which describes the same events, namely John Skylitzes'

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[18] See Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 69.

Synopsis Historiarum.[19] There has been a long discussion on the sources favorable to the Phokades which are used by Leo, Skylitzes, Michael Psellos, and John Zonaras. Jakov Ljubarskij has pointed out that "Leo drew 'the whole information,' Psellos and Skylitzes [were] borrowing only its parts" and combining them with the account that was hostile to the emperor.[20] Apart from traditional *Quellenforschung* one can be interested in observing how Leo was subtly reinterpreting the events by rearranging some of them or carefully omitting unfavorable details. For the sake of brevity I will mention only a small selection of the numerous examples.

Nikephoros II Phokas

In his *Kaiserkritik* Skylitzes mentions that Nikephoros did not care if his soldiers were undisciplined and that he left unpunished those who were harassing and plundering the citizens.[21] He was further criticized for the increase of the existing taxes and the addition of new ones, characterized as unimaginable robberies. He was said to have interfered in Church matters, namely, the elections of new bishops, and even to have demanded that soldiers who died fighting against the Muslims be proclaimed saints. He was held responsible for decreasing the value of the *nomisma*, a fiscal policy that led to a scarcity of provisions in the capital. Worst of all, he built a fortifying wall around the palace that Skylitzes called a "tyrant's dwelling against the miserable citizens."[22] This feeling was reinforced by the provisions kept there and the bakeries built in case there were a rebellion, for there was a prophecy that he would die inside the palace.[23]

Of all these criticisms only a few are in evidence in Leo's account and even these few are set in a way which protects the emperor from guilt. The increase in taxation, for example, is explained by the manipulation of Leo Phokas, the *kouropalates*, who, after becoming a "greedy entrepreneur," as stated above, was avid to make money even through the suffering of the population. Regarding the

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[19] Ioannis Skylitzae, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Ioannes Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), (hereafter: Skylitzes), for a French translation see *Jean Skylitzès: Empereurs de Constantinople*, tr. Bernard Flusin (Paris: Lethielleux, 2003) and an English one by John Wortley (in press).

[20] Jakov Ljubarskij, "Nikephoros Phokas in Byzantine Historical Writings," *Byzantino-Slavica* 54 (1993): 252. See also Rosemary Morris, "The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1998): 85–86.

[21] Skylitzes, 273–3, lines 38–46.

[22] "τυραννεῖον κατὰ ἀθλίων πολιτῶν," ibidem, 275.

[23] Ibidem, 275.

prophecy that led to the building of the fortification wall, Leo referred to it as to something uncertain (λέγεται) and seems to pay more attention to the emperor being seized by the terror of being cut down by one of his own people (Leo, 64). The construction of the wall, therefore, is presented rather as a consequence of the prophecy than of the people's malevolence towards Nikephoros. Thus, whereas Leo focused once again on the emperor and his emotions, Skylitzes noted that the construction caused additional distress for the citizens and increased their hatred towards him.

Skylitzes elaborated the topic further and described a series of closely connected events. First, a fight broke out at Easter between some sailors and Armenians (probably from the military troops) that resulted in many deaths. The historian then relates this to a rumor that he had heard, namely, that the emperor, irritated by the citizens and considering them responsible for the riot, decided to punish them and plotted to set a trap at the Hippodrome. He ordered his troops to imitate a battle with naked swords; the spectators, however, unaware that this was not for real, ran for their lives and were trampled at the steep narrow exits. All the while, Nikephoros was sitting on his throne still and undisturbed.[24]

The same event appears in Leo's *History*. Leo, however, does not mention the possibility that the emperor might have instigated this incident on purpose. On the contrary, it looks like the clumsy action of a benevolent emperor who wanted to offer an astonishing and realistic spectacle which was misinterpreted by the panic-stricken audience and led to unfortunate consequences.

Leo further omitted the continuation of the people's discontent which one reads about in Skylitzes' *Synopsis*. The events took place during a procession when the relatives of those who had died at the Hippodrome called Nikephoros "a vindictive murderer covered with the blood of compatriots."[25] Skylitzes' final remark is that these assaults frightened the emperor and made him order the building of the fortification wall.[26]

In Leo's work one encounters a similar description of the events, but a different interpretation and conclusions. Leo, thus, states that during the procession the emperor was insulted and stones were thrown at him by people who were angry because of the fight that had broken out between the Byzantines and the Armenians. Nevertheless, Leo emphasizes rather the admirable conduct of Nikephoros – a sight that deeply touched the young Leo, as he states that he "was astonished at the imperturbable spirit of the man, how fearlessly he

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[24] Ibidem, 275–276.

[25] ὁμοφύλοις αἵμασι μιαρόν… ἀλάστορα καὶ παλαμναῖον, ibidem, 276, line 15.

[26] Ibidem, 276, lines 19–21.

maintained the nobility of his spirit in difficult circumstances."[27] Franz Tinnefeld has pointed out the rearranging of events – the fight between local citizens and the Armenians happening after the misfortunate spectacle and not before as in the *Synopsis* – for in this way Leo tried to undermine and leave motiveless the hatred against Nikephoros.[28] A confirmation for that idea is the skillful shift in the narrative's focus from the riot of the people to the *persona* of the emperor.

Throughout the whole *History* Leo reduced to the minimum the passages on Nikephoros' confrontation with the civil population, while at the same time he extended those on military campaigns, inserting many details and separate tales representative of the personal contact between the emperor and the regular soldiers. Thus, Leo left no place for doubt about the concern Nikephoros had for his soldiers. He was described training them (Leo, 16), marshalling the troops himself (Leo, 52–53), reminding them not to be careless (Leo, 57), addressing them as "fellow soldiers" (συστρατιῶται), and comparing himself to their "loving father" (φιλῶπαις πατήρ) (Leo, 42).[29] This is a clear contradiction to Skylitzes' account of undisciplined soldiers who were left to ravage the city without punishment.

Comparing Skylitzes' *Synopsis* with Leo's *History* demonstrates several important characteristics of Leo's work. First of all, in the *History* one can easily detect the omission of criticism. Second, even when some passages bear traces of *Kaiserkritik* this criticism is diverted from the ruler – connected to the actions of his brother, reduced in significance, stated as unintentional or a misunderstanding. Third, and most important, events that are described *mot-à-mot* in the two works are interpreted by Leo as revealing an indisputably magnanimous ruler.

John I Tzimiskes

In constructing the image of John I Tzimiskes, Leo the Deacon was facing different problems, namely, to present the murderer of Emperor Nikephoros as

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[27] "ἐτεθήπειν τὸ ἀκατάπληκτον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὅπως ἄτρεστον παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τὴν ψυχὴν συνετήρει εὐγένειαν," Leo, 65, lines 13–14.

[28] See Franz Tinnefeld, *Kaiserkritik* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag: 1971), 112, 116.

[29] The tradition of an emperor addressing his soldiers as "sons" is also present in the military treatise written under the name of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. The emperor advises his son when saluting the troops to ask after their health and that of their wives and children in the following manner: "πῶς ἔχετε, παιδία μου; πῶς ἔχουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν, αἱ ῥύμφαι μου, καὶ τὰ παιδία; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of the East (905–959), ed. John Haldon (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 122, lines 453–454.

a suitably godly ruler. The easiest way to present him as a hero would have been to contrast him with an anti-hero, which worked quite well for Nikephoros – the main protagonist acting against a clearly defined antagonist, the wicked eunuch Joseph Bringas. The glorified portrait of Nikephoros, however, meant that by killing him John deprived Byzantium of one of its most victorious emperors, endowed with extraordinary courage, physical strength, justice, and magnanimity in affairs of state, who had great experience in warfare. In short, he was the chance for the Roman Empire to obtain "greater glory than ever before."[30]

The first way to resolve this problem is by inserting into the narrative a series of "selling points," as Rosemary Morris reasonably calls them, which probably derived from the pro-Tzimiskes propaganda Leo used as a source.[31] These are, in my opinion, clear signs of the *Kaiserkritik* of Nikephoros that is never mentioned explicitly by Leo, but is implicitly included in this imperial image-making rivalry.

Apart from the pure soldierly virtues that were "becoming the commonplace of imperial portrayal at this time,"[32] John is said to have donated his ancestral property partly to benefit a hospital for lepers. Not only that, but the emperor visited the incumbents himself, distributed gold to them, and tended to their sores. Leo further stated that he increased the stipends for the nobles and the senate because of his "generous and kindly spirit."[33]

The thing missing from this eulogy is a comparison to Nikephoros, who was heavily criticized for matters stated by Skylitzes and omitted by Leo, as discussed above. Thus the method of compiling and composing the *History* comes to light. When one reads that John was generous and concerned about his subjects one is easily inclined to draw a parallel and continue the phrase saying that, on the contrary, Nikephoros was a miser who tried to earn money through people's suffering and who "rejoiced more than helped his subjects, though he saw them suffering" from starvation.[34]

Perhaps this is how the pro-Tzimiskes source which Leo used sounded. Leo, however, could not afford to blacken the glorious image of Nikephoros which he had built with such attention in the preceding books. Therefore he expurgated

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[30] "μεγίστην ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία καὶ οἵαν οὐκ ἄλλοτε εὔκλειαν ἀπηνέγκατο," Leo, 90, lines 7–8.

[31] Rosemary Morris, "Succession and Usurpation: Politics and Rhetoric in the Late Tenth Century," in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4ᵗʰ–13ᵗʰ Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 208–209.

[32] Ibidem, 209.

[33] "φιλοτίμῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ γνώμη κινούμενος," Leo, 100, line 12.

[34] "ὁ δε Νικηφόρος ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐβοήθει θλιβομένους ὁρῶν τοὺς ὑπηκόους," Skylitzes, 278, lines 64–65.

these passages of the critique, but their ghostly shadow can still be traced between the lines.

Another way to redeem the merits of the usurper John can be noted in the passage referring to his marriage to Theodora, daughter of Constantine VII. As Dagron stated in *Emperor and Priest*, "when a fortunate usurper ended a dynasty or when a new man was entrusted with the empire, he looked for or was obliged to make a marriage into the fallen imperial family or one of those which preceded it."[35] While Skylitzes, however, stated that with this action John provoked great joy among the citizens for keeping the imperial power within the dynasty,[36] Leo explained the people's joy by the fact that the emperor was treating them kindly and providing them with entertainment in the Hippodrome. Thus, even if Skylitzes' report consists of only two sentences, it reflects the political act of integration into the ruling dynasty through marriage with a *porphyrogennetos*, whereas Leo's account again focuses on the figure of the *basileus*. Theodora is presented as a good choice for John not because of her royal blood but her virtues. Thus, the reader is led to the conclusion that his qualities were sufficient for his legitimacy.

Yet an even more important proof for the virtue of the emperor was provided by the manifestation of God's benevolence and support for him. Thus, before his campaign against the Rus', John Tzimiskes is presented as a supplicant during the procession in Constantinople. His prayer for divine help was fulfilled, for a heavenly personage appeared on the battle field indicating that supernatural support was granted to the humble and worthy emperor.

Leo constructed the image of John Tzimiskes by ascribing to him, on the one hand, qualities similar to those of Nikephoros (mainly military virtues), and, on the other, by underlining his Christian piety. Thus, his legitimacy was due not to the blessing of the patriarch, nor to the royal blood of his bride Theodora, but to the virtuous personality of a ruler supported by God.

Social Groups and Audience

The examination of the narrative regarding the two emperors provides a further answer to the question about the social group that played the role of the protagonist's *oikos*, the community that was concerned with his deeds and

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[35] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 40.
[36] Skylitzes, 294, lines 94–97.

depended on them.[37] It is to the *oikos* that the author presented the deeds of his heroes and he was careful to defend them by giving the reasons for their actions, namely, the ills that they had suffered in first place. Nikephoros was deprived of the title of commander-in-chief of Asia, while John Tzimiskes was not only put out of favor, but even banished from Constantinople. Thus, in order to defend their honor they had to fight against this injustice. This is clearly manifested in several speeches put in the mouths of the heroes, which have been analyzed in detail by Lars Hoffmann.[38] The fact that the speeches in the *History* were addressed almost exclusively to soldiers should mean that the army was the social group on whose behalf and at whose expense honor was defended and pursued, not the "civil" *Rhomaioi*.

These speeches, however, can be understood not only as a message to the particular soldiers present before the commander, but also as a message to the readers of the *History,* who could recognize or even identify themselves as characters in the story taking the side of the protagonist. Hence, while Nikephoros and John were persuading their listeners – the troops – Leo was persuading his audience. Since both actions are executed by the same means and their goal is to present the image of the emperors as that of perfect rulers, it is logical to assume that the addressees of this message were from one and the same social group – the army.

Conclusions

The main characteristics of Leo's *History* in respect to quotations, style and interpretation give indications of the desired effect the text was intended to have. It has become clear that the work was intended for an audience with a taste for military writings. Thus John Haldon came to the conclusion that Leo was writing

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[37] Paul Magdalino examines *oikos* as an entity "contained within the *genos* and formed its basic structure, the nuclear family of father, mother and unmarried children." See Paul Magdalino, "Honour Among Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989) reprinted in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1991), 185.

[38] Lars Hoffmann, "Geschichtsschreibung oder Rhetorik? Zum *logos parakletikos* bei Leon Diakonos," in *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter,* ed. Michael Grünbart (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 105–139. The author points out that the speeches contained the six criteria from the ancient rhetorical genre of *logos parakletikos* (stimulating speech), namely, that a deed has to be presented as just (δίκαιος), legitimate (νόμιμος), beneficial (σύμφερος), good (καλός), pleasant (ἡδύς), and facile (ῥάδιος).

for a provincial military élite following a "new attitude toward the representation of warfare in the literature of the period."[39]

The fact that Leo did not serve either Nikephoros' or John's interests when presenting them leads to the conclusion that the implied reader was not connected to the Phokades or Tzimiskes' Armenian family. I am inclined to believe that the author's intention was to provoke his audience's compassion for the *atimia* committed towards the generals. Thus, it is even more reasonable to look beyond the veil of the narrative in search of traces of the struggle over military offices that took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The correspondence is apparent, as in this period emperors were trying to diminish the role of noble families leading the army and often appointed eunuchs as generals, considering them to be the perfect servants to guard the interest of the emperor.[40] The repercussions of this strife between court officers and professional commanders is clearly presented in several passages in the text, where Leo states that a certain general was successful even though he was eunuch (Leo, 66) or openly criticizes eunuchs as being inexperienced and effeminate (Leo, 7).

The *History* is really one of novel fashion, understanding "novel" in both meanings of the word. Its novelty is a product of the vividness of the narrative, supplied with reports on speeches, letters, and private conversation – elements that were more or less forgotten in the chronicles from earlier periods. The work can further be regarded as a historical novel, pleasant reading, a story about and for the military elite. It not only has the character of a military manual, but also of a charter of principles, glorifying the idea of a professional military class and empahsizing its superiority over court officials in terms of honor and dignity. Placing this idea into the context of tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century changes in the administration and influence on the governance of the empire, one can see the images of Nikephoros and John as representative of the high military élite trying to oppose the traditional power of the court.

This confrontation between the erudite palace type of ruler and the military one can also be traced in the work of Liudprand of Cremona. Although he was serving his own and Otto I's interest when writing the *Legatio*,[41] when used with caution he provides an important external account of the critiques of Nikephoros'

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[39] John Haldon, *Warfare*, 244.

[40] See Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 163–183.

[41] See Henry Mayr-Harting, "Liudprand of Cremona's Account of His Legation to Constantinople (968) and the Ottonian Imperial Strategy," *The English Historical Review* 116 (2001): 539–556.

own court officials. They warned Liudprand not to expect the mild attitude characteristic of Constantine VII, for Nikephoros, on the contrary "is a ταχύχειρ man, that is, one eager for combat; he avoids the palace like the plague, and he is called by us almost a lover of rivalry and an argumentative fellow."[42] This subtle critique gives clues that the abundant and purely military qualities glorified in the *History* would be appreciated by an audience outside the court, one that could identify itself as the *oikos* of the generals, that is to say, their fellow soldiers.

Although this is only a case study examining Byzantine history writing with the help of literary theory, I believe it has become clear that texts function not only as records of the history of a certain period, but also as messages between the author and the audience. The discussion, thus, has shown that the text is not a distorting mirror of historical events, but a mirror of the social tensions and diversity within the empire. Once re-evaluated as a literary communication between author and audience, historical writings taken together with their biases can be further considered as a tool for a better understanding of their own milieu.

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[42] Liudprand, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, tr. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 273 ("homo ταχύχειρ, *id est militiae deditus, palatium ceu pestem abhorret et vocatur a nobis prope simultatis amator atque argumentosus*," *Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera Omnia*, ed. Paolo Chiesa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 212.

THE ORIGINS OF THE JOINT CULT OF ST. SIMEON AND ST. SAVA OF SERBIA BASED ON VISUAL SOURCES

Anna Adashinskaya 📥

In medieval Serbia under the reign of Milutin (1282–1321) a new cult came into existence. St. Simeon, the founder of the Nemanid dynasty who took the vows, and St. Sava, his son, the first Serbian archbishop, began to appear together as a saintly pair in charters, hymnography, hagiography, and painting. Although both saints had already been venerated separately earlier, their joint cult was a new phenomenon which emerged at that time.

The main problems concerning the cult are the place it originated, the reasons why, and, consequently, its character. To answer these questions fully one needs to examine the full range of sources, which is not possible here; however, in the framework of one article one can examine a single aspect of the cult. Therefore, I will investigate visual representations of the saintly pair that clearly show a distinction between St. Simeon and St. Sava separately and their joint images and thus demonstrate the way their joint cult was built.

In Serbian art history the problem of the joint cult has already attracted attention; but scholars have mainly emphasized the dynastic component and its state-protective character, grouping together the images where the saints play the role of intercessors for other members of the Nemanid dynasty and those where both saints are depicted as representatives of a monastic community.[1] However,

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[1] This article is based on my MA thesis in Medieval Studies, entitled "The Joint Cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava under Milutin. The Monastic Aspect" (Central European University, Budapest 2009). Among the works dedicated to the topic are the following: Marjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Uz problem ikonografije srpskih svetitelja Simeona i Save" [On the problem of the iconography of the Serbian saints Simeon and Sava], *Starinar* n.s. 7–8 (1956–1957): 77–89; Desanka Milošević, "Srbi Svetitelji u starom slikarstvu" [Serbian saints in old paintings], in *O Srbljaku. Studije*, ed. Đ. Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), 178–186; Branislav Todić, "Reprezentativni portreti Svetoga Save u srednjovekovnom slikarstvu" [Representative portraits of St. Sava in medieval painting], in *Medunarodni naučni skup "Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji"* [The international conference: "Saint Sava in Serbian history and tradition"], ed. S. Ćirković (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti [hereafter: SANU], 1998), 225–249; Cvetan Grozdanov, "Sveti Simeon Nemanja i Sveti Sava u slikarskoj tematici u Makedoniji" [Saint Simeon Nemanja and Saint Sava in painting subjects of Macedonia], in *Medunarodni naučni skup "Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi"* [The international conference: "Saint Simeon the Myrrh-flowing"], ed. J. Kalić (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 2000), 319–342; Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić "Molitve svetih Simeona i Save

when placed among the other Nemanids, St. Simeon and St. Sava, still being saints, do not form a special saintly pair, in other words, they are not joint saints, but rather family members. It seems to me that two separate traditions of St. Simeon and St. Sava's iconography existed in medieval Serbia. The first, probably the earliest, was associated with the court cult of St. Simeon as the founder of the state and the dynasty and, consequently, as a protector of the Nemanids. In this case, St. Sava, as the founder of the Serbian church, could be added to St. Simeon, but it was not obligatory. The second case, which I am going to distinguish from other iconographies, implies paired isolated representations of the saints, sometimes grouped with other famous monks. To gather the information about formation of the joint cult one needs to compare these two iconographical types and distinguish their functions.

Dynastic Compositions

Already in the earliest representations of St. Simeon as a saint he was accompanied by his son, the first Serbian archbishop, Sava; however, they were both included in longer rows of the Nemanids and were not distinguished as a pair, i.e., they appeared together occasionally as father and son among other relatives. This is the case of the inner narthex of Mileševa monastery, where St. Simeon and St. Sava, although both haloed and heading the procession of Nemanid family members: Stefan the First-crowned (1196–1227), his sons, King Radoslav (1228–1234) and Vladislav (1234–1243), were not joined as a saint pair *(Fig. 1)*. At the time of the depiction on the frescoes (1222–1228)[2] Sava was still alive,[3] while Simeon was dead and already canonized.[4] Moreover, the inscription near Sava's figure marks him as "son of St. Simeon Nemanja," just the same as other figures in the procession of Nemanja's descendants.[5] Sava, still alive, was depicted with a halo and called "the

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u vladarskom programu kralja Milutina" [Prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the royal program of King Milutin], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* [hereafter: ZRVI] 41 (2004): 235–250.

[2] Gordana Babić, "Vladislav na ktitorskom portretu u naosu Mileševe" [Vladislav on the donors' composition in the naos of Mileševa], in *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda* [Mileševa in history of the Serbian people], ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 14.

[3] Sava died in Trnovo returning home from pilgrimage to the Holy land in 1235; see Ivan Dujčev, "Saint Sabas a Tarnovo en 1235," *Hilandarski zbornik* 4 (1978): 17–29.

[4] Ljubomir Maksimović, "O godini prenosa Nemanjinih moštiju u Srbiju" [About the date of translation of Nemanja's relics to Serbia], ZRVI 24–25 (1986): 437–444.

[5] About the inscriptions of the procession see Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Klincksieck 1969), 129.

Fig. 1. Mileševa monastery, the inner narthex (1222–1228). St. Simeon, St. Sava and the procession of the Nemanid family members (photograph by the author).

saint" in the inscription. Branislav Todić suggests that these specific features do not refer to Sava's canonization and veneration as a saint, but rather to his high position in the church hierarchy, his sacred authority.[6] Thus, in this composition St. Simeon and Sava were unified as the saint and the archbishop (but not as two saints), persons standing close to the Heavenly Arbiter, whose figure was also depicted and is now lost, and interceding for their relatives.[7]

St. Simeon's chapel in King Radoslav's narthex in Studenica monastery[8] shows two processions of the Nemanids in the lower row of frescoes; the first one, headed by St. Simeon, includes rulers (Stefan the First-crowned and his grandson,

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[6] Todić, "Reprezentativni portreti," 228–229.

[7] Branislav Todić, "Predstave Sv. Simeona Nemanje, nastavnika prave vere i dobre vlade, u srednjovekovnom slikarstvu" [Depictions of St. Simeon as a tutor in orthodoxy and good rule in medieval painting], in *Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi,* 297, thinks that a figure of the Theotokos may have stood between St. Simeon and Christ.

[8] For more details about this chapel and its iconography, see Vojislav J. Đurić, "La symphonie de l'État et l'Église dans la peinture murale en Serbie médiévale," in *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji,* 205–207.

King Radoslav), and the second one, headed by Sava, consists of his heir to the throne, Archbishop Arsenije, and the monk Sava, the grandson of St. Simeon Nemanja, who later also became an archbishop. These processions are depicted similarly; secular rulers turn to a founder of the state and the ecclesiarchs turn to a founder of the church, representing two branches of power. Two additional facts must be mentioned: St. Simeon and Stefan, clothed in monastic robes (they died as monks), have diadems on their heads, which emphasizes their positions as rulers, but Sava, who was still alive when the frescoes were painted (about 1230), has a halo as the first Serbian archbishop, as at Mileševa. Thus, this painting expresses visually the idea of the harmony of the State and Church in Serbia, where two branches of power resided in the hands of one family. St. Simeon and St. Sava are thus contrasted as representatives of these two branches and, consequently, their roles are to establish a legitimate lineage. That is why they could not be represented as just a pair of saints; a representation of other legitimate dynastic members is necessary to express the idea of the inheritance of power.

In Milutin's time the same idea of two branches of power was represented in the narthex of a town cathedral, the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, constructed between 1306 and 1309.[9] The narthex of the church presents a gallery of the Nemanides. The west wall is dominated by a portrait of St. Simeon, the dynastic founder, depicted as a monk directly above the main portal. He is flanked by his two sons – St. Sava as an archbishop to his right, and Stefan the First-Crowned as a Serbian king to his left. On both sides this dynastic composition continues with younger members of the dynasty (the son of Stefan, King Uroš I, of whom only the inscription is preserved; Uroš's son, King Milutin in Byzantine-modeled clothing and Milutin's son, a crown prince, Stefan Dečanski) and heirs of the archbishop's throne (archbishops Arsenije, Sava II, Joanikije I, Jevstratije I, Jakov, and Jevstratije II). As can be seen, St. Simeon and St. Sava here are also included in a huge dynastic composition, the main goal of which is to demonstrate the legitimacy of power transmission between the members of the Nemanide dynasty and church heirs. Moreover, St. Simeon is represented as a founder of both branches, at the same time a ruler and a monk, which is represented visually in the displacement of his figure above the entrance, between church and state hierarchs, whom he blesses with both hands. Consequently, in this propaganda-oriented composition in the city cathedral, Milutin did not refer to St. Simeon and St. Sava as a pair of saints, nor as his mediators. Here their appearance together is more or less separable and unthinkable without other members of the dynasty.

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[9] Draga Panić, Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1975), 18–19.

Thus, in the monuments with dynastically oriented programs, St. Simeon and St. Sava appear without being joined in a pair; they were separated as representatives of two branches of power or placed among other members of the dynasty whose depiction was mandatory to show the idea of legitimate power delegation. In other words, it is not possible to say that dynastic interests were the main reason for creating the joint cult or that dynastic implications shaped its character.

Monuments Reflecting the Joint Cult

If, as was stated above, the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava is not reflected in dynastic compositions and did not originate in burial churches of the early Nemanids, then another place of origin should be found. It seems to me that this place was Hilandar, where the saints were unified as ktetor[10] and founders of the monastic community, but not as members of the same dynasty.

Probably the earliest visual evidence of the joint cult of Sts. Simeon and Sava is an icon from Hilandar monastery depicting them as two saints. Here St. Sava, as an archbishop, dressed in a *polystaurion* (a kind of *phelonion*, an outer robe with multiple crosses, worn by bishops until the end of the thirteenth century),[11] points at image of the Theotokos, placed above, with the right hand; while St. Simeon, as a monk of a Greater schema,[12] holds an unrolled scroll, showing the Greek text of Psalm 34:11.[13]

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[10] The Greek word "ktetor," directly translated as "possessor, owner," see *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 782. It implies a Byzantine social concept of church/monastery foundation activity, according to which "ktetor" was an original founder (possibly a laic one) of a church institution or the founder's descendant, who had patronage relations with the institution. At the same time, he was specially venerated by the community of the founded church or monastery; see Karl Krumbacher, "Ktetor, ein lexicographischer Versuch," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 25 (1909): 393–421, with a review by A. Heisenberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910): 588–589.

[11] Lazar Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* [Orthodox liturgy] (Belgrade: Serbian Orthodox Church, 1965), 128–129.

[12] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, gen. ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, vol. 3 (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 1849.

[13] Usually depicted with an unrolled scroll, St. Simeon is accompanied by the text ("Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord"), here it was initially written in Slavonic. This text probably originated from writings of Domentian, who, describing the ceremony of Nemanja taking his vows, started his speech after entering religion with these words; see Domentian, *Žitije Svetog Save* [The life of St. Sava], ed. L. Juhas-Georgijevska (Belgrade: Inicijal, 2001), 45. Consequently, the words on Nemanja's

The icon can be dated to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century according to the character of the inscriptions. After Svetozar Radojčić published it for the first time in the 1950s,[14] a question of dating arose because the figures of the saints had been repainted by a Greek artist in the seventeenth century, while the golden background with a half-figure of the Virgin with Child (in the Nicopea iconographical type), inscriptions (**САВА АРЬХНЕПИС(К) Ѵп(ь) СРЬПЪСКИ ІАЃК (СИМЕ)WНЬ (Н)ЕМАНꙖ**),[15] and even some outlines of the figures remained unchanged.[16]

Additional evidence of the icon's relatively early date is the iconographical pattern of St. Sava, who is clothed in a *polystaurion*. As has been noted by Serbian scholars,[17] from the depiction at the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (1310) onwards St. Sava was more often clothed in a *sakkos* (the upper robe of bishops, with short sleeves, which replaced the *polystaurion* at the end of the thirteenth century)[18] according to a new Byzantine trend in church vestments.

As Svetozar Radojčić[19] has noted, the joint iconography had a continuous tradition on Mount Athos, where icons of Sts. Simeon and Sava associated were painted from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, later replaced by engravings with the same iconography.[20] On all these depictions St. Sava is placed on the right side of an icon (the left for a viewer) and St. Simeon is on the left.

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scroll usually refer to his monastic way; as the first Nemanide ruler to enter religion, he showed the way for his successors. See also the comments of Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića* [Royal ideology of the Nemanides], (Belgrade: Clio, 1996), 234–246.

[14] Svetozar Radojčić, "Hilandarske ikone svetog Save i svetog Simeona" [Hilandarian icons of St. Sava and St. Simeon], *Glasnik. Službeni list Srpske pravoslavne crkve* 34, No. 2/3 (1953): 30–31.

[15] Radojčić, ibid., supposed that the inscription near St. Simeon should be read as "**СВЕТИ СИМЕWНЬ (ПРАДЕД] (КРА)ЛІА (СТѢФА)НА**," but I cannot see a place for such a long text; probably he read the last letters of Simeon's name, -ман\- written in two rows, as the endings of two separate words. Thus, they can be translated as "Sava, Serbian archbishop" and "Simeon Nemanja."

[16] Sreten Petković, *Ikone manastira Hilandar* [Icons of Hilandar monastery] (Manastir Hilandar: 1997), 47.

[17] Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Uz problem ikonografije," 86; Todić, "Reprezentativni portreti," 234.

[18] Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika*, 130.

[19] Radojčić, "Hilandarske ikone," 31.

[20] Dejan Medaković, "Istorijske osnove ikonografije sv. Save u XVIII veku" [Historical grounds for St. Sava's iconography in the eighteenth century] in *Sava Nemanjić*, 397–405; Petković, *Ikone*, 50, 60, 151–152, 178.

From the point of view of the medieval viewer[21] it meant that St. Sava as an archbishop was more important in the church hierarchy than St. Simeon, who was just a monk. In this way, Hilandarian icons reflect a perception of Sts. Simeon and Sava from an ecclesiological point of view as they fit into the church hierarchy, not in a dynastic or family order, where St. Simeon was the father of Sava (and thus was more important).[22]

I would also like to emphasize that here Sts. Simeon and Sava are accompanied by the Virgin as their protectress, placed in the top icon field instead of the more usual figure of Christ in this place. It may underline their belonging to an Athonite monastic community under the guardianship of the Theotokos.[23]

In the King's Church in Studenica (1313–1314)[24] one can find two corresponding ktetorial compositions in the lowest row of frescos. On the southern wall, King Milutin with a model of the church, and his wife, Simonis, are depicted separated from the figure of Christ by two figures of His ancestors, Anna with the small child Mary and Joachim. There are also five symmetrical figures on the opposite wall, thus, the parents of the Virgin correspond with the two figures of Milutin's ancestors, St. Simeon and St. Sava, depicted offering their hands to the Theotokos holding the Christ child. The Saviour, accepting the prayers of the saints, responds to them with a blessing gesture.

As was noted by Gordana Babić[25] and Slobodan Ćurčić,[26] the idea of salvation through the intercession of ancestors is expressed here in the entire

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[21] The hierarchical principles of Byzantine painting demanded that everything that was important should be placed on the right side (the left side for a viewer), see [Boris Uspensky] Борис Успенский, "Правое" и "Левое" в иконописном изображении" ["Right" and "left" in icon depiction], in *Семиотика искусства* [Semiotics of Art] (Moscow: Jazyki slavyanskih kultur, 2005), 297–303.

[22] A similar idea of reversing the natural order of things, when old Simeon became a spiritual son of his natural child, Sava, can be found in the writings of Teodosije: "The laws of Nature are inverted… because the father in flesh and in gray hairs of wisdom, you were a disciple of your son in the spirit of meekness," [Teodosije] Теодосије, *Службе, канони и Похвала* [The services, the canons and the eulogy] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988), 330.

[23] Kriton Chryssochoidis, "The Portaitissa Icon at Iveron Monastery and the Cult of the Virgin on Mount Athos," in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 133–144.

[24] The church is dated according to an inscription on the external wall of the apse: Rajko Nikolić, "Natpis na Kraljevoj crkvi u Studenici" [Inscription on King's church in Studenica], *Saopštenja* 9 (1970): 76–79.

[25] Gordana Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* [The King's Church in Studenica] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1987), 186.

[26] Slobodan Ćurčić, "The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the

iconographical system. First of all, the church itself is dedicated to Christ's ancestors, Joachim and Anna, whose figures in mural painting are symmetrically disposed to the pair of Milutin's ancestors, St. Simeon and St. Sava, on opposite wall. Moreover, Milutin insists on his origin in the dedicatory inscription and in text, accompanying the depicting the ruling couple with regalia. Accordingly, Milutin both underlined the legitimacy of his power, inherited from his holy forefathers, and alluded to parallels in the lineage system between the Nemanid dynasty and the genealogy of Christ.

Indeed, the ideological concept aimed at legitimizing Milutin's coming to the throne is expressed through parallelism between the Nemanids and Christ's genealogy. But on the other side, one question remains unanswered, namely, why were St. Simeon and St. Sava not put directly into the same procession with Milutin, as had already happened in another dynastic composition at Mileševa, where these saints headed the line of Nemanid family members *(Fig. 1)*? Why were they depicted turned to the Theotokos instead of being turned toward Christ in advocacy for their ruling heir?

It seems to me that Sts. Simeon and Sava's relative separation from Milutin and association with the Virgin resulted from their veneration as Athonite saints. In fact, their prayers are logically addressed to Her, as the protectress of Holy Mount. Moreover, Mary here is depicted in the iconographical type of the Hodegitria and some icons of the same iconographical type from the late twelfth century may be found at Hilandar monastery, venerated as heritage from Sts. Simeon and Sava.[27]

In such a way, associated in one compositional group, St. Simeon, St. Sava, and the Virgin represent a kind of Hilandarian iconographical bloc, incorporated into the entire program of the King's Church. Keeping their place in this developed system of dynastic meanings, this separate group also has its own significance, the Athonite saints play the role not just of king's holy ancestors, but generally,

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Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica," ZRVI 14/15 (1973): 194.

[27] I.e., a painted Hodegitria icon of 1260s with Christ on Her right hand and a mosaic Hodegitria icon of 1200 with Christ on Her left hand giving a blessing (Petković, *Ikone,* 21, figs 65–71). According to the vita of St. Simeon written by St. Sava, just before the death the saint asked to see an icon of the Virgin "to draw my last breath in front of it," [Saint Sava] *Свети Сава, Сабрана дела* [Collected works], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna Zadruga, 1998), 180. The fourth biographer of St. Simeon, Teodosije, also refers to the icon of the Virgin with Christ when Nemanja is dying: "and joyfully looked at all-pure image of Christ and of all-pure His Mother," [Teodosije of Hilandar] Теодосије Хиландарац, *Живот светога Саве* [The life of Saint Sava], ed. Ђ. Дančić (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1973), 58.

as protectors and intercessors for all people with the Theotokos. Therefore, I think that this particular monument represents a transitional stage of the cult, moved by King Milutin from an Athonite milieu to Serbia, where it merged into a dynastic cult of holy ancestors.

However, the main place for the joint cult was Hilandar monastery; initially built by St. Simeon and St. Sava together in 1198, it was renovated by King Milutin in 1317–1321.[28] The first church contained a new tomb of Nemanja, who was continuously venerated[29] even after his relics were transported to Serbia.[30] In the renovated monastery the place of Simeon's tomb was preserved.[31] The problematic issue concerning Hilandar's program is the repainting of 1804, when all the images were covered by a new layer of color, but preserving the iconographical scheme.

The frescoes of Milutin's time contain two donators' compositions and the pair of St. Simeon and St. Sava exists in both.[32] The first portrait, placed above the tomb of St. Simeon at the southeastern corner of the naos, includes St. Simeon (ὁ ἅγιος Συμεών...), St. Sava ((ὁ) ἅ(γι)ος Σάβας κ(αὶ) κτήτωρ), King Milutin (Στέφανο(ς) ἐν Χ(ρισι)ῶ το θ(ε)ῶ πιστὸς Οὔρεσις κράλις κα(ὶ) κτήτωρ),[33] and St. Stefan behind him. All the figures stand with their hands extended in the same

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[28] Miodrag Marković and William T. Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji gradnje i oslikavanja hilandarskog katolikona" [Additions to questions of chronology of the building and painting of the Hilandar *catholicon*], *Hilandarski zbornik* 10 (1998): 201–220.

[29] Danica Popović, "Sahrane i grobovi u srednjem veku" [Burials and tombs in the Middle Ages], in *Manastir Hilandar,* ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: SANU, 1998), 206. Teodosije expressed the same idea about the tombs of St. Simeon and St. Sava in his Panegyric: "your light and miracle-making tombs, venerating, we are kissing with love, because they were sanctified with your hermit bodies and feathered with curing," Teodosije, *Services*, 757.

[30] According to his biographers, St. Simeon's body was transported to Studenica in the eighth year after his death, i.e., about 1206, as suggested by Maksimović, "O godine prenosa," 437–442.

[31] The problem of the authenticity of the present traditional place of St. Simeon's tomb at Hilandar has been noted by Dragan Vojvodić; he assumed, based on the place of St. Simeon's tomb at Studenica, that the tomb was situated in the same place in the initial Hilandarian *catholicon,* see Dragan Vojvodić, "Hilandarski grob svetog Simeona i njegov slikani program" [The Hilandarian tomb of St. Simeon and its painting program], *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 46–47.

[32] Miodrag Marković, "Prilozi za istoriju Svetog Nikite kod Skoplja" [Additions to history of St. Nikitas near Skoplje], *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 209; Vojislav Đurić, "Les portraits de souverains dans le narthex de Chilandar. L'histoire et la signification," *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989): 109–112.

[33] The Greek inscriptions mean "Saint Simeon," "Saint Sava and the donator," "Stephen, the faithful king in Christ, the God, and donator."

prayer gesture, turning to the East. Therefore their prayers run to God through the intercession of different saints standing on the route between the tomb and the altar. The first among them is St. Nicholas, who "shares" the same pilaster with St. Simeon, being depicted on the south side. This saint, to whom Nemanja dedicated one of his first churches at Kuršumlija, stands frontally with an open book where the words from the Gospel of Matthew (5:16) are quoted: "Let your light so shine [before men]" Miodrag Marković assumed that St. Nicholas could be a part of ktetorial composition and the words in his book could refer to the ktetors.[34]

Other distinctive features[35] of this scene are: an archaic type of composition, absence of insignia of the king's power, the inscriptions near the figures that do not mention governed lands and complete titles, and displacement of the king's wife by the king's saint patron, Stefan. In distinction from the Nemanids' dynastic processions (Radoslav's chapel and Mileševa), here all the personages with the same gestures and movements have the same rank, thus Sts. Simeon and Sava are depicted as just the first ones in the procession, but not as objects of veneration. Moreover, St. Sava and Milutin, and possibly St. Simeon, were inscribed with the same status – ktetors. It seems that all these features indicate replacement of the idea of dynastic continuity and inheritance of power, which were frequent in Nemanide portraits, with the idea of ktetorial unity. In other words, all three personages, St. Simeon, St. Sava, and Milutin are depicted here as persons who built or rebuilt the church, but not as political figures or relatives.

The second ktetorial composition is situated on the eastern wall of the inner narthex. It is still partly covered with the nineteenth-century painting, but the iconography has been preserved. Here, above the entrance to the naos, the Theotokos with the Child are represented sitting on the throne and adored by two angels. On pilasters on both sides of them stand St. Sava and St. Simeon Nemanja, whose original inscription has survived – "ὁ ἅ[γιος] Συμεὼ[ν] ὁ Νεεμάν [καὶ] κτή[τωρ]." Behind them, on the groups are depicted: on south side, Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282–1332) (ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ Χῼ ΤΟ Θῼ

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[34] Miodrag Marković, "Prvobitni živopis glavne manastirske crkve" [The initial painting of the main monastery church], in *Manastir Hilandar*, ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: SANU, 1998), 236.

[35] These features were already mentioned by Dragan Vojvodić, "Ktitorski portreti i predstave" [Ktetorial portraits and depictions], in *Manastir Hilandar*, 46–52, but without the proper conclusion. In contrast to my opinion, he thinks that here the role of St. Simeon, as the "forebear of the dynasty" is "to intercede for his descendant and entire his nation with the saints and God" (Ibid., 52).

ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ) and King Milutin (ΣΤΕΦΑΝ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΟ ΘΩ ΠΙΣΤΟ(Σ) ΟΥΡΕΣΙΣ ΚΡΑΛΗΣ· Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΕΡΙΠΟΘΗΤΟΣ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ Τ8 ΚΡΑΤΕ8 Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙ8 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚ8 Τ8 ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓ(8) Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΤΗΤΩΡ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΑVΤΗΣ)[36] accompanied by St. Stefan, and on the north side the royal heirs, Andronikos III Palaeologos (1328–1341), Stefan of Dečani (1321–1331) and the young, the future czar, Dušan (1331–1355).[37] The ktetorial dedicatory inscription, placed under southern part of composition, was rewritten[38] in 1804 and contains some mistakes, which have led historians to discuss the date of the monastery renovation for several years.[39]

This complex composition consists of three scenes. The central part is an adoration of the Virgin which includes the two first ktetors, whose pointing gestures refer to the Theotokos. The southern group combines ideas of delivering power with the second ktetorial right.[40] Here, both the emperor and the king are depicted in full regalia, with an entitulature, and indication of family relations.[41] The scene itself represents the moment of Andronikos giving Milutin a golden bull confirming the Serbian right to own the monastery, which indicates the hierarchical relations between the Byzantine and Serbian rulers as sovereign and dependent (and also father-in-law and son-in-law), the latter building a monastery on the lands of the former.[42] Probably it was borrowed from Byzantine political ideology, which considered all kings as a kind of family headed by a *pater familias*,

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[36] The Greek inscriptions mean "Saint Simeon Nemanja and ktetor," "Andronikos in Christ the God the faithful emperor and the autocrat of the Romans, Palaiologos," "Stephen, the faithful king in Christ, the God, and the much beloved son-in-law of a ruling and saint emperor, Andronikos Palaiologos, and the ktetor of this joly monastery."

[37] About the identification of these historical personages see: Đurić, "Les portraits," 109–121. He also supposes that portraits of Stefan of Dečani and Dušan were added in the 1330s.

[38] According to Marković and Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji," 206, footnote 23, some parts the text are a kind of paraphrase of the original phrases, but the structure is unchanged.

[39] About these debates see the historiography written by Marković and Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji," 201–204. Generally, the most accepted date for the finishing of all renovation work was between July and 29 October 1321, see Đurić, "Les portraits," 109–112.; Marković and Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji," 207–208.

[40] Marko Popović, "Les funérailles du ktitor–aspect archéologique," in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 August 2006*, vol. 1, ed. F. K. Haarer et al. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 99–121, see especially 118–120.

[41] Đurić, "Les portraits," 106–108.

[42] Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting: The Age of the King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999), 60.

the Byzantine emperor; other monarchs, depending on the significance and might of their states, were placed as close or distant relatives.[43] The third group also represents the idea of a legitimate inheritance of power; here the heirs of both ruling houses are depicted with their full regalia, indicating their status. The son of Milutin, Stefan of Dečani, is inscribed as a ktetor, which implies that a ktetorial right was also regarded as a kind of legacy. As may be seen in this composition, St. Simeon and St. Sava are not linked with dynastic groups by strictly political iconography; they are even visibly separated from these two groups, being placed on the pilasters. Moreover, the scenes on the north and the south do not demand the existence of such additional iconographical meaning as the intercession of the saints with the Virgin. All three parts are also unified in the same composition; however, placed above the southern group scene of *Wisdom hath builded Her house* (Proverbs 9, 1–18)[44] in terms of ktetorial activity and church building. Thus, Sts. Simeon and Sava address their prayers to the Theotokos as first founders and saints, while Milutin builds his ktetorial right on their precedent.

A parallel for the composition of the central part with two ktetors and the Virgin can be found in so-called "Svenskaya" icon of the enthroned Theotokos with Antonije and Theodosije from Kievo-Pečerskaya Lavra (now is in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow).[45] This is the earliest depiction of the Lavra's founders from 1288; they are placed on each side of the Virgin (Antonije on the right and Theodosije on the left), who holds the Christ-child, blessing the saints with both hands. Both saints wear great-schema costumes and hold scrolls with texts about monastic life. In this case they are also joint as founders of a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, the Kievo-Pečerskaya Lavra. Thus, one can assume that the iconographical representation of the enthroned Virgin, bracketed by two saint ktetors was typical for a joint cult of saint monastery founders.

The same concepts of ktetorship and legislation as separate but inter-dependent activities which were noted in the narthex painting can also be found in the dedicatory inscription,[46] where firstly, St. Simeon and St. Sava are glorified

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[43] George Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (Dec., 1956): 1–14; Herbert Hunger, "State and Society in Byzantium," in *Epidosis. Gesammelte Schriften zur byzantinischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1989), *251–252*.

[44] About this proverb and Milutin as Solomon see Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, 60.

[45] Каталог Государственной Третьяковской Галереи, Древнерусское искусство X–начала XV века [Catalogue of the State Tretyakov Gallery. Old Russian art from the tenth – the beginning of the fifteenth century] (Moscow: GTG, 1995), 70–71 (Cat. 16).

[46] The following translation of the dedicatory inscription was made from the text published in *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija* [Monuments of medieval

as the first ktetors, founders of the church, and at the same time as religious teachers.[47]

> Our God-bearing and most blessed fathers, teachers and tutors of all the Serbian land, the new myrrh-flowing venerable Simeon with his beloved son Sava, the first archbishop of all Serbia, kindled with divine love, with a great deal of labor and sweat built from the ground the church in the name of the most holy Theotokos, in the place called Hilandar...

Further, the second ktetor, Milutin, underlines the legitimacy of his power ("now, after some time, by the grace of God, I, Stefan Uroš, have inherited the Serbian kingdom from my fathers"), his kinship with the Greek emperor ("son-in-law of the Greek emperor Andronikos") and continuity in

> trying to fulfill many things which were left over after having lived before me my forefathers and fathers, as my sovereign Christ God wants it, I destroyed the church because of it being narrow, and have built this new one, and have painted it in the name of Theotokos and Her honorable presentation.

He then applies for intercession to the Theotokos ("But, O, our Lady, accept my humble offering and beg your Son and our Lord not to deprive me of His kingdom"). Thus, St. Simeon and St. Sava again, just as in paintings, are considered the first ktetors and unified because of this, while political implications are connected with the figure of Milutin, who regarded Hilandar as an inheritance of the Nemanids that permitted them to receive the intercession of the Virgin and salvation at the Last Judgment.

As a result, the iconographical conception standing behind the Hilandarian paintings and ideology, reflected in the dedicatory inscription, demonstrates that primarily St. Simeon and St. Sava were venerated and consequently unified as the first ktetors, building the monastery together and glorifying it with their sanctity and miracles, starting with myrrh flowing from Nemanja's relics. In Hilandar they were always inscribed as ktetors, without long dynastic entitulatures, and in the dedicatory text only their building activities are mentioned; thus, they were regarded as ideal founders, showing, as "teachers," the way of salvation for their descendants through ktetorial activities. At the same time, in the whole complex of Hilandarian monuments, King Milutin is depicted as a pious ruler, a dependent

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history of Macedonia], vol. 1, ed. V. Mošin (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1975), 304.
[47] Todić, "Predstave Sv. Simeona," 295–304, thinks that this expression refers to both guarding orthodoxy and showing the good way for descendants, becoming a monk.

of the emperor, following the ideal ktetorial example established by the first founders on his way to salvation.

The monument completing the list of early joint depictions of St. Simeon and St. Sava is the church of St. Nikitas, built by Milutin in 1299–1300.[48] The territory where the monastery is situated was captured by the Serbian king during the Byzantine campaign in 1282–1284 and later he held it as the dowry of his Byzantine wife. Because of this, all Milutin's actions concerning these lands were formally approved by his father-in-law, Andronikos II Palaeologos. About the end of 1307, Milutin granted the monastery as a metochion (a land possesion) for the Hilandarian pyrgos (a hermitage tower), Chrusia,[49] but as early as 1321 the monastery of St. Nikitas became a possession of Hilandar itself.

As was noted by Branislav Todić,[50] a ktetorial portrait of King Milutin is absent from the church, although he was at least the donor of the building. Miodrag Marković[51] has suggested that the paintings were ordered not by the king himself, but by the monks of Hilandar after 1321, after the king had died. The possible ktetor of the frescoes could be Danilo, the future archbishop, who was a *hegoumenos* (superior) of Hilandar until 1324.

The program of frescoes *(Fig. 2)*, executed by a famous team of Thessalonian painter Michael Asurapas,[52] repeated the iconographical pattern of Milutin's Hilandarian *katholikon*,[53] which was the reason for dating the ensemble earlier than Hilandar. Here, Sts. Simeon and Sava are placed on the western part of the north wall among famous monks and ascetics (St. Athanasios of Athos, St. Arsenios, St. Paul of Thebes, St. Anthony, St. Euthymios, St. Sabbas, St. Theodore the Stoudites St. Stephen the New, and St. Theodosios the Cenobite).[54] St. Simeon is depicted in the monastic closing of the Great Schema holding a scroll with the

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[48] Concerning all the dates in the history of the monastery see Marković and Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji," 63–128.

[49] Ibid., 117–124. For an edition of surviving Greek chrysobulla confirming properties of St. Nikitas monastery, see *Actes de Chilandar I. Des origins a 1319*, ed. M. Živojinović et al. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Editions, 1998), 172–175, 298–300.

[50] Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting,* 346.

[51] Miodrag Marković, "Hilandar i živopis u crkvama njegovih metoha – primer svetog Nikite kod Skoplja" [Hilandar and paintings in churches of its metochions, the example of St. Nikitas near Skoplje], in *Peta Kazivanja o Svetoj Gori,* ed. M. Milosavljević (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2007), 186–190.

[52] Branislav Todić, 'Signatures des peintres Michel Astrapas et Eutychios. Fonction et signification," in Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2001), 648.

[53] Marković, "Hilandar i živopis," 180–186.

[54] Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting,* 345.

Fig. 2. St. Nikitas' church near Skopje, the northern wall (1321–1324).
St. Simeon, St. Sava and St. Theodosios the Koinobite (photograph by the author).

words of Psalm 33 (see above). St. Sava wears a *sticharion* with striped sleeves and a *sakkos* with crosses; holding a closed codex and giving a blessing with his right hand. The text on Nemanja's scroll is written in Slavonic, while the rest of the scrolls here are in Greek. This peculiarity can be explained by the existence of an established iconographical pattern, transferred onto the wall by the Greek painters. Moreover, the unusual choice of monastic saints, including St. Athanasios of Athos, may explain the implicit ideological message of St. Simeon's and St. Sava's representations. Being put into the same row with the founders of monastic communities, these two saints were compared with other famous examples. In this way, St. Simeon and St. Sava, again united as ktetors and founders of the Athonite monastery, represent the Serbian monastic community among eminent holy ascetics.

According to Miodrag Marković, this iconography was influenced by Hilandar, where the joint cult of the saints already existed. I disagree with

the author, however, who marked this composition as "the earliest surviving example of a particular iconographical decision."[55] It seems to me that the joint cult was formed a bit earlier and such examples as the King's Church at Studenica and the Hilandarian *katholikon* itself (apart from the non-dated icon from Hilandar) demonstrate the process of its development. The example of St. Nikitas, however, belongs to a special iconographical type, where St. Simeon and St. Sava are depicted not just as ktetors, but as ascetics and founders of a monastic community without any dynastic implications, which in some measure existed in monuments ordered by Milutin. I think that this purely monastic iconography already existed on icons (such as the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century icon from Hilandar), which can explain the case of the Slavonic text on Nemanja's scroll (see above), but, surely, its translation from minor monuments to fresco painting only became possible in the absence of a direct royal ktetor from the Nemanid dynasty, as King Milutin was.

Conclusions

In sum, in Serbian medieval painting there were two different types of representations of St. Simeon accompanied by St. Sava. The first one had dynastic content, but did not imply the unification of the two saints; the connections between them were rather occasional. The second group had a Hilandarian origin and always preserved some reference to this monastic community, where both saints were venerated as monks and ascetics. Therefore, if St. Simeon and St. Sava are present as a joint group, the main reason for this unification lay in their common monastic foundation of Hilandar. In other words, they are glorified as the first ktetors of this Athonite monastic Serbian community, "teachers" showing the way of salvation to those who desired to be monks.

King Milutin, however, adopted this joint cult and the iconography and included it in wider iconographical projects, such as the King's Church and Hilandar, where this pictorial pattern (St. Simeon in ascetic clothing with a scroll and St. Sava as a bishop with a codex) received some additional meanings from being put into iconographical structures of dynastic character. In some monuments, such as the Hilandarian icon or St. Nikitas' church, however, this joint iconography preserves its initial purely monastic significance.

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[55] Marković, "Hilandar i živopis," 180–181.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE MURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF *SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE* IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu

In the fourteenth century, a new theme appeared in the religious iconography of the Hungarian Kingdom: the collective representation of the full standing figures of the three holy Árpádian kings, namely, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas.[1] The great popularity of this iconographic theme is attested by numerous examples preserved in church decoration executed during the Angevin and Luxemburg dynasties, both supporting the cult of the holy kings and promoting its pictorial representations.[2] Because previous literature assigned the emergence of this collective representation to the long interval of the fourteenth century[3] and the Angevin cultural milieu generally, either Neapolitan or Hungarian,[4] this iconographic study will start by examining the written sources mentioning St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas as a group in order to identify a more precise time when the three holy kings' joint cult emerged in the Hungarian spiritual milieu. The outcome will be compared with the pictorial evidence, classified for conciseness in iconographic types, in an attempt to recover the meaning that the frescoes depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* had at the time they were created.

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[1] This article is based on parts of my MA thesis in Medieval Studies, entitled "*Sancti reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late Medieval Hungary" (Central European University, 2009).

[2] Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig" [The cult and iconography of holy Hungarian kings between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries], in *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről* [The thousand-year-old youth. Studies on St Emeric's millennium], ed. Tamás Lőrincz (Székesfehérvár: Szent Imre templom, 2007), 79–123.

[3] Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.–15. Jh.," *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987): 232–234; Idem, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and resemblance. Art and reality in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 69; Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok."

[4] For a summary of these studies, see Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok," 84–93 and 110–116.

The Mid-fourteenth-Century Political Concept of *sancti reges Hungariae*

Because the three holy kings of Hungary were canonized at different times and by the initiatives of various people[5] and because their cult centers and burial places were in different places – St. Stephen and St. Emeric in Székesfehérvár and St. Ladislas in Oradea – one cannot state that their joint cult existed in the time period closely following St. Ladislas' canonization in 1192. Typologically, the Hungarian holy kings belong to different categories of saints, each of them popular at a specific time.[6] After the attempt to reconcile the incongruity between the prerogatives of a secular ruler with the moral life led by a holy man according to Christian precepts, the Church found a way to accept the secular ruler's sanctity through making him suffer martyrdom.[7] The context provided by the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity at the order of their rulers gave rise to a change in the mentality of the Church, which thus became ready to accept the holiness of the kings who played "only" the role of their countries' apostles and righteous rulers: *rex iustus Stephanus*.[8] The Church's compromise was not irrevocable, since it tried to promote simultaneously the ideal of asceticism and chastity embodied by the prince raised to become a Christian ruler, as in *dux castus Emericus'* case.[9] This ideal became unfashionable in the context of the holy war, which made possible a new type of saintly ruler: the knight-king fighting for the Christian faith and defending his country against pagan invaders, as *athleta patriae Ladislaus* did.[10] Consequently, the sanctity of Hungary's three holy kings was generated by different mentalities at different times, demonstrating once more that saints are

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[5] For St. Stephen's and his son's canonization in 1083 at King Ladislas I's initiative, and for St. Ladislas' canonization at King Béla III's initiative, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 123–134 and 186–187.

[6] A typological approach to royal sanctity including only the effective sacred rulers can be followed in Robert Folz, *Les Saints Rois du moyen âge en Occident (VIe–XIIIe siècles)* Subsidia Hagiographica 68 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984).

[7] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 134–147.

[8] Karol Górski, "Le Roi-saint: un problème d'idéologie féodale," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 24 (1969): 370–376, and František Graus, "La sanctification du souverain dans l'Europe centrale des Xe et XIe siècles," *Hagiographie, cultures, sociétés. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 559–572.

[9] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 155–158.

[10] Ibidem, 173–194.

a cultural phenomenon and that their *vitae* should be treated as witnesses of the holy men's canonization and not of their lives.[11]

Except for the textual evidence referring separately to each of the three royal saints of the Árpádian dynasty which is encountered occasionally in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, written sources dealing with St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas as a group appear rarely and are scattered among various types of documents.[12] Chronicles narrating the Hungarian Kingdom's history, literary works, charters issued by the Árpádian chancelleries, letters from the Neapolitan Angevins to the Hungarian rulers, and hagiographies of the new female saints of the House of Árpád all mention the three holy kings in the company of other saintly representatives, such as Coloman the Learned, sometimes also considered to be a saintly figure,[13] St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia,[14] or Blessed Margaret of Hungary.[15] Enumerating the holy predecessors of the Árpádian royal branch, a real *topos* of thirteenth-century documents, was a symptom of the late Middle Ages, when a new type of hereditary sanctity manifested itself strongly among the royal houses of the Árpáds and the Angevins of Naples.[16] The dynastic/ genealogical consciousness, emphasized by André Vauchez's concept *beata stirps*,[17] transformed the notion of sanctity into a sort of familial feature that affected the

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[11] "The Cult of Saints. A Discussion Initiated by Maria Crăciun and Carmen Florea," *Colloquia* 1–2 (2005): 135–164.

[12] For an inventory and analysis of these sources, see Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary".

[13] For St. Coloman's cult, see Terézia Kerny, "Szent Kálmán és Könyves Kálmán kultuszáról" [On the cult of St. Coloman and Coloman the Learned] *Ars Hungarica* 29 (2001): 12–32.

[14] For St. Elizabeth's cult, see Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, *Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie* (Paris: Éditions franciscaines, 1947), and Ottó Sándor Gecser, "Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231–c. 1500," PhD dissertation (Central European University, 2007).

[15] For Blessed Margaret's cult, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Il monte di San Gerardo e l'isola di Santa Margherita: gli spazi della santità a Buda nel medioevo," in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990), 267–284; Tibor Klaniczay, "La fortuna di Santa Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 2–27 (henceforth: Graciotti–Vasoli, *Spiritualità e lettere*); Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [St. Margaret's legends and stigmata] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994).

[16] Gábor Klaniczay, "Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie," *Alba Regia* 22 (1985): 57.

[17] André Vauchez, "*Beata stirps*: sainteté et lignage en Occident au XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 397–406.

members of the dynasty preferentially,[18] investing them with the prestige capital of their holy ancestors. In their attempt to prove themselves worthy of their sacred predecessors,[19] St. Elizabeth and Blessed Margaret, whose ascetic and pious conduct in various monastic orders and high reverence for their holy forebears are reflected in their *vitae*, became the new sacred representatives of the dynasty, enriching thus the pantheon of familial and royal saints.[20]

The death in 1301 of Andrew III, the last of the Árpáds, offered the occasion for Charles Robert of Anjou (Charles I as king of Hungary), one of the claimants to the Hungarian throne, to resort to the efficient medieval strategy of asserting sacred ascendance.[21] Willing to prove Charles I's legitimate right to the throne and his suitability to continue the work of the Árpád kings, his supporters displayed an impressive rhetorical strategy to convince the initially hostile nobility of the court of Buda. The 1307 *oratio* of the Dominican bishop of Zagreb, Augustine Gazottus (Kažotić), on Rákos' Field;[22] the 1308 discourse of the papal legate, Gentile di Particino da Montefiore, at the Dominican convent in Pest;[23] and the 1342 funeral sermon delivered by Csanád Telegdi, bishop of Esztergom, for Charles I in Székesfehérvár,[24] have in common the recitation of the entire roster of family and dynastic saints and emphasize the importance that Charles I granted, not to the change of the Árpádian dynasty, but to the continuation of its glorious beginnings with the first Hungarian Christian kings, St. Stephen and St. Ladislas. The attempt to legitimize the newly founded dynasty by means of

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[18] Hungarian scholars have debated whether every single member of the Árpádian dynasty enjoyed hereditary holiness or only the most worthy among them: Emma Bartoniek, "A magyar királyválasztási jog a középkorban" [The right to elect the king in Hungary during the Middle Ages], *Századok* 70 (1936): 358–406, and József Deér, *Pogány magyarság – keresztény magyarság* [Pagan Hungarians – Christian Hungarians] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938).

[19] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 229, assumes this *sainteté oblige* dimension for the *beata stirps* concept.

[20] Ibidem, 195–294.

[21] Ibidem, 324.

[22] For the *oratio*'s text, preserved only in a seventeenth-century *vita* of the bishop, ascribed to Johannes Tomcus Marnavitius and considered a forgery, see B. A. Kercselich, ed., *Historiarum cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis partis primae tomus I* (Zagreb, 1776), 111–114.

[23] Antal Pór, ed., *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis – Gentilis bíboros magyarországi követségének okiratai* [*Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis* – The documents of the embassy of Cardinal Gentile in Hungary] Monumenta Vaticana Historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia I/11 (Budapest, 1885), 269.

[24] Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó, ed. *Johannes de Thurocz. Chronica Hungarorum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 159.

holiness can be traced not only at a political and propagandistic level, but also at the level of Charles I's personal veneration and piety for his *beata stirps*, equally *Angevina* and *Arpadiana*.[25] Although a certain tendency to associate King Charles I with his sacred ruling predecessors can be noted in all these documents and actions, some time still had to pass until St. Emeric was included in the concept of *sancti reges Hungariae*, which in the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries assumed only the effective Hungarian rulers, namely, St. Stephen and St. Ladislas.

Speaking of royal patronage of the cult of saints in medieval Central Europe, Gábor Klaniczay notes three new trends that had emerged by the middle of the fourteenth century: journeys undertaken by the prince and his court for various reasons but proving excellent opportunities to popularize the dynastic saints; the expansion of the cult of the dead in the scope of the dynastic cults; and the new vogue for objects, edifices, and works of literature produced specifically for purposes of personal piety.[26] In 1357, the Hungarian Queen Mother Elizabeth Piast (1305–1380) met Charles IV of Luxemburg and his third wife, Anne of Świdnica, in Prague, and, after proving her generosity through many gifts to St. Vitus Cathedral, they set out together on a joint royal pilgrimage.[27] In Aachen, Queen Elizabeth founded a Hungarian chapel,[28] which, a decade later, received the donation of several valuable gifts from King Louis the Great (1342–1382) as well as the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas;[29] in 1381, the king made another donation to the chapel, endowing it with an exquisite piece of

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[25] For examples of King Charles I's personal veneration for his sacred ancestors, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 324–326.

[26] Ibidem, 332–333.

[27] Ibidem, 341–342.

[28] For the history of the chapel, see Gábor Barna, "Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László kultuszemlékei Aachenben és Kölnben. Az uralkodói reprezentáció és a régi magyar szentség" [Traces of the cults of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas in Aachen and Cologne. Representation and old Hungarian sainthood], in *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából* [A Thousand years of St. Emeric. Studies in honor of St. Emeric on the millennium of his birth], ed. Terézia Kerny (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), 66–67.

[29] György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Budapest: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–1844), IX/4, 91–92, where Henrik, the Abbot of Pilis, lists the gifts he received from King Louis the Great: *duo candelabra argentea, tres monstrantias cum reliquiis Sanctorum, Stephani, Ladislai et Henrici regum Hungariae; duas tabulas cum argento coopertas…*

craftsmanship portraying Hungary's three holy kings.[30] In the absence of other written sources, these two actions attest the patronage of Hungary's three holy kings for the Aachen chapel. The next stop on the royal pilgrimage was the shrine of the Three Magi in Cologne Cathedral, where Queen Elizabeth repeated the lavish donation gesture and founded another chapel devoted to the cult of the three Hungarian holy kings.[31] From Cologne, she went on to Marburg, to St. Elizabeth of Hungary's tomb, the common spiritual goal for Queen Elizabeth and Anne of Świdnica.[32]

The use of the dynastic cults in the 1357 royal pilgrimage was not only an occasion for the Angevin dynasty's representatives to be seen surrounded by the ostentation and splendor of court ceremonies in a different place than their own royal centre, but one can also discern some political propaganda purposes which surpassed the limits of the *beata stirps Arpadiana* notion. The echo of the twelfth-century *furtum sacrum*[33] of the alleged relics of the Three Magi (kings) from Milan and their solemn *translatio* to Cologne, arranged by Frederick I Barbarossa and his influential chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, in order to revive the *sacrum imperium* concept,[34] was far from fading out, since the "obvious objective"[35] of Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg, and probably of his Angevin companion, was the Cologne cathedral. Founding a chapel there dedicated to the three royal saints of Hungary was the natural gesture that Queen Elizabeth could make, while the later endowment of the Aachen, Cologne, and Bamberg[36] chapels with their relics shows the consistency of the *sancti reges Hungariae* notion during the second half of the fourteenth century. Placing the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas in proximity to other royal or imperial saints – Charlemagne in Aachen, the Three Magi in Cologne, and Emperor Henry II in Bamberg – was an attempt

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[30] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342, and Cat. no. I.19, *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg. 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 101–102.

[31] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342. No documents are preserved for this chapel's foundation, but the presence of the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas, as well as their patronage, are mentioned on the predela inscription in the chapel: *Nobile quod spectas hac sacra in aede sacellum/Continet Hungariae Reges reliquosque patronos...*, Barna, "Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László," 68.

[32] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

[33] For the medieval phenomenon of *furta sacra*, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts and Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: PUP, 1990).

[34] Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi. Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: PUP, 1997), 44 and 78–79.

[35] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

[36] Ibidem.

to relate their cult to similar European ones, having as a natural consequence the forging of political capital for the Angevin dynasty's own purposes. In Klaniczay's opinion,[37] the use of dynastic cults for propaganda purposes in the fourteenth century led naturally to grouping and classification, and looking at the European parallels of the time, one notes that this was the same age when the three Scandinavian holy kings – St. Olaf, St. Knut, and St. Eric – came to be seen as a triad.[38]

Except for this evidence, there is no fourteenth-century liturgical text which mentions St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas as a group; their *vitae* and offices, although subject to change over time, have the specificity of focusing on just one sacred character.[39] A fourteenth-century missal from a Dominican convent in Dalmatia, probably Zadar, highlights the feasts of the Angevin saints – St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Louis of Anjou, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas – and refers to King Louis the Great as St. Ladislas' *famulus* in the Mass to be said for the king, but it still has separate services for the three holy kings of Hungary.[40] Even the great number of sermons from mendicant orders' preachers from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century do not make reference to the holy kings of Hungary as a group, but dedicate separate sermons to each of them.[41] Only in 1431, in a prayer book from Bratislava, is the *sancti reges Hungariae*'s

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[37] Ibidem, 341.

[38] It is arguable whether the three Scandinavian holy kings' grouping happened under the influence of the fourteenth-century spiritual context or under the direct influence of Scandinavian mythology, where Thor, Odin, and Freia were also grouped together, Tore Nyberg, "Les royautés scandinaves entre sainteté et sacralité," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claude Sergio Ingerflom (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 63–70.

[39] For the hymns dedicated to the three holy kings of Hungary individually, see Josephus Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae* (Budapest: Franklin, 1893); Polikárp Radó, "A nemzeti gondolat a középkori liturgiánkban" [The nation as an idea in Hungarian medieval liturgy], *Katholikus Szemle* 55 (1941): 433; the chapter "A magyar szentek zsolozsmái" [Hymns on Hungarian saints], in *Magyarország zenetörténete. I. Középkor* [The musical history of Hungary I. The Middle Ages], ed. Benjamin Rajeczky (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 334–343.

[40] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 347.

[41] See Gábor Klaniczay, "National Saints in Late Medieval Universities," in *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. Márta Font and László Szögi (Pécs: Tér Nyomdai és Grafikai Stúdió, 2001), 87–108; András Vizkelety, "*I sermonaria* domenicani in Ungheria nei secoli XIII–XIV," in Graciotti–Vasoli, *Spiritualità e lettere*, 29–38, and Edit Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie: Középkori prédikációk Szent László királyról* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2004).

intercession collectively invoked for the people's ascension to heaven.[42] Because of this chronological difference between the political and liturgical evidence, I consider it appropriate to refer to the cult of *sancti reges Hungariae* as originally a political, ideological concept, used in the Angevins' mid-fourteenth-century royal propaganda, which later developed into a liturgical concept.

Sancti reges Hungariae in Late Medieval Mural Painting

Leaving aside the occurrence of the three holy kings' representation in the Neapolitan Angevin milieu,[43] which, being earlier than the Hungarian examples, could have offered the model for the collective representation, one should consider hypothetically the unpreserved examples of separate iconic depictions of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas which should have existed in mural decoration before the political decision to promote the *sancti reges Hungariae* joint cult. It would have been normal, even though the pictorial evidence is completely lacking, for these separate depictions of the three holy kings to occur immediately in their cult centers after their canonizations in 1083 and 1192 and to have served as an iconographic model for the three royal saints' collective representation.

An important number of preserved frescoes[44] – Chimindia (Kéménd), Crişcior (Kristyór), Remetea (Magyarremete), Ribiţa (Ribice), Tileagd (Mező-telegd), Hrušov (Körtvélyes), Krásnohorské Podhradie (Krasznahorkaváralja), Plešivec (Pelsőc), Khust (Huszt), Napkor, and Rattersdorf (Rőtfalva) – have common iconography[45] which depicts the standing figures of the three holy kings holding their attributes within the same iconographic unit. Either

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[42] *Sancte Dei Stephane pie rex et apostole noster/ inclite Henrice uirginitate sacer/ rexque Ladizlae succurrite genti/ quo valeat digna scandere summa poli.* Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 294.

[43] For the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples and its mural decoration, where Hungary's three holy kings appear for the first time in a unitarily conceived composition, see the studies and bibliography in Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, eds, *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in Fourteenth Century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[44] The murals listed are grouped accordingly to present geopolitical divisions, starting with the most numerous examples in an area (Romania – 5; Slovakia – 3) and finishing with the cases of Ukraine, Hungary, and Austria, where single examples are preserved. The list includes only the collective representations of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas.

[45] The *sancti reges Hungariae* depictions in Crişcior, Ribiţa, and Chimindia represent a special case, despite their common iconography, because they offer the characters' identity through Cyrillic inscriptions, attesting thus that these Transylvanian churches belonged to the Orthodox cult, at least for a certain period in Chimindia's case. For the reasons the *ktetors* had for representing the *sancti reges Hungariae* in their churches, see Elena Dana Prioteasa,

enclosed by a single decorative frame (Chimindia, *Fig. 1,* Crişcior, *Fig. 3,* Khust, Rattersdorf, Remetea, and Ribiţa) or placed below arcades supported by colonettes (Krásnohorské Podhradie, *Fig. 2* and Tileagd), the three royal saints belong to the same group, which attests that they were conceived as an independent composition.[46] The scene has no specific place within the church[47] and does not interact with other scenes,[48] thus representing supplementary evidence for its unitary iconographic conception.

The standing figures of the holy kings are depicted conventionally[49] – frontal representation, hieratical and static attitudes, and sometimes emphatic gestures[50] – in accordance with the rules of the iconic conception of image.[51] Even the individual treatment of the characters – the old wise king St. Stephen, the young beardless St. Emeric, and the mature bearded St. Ladislas – points to

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"The Holy Kings of Hungary in Medieval Orthodox Churches of Transylvania," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (2009): 41–56.

[46] Although partially preserved, the scenes in Hrušov and Plešivec present traces of a third character: a royal mantle and a hand on sword, respectively. In Napkor, the three characters are partially visible and unitarily conceived, as the small surface of the scene attests: the southern pillar of the triumphal arch.

[47] The scenes appear on different registers, in the choir (Rattersdorf and Remetea – northern wall; Napkor – southern wall), in the nave (Krásnohorské Podhradie, Khust, and Ribiţa – northern wall; Chimindia, Crişcior, and Tileagd – southern wall; Hrušov – western wall), and even on the exterior (Plešivec – southern wall). Dana Jenei, *Pictura murală gotică din Transilvania* [Gothic mural painting in Transylvania] (Bucharest: Noi Media Print, 2007), 70, notes the existence of a fragmentarily preserved scene, now lost, on the exterior wall (without mentioning which one) of the church in Ghelinţa.

[48] In the case of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme in the Orthodox churches, a certain tendency to relate the scene to the *ktetors*' votive composition can be noted, either by placing it next to the *ktetor*'s family or as its counterpart; in the *sancti reges Hungariae*'s proximity, there are representations of military saints, Liana Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crişcior" [The Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Crişcior village], in *Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. fourteenth–1450)* [The repertory of medieval mural paintings in Romania], ed. Vasile Drăguţ (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1985), 71–97, and Eadem, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribiţa (jud. Hunedoara)" [St. Nicholas Church in Ribiţa village (Hunedoara County)], in ibidem, 129–147.

[49] Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok," 83–84.

[50] In Crişcior, one can see the particular detail of St. Ladislas' raised arm above the head, as if preparing to attack with the battle-axe attribute, probably a consequence of both St. Ladislas' significance as knight-king and the military society to which the Romanian Orthodox *ktetors* belonged.

[51] Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 11.

Fig. 1. Sancti reges Hungariae, *the Calvinist church in Chimindia (Romania),*
the middle register of the southern wall of the nave, first decades of the fifteenth century.
Photo by the author.

the conventional depiction of the three ages of kingship, for they were established earlier in each saint's separate iconography.[52] Only in Rattersdorf and Krásnohorské Podhradie *(Fig. 2)* are the characters depicted in different costumes – a valuable ermine mantle and a richly decorated gown for St. Stephen, knight's armor with a chest plate, a coat of mail, and a helmet for St. Ladislas, and court costume for St. Emeric – while in all other cases the costumes are rendered similarly and

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[52] One can note, however, a tendency to depict St. Stephen as mature, with a brown beard rather than old and white-haired (at Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, and Khust), but St. Ladislas' depiction as beardless only at Krásnohorské Podhradie can be considered as an iconographic exception. On the three ages of kingship and the possible influence of the Three Magi representation on the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography, see Ernő Marosi, "A XIV–XV. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése" [Some problems concerning the place of Hungarian art in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe], *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973): 34–36, and Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIV. század közepéig" [The cult and iconography of the holy Hungarian kings until the mid-fourteenth century], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 75–76.

Fig. 2. Sancti reges Hungariae, *the Catholic church in Krásnohorské Podhradie (Slovakia), the upper register of the northern wall of the nave, second half of the fourteenth century. Photo by the author.*

differ only in color.[53] In Tileagd, Plešivec *(Fig. 4)*, Khust, and Remetea, all three holy kings are represented as knights, probably as a consequence of the chivalric culture revival originating at the court of the "Knight-King" Louis the Great,[54] while in Crişcior *(Fig. 3)* and Ribiţa the holy kings are represented in military costumes similar to those of the *ktetor*s (founders, patrons). The collection of attributes is the traditional one, with references to the important event in each saint's life: the crucifer orb and mace-like scepter symbolizing the royal dignity for St. Stephen, the battle-axe as a memento of St. Ladislas' bravery in fighting the pagan invaders, and the lily-shaped scepter for St. Emeric's chastity. Another attempt to standardize the three characters' depiction is attested by investing them

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[53] For the costumes' importance as evidence of the fashion in a particular time period and significant help in dating the frescoes, see Annamária Kovács, "Costumes as Symbols of Warrior Sainthood: The Pictorial Representation of the Legend of Saint Ladislas in Hungary," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 145–162.

[54] Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 185–187.

Fig. 3. Sancti reges Hungariae, *the Orthodox church in Crişcior (Romania), the lower register of the southern wall of the nave, before 1411. Photo by the author.*

Fig. 4. Sancti reges Hungariae, *the Calvinist church in Plešivec (Slovakia), the upper register of the southern exterior wall, after 1380. Photo by the author.*

equally with the royal insignia (crown, crucifer orb, and scepter), attributes which only two of them truly had; Duke Emeric obtained them by means of association with the holy kings Stephen and Ladislas.[55]

The depiction's conventional character, the strong tendency to unify the representation of the three figures' appearances, and the composition's solemn and official air point to the conscious efforts of the painters to illustrate the incipient royal theme of *sancti reges Hungariae*. Besides the intrinsic data pertaining to the medieval image-making, there is additional evidence to support this interpretation. All the frescoes discussed above belong to a time period later than the mid-fourteenth century,[56] after the time when the analysis of the textual evidence indicates the emergence of the political concept of *sancti reges Hungariae*:

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[55] Rattersdorf is the only place where St. Emeric wears a ducal hat.

[56] The poor state of preservation of the painting in Hrušov and the absence of any study dedicated to make it impossible to date the fresco for the time being, mentioned in Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok," 95.

the second half of the fourteenth century for Krásnohorské Podhradie *(Fig. 2)*[57] and Rattersdorf;[58] the late fourteenth century for Plešivec *(Fig. 4)*[59] and Tileagd;[60] the early fifteenth century for Khust[61] and Napkor;[62] and the first decades of the fifteenth century for Chimindia *(Fig. 1)*,[63] Crişcior *(Fig. 3)*,[64] Remetea,[65] and Ribiţa.[66]

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[57] The strong provincial stylistic character of the fresco points to the second half of the fourteenth century. The scene of *sancti reges Hungariae* is the only uncovered fragment in the church and, until other scenes are restored, I propose this hypothetical dating. Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok," 95; József Lángi, "Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László-ábrázolások falképeken" [New and until now unknown depictions of St. Ladislas in mural painting], in *A szenttisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. A magyar szentek tisztelete* [The historical layers and forms of the cult of saints in Hungary and in Central Europe. The cult of Hungarian saints], ed. Gábor Barna (Szeged: Néprajzi Tanszék, 2001), 84 and 95.

[58] Lángi, "Szent László-ábrázolások," 84 and 95; stylistically, the scene shows significant provincial Gothic characteristics associated with the second half of the fourteenth century.

[59] This badly preserved fragment of exterior painting shows several similarities with the interior decoration, which has generally been dated to the 1370s or 1380s on the grounds of its strong Italianizing style: Mária Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben* [Medieval frescoes in Gemer] (Somorja: Méry Ratio, 2002), 28–30, and Dušan Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* [Gothic. History of the fine arts in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 327–328. Consequently, the execution of the three holy kings' fresco, the only fragment preserved of the church's exterior decoration, should belong to a subsequent period, namely, the end of the fourteenth century.

[60] After 1380, Vasile Drăguţ, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1979), 261.

[61] Judging by the costume details, the scene could date to either the last decade of the fourteenth century or the first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo reproduction in Edit Madas and Zoltán György Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról. San Ladislao d'Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali* (Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2008), 163.

[62] Zsombor Jékely and József Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből* [Monuments with mural painting in the northeastern counties of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2009), 266–273.

[63] Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval mural painting in Transylvania rescued by the László Teleki Foundation] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008), 140–153.

[64] Before 1411, Tugearu, "Biserica din Crişcior," 72–73.

[65] Vasile Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Transilvania (sec. XIV–XV)* [Mural painting in Transylvania (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries)] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1970), 37–40.

[66] Before 1417, Tugearu, "Biserica din Ribiţa," 130.

Omission and Addition in the Iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae*

Another significant group of frescoes – in Žehra *(Zsegra, Figs 5–6)*, Čečejovce (Csécs), Poprad *(Poprád, Fig. 7)*, and Tornaszentandrás – depict Hungary's holy kings with consistent iconographic features but show an apparent fragmentation of the collective representation, the selection of two of the three holy kings and their distribution in various places in the church.[67] These frescoes retain the iconic manner of the characters' depiction, but they represent only two of Hungary's

Fig. 5. St. Stephen, the Catholic church in Žehra (Slovakia), the northern pillar of the triumphal arch, first half of the fourteenth century. Photo: Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Fig. 6. St. Ladislas, the Catholic church in Žehra (Slovakia), the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, first half of the fourteenth century. Photo: Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

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[67] I leave the discussion of the meaning and the whole consistent iconographic context of this type for a different occasion.
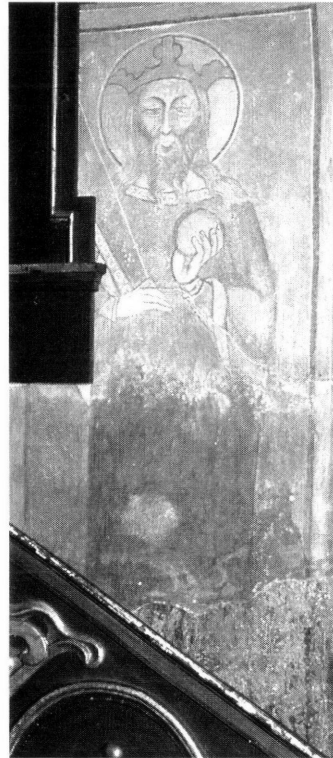
Fig. 7. St. Ladislas, the Catholic church in Poprad (Slovakia), the southern pillar
of the triumphal arch, first half of the fourteenth century. Photo by the author.

three holy kings: St. Stephen and St. Ladislas.[68] Moreover, the old wise king and the knight-king are depicted in the same place – facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch – their position being, however, interchangeable. Supplementary evidence for the consistency of this iconographic type is the chronology of the frescoes: three of them date to the first half of the fourteenth century,[69] while the representation of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas in Tornaszentandrás is dated to the middle of the same century.[70] The conception of the triumphal arch examples independently of the collective representation of Hungary's three holy kings is also attested by the fifteenth-century frescoes in Ozora[71] and Sibiu[72] (Nagyszeben), where the actual rulers were again depicted in similar positions: the fragmentarily preserved representation of the brown-bearded St. Ladislas with battle axe and crown on the triumphal arch's pillar in Filippo Scolari's castle chapel in Ozora would probably have had a representation of St. Stephen as a counterpart,[73] while Johannes of Rosenau painted a large Crucifixion scene on the northern wall of the choir in Sibiu, where the standing figures of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas, holding their royal and personal attributes and represented at old and mature age, respectively, are depicted in the niches of the illusionistic Gothic architecture

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[68] In the case of the small fragments preserved in Poprad in the same position on the pillars of the triumphal arch as in Žehra and Tornaszentandrás, the color of the royal characters' hair (white and dark), and the fact that the mature one holds, besides a scepter, another attribute (only the handle is visible), indicate the same identity. Čečejovce's case is problematic because both royal characters hold uncommon attributes (swords) and the poor state of preservation prevents judging the figures' ages. Based on analogy with the previous examples and on the same position of the crowned characters in the church, in Čečejovce, too, one can see representations of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas.

[69] For the dating of the frescoes in Čečejovce and Žehra, see Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku* [Medieval mural painting in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1978), 81–82 and 174–181 and Buran, *Gotika*, 153–157. The paintings in Poprad are not published yet, but the strong provincial air of the Gothic style and the prominent linear-narrative morphology point to the first half of the fourteenth century.

[70] Ilona Valter, *Tornaszentandrás. Plébániatemplom* [Tornaszentandrás. Parish church] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1998), with bibliography.

[71] Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8.–10. Juni 2005*, ed. Michel Pauly and François Reinert (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 321.

[72] The fresco bears an inscription attesting its author and date: *hic opus fecit magister johannes de rozenaw an(n)o d(omi)ni mil(l)esimo quadrigentesimo xlv*, Drăguţ, *Arta gotică*, 239–240.

[73] Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 321, admits, too, the possibility of a composition representing the holy kings of Hungary.

which frames the Crucifixion composition and suggests the pillars of a triumphal arch.

The iconographic program of the sanctuary of these fourteenth-century churches is preserved to a great extent; the absence of St. Emeric's representation attests that he was not depicted in the first half of the fourteenth century along with the other two holy kings. This does not mean that he was not present in church decoration, just that he was not associated with St. Stephen and St. Ladislas in this time period. In the early fifteenth-century fresco decoration in Žíp (Zsip, *Figs 8–9*),[74] St. Emeric appears in proximity to a representation of two holy kings on the pillars, but the partial preservation of the painting poses some identification problems. Of the three holy kings appearing on the pillars of the triumphal arch, only St. Emeric (the western side of the northern pillar) can be identified with certainty because he is depicted as a young man holding lily-shaped scepter; the other two holy kings, one in the usual place on the northern pillar, and the other as St. Emeric's counterpart on the southern pillar, are poorly preserved; their royal dignity is attested by the crucifer orb and the handle of

Fig. 8. Sancti reges Hungariae on *the pillars of the triumphal arch, the Calvinist church in Žíp (Slovakia), first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo by the author.*

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[74] Mention in Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok," 95.

Fig. 9. St. Ladislas and St. Emeric, the Calvinist church in Žíp (Slovakia), the northern pillar of the triumphal arch, first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo by the author.

the scepter. Normally, the presence of three holy kings would be enough for identifying the representation of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas, but other early fifteenth-century examples – Štítnik (Csetnek, *Figs 10–11*), Mălâncrav (Almakerék, *Fig. 12*), and Lónya – have the representation of a fourth royal saint,
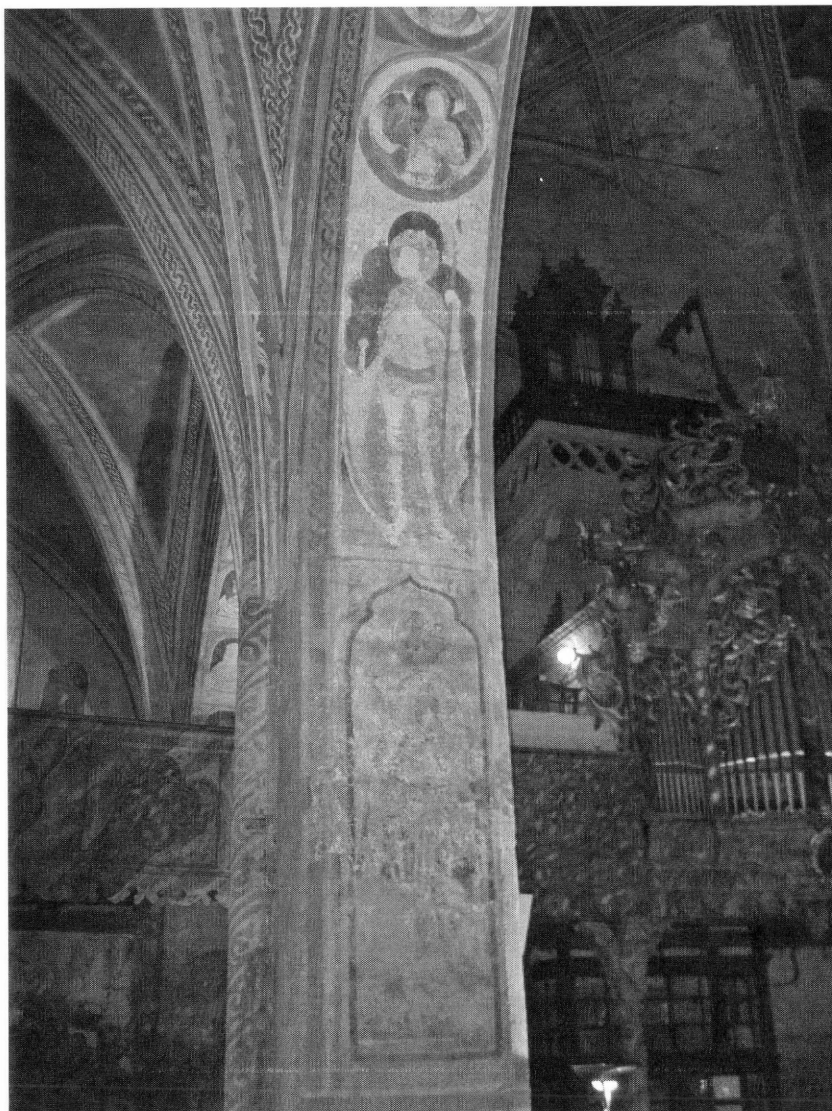
Fig. 10. St. Ladislas and St. Sigismund, the Lutheran church in Štítnik (Slovakia), the western pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle, first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo by the author.
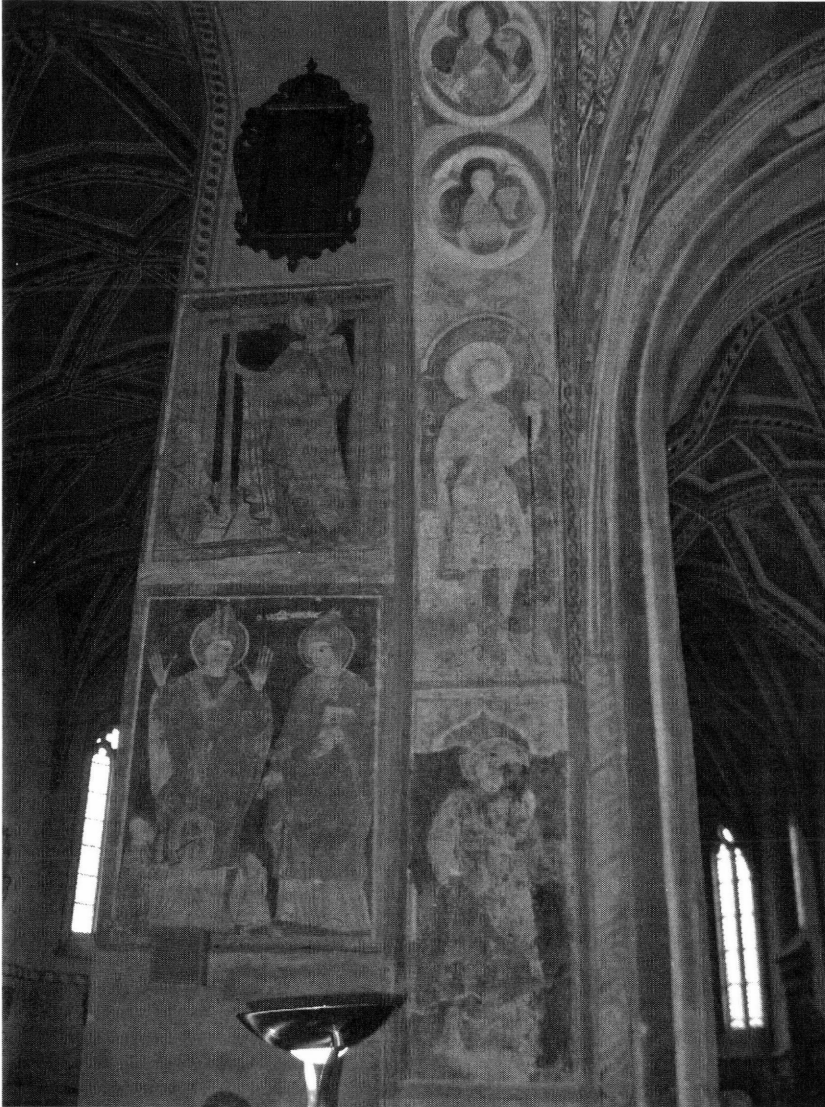
Fig. 11. St. Emeric and St. Stephen (partially visible), the Lutheran church in Štítnik, the eastern pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle, first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo by the author.

Fig. 12. Sancti reges Hungariae *and a bishop saint, the Lutheran church in Mălâncrav (Romania), the second register of the southern wall of the choir, first decades of the fifteenth century. Photo: Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences.*
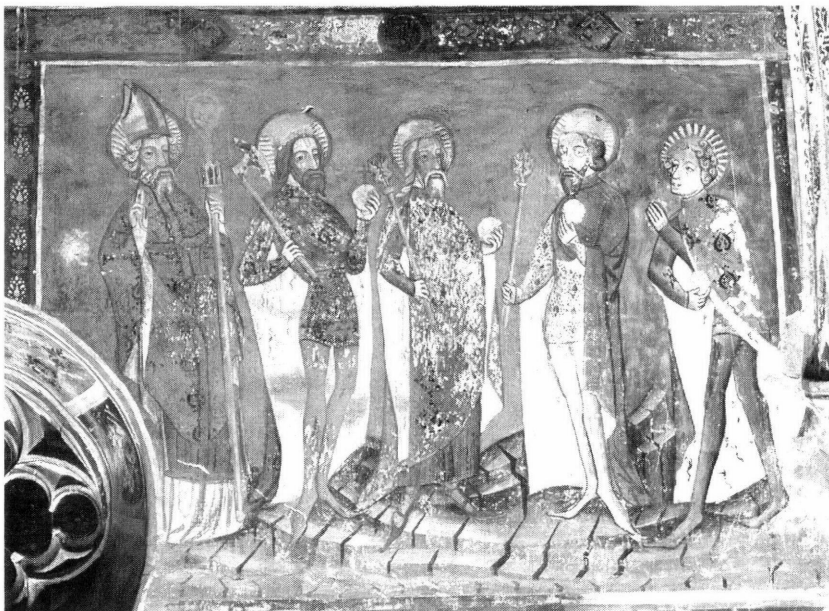
although his identity cannot always be established precisely. The only preserved inscriptions are those in Lónya,[75] where, besides St. Stephen's and St. Emeric's identities, another holy king appears: St. Sigismund. His partially preserved depiction is placed on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch. In the light of this new information, the preserved representations of holy kings in Žíp are those of St. Emeric, St. Sigismund (as the chaste prince's counterpart on the southern pillar, but on the side not visible from the nave), and St. Ladislas (on the northern pillar).[76] According to the earlier iconographic tradition, the latter saint should have been faced by another holy king, and this one, normally, would have been St. Stephen, but at Žíp his representation no longer exists.

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[75] The inscription is partially preserved: *.s./sigis(mundus)*, Jékely and Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 188.

[76] St. Sigismund's face has been completely destroyed, but that of St. Ladislas shows traces of a brown beard; moreover, the handle that St. Ladislas holds is thicker than the other saints', suggesting not a scepter but a battle-axe.

Faced with the presence of a fourth holy king in the company of the three Árpádian royal saints, one should find an explanation for the occurrence of the sixth-century Burgundian martyr saint,[77] who was practically unknown in Hungary until the late fourteenth century.[78] As noted by Madas and Tóth, St. Sigismund's presence in Hungary was mediated by Prague, where the saint's relics were translated in 1354 at the initiative of King Charles IV of Luxemburg, whose consistent endeavors transformed the Burgundian royal martyr into the official patron saint of Bohemia.[79] Charles IV's third son, born in the same year the king acquired the relics of the saint from Agaune, was named after him, and when Sigismund of Luxemburg became king of Hungary in 1387, he promoted his personal patron saint in this part of his kingdom[80] through a consistent strategy, becoming "ein eifriger Propagandist der Verehrung seines Patrons."[81] Religious foundations dedicated to St. Sigismund were built,[82] his relics were translated for a short period in 1424 from Prague to St. Ladislas' cult center in Oradea,[83] and

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[77] On the first royal martyr, St. Sigismund of Burgundy (516–523/524), who became a healing saint in eighth- and ninth-century sources originating at his foundation and cult center in St. Maurice of Agaune, see Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige. Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums," *Deutsches Archiv* 19 (1958), 317–344; and Frederick S. Paxton, "Power and the Power to Heal. The Cult of St. Sigismund of Burgundy," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): 95–110.

[78] The variant of the popular *Legenda aurea* circulating in medieval Hungary was augmented only in the early fifteenth century with St. Sigismund's legend, but it still was not a mandatory breviary reading in the Hungarian usage, Edit Madas, "La *Légende dorée – Historia Lombardica* – en Hongrie," in Graciotti–Vasoli, *Spiritualità e lettere*, 55. Only in 1486–1487 was St. Sigismund inscribed in the list of *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae*, officially joining Hungary's traditional three holy kings, Péter Tóth, "*Patronus regis – patronus regni*. Kaiser Sigismund und die Verehrung des heiligen Sigismund in Ungarn," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1 (2008): 84.

[79] On Charles IV's endeavors to promote St. Sigismund as a patron saint of Bohemia along with St. Wenceslas, see David C. Mengel, "A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague," in *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia in the late Middle Ages. Studies in honor of František Šmahel], ed. Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Centrum Medievistických Studií, 2004), 145–158.

[80] Tóth, *Patronus regis*, 83–88.

[81] Folz, *Heiligen Könige*, 388.

[82] This was the time when the churches of Niva (1422), Úszfalva (1429), Nógrádverőce (1433), Hásság (1446), and the court chapel of St. Sigismund in Buda (1424) were built, András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [*Patrocinia* in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2003), 496.

[83] Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad vára* [Varadinum: the Castle of Oradea], vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 44.

his representation occurred in church decoration. It was thus natural, when the two territories were united under the same rulership, for a holy king, the official patron saint of Bohemia, to join the Árpádian holy trio which played the same role in Hungary.[84] Comparing the early fifteenth-century pictorial evidence with the liturgical texts in medieval Hungary, one will notice the same chronological disparity as in the Árpádian holy kings' case: some time had to pass until an office of St. Sigismund was part of the breviaries used by the Hungarian Church and yet more time until the Bohemian royal saint's official inclusion in *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae*. Once more the new holy king's fresco representations preceded his official introduction into the liturgical practice of Hungary by several decades,[85] and once again politics played a significant role in the diffusion of a royal saint's cult, demonstrating the consistency of the medieval political strategy of sacred legitimizing, showing that the *patronus regis* is, in fact, *patronus regni*.[86]

If, in a small village church such as Žíp *(Figs 8–9)*, it was natural for St. Sigismund to occur in the first decades of the fifteenth century in the company of the Árpádian holy kings, his presence was even more normal in Ladislas Csetneki's and Nicholas Apafi's religious foundations.[87] The first, *comes* of the royal chapel and the queen's chancellor, partially embellished his monumental Gothic church in Štítnik with mural decoration some time between 1420 and 1430 *(Figs 10–11)*.[88] Because the choir of the church was completed only in 1460, the author of the iconographic program kept the four holy kings' representation, but changed its traditional place on the pillars of the triumphal arch; they were depicted on a similar surface, facing each other in two superposed registers on the pillars separating the nave from the southern aisle:[89] on the western pillar, St. Ladislas

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[84] In church dedication, only St. Ladislas' and St. Sigismund's double patronage is attested, Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 496.

[85] The first breviaries where St. Sigismund's office occurs are the 1451 Pauline Breviary (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 399, f. 386v) and the 1456 Oradea Breviary (Franziskanische Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 2), Tóth, *Patronus regis*, 86; see also note 78, above.

[86] Tóth, *Patronus regis*, 80–97.

[87] For noblemen's patronage of the royal saints' cult and pictorial representation, see Szakács, "Saints of the Knights," 319–330.

[88] Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 32.

[89] Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba*, 157, considers that the four holy kings are the patron saints of Hungary and Bohemia, namely, St. Stephen and St. Emeric, and St. Sigismund and St. Wenceslas, while Buran, *Gotika*, 688, identifies the royal Árpádian trio, but makes no suggestion for the fourth saint.

(the upper register)[90] with St. Sigismund (the lower register)[91] and, on the eastern pillar, St. Emeric[92] with St. Stephen, the representation of the latter in the lower register being replaced in a later decoration phase with that of a monk saint.

The fragmented but conceptually unified iconography in Žíp and Štítnik was abandoned in the Apafis' religious foundation at Mălâncrav *(Fig. 12)*, where the four holy kings are depicted along with a bishop saint on the southern wall of the choir and within the same iconographic unit. An old bishop with mitre and crozier giving a blessing is followed by the brown-bearded St. Ladislas with battle-axe and crucifer orb and by the white-haired St. Stephen; his scepter and crucifer orb are also the attributes of the following brown-bearded king, while the blonde beardless St. Emeric, who closes the composition on the right side, holds only the orb and originally a lily, now lost. The three Árpádian holy kings' identities are easily discernable because of their age and attributes; various identifications have proposed for the bishop saint and the fourth holy king.[93] Relying on László Éber,[94] who identified the Árpádian royal trio, Vasile Drăguț,[95] ignoring the 1405 *terminus ante quem* dating of the choir frescoes, proposed St. Louis IX for the fourth holy king, arguing wrongly that his representation was not unusual under King Louis the Great's reign, who had the Angevin French king as a personal patron

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[90] He is the only one depicted in knight's armor with shield, sword, and an attribute destroyed in its upper part, probably a long-handled battle axe.

[91] The only royal saint with some features of his face preserved is the one on the lower register of the western pillar; he has curly red-brown hair and a beard with a particular shape reminiscent of those in both King Sigismund's and St. Sigismund's portraits. For these representations, see George Szabó, "Emperor Sigismund with St. Sigismund and St. Ladislaus: Notes on a Fifteenth-century Austrian Drawing," *Master Drawings* 1 (1967): 24–31, and Vilmos Tátrai, "Die Darstellung Sigismunds von Luxemburg in der italienischen Kunst seiner Zeit," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator*, 143–167.

[92] His facial features are not preserved, but he seems to have been depicted beardless and with blonde hair.

[93] For a summary of these hypotheses, see Anca Gogâltan, "The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King in the Sanctuary of the Church at Mălâncrav," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 12–13 (2002–2003): 106–107. I will not refer here to the bishop saint's identity, which, in my opinion, has liturgical implications, because this study deals with the political aspects of the *sancti reges Hungariae* representation.

[94] Gyula Forster, ed., *Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről. Magyarország műemlékei* [Studies on medieval mural painting in Hungary. Monuments of Hungary] (Budapest, 1915), 71–104.

[95] Vasile Drăguț, "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav" [Mural paintings in the Lutheran church in Mălâncrav], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 1 (1967): 79–93.

saint.[96] Recently, Anca Gogâltan[97] has identified the fourth holy king as St. Sigismund, whose cult developed under King Sigismund of Luxemburg's reign; this was also a prosperous time in the military career of Nicholas Apafi,[98] the donor of the choir's decoration in Mălâncrav. One question raised by Gogâltan[99] was the spatial separation of the three Árpádian holy kings in the scene at Mălâncrav, where St. Sigismund divides the well-known composition of *sancti reges Hungariae* by pushing St. Emeric to the left side of the iconographic unit. Now one can add spatially fragmented but conceptually unified examples, which are contemporary with Mălâncrav, to her detailed iconographic analysis where the characters' distribution on various but similar wall surfaces does not exclude a coherent iconographic reading.

A different iconographic type, fragmented and unified simultaneously, is illustrated by the frescoes in Rákoš (Gömörrákos) and Lónya, where two of the holy kings are represented together on the southern wall of the choir, while the other one is depicted on the pillar of the triumphal arch. In the late fourteenth-century fresco decoration at Rákoš,[100] St. Ladislas' and St. Stephen's full standing figures with crowns and attributes are represented on the western side of the choir's southern wall, while the beardless St. Emeric with lily-shaped scepter is depicted in their proximity, but on the pillar of the triumphal arch, on the side not visible from the nave. The distribution of holy kings on similar wall surfaces is also noticeable in the 1413 frescoes in Lónya,[101] but here St. Stephen is associated with St. Emeric on the southern wall of the choir, while St. Sigismund occurs on the pillar of the triumphal arch. In both cases, the decoration of the northern pillar of the triumphal arch has been extensively destroyed and no evidence of a representation of a fourth royal saint has survived, but the chronology of these churches' paintings indicates this possibility. However, these holy kings'

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[96] For a bibliographic summary of the sanctuary frescoes in Mălâncrav and their dating, see Gogâltan, "The Holy Hungarian Kings," 106.

[97] Ibidem, 103–121.

[98] This aspect is developed in Eadem, "Patronage and Artistic Production: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-fifteenth Centuries)," PhD dissertation (Central European University, 2003).

[99] Eadem, "The Holy Hungarian Kings," 114–116.

[100] Milan Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba v Gemeri* [Medieval mural painting in Gemer] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 179–180, Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 21–26, and Szakács, "Knights of the Saints," 323.

[101] In the choir there is a partially preserved inscription – *...mag(iste)r.nicolaus/ ...e.Anno.d(omi) ni/ ...xiii.* – offering the painter's identity and the incomplete year of the fresco's execution, which, judging by the style of the painting, cannot be other than 1413. See Jékely and Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 187.

representations, as well as the depiction of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas in Bijacovce (Szepesmindszent),[102] may show a shift of meaning from political to theological, the change of emphasis being determined by the association of the *sancti reges Hungariae* with the row of the apostles in the sanctuary and the Old Testament Prophets on the intrados of the triumphal arch.

Conclusion

Far from being exhaustive, this analysis of the iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae* in mural painting revealed roughly two iconographic types: the unitarily conceived composition of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas, and the fragmented but conceptually unified iconography on the pillars of the triumphal arch, which has been both selective and inclusive over time. As shown by the analysis of the written sources, supported by the chronology of the iconographic types, the concept of *sancti reges Hungariae* did not assemble the same sacred representatives in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the first half of the fourteenth century it included only the effective rulers, namely, St. Stephen and St. Ladislas, as in the triumphal arch examples in Žehra *(Figs 5–6)*, Čečejovce, Poprad, and Tornaszentandrás. St. Emeric's addition to the iconography was a consequence of King Louis the Great's and Queen Elizabeth Piast's consistent strategy of promoting the cult of the Árpádian royal saints and relating it to other European royal or imperial cults. The dynastic ideology and propaganda added not only St. Emeric to the concept and iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae*, but also King Sigismund of Luxemburg's personal patron saint, St. Sigismund, who became, through political change, the normal companion of the Árpádian royal trio in the early fifteenth century, as attested by the frescoes in Žíp, Štítnik, Lónya, and Mălâncrav. Politics and dynastic ideology, with their medieval usage covering a particular synthesis of secular and religious actions, thus played a decisive role in defining and configuring the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. Its meaning, however, would not be complete if one ignored the theological and liturgical thinking behind it. I hope to provide more detail on this aspect in a future study dedicated to the iconographic context of the triumphal arch representations (at Čečejovce, Ozora, Poprad, Sântana de Mureş, Štítnik, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra, and Žíp) and other examples selecting two of Hungary's holy kings (at Dârlos and Sălard) or associating them with the apostles (at Bijacovce, Lónya, and Rákoš).

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[102] For the frescoes in Bijacovce, see Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba*, 74–77; photo reproduction in Madas and Horváth, *Középkori falképek*, 154–155 and 402.

LATE MEDIEVAL CERAMIC TABLEWARE FROM THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY OF TÂRGU MUREŞ

Ünige Bencze 📥

The archaeological excavations that have been going on for the past few years at the site of the Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt am Mieresch) have thus far brought to light a large amount of ceramic material.[1] The abundance of pottery originating from dated closed contexts offers opportunities for analyzing well-defined categories of finds. This article seeks to achieve that by focusing only on the ceramic tableware, meaning fine paste pottery used for serving and drinking during meals.[2] Aside from describing the material according to the vessel form and paste, the aim is to test this find assemblage for information concerning trade and trade networks. Indeed, the presence of some types of tableware among the material from the friary can be fully understood only when set against the backdrop of the economic situation of late medieval Târgu Mureş, Szekler land,[3] and the Kingdom of Hungary in general.[4] The present article thus aims to show how the material culture of the friary can serve as a means of determining the presence of Târgu Mureş in trade networks.

Târgu Mureş during the Late Middle Ages

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a period when the Kingdom of Hungary experienced great economic growth, manifested in a growing number of towns and a developing trade network. The most important towns grew at places where consumption was concentrated, particularly in the very center of

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[1] Excavations from 1999 were directed by Adrian Andrei Rusu, and later by Zoltán Soós, director of the Târgu Mureş County Museum.

[2] The kitchen ware is already under research by archaeologist Zalán Györfi from the Târgu Mureş County Museum.

[3] The Szekler land encompasses the territories inhabited by the Szekler people. This territory is situated near the eastern Carpathian Mountains, which corresponds to present-day Harghita, Covasna, and Mureş counties in Romania. In the Middle Ages this was a separate autonomous legal entity within Transylvania with the name of Szekler land *(Terra Siculorum)*.

[4] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Late Medieval Ceramic Tableware from the Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş," (Central European University, 2008).

the kingdom and along the frontier areas where foreign merchants entered.[5] In Transylvania, the region through which salt arrived in Hungary, the urbanizing effect of long-distance trade can best be illustrated. Two of the most important commercial centers, Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) and Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt), emerged along the route at the entrance to the passes of Bran (Törcsvár, Törzburg) and Turnu Roşu (Vöröstorony, Rotenturm), where the southern Carpathians could be crossed. These two roads converged at Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and led to Buda along the valley of the Criş (Körös, Kreisch) River that branches off at Oradea (Nagyvárad, Grosswardein) and joins further trade routes towards Košice (Kassa, Kaschau) and Cracow.[6]

It has to be pointed out, however, that only a minor part of the kingdom experienced the effects of urbanization. Yet even the predominantly rural parts, like Szekler land for example, experienced trade benefits through the mediation of market towns. Halfway between a village and a town, a new type of settlement emerged, filling the function of a regional economic center. Due to the fairs that were held yearly and lasted for two to four weeks, market towns acted as centers for the distribution and circulation not only of locally produced goods, but, more importantly, imported goods brought by merchants from larger towns. These centers served the needs of the regional elites and peasantry alike.

Târgu Mureş followed this pattern of development, rapidly turning into probably the most important market town of Szekler land.[7] Its importance can be seen in the foundation of the Virgin Mary Franciscan friary in 1332, during the reign of Charles I (r. 1301–1342).[8] Following Jacques Le Goff's theory about the appearance of mendicant orders in settlements as signs of urbanization, one can point out that Târgu Mureş had a growing economic status, one that could support a mendicant friary.[9] It is important to note that it was the first Hungarian settlement

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[5] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 251.

[6] Ibidem, 258.

[7] Jenő Major, "A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei" [Beginnings of the formation of Hungarian towns and urban network], *Településtudományi Közlemények* 18 (1966), 83, quoting Pál Kiss, *Marosvásárhely története* [The history of Târgu Mureş], (Marosvásárhely, 1942).

[8] Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A ferencrendiek Marosvásárhelyen" [The Franciscans at Târgu Mureş] in *Marosvásárhely*, ed. Sándor Pál-Antal and Miklós Szabó, 36–38.

[9] For Jacques Le Goff's theory on the connection between urbanization and the mendicants, see his, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France," *Annales ESC* 23 (1968): 335–352. Erik Fügedi applied the theory to the Hungarian context; see Erik Fügedi, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie," in his *Kings, Bishops,*

in Transylvania where Franciscans settled, previously founding friaries only in urbanized Saxon towns. Its geographical position, on an old commercial route along the Mureș River at the confluence of a smaller brook called Poklospatak, facilitated the settlement's commercial development. After the first mention of the town in 1288, it reappears in documents under the name *Novum Forum Siculorum*, which alludes to the establishment of a new market.[10] Written sources testify to a vibrant circulation of people and goods from as early as 1361, when merchants from Doboka, Kolozs and Torda counties arrived there with goods for sale; even burghers from Cluj could be found among them.[11] The heyday of the town came during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490), when it received numerous privileges and rights. Among these was the right, from 1482, to hold three major fairs per year *(nundinae annuales)* on three specific feast days.[12] A charter, issued by Matthias Corvinus in 1488 and mentioning the weekly market *(forum hebdomadale)*, prohibited merchants from Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt) from selling their goods by the ell and by the ounce (that is, retail trade). A similar document was issued by Wladislas II (r. 1490–1516) in 1492 to restrain merchants from Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz).[13] These prohibitions suggest that by the late fifteenth century a social stratum of local merchants and craftsmen had been formed that wanted to protect its interests in the face of competition. Thus, as

Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary, ed. János Bak (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 966–987. About this issue see also Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *L'église dans les villes Hongroises à la fin du moyen âge* (Budapest: Publications de L'Institut Hongrois de Paris, 2003), 49–61. This book was translated into Hungarian as well; see M. M. de Cevins, *Az egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban* [The church in late medieval Hungarian towns] tr. Gergely Kiss (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003), 38–46.

[10] Sometimes only *Forum Siculorum* is used; cf. Elek Benkő, István Demeter, and Attila Székely, *Középkori mezőváros a Székelyföldön* [Medieval market towns in Szekler land], Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek no. 223 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1997), 11.

[11] Franz Zimmerman, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 2 (Hermannstadt, 1892), 191–192: *cum rebus ipsorum mercimonialibus per viam Kalyan versus villas Buza, Teke, Regun, Sarpatak, Monyorow et forum Siculorum procedere vellent.*

[12] Judit Pál, *Városfejlődés a Székelyföldön 1750–1914* [Town evolution in the Szekler land 1750–1914] (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, 2003), 59. In 1486 the town was exempted from paying tolls by the same king, see Benkő, Demeter, and Székely, *Középkori mezőváros*, 14; Károly Szabó, Lajos Szádeczky, and Samu Barabás, ed. *Székely oklevéltár* [Szekler chartulary] vol.1 (Kolozsvár, 1872), 255–256. The person who supervised the order of the market and fair, the market judge *(judex forensis)*, is mentioned in 1487, see István Tringli, "Vásárok a középkori Magyarországon" [Markets in medieval Hungary], *Történelmi Szemle* 2010 (in press).

[13] Szabó, Szádeczky, and Barabás, *Székely oklevéltár*, vol.1, 267–269.

these documents, market rights and other privileges reflect, the town experienced increasing economic growth and participated actively in the trade network of the kingdom during the Late Middle Ages. The medieval pottery of the region is barely known and well-dated finds are lacking as well. Therefore coins and imported ceramic finds from other regions have to be taken into account to establish a more precise dating of the pottery.

As will be shown here, this picture is corroborated by the pottery evidence from the Târgu Mureş friary. The tableware discussed here, as well as other material objects excavated from the friary site, act not only as a medium through which one can study the daily life of the friars, but as physical evidence of a vibrant trade network.

The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş

Archaeological excavations at the site of the friary started in 1999 and have revealed building activity throughout its history. Today, the church, tower, sacristy, and part of the chapter house are still standing; the excavations have discovered the western wall of the chapter house to be an extension of the wall of the friary buildings' eastern wing.[14]

Historical and archaeological research has delimited four construction phases. First, the founding of the friary in 1332 marked not only the arrival of the friars in the town to begin their spiritual work, but the start of the construction of buildings intended for their daily use situated beside the church. The chapter house is the only stone building that has been identified from this period and was probably used as the church itself; wooden remains discovered in 2006 revealed that the other buildings of the friary were made of wood. The second phase dates to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, when the church was built along with the eastern and northern wings of the friary. The third phase, dated to the 1440s, is connected to the transfer of the friary to the Observant branch of the Franciscan order. The tower was built during this period, in 1442. The fortification system of the friary belongs to the last construction phase, which can be dated to the 1480s. In 1556, following the dissolution of the Franciscan community, the friary's buildings were donated to noblemen. The first three construction phases mark the most prosperous period of the friary, and the contexts of the material analyzed here date to this period.

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[14] Zoltán Soós, "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 259.

Archaeological Contexts

The analyzed material comes from three contexts revealed under the northern end of the friary *(Fig. 1)*; additional vessels will be brought into the discussion when they represent unique forms or are a rare occurrence in the region. Closed contexts are important because of the undisturbed nature of the deposit; the material they hold is usually well-dated with coins. All of the vessels are dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with a few exceptions from the sixteenth century.

    The most important of the closed contexts is a fourteenth-century wooden construction (in trenches C6 and C16) excavated below the northwestern part of
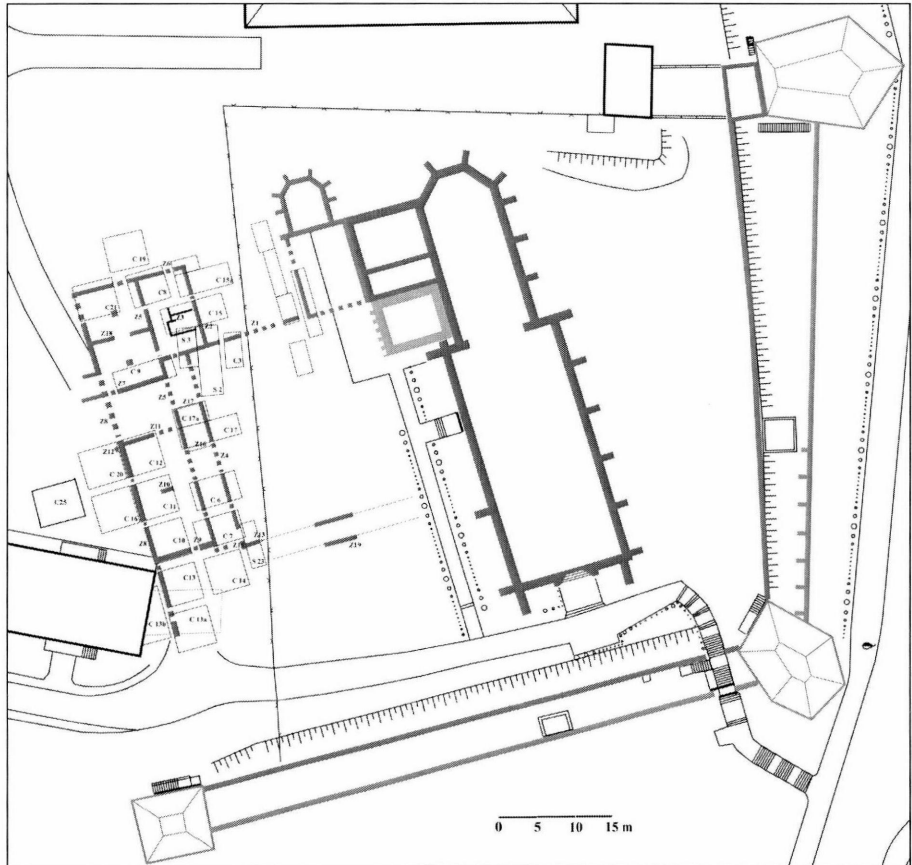
Fig. 1. Topographical map of the excavation of the Târgu Mureș Franciscan friary, 2009. Compiled by Zoltán Soós.

the cloister's buildings. The importance of this context is that it offers insight into the first phase of the friary only four or six years after its foundation in 1332; most of the ceramic tableware, thirty items, comes from here. Excavation has revealed a destruction layer with carbonized wood remains, seeds, and other materials. These indicate that the construction burned down; later, in the fifteenth century, the northern wing was constructed above it. Dendrochronological analysis of the wood samples along with the presence of two coins issued by Charles I of Hungary date the destruction of the building to the middle of the fourteenth century, sometime between 1336 and 1338.

The second significant context is a refuse pit (Pit 1) found in two adjacent trenches (C12 and C28). The size of the pit was approximately 1.80–2.20x1.90 m. Its initial function was as a storage pit with clay-plastered walls; later it was used for refuse disposal. Its filling was compact with successive layers of brown soil, pottery fragments, and clay patches. The compactness can be explained by the pressure of the northern wall of the friary, which was built across the refuse pit during the second construction phase, thus offering a *terminus ante quem*. Approximately fifteen fragments of the ceramic sample come from this context.

Another refuse pit (Pit 2, in trench S3; 0.50x2.40 m), in the eastern part of the site in trench C8, was discovered under a segment of the friary's brick floor, preserved from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Parts of a wooden structure were found near this refuse pit, perhaps connected to the time when the refuse pit was in use. It can be dated to the end of the fourteenth century based on two coins issued by Louis I of Hungary (r. 1342–1382) and an Italian coin, from the Province of Perugia, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, which may allude to the connections of the friary. The brick floor makes it clear that the use of the refuse pit ended as soon as the eastern part of the friary was built. Twenty fragments of the ceramic sample came from this context.

Description of the Material by the Form

The material to be examined here is a small sample out of a great amount of pottery which is still being sorted and processed. It comprises altogether 65 items, and includes both whole pots and fragments. Since some of the forms are dated with coins or dendrochronology, they can be used as comparative material for dating fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tableware from Transylvania and the Kingdom of Hungary. However, a detailed typology cannot be made based on such a small number of finds because it is probable that these forms do not display the full variability of the tableware. The following forms have been identified: jugs, bottles, pitchers, and beakers.

The formal variations in the shapes of the jugs may be connected to the different nature of the liquids that they contained. The first three jugs are burnished, which gives a special glow to the outer surface as well as closing the pores of the vessels. The functionality of the jugs probably determined the form; they were used for storing and pouring liquids, indicated by the presence of the spouts and lobes as well as the handles *(Fig. 2)*.[15] There are fewer pitchers: only a few fragments and one whole polished piece, all of them dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Pitchers had the same function as jugs.[16] These were used for liquids such as water, milk, wine, oil, and even vinegar.
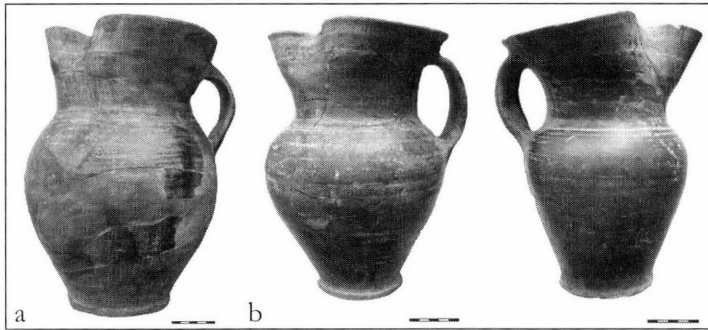
Figs. 2a–2c. Fourteenth-century jugs from the burnt wooden construction,
middle of the fourteenth century, Târgu Mureș.

Figs. 3a–3b. Bottles from the burnt wooden construction and
refusepit 1, middle of the fourteenth and beginning of the
fifteenth century, Târgu Mureș.
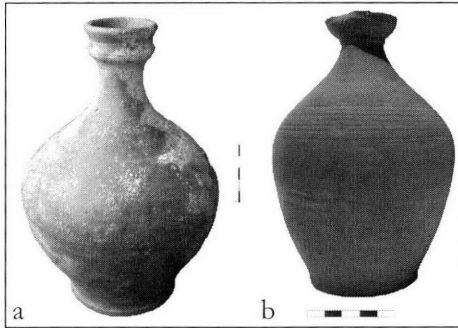
Bottles are represented by two types, based on two whole pieces and one fragment *(Fig. 3)*; the first type has a ribbed rim, long neck, and a round body which narrows above the base. One fragment shows a similar form, but with a shorter neck and a round body. The second type is a

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[15] See also Charles L. Redman, *Qsar es-Seghir: An Archaeological View of Medieval Life* (London: Academic Press, 1986), 103.

[16] Pitchers are sometimes interchangeably by the term jug but the main differences between them are rarely defined. On the grounds of form they are similar, the only defining characteristic of "pitchers" may be that they have a short and rather narrow neck.

fifteenth-century form with better-defined curves. The rim is curved and has a small spout, the neck is short, the body is more regular, and the base is large. The decoration consists of slight horizontal ribs on the shoulder. Bottles as well as jugs and pitchers were used for storing and serving liquids.

Drinking vessels are represented by three major types. The first type is a white paste[17] cup with an everted rim, carinated body, and a flat base, decorated with two parallel horizontal incised lines on the shoulder.[18] The second type is a shouldered beaker with a simple perpendicular rim and a round shoulder that narrows to a flat base. The third type, characterized by an everted rounded rim and biconical body, is probably a sixteenth-century form *(Fig. 4)*. The white beaker,
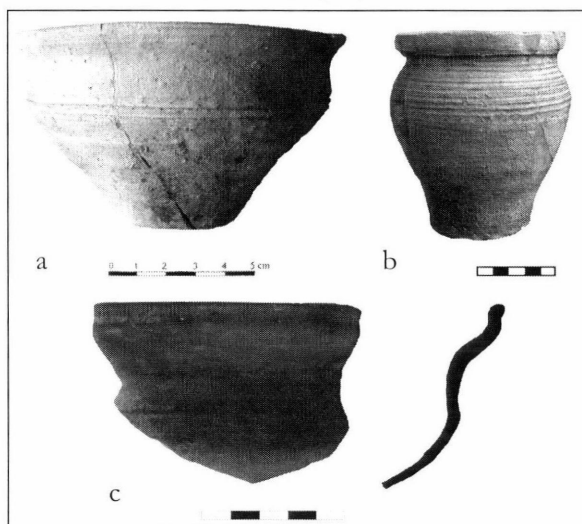
Figs. 4a–4c. Cups and a beaker from the burnt wooden construction, refusepit 2 and trench S1, second half of the fourteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, Târgu Mureş.

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[17] Paste means the fabric of the vessels, that is, the composition and structure of the fired clay. The porosity of the paste is a technological property of the finished product and is dependent on the character of the original clay mix, mainly the frequency, size, shape, and type of non-plastic inclusions. For further information, see: Clive Orton, Paul Tyres and Alan Vince, *Pottery in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[18] For analogies from Buda and Visegrád, see: Imre Holl, "Középkori cserépedények a budai várpalotából: 13.–15. század" [Medieval ceramic vessels from Buda castle: thirteenth to fifteenth century]. *Budapest Régiségei* 20 (1963): 339, figs. 6–7; Boglárka Tóth, "A visegrádi fellegvár középkori kerámiaanyaga" [The medieval ceramic material from Visegrád upper castle], in *A visegrádi fellegvár* [The upper castle of Visegrád], Visegrád régészeti monográfiái, vol. 6 (Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 2006), 50; Dóra Nyékhelyi, "A kápolna és az északkeleti palota kerámialeletei" [Ceramic finds from the chapel and the northeastern palace], in *A visegrádi királyi palota kápolnája és északkeleti épülete* [The chapel and northeastern building from the royal palace of Visegrád], Visegrád régészeti monográfiái, vol. 1 (Visegrád: Alfa Kiadó, 1994), figs. 45, 46, 47.

from the burnt wooden construction, was dated to the middle of the fourteenth century, while the red beaker, from the eastern refuse pit (Pit 2), was dated by three associated coins to the end of the fourteenth century.[19]

Local Production and Pottery Trade

The main set of questions concerns possible workshops and trade networks. For the purpose of addressing these questions, the material will be described in three separate groups based on the color of the paste after firing: gray, white, or red.

Fine-paste gray pottery

This category of ceramics, usually polished, plays an important role among the tableware – a role that is indicated by the vast literature that deals with it. The material analyzed here includes sixteen fragments of this group and comprises forms such as jugs, pitchers, and a bottle. According to their production technology and decoration, two separate groups can be distinguished among the gray-colored vessels; one group made of semi-fine[20] paste, and unpolished and the other made of fine paste, polished,[21] and often decorated with stamped motifs on the outer surface. Numerous fragments of gray jugs belonging to the second group were found in the friary, with only one piece decorated with a stamped motif *(Fig. 5)*. For formal analogies and the use of stamped decorations on gray jugs, the vessels from Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti, Sathmar) and Turda (Torda, Thorenburg) are the most helpful.[22] Fine gray-paste fragments occurred among the Oradea material, which also contains polished pieces;[23] similar fragments were also found at Kőszeg castle in western Hungary. Although the forms from Târgu Mureş differ from the Kőszeg material, they show a resemblance in the polishing technique applied to the exterior surface of jugs and pitchers. This may reflect

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[19] Two coins of Louis I of Hungary and a Perugian coin. The coins were identified by archaeologist Keve László from the Târgu Mureş County Museum.

[20] The quality of the paste of the vessels can be differentiated based on the size and frequency of the inclusions as well as on the compactness of the clay mix. The quality ranges from coarse to fine.

[21] Polishing or burnishing is a surface treatment that was applied to the vessel when it was leather-hard; the pot was rubbed with a smooth pebble or other tool. This compresses the surface, leaving a series of facets and a slight luster.

[22] The grey jug is in the Satu Mare Museum. Adrian Andrei Rusu supplied the information about the jug from Turda. Both jugs were found accidentally, not in archaeological excavations.

[23] Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, 137–138.
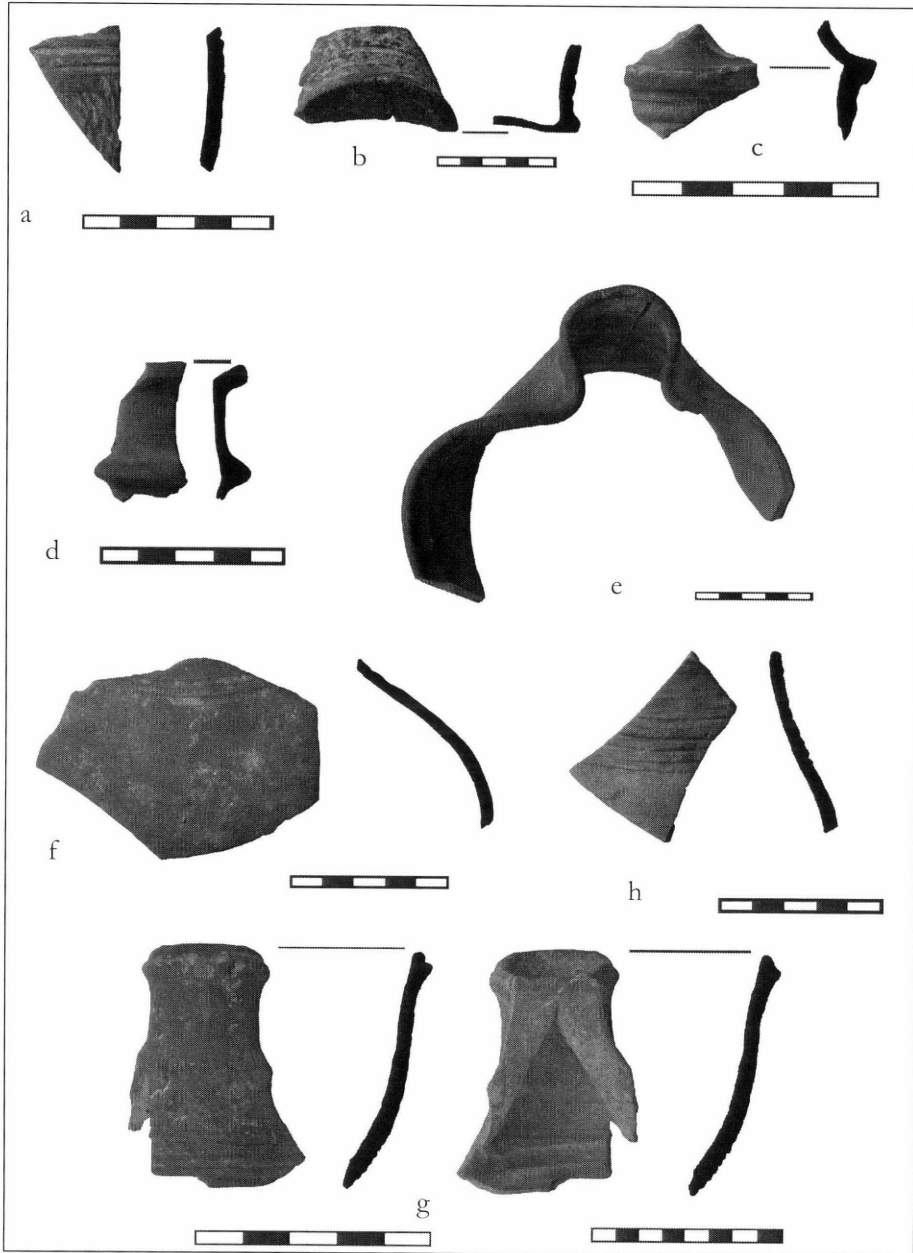
Figs. 5a–5h. Fine-paste gray tableware fragments from the burnt wooden construction, trench C6 and C16, middle of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, Târgu Mureș.

a fashion of the period.[24] Analogies in the range of local products and natural variation of the material reflect the distribution of some of the more popular forms and decoration techniques over a large area.[25]

A special subgroup of the gray pottery, the so-called *hospes* pottery ("ceramica oaspeților"), has to be discussed here as well. Numerous fragments of this group were found at the friary site, all of them tableware, mainly from jugs with polished surfaces. *Hospes* pottery is the most frequently debated type in Romanian archaeological scholarship.[26] The very term *hospes* is problematic, since its use implies interpreting the vessels as markers of ethnic identification.[27] Romanian scholars became aware of this material following the archaeological excavations in the Moldavian towns of Iași (Jászvásár, Jassy), Piatra Neamț (Karácsonkő, Kreuzburg), Baia (Moldvabánya), Roman (Románvásár, Romesmark), Siret (Szeret), and Suceava.[28] In the first studies, archaeologists pointed out the close

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[24] Imre Holl, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban* [The castle of Kőszeg in the Middle Ages], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 27.

[25] For a detailed description see Bencze, "Late Medieval Tableware," 32–37.

[26] The Latin term *hospes* in the Hungarian usage originally meant a free foreign individual settler who enjoyed a certain protection and privileges. Later, from the first half of the twelfth century, the term *hospes* referred to the settling of a Romance- and German-speaking population, but also to migrants within the boundaries of the Hungarian state, see the entry *hospes* by András Kubinyi, in Gyula Kristó, ed., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon: 9.–14. század* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon: ninth to fourteenth century] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 273.

[27] Since this issue goes far beyond the limits of the present article it will not be discussed in detail. The general conclusion is that ethnic attribution is not the correct way to interpret pottery and I believe that it is far-fetched to use pottery as a marker for ethnicity in this case, since there are still serious gaps in the literature and material publications of the region. In Transylvania it is hard to use material culture to define ethnicity because of the lack of information allowing one to separate different ethnic groups and their material culture archaeologically. It cannot be excluded that some ethnic groups had their own distinctive material culture or types of objects, but it is impossible to associate pottery with one particular ethnic group living in this region. Alexandru Artimon, "Orașul medieval Tg. Trotuș în lumina datelor istorico-arheologice" [The medieval town of Tg. Trotuș in the light of historical archaeological data], *Carpica* 14 (1982): 93–117; idem, *Civilizația medievală urbană din secolele 14–17: Bacău, Tg. Trotuș, Adjud* [Medieval urban civilization from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century: Bacău, Tg. Trotuș, Adjud] (Iași, 1998); Stela Cheptea, "Descoperirile arheologice din 1963 de la Siret" [Archaeological finds of 1963 from Siret], *Arheologia Moldovei* 7 (1973): 345–357.

[28] See discussions on this topic: Mircea D. Matei, "Die graue Keramik von Suceava und einige archäologische Probleme des 14. und 15. Jh. in der Moldau," *Dacia* 6 (1962): 357–386; idem, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria orașului Suceava* [Archaeological contributions to the history of the town of Suceava] (Bucharest, 1963); idem, "Câteva probleme cronologice

connections with Czech, Polish, Austrian, and German areas and they presumed a possible link with the arrival of Germans in Moldavia at the end of the fourteenth century. The possibility of Transylvanian Saxon influence has also been suggested in the discussion on the question of the origin of this ceramic ware.[29] According to other scholars, the production of this fine ware may also be connected to the urbanized character of this region, which had already developed a network of market places and tradesmen that facilitated the diffusion of merchandise. This hypothesis is supported by the written sources testifying to vigorous trade networks connecting the two regions, Transylvania and Moldavia.[30] Yet, in the light of new material evidence, the appearance and significance of the so-called *hospes* pottery in Transylvania must be reconsidered, since the vessels found in Transylvania have been identified in places where German settlers did not live.[31] One can advance the hypothesis that this special subcategory of gray ceramics consists of pieces produced in Transylvania with a manufacturing technique and shapes introduced by German settlers, but taken over by the local population. This suggestion is also confirmed by the archaeological evidence, since this

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ridicate de cercetările din cetatea de pământ de la Roman" |Chronological problems raised by the research at the earth fortification in Roman], *Studii şi Comunicări de Istoria Veche* 15, no. 4 (1964): 505–513; Eugenia Neamţu, Vasile Neamţu, and Stela Cheptea, *Oraşul medieval Baia în secolele 14–17* [The medieval town of Baia from fourteenth to the seventeenth century] (Iaşi: Junimea, 1980).

[29] Alexandru Artimon, "Ceramica fină de uz comun din secolele 14–15 descoperită în centrele urbane din sud-estul Moldovei" [Fine ceramics of everyday use from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the urban centers of southeastern Moldova], *Arheologia Medievală* 1 (1996): 155–203.

[30] Radu Manolescu, *Socotelile Braşovului. Registrele vigesimale* [The accounts of Braşov: the *vigesima* tax registers], vols. 1–2 (Brăila: Editura Istros for Muzeul Brăilei, 2005); idem, *Comerţul Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul: secolele 14–16* [The trade of Wallachia and Moldova with Braşov: fourteenth to sixteenth century], (Bucureşti: n. p., 1965); Constantin Murgescu, *Drumurile unităţii româneşti: Drumul oilor. Drumuri negustoreşti* [The roads of Romanian unity: the sheep road: the merchant roads] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996). Maria Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt: Oriental Trade in Sixteenth-century Transylvania* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 6–16.

[31] See further literature on this subject: Paraschiva-Victoria Batariuc, "Din nou despre ceramica cenuşie de la Suceava" [More about the gray ceramics from Suceava], *Arheologia Moldovei* 25 (2002): 232; Elek Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban* [The Hungarian suburb of Cluj in the Middle Ages], Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, no. 248 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004), 56–57; Lucian Chiţescu, "Ceramica ştampilată de la Roman şi unele probleme în legătură cu purtătorii ei în Moldova" [Stamped ceramics from Roman and problems connected to their occurrence in Moldova], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Veche* 15, no. 3 (1964): 411–426.

category of vessels has also been identified in the western part of Transylvania, where it seems to be more common than in the southeastern part, although recent archaeological investigations in medieval centers like Târgu Mureş, Sibiu, and Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg) have shown that it is present over a much larger territory.[32] Concerning the direction of the spread it can be concluded that it came from the west through Transylvania and from there to Moldavia. This explanation seems to be the most plausible, especially in light of the rich evidence supplied by the increasing number of archaeological excavations in Transylvanian medieval towns and given the fact that this type of pottery has not been found in either Wallachia or any other neighboring regions of Moldavia except Transylvania.

The gray so-called *hospes* ceramic tableware forms seem to follow a set of forms found in regions of East Central Europe west of Transylvania.[33] Identifying features are the fine paste, even tempering, and the polishing or finishing of the exterior surface, with occasional cases of stamped decoration. The lobed jugs can be found everywhere in Europe and represent a Western trend which was adopted and used in the Transylvanian context as well as throughout the whole Kingdom of Hungary. Some scholars argue that the technique of reduced-atmosphere firing, which sometimes results in a shiny metallic gray color on the surface of the vessels, was a specific practice of urban pottery workshops.[34] At the moment, the material from Târgu Mureş does not allow me to decide between the various views and influences nor about the possibility of different workshops, but it is clear that this region experienced a great variety of influences coming from all neighboring areas.

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[32] Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa*, 56–58.

[33] Especially in Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia and eastern Germany.

[34] Holl, *Kőszeg vára*, 28. About a later group of fine gray tableware, gray pitchers, researchers have put forward that these display a Balkan influence and imitate copper or silver vessels, not only in their lustrous body, but also in their form, see: Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, 138; Gábor Tomka, "Finjans, Pipes, Gray Jugs," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 313, 320 (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003). These began to be popular (based on excavation material) in the sixteenth century along the Tisza River and beyond. Based on stratigraphy, the pitcher from Târgu Mureş is dated to the sixteenth century, fitting into this time span. Formal similarities can also be recognized on a gray polished pitcher from Oradea, see Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, Plate CI/a, b.

White-colored vessels

This kind of pottery was used on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom from the end of the twelfth century through the fifteenth century.[35] The material from the friary contains one small white cup, fragments of a rim, base, and other parts of jugs, and fragments of small-size containers *(Fig. 6)*. The paste of these pieces is not pure white; some of them have a grayish shade while others are more yellowish. The small cup represents a widespread form which was probably fashionable at
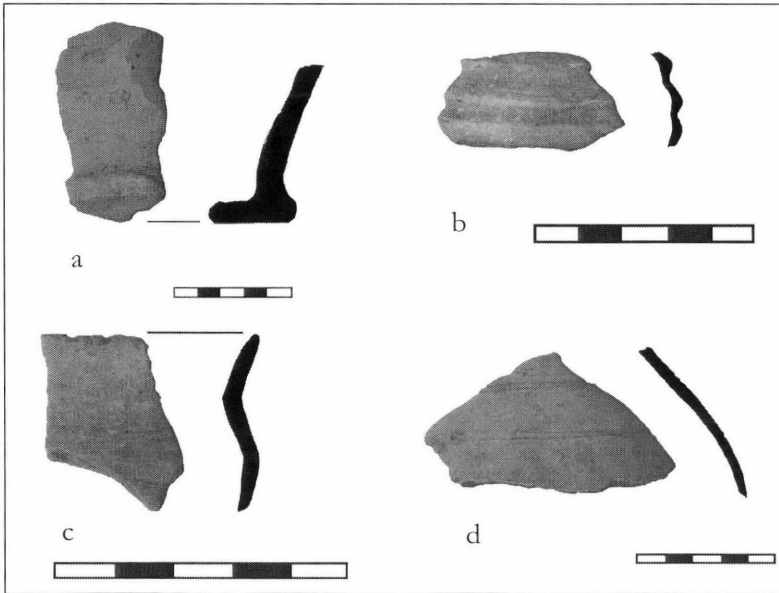
Fig. 6a–6d. White-colored tableware fragments from the burnt wooden construction, middle of the fourteenth century, Târgu Mureş.

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[35] Vessels made of this special type of clay (kaolin) have been identified in large numbers in Buda, Visegrád, Cegléd, and also in villages, like Tiszaug, on the Hungarian plain. The vessels made of this special type of clay have varied forms, from regular cooking pots to more elaborate fine beakers, plates, bottles, and jugs. See, e.g., István Feld, "Importtárgyak mint a középkori Magyarország gazdaságtörténeti forrásai" [Imported objects as sources of economic history of medieval Hungary], in *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy in Medieval Hungary: Economic history, material culture, archaeology], ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó, 308–312 (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008); Katalin Irás-Melis, "A budavári Dísz tér 7 sz. alatti telken feltárt kút leletei" [The finds of the well discovered on plot number 7 of Dísz tér in Buda castle], *Budapest Régiségei* 23 (1973): 195–200; Imre Holl, "Mittelalterliche Funde aus einem Brunnen von Buda," *Studia Archaeologica* 4 (1966): 16–36.

the time. Its paste is white with yellowish nuances. It is a carinated cup[36] with an everted rim decorated with two horizontal incised lines on the shoulder. For analogies, detailed archaeological information is available from the territory of the royal palace in Buda, where a large quantity of white ware was identified in well-dated contexts.[37] The chronological groups for white ware developed by Imre Holl for the Buda palace material can help in dating the finds from Târgu Mureş.[38] Thus, it can be ascertained that the beaker forms evolved from the thirteenth-century forms, gradually becoming much smaller in size, with lower rims and ribbed bodies. The jugs and bottles from this period are only represented by fragments, some with red motifs painted on them.[39] Other parallels to the beaker from Târgu Mureş were found at Visegrád, Zala castle, Borsod castle, Kőszeg, Sarvaly and Tiszaug.[40] From the point of view of forms and paste Oradea offers good comparisons for the white ware from Transylvania. Most of the material comes from jugs and cups with formal features similar to the fragments from the

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[36] A carinated cup is defined as "a cup with a marked change of angle in the body wall, generally at the point of maximum girth," see: *A Guide to Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*, Occasional Paper no. 1, vol. 2 (Hants: Medieval Pottery Research Group, 1998), 6.2.1.

[37] Imre Holl, "Tischgerät im sSpätmittelalterlichen Buda," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 56 (2005): Abb. 7 and 8.

[38] Holl, "Középkori cserépedények," 340, 336. The earlier coiling technique and the incised decoration were slowly replaced by throwing on the fast wheel and decoration with ribs, as observed at Visegrád, see: Nyékhelyi, "A kápolna és az északkeleti palota kerámialeletei," 164.

[39] The application of red paint to the surface of vessels can also be useful for dating. For more discussion; see Holl, "Középkori cserépedények," 340, 352, 365; Jozef Hoššo, "Prehlad vývoja stredovekej keramiky na Slovensku" [Overview of the development of medieval ceramics from Slovakia], *Archeologica Historica* 8 (1983): 215–231; Katalin Irásné Melis, "A budavári Dísz tér," 195–209; Nándor Parádi, "Az Esztergom-Széchenyi téri ásatás" [The archaeological excavation in Esztergom-Széchenyi square], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 100 (1973): 232–249.

[40] József Laszlovszky, "Későközépkori falusi lakóház Tiszaugon. Az alföldi lakóház kialakulásának kérdéséhez" [A late medieval rural house at Tiszaug: data related to the emergence of medieval peasant houses on the great Hungarian plain], in *Testis Temporum, Vita Memoriae. Ünnepi tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 65. születésnapjára* [*Testis Temporum, Vita Memoriae*. Writings commemorating András Pálóczi Horváth's sixty-fifth birthday]. *Studia Caroliensia: A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem folyóirata* 7, no. 3–4 (2006): 295–314; Imre Holl and Nándor Parádi, *Das mittelalterliche Dorf Sarvaly* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982); Holl, *Kőszeg vára*; István Feld, "Keramika" [Ceramics], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Art in Hungary from c. 1300 to 1470], vol. 1, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 261–281.

friary. Adrian Rusu concluded that white vessels are rarely found east of Oradea.[41] Concerning the question of their functionality, one can refer to an interesting example from Visegrád, where some of the white cups were apparently used for preparing and storing paint, indicated by the traces of blue, red, and green paint inside the vessels.[42] It seems that this was not their main function, but an interesting example of re-use. Although no material remains have been found, a white-ware workshop seems to have operated somewhere near Buda.[43] One might suppose that the products of this workshop reached more distant places like Transylvania and Târgu Mureş but this awaits further archaeological research as well as chemical analysis of the paste. However, as will be shown below, this hypothesis does not seem inconceivable. In any case, the fifteenth century saw the slow decline of the use of this type of clay in pottery production, with red paste vessels taking over its place. Scholars have avoided discussing the reason for this change. It is not clear if it was an outcome of fashion or a technical change related to mass production. It may have been both.[44]

Red Tableware

Pottery characterized by a brick-red-color paste, varying from lighter to darker shades of red, is the most frequent among the tableware. It was presumably fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. The texture of the paste varies between fine and semi-fine. In addition, brownish polishing appears on the surface of some jugs. The better tempering[45] of the paste, the more elaborate forms, and the elaboration of decoration suggest that these vessels were meant to fulfill a different function

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[41] Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, 136–137, Plates LXXXIX and XC.

[42] Nyékhelyi, "A kápolna és az északkeleti palota kerámialeletei," 165. For further information, see Tóth, "A visegrádi fellegvár középkori kerámiaanyaga," 51.

[43] Holl, "Középkori cserépedények," 336–340, 343–344, 349–351.

[44] The white-ware bodies became squat and their necks shorter than those of the fourteenth-century products. The jug forms changed from the previous period while the earlier slender shape of the base disappeared totally. In the same period, red-painted decoration became common on the white ware. The bottle forms are present only in small sizes with short necks and pear-like bodies. The usage and spread of red paint may be associated with a change in fashion since it served as an aesthetic device and did not have apparent functional purposes.

[45] Tempering is a procedure whereby clay is mixed with other material (such as sand, crushed pieces of ceramics, crushed stone, ash, or organic material) in order to make the handling and firing of the vessels easier. Good tempering allows the air and water to circulate inside the paste of the vessel during firing, thus influencing the quality of the paste.

than that of kitchen ware. Most of the tableware from the friary is red-colored and, based on the quality of paste, two groups can be distinguished: one a yellowish-red porous paste usually decorated with stamped patterns, the other a compact paste with a dark red color. A common form is a shouldered beaker with a collared rim and a body that narrows to a flat base, also classified by Hungarian scholarship as a "Gothic"-type beaker. This form was found in the refuse pit (Pit 2) under the eastern part of the friary. This type is decorated with strongly incised horizontal lines covering the neck and shoulder on the exterior surface, which is covered with white slip.[46] Among the finds from the refuse pit under the northern wing of the friary (Pit 1) a fine red-paste bottle was found that represents a late fifteenth-century form. It is characterized by a rim that has a small trefoil open spout, a shouldered body, and a short narrow neck; the surface is decorated with narrow horizontal ribs on the shoulder. The red-paste vessels encompass a rich variety of jug forms; most of the finds are fragments of lobed rims or rims with spouts. A significant number of jug bases were also identified *(Fig. 7)*. In the burnt wooden construction, three intact jugs were found with polished surfaces and spouted rims *(see Fig. 2)*, one of which shows a close similarity in form to a gray jug decorated with stamped motifs found in Satu Mare,[47] and to a gray burnished lobed jug found in the bishop's palace in Oradea.[48] Comparing the Târgu Mureș tableware to examples from other southeastern Transylvanian towns (Cristuru Secuiesc/Székelykeresztúr, Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyudvarhely, Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda), differences in paste can be observed with certain forms being present over large areas. Fragments found in trench C6 at Târgu Mureș in the layers under the brick floor of the northern ambulatory of the friary have a porous paste and the decoration is clumsy and not consistent *(Fig. 8)*.[49] In

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[46] Slip is a surface treatment applied to the vessels after drying. It is a solution made of clay mixed with water, which has the function of strengthening the body of the vessel and closing the pores of the paste; it also covers irregularities on the surface and may change the color. For a detailed description of the Târgu Mureș material see Bencze, "Late Medieval Tableware," 29–32; analogies of "Gothic" beakers can be found, e.g., in Katalin Szende, "'…some to honour and some to dishonour'…Vessels in Late Medieval Urban Households," in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe, Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference*, vol. 7: 193; Imre Holl, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon (13–16. század)" [Import ceramics in Hungary: thirteenth to the sixteenth century], *Budapest Régiségei* 16 (1955): 169.

[47] In the Satu Mare Museum.

[48] Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, 137.

[49] This can be seen when two or more decorations cross each other or are not pressed deeply enough into the clay. The decoration of some jug fragments is similar to the motifs from Cristuru Secuiesc. Both these groups are decorated with stamped motifs, which
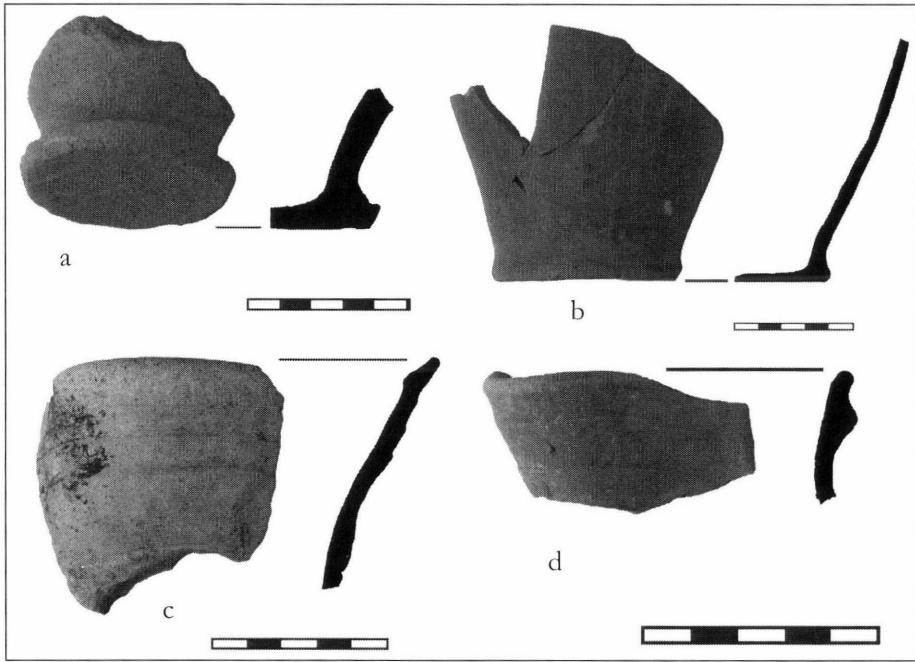
Fig. 7a–7d. Red-colored tableware fragments from the burnt construction and the eastern refuse pit 2, middle and end of the fourteenth century, Târgu Mureş.

contrast to this group, the red pottery from Cristuru Secuiesc is a darker red color, is usually polished, and is made from a more compact paste.[50] Thus, although some forms were similar in these two towns, the paste difference is probably due to the use of separate clay sources by different workshops as well as to changing firing techniques. The existence of local workshops in these two cases cannot be doubted, but the lack of certain evidence of workshops, like kilns or defective products, raises problems for further, more detailed, analysis. Further to the northwest, Oradea illustrates another case where red ware was found in

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seems to have been a widespread technique at that time. There are two types of patterns. One type is made with a small cog-wheel which leaves marks of small squares, trapezoids and triangles depending on how hard it is pushed into the soft clay. The second type is done with a small roller with a wider surface on which the motif was engraved and then rolled over the chosen part of the vessel leaving imprints in the clay. On the pieces examined here the small squares and a rolled motif in the form of pine branches were used. The two types of stamped motifs are usually combined with each other and also with incised lines.

[50] Information supplied by excavation leader Elek Benkő.
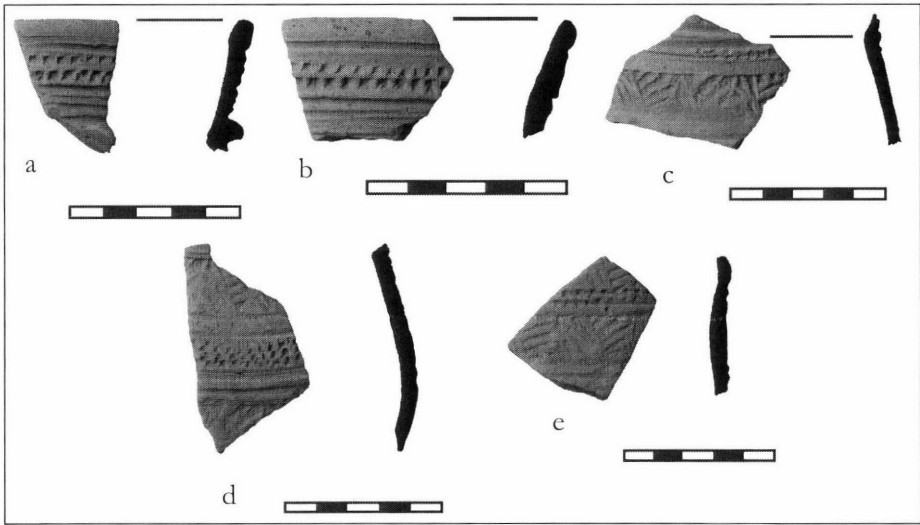
Fig. 8a–8e. Red-colored tableware, fragments from jugs with stamped decoration from trench C6, beginning of the fifteenth century, Târgu Mureş.

less frequency than gray ware. According to archaeologist Adrian A. Rusu, the fine red ware from Oradea was characteristic of the Saxon workshops from the fourteenth century, but started to disappear in the next century.[51] Generally the red-paste tableware was preferred from the second half of the fourteenth until the sixteenth century.[52]

Finally, when discussing trade and trade networks, a group of pottery items found among the Târgu Mureş material can offer interesting insights. Even if the discussion of white ware in the context of trade networks can only be hypothetical at this point, it can be corroborated by referring to another group of vessels from the friary, which, although mainly kitchen ware, sheds more light on the issue. These fragments belong to the category of graphite-tempered vessels referred to in the literature under the general term "Austrian ware." Previously, no finds of Austrian ware had been identified in Transylvania, and Imre Holl set the Tisza River as the limit of its easternmost spread.[53] However, the presence of this particular ceramic ware at the Târgu Mureş friary, as well as recent finds at other

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[51] Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea*, 138. Excavations conducted at the bishop's palace revealed that the fine-paste red wares are present in smaller numbers than the gray, but similar in quantity to the white ware.

[52] Elek Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa*, 57.

[53] Holl, "Külföldi kerámia," 168.

Transylvanian sites,[54] changes the picture and pushes the line of their occurrence to the eastern Carpathians. Four fragments of Austrian ware were found at the friary, all of them rims of cooking pots.[55] Three fragments even bear more or less visible workshop stamps on the rims. These marks cannot be used to ascertain the production centers, however, because they are still mainly unidentified in the scholarship and only a few attempts have been made to localize them.[56] It is known that the marks began to be used from the thirteenth century to guarantee the quality of the products,[57] but the rim forms indicate that the types found in the friary were frequent from the end of the fifteenth through the sixteenth century.[58] The presence of Austrian ware at the Mureş friary sheds light on the circulation of goods in the kingdom and adds further weight to the hypothesis of white tableware being imported from Buda. Written sources remain silent about pottery trade, but they record that salt was being transported from Transylvania towards the Buda region via the Mureş River. Waterway trade was more efficient for bulky items, faster and safer at the same time, while continental long distance trade would not have been profitable for merchants selling pottery because it was both fragile

[54] Recent archaeological finds show that this pottery is more frequent in Transylvania than it was previously thought, see Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Potirul de la Vinţu de Jos (Incursiune în decorul şi utilitatea vaselor ceramice de lux in Evul Mediu)" [The cup from Vinţu de Jos: an incursion into the decoration and utility of ceramic luxury ware in the Middle Ages], in *Investigări ale culturii materiale medievale din Transilvania* [Investigations of medieval material culture in Transylvania], (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2008), 295–296 and Daniela Marcu Istrate, *The Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace in Alba Iulia: Archaeology and History, Exhibition Catalogue* (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2009), 49–50, 61. The most comprehensive work on pottery, both imported and local tableware, in the Carpathian Basin was done by Imre Holl, although most of his work was published at a time when no comparative material was available from Transylvania; see Imre Holl, "Külföldi kerámia," 147–199; most recently, with reference to his previous works in the field: idem, "Tischgerät im Spätmittelalterlichen Buda," 311–384.

[55] These were efficient and resistant against strong heat because of the graphite added to the paste, thus indicating why these are not serving vessels.

[56] See a thorough discussion in Tilman Mittelstraß, "Graphitkeramik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Altbayern: Ein Beitrag zum Beginn und zur Frühzeit der Obernzeller Produktion," *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 72 (2007): 285–307 and Gabriele Scharrer-Liška, *Die hochmittelalterliche Grafitkeramik in Mitteleuropa und ihr Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2007), 23–24, 71–73.

[57] Bertalan Vilmosné, "Bélyeges ausztriai edények Óbudáról" [Austrian stamped vessels from Óbuda], *Budapest Régiségei* 32 (1998): 181.

[58] Imre Holl "Angaben zur Mittelalterlichen Schwarzhafnerkeramik mit Werkstattmarken," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 5 (1974–1975): 129–149.

and heavy. Thus, one can assume that various kinds of merchandise, including pottery, were also transported on waterways in the direction of Transylvania, as in the case of the Danube, for which there is clear evidence that it allowed Austrian ware to reach Buda and the Balkans.[59] The picture of late medieval Târgu Mureş as reconstructed from the documentary sources – the picture of a market town, a regional economic center actively participating in the trade network of the kingdom – can be substantiated by pottery evidence.

Conclusions

As can be seen from a growing number of studies, pottery shards can be probed for various information regarding past societies and the development of various methods used to this end have turned pottery studies into one of the most specialized areas in archaeology. The purpose of this article was to take a sample of late medieval tableware pottery from the material excavated at the Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureş, analyze the forms and paste of the fragments, and contextualize the findings in the framework of the socio-economic history of the town and the Kingdom of Hungary in general.

The bulk of the selected material comes from three contexts dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a time of changing economic conditions at Târgu Mureş. Among the forms found one can identify jugs, bottles, pitchers, and beakers; and since the vessels discussed can be precisely dated with dendrochronology and coins, they can be used as comparative material for dating fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tableware from Transylvania and the Kingdom of Hungary.

The material was classified according to the color of the paste (gray, white, or red), which allowed raising questions of possible workshops and trade. Thus, discussing the gray tableware necessitated reflecting on the problems of interpretation concerning *hospes* ceramics, a special subcategory of gray ceramics allegedly introduced to Transylvania and Moldavia by German settlers. The results from the Târgu Mureş material have been contextualized within a regional framework, and it was concluded that this type of ceramic cannot be used as an ethnic identifier and labeled as produced by the German settlers since it also appears in areas where Germans did not settle. White-paste tableware from Târgu Mureş was compared particularly to examples from Oradea and Buda. It has been suggested that the material from the friary can possibly be traced to the white-ware workshop that seems to have operated in Buda, although more

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[59] Mittelstraß, "Graphitkeramik in Altbayern," 268–269.

archaeological research and chemical analysis of the paste are needed to prove this hypothesis. For this purpose, kitchen ware of the type called "Austrian ware" was brought into the discussion. Earlier scholarship identified the Tisza River as the easternmost limit to the spread of this pottery type, but the presence of Austrian ware among the Târgu Mureş material, as well as other recent findings, push the border further east, to the Carpathians.

Thus, the picture of Târgu Mureş as a busy market town participating in a dynamic trade network in late medieval Hungary that emerges from the documentary sources is corroborated by pottery remains. Keeping this in mind, and taking into consideration the active river traffic that connected the Great Plain with Transylvania, the Buda provenance of the white tableware seems quite probable. It can also be assumed that the Franciscan friary with its far-reaching connections in products contributed to the presence of Târgu Mureş.

Given the quantity of the material analyzed, the conclusions presented here cannot be taken as definite. Nevertheless, this article represents the first interpretation of this material and as such it can serve on the one hand as groundwork, a point of departure for further analysis of the pottery material from the Franciscan friary, offering a possible interpretative framework. On the other hand, it provides comparative material for analyses of pottery from the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary and the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities.

USING CULTURE:
GIOVANNI RUCELLAI'S KNOWLEDGE-CONSTRUCTING PRACTICE IN THE MS *ZIBALDONE QUARESIMALE*[1]

Gábor Mihály Tóth

Even though commonplace books are one of the most important sources for insight into the world view of everyday actors in Early Modern history, they present a serious methodological challenge to historians. In terms of the modern notion of authorship, commonplace books are not regarded as original compilations. The owners who diligently collected and copied texts written by others can hardly be considered the authors of their commonplace books. Therefore, today these documents are seen merely as mini-libraries which express the individual taste and preferences of their owners. However, notebooks like the Florentine merchant's, Giovanni Rucellai's *Zibaldone Quaresimale* (Archivio Rucellai, Florence) functioned as "cultural maps," which involved a strategic use of texts and not spontaneous copying activity.[2] Rucellai used the key texts of his culture to transmit a representation of his family, himself, and the world around him to his sons. He often reworked and reshaped the inserted texts according to his own predefined program. This is not a passive but an active reproduction of texts, which attempts to create a system of meaning in its own right. By analyzing Rucellai's knowledge-constructing practice in two different sections of the codex, I shall argue here that using the methodology of approaching the commonplace book as a compilation where one consciously uses his culture will be most advantageous for the historian interested in everyday actors.

Giovanni Rucellai (1403–1481), descendant of one of the most important Florentine merchant families, became well-known due to his building program, which resulted in important Florentine buildings such as the Rucellai Palace and the facade of the Santa Maria Novella.[3] Rucellai is also known thanks to the

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[1] I use the following abbreviations. AR: Archivio Rucellai, Florence; Bodl: Bodleian Library, Oxford; BNCF: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence; Laur.: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence; Trivulziana: Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan.

[2] This article is based in part on my DPhil research at the University of Oxford, Balliol College, and on my MA thesis, "Information and Instruction in Fifteenth-Century Florence, Giovanni Rucellai and his *Zibaldone Quaresimale*," (Central European University, 2009).

[3] Studies on Rucellai's biography and his building program were published in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone 2*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (London: The Warburg Institute, 1981).

manuscript *Zibaldone Quaresimale*, which he began to compile in 1457 with the explicit intention of instructing his sons. The manuscript is an enormous cultural mosaic which consists of Classical, medieval, and Renaissance texts. A wide range of genres such as chronicles, compilations of wisdom literature, and devotional texts appear on the pages of the manuscript. The *Zibaldone* was created under the influence of two, typically late medieval, Florentine traditions. On the one hand, Rucellai's compilation is a *zibaldone*, a commonplace book or notebook in English. *Zibaldoni* are manuscripts "written in cursive and containing an astonishing variety of poetic and prose texts...which were juxtaposed apparently without any specific criteria."[4] On the other hand, the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* has several features in common with the Florentine family records' book *(libro di famiglia* or *ricordanze)* tradition, although not a chronological structure.[5]

Previous scholarship did not regard Rucellai's *Zibaldone* as an original work. In 1960, a selective edition of the codex was issued by the Warburg Institute.[6] According to Alessandro Perosa, the editor, the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* reflects Rucellai's personality through his selection of texts, his questions, and the way he reacted to the cultural and political situation of his time.[7] This suggests that Rucellai's intellectual contribution to the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* consists of collecting and selecting texts. Fulvio Pezzarosa saw the *Zibaldone* as an enormous "stock of memory."[8] Since the edition of the Warburg Institute, the *Zibaldone* has become one of the most quoted sources from the social world of the Florentine Renaissance. However, it is still an open question as to how this intriguing compilation expresses Giovanni Rucellai's individual thinking and his world view. What is his relationship with the intellectual world of the codex?

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[4] Armando Petrucci, "Reading and Writing in *Volgare* in Medieval Italy," in *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 181. For further meanings of *zibaldone* see Alessandro Perosa, "Lo Zibaldone di Giovanni Rucellai," in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone 2*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (London: The Warburg Institute, 1981), 103–104.

[5] A *libro di famiglia* is a manuscript that kept both the economic and civic matters of a merchant family in chronological order, see Angelo Cicchetti and Raul Mordenti, "La scrittura di libri di famiglia," in *Letteratura italiana III, Le forme del testo II: La prosa*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1984), 1117–1158.

[6] Giovanni Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone 1*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (London: The Warburg Institute, 1960).

[7] *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, 105.

[8] Fulvio Pezzarosa, "La memoralistica fiorentina tra Medioevo e Rinascimento," *Lettere italiane* 31 (1979): 113.

The Program behind the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*

Commonplace books are generally described as disordered and heterogeneous textual collections. At first glance, the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*, which Rucellai himself calls "a salad of various ingredients,"[9] also gives this impression. However, both documentary evidence and Rucellai's editorial praxis suggest that there was a predefined program which structured the apparently disordered content of the codex.

In his introduction on the first folio of the codex, Rucellai envisages the goal of his compilation: "I started this book to give information and instructions to my sons, Bernardo and Pandolfo, that can be useful for them."[10] Rucellai's purpose of education makes the heterogeneous content of the manuscript an organic whole. The keyword of Rucellai's program is utility. This assures the reader that the texts were not assembled spontaneously, without any criteria of selection; indeed, they each have a function. Usually *zibaldoni* lack any introduction or indication why the texts in the manuscript were put together. Generally they do not have an initial page which would mark the beginning of a planned enterprise. Simone di Muronovo, a fifteenth-century citizen of Verona, for instance, begins his *zibaldone* (Trivulziana MS 963) *in medias res* by recording poems and making drawings on the first page of the manuscript.[11] Rucellai's intention to instruct his heirs, the introduction placed at the beginning of the codex, relate the *Zibaldone* to the tradition of *ricordi*.[12] The authors of these documents also outlined an educational program at the beginning of their writings.

The idea of a program can be seen not only in the introduction of the codex, but in other editorial decisions, which are meant to structure and connect the pieces of Rucellai's cultural mosaic. As contrasted to traditional *zibaldoni,* the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* is divided into chapters, the titles of which appear in the contemporary table of contents. Similarly to Rucellai, Richard Hill, an early sixteenth-century English grocer, provided his notebook (MS 354, Balliol College

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[9] "Una insalata di più erbe," Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 1.

[10] "Il quale (Zibaldone Quaresimale) o principiato per dare notitia et amaestramento a Pandolfo et a Bernardo miei figluoli di più chose, ch'io credo abbia essere loro utile," Ibidem.

[11] The Trivulziana MS 963 is a heterogeneous collection of vernacular texts and an extract from a *libro di famiglia*, written in a *mercantesca* hand.

[12] Usually, the works of the *mercanti-scrittori* such as Bonaccorso Pitti or Giovanni Morelli are called *ricordi*. Unlike *ricordanze*, they do not contain economic, but rather historical and autobiographical accounts. See Christian Bec, *Les Marchands Ecrivains* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), 49–53.

Library, Oxford) with a table of contents. The function of the table of contents is clear; it helps the reader to browse the content. This suggests that both Hill and Rucellai not only assembled texts, but also prepared a compilation for future use. Moreover, in the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* introductory notes by Rucellai himself precede several chapters, expressing either his personal opinion or a general presentation of the chapter's topic. Some of these introductory notes also reflect a conscious arrangement. For example, at the beginning of his family records Rucellai states: "First I think I give you information about the descent of our Rucellai family and about other things belonging to the honor of the family which are worth recording."[13] In contrast, in Bodl. MS Add. A. 12, another, anonymous fifteenth-century *zibaldone*, the different texts, like Petrarch's *Trionfi*, recipes, and a discussion of education attributed to Quintilian, follow each other without being related. This manuscript contains one man's reading experience. Returning to Rucellai, even though the table of contents, introductory notes, and division into sections all indicate Rucellai's enthusiasm for editing the *Zibaldone*, this seems to have decreased with the passing of time. While the oldest parts of the codex, the so-called *Zibaldone Vetus*, which was probably finished by the early 1460s,[14] contain numerous interventions by Rucellai, the later sections contain fewer and fewer. This does not undermine the fact, however, that Rucellai continued to select consciously the material that his scribes inserted into the *Zibaldone*.

Furthermore, another noticeable feature distinguishes Rucellai's work from other *zibaldoni*. While the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* was written by professional scribes, other *zibaldoni* are usually written by the owners themselves in *mercantesca* script.[15] At the same time, several marginal notes in Rucellai's hand appear in the manuscript,[16] which can be identified based on autograph letters.[17] These notes revise and update the content of the codex, which indicates that Rucellai actively participated in compiling the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. On the one hand, the reason

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[13] AR, MS Zibaldone Quaresimale, 1ʳ. I consulted a microfilm copy in the Florentine State Archive and in the Warburg Institute, London.

[14] Perosa called the sections written by scribes A and B *vetus*, which range from the first folio to f. 84. The f. 3, f. 61, f.71, ff. 49ʳ –50ᵛ are not part of the *vetus* as they were left blank by scribes A and B. Alessandro Perosa, "Prefazione," in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone 1*, XII–XIII.

[15] Armando Petrucci, "Reading and Writing in *Volgare* in Medieval Italy," 199.

[16] For instance, AR, MS Zibaldone Quaresimale, 4ʳ, 6ʳ, 61ʳ.

[17] See, for example, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Strozziane, III. 120. 310ʳ. William Kent gives a general overview of all the existing letters of Rucellai in F. W. Kent, "The Letters Genuine and Spurious of Giovanni Rucellai," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 342.

for commissioning professional scribes may have been the gradual diffusion of a new manuscript model developed by Poggio Bracciolini, Niccolò Niccoli, and others, which resulted in the appearance of the humanistic cursive in the less luxurious manuscripts by the second half of the Quattrocento.[18] Rucellai's first scribe, for example, used a humanistic cursive. On the other hand, the humanistic cursive of professional scribes may have given cultural and social prestige to a manuscript book. *Zibaldoni,* unlike *ricordanze,* were meant for wider circulation among relatives and friends;[19] consequently, these manuscript books written by professional scribes might have contributed to the social prestige of their owners. This also implies that Rucellai had to collect texts and prepare an exemplar that his scribes used later, since usually patrons had to provide their scribe with the parchment or paper and the exemplar.[20]

Documentary evidence suggests that Rucellai had another notebook in which he might have prepared the *Zibaldone Quaresimale.* Containing autographs of Rucellai's son, Bernardo, the early sixteenth-century manuscript BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636 probably comes from the circle of the Rucellai family. The section from 36[r] to 55[v] of this codex has been thought to be a sixteenth-century copy of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale.*[21] The title of this section, however, which states that it was copied from a *zibaldone* written by Giovanni Rucellai,[22] raises some doubts. First, Rucellai was the owner and not the scribe of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale.* Second, the scribe forgot the adjective *quaresimale,* which had an important role in fifteenth-century administrative culture. Adjectives added to traditional names such as *libro* and *zibaldone* served as unique identifiers meant to distinguish similar types of manuscripts in the archives of merchants.[23] Unfortunately, Rucellai did not give any explanation why he named the manuscript *zibaldone quaresimale* in his introduction on the first folio.[24] In fact, the content of the manuscript has no apparent connection with Lent. According to Giuseppe Marcotti, a nineteenth-

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[18] Albinia de la Mare, "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence," in *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440–1525: un primo censimento,* ed. Anna Maria Garzelli (Florence: Giunta regionale toscana, 1985), 444.

[19] Lisa Kaborycha, "Copying Culture: Fifteenth-century Florentines and their *Zibaldoni*" (Ph.D. diss. University of California Berkeley, 2006), 88–91.

[20] Albinia de la Mare, "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence," 417–420.

[21] Perosa, "Prefazione," XI. See also the unpublished inventory of the Fondo Magliabechiano.

[22] "Nota di piu cose trassi di uno zibaldone scripto da Giovanni di Pagolo Rucellai," BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636, 35[v].

[23] Cicchetti and Mordenti, "La scrittura di libri di famiglia," 1119.

[24] "Il quale libro si chiama Zibaldone quaresimale," "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 1.

century historian, the adjective *quaresimale* refers to Rucellai's intention to educate his sons, that is to say, just as Lent, also the *Zibaldone* is dedicated to contemplation and study.[25] Lent is forty days of spiritual preparation for Easter, as an analogy, the adjective *quaresimale* may also signal Rucellai's intention to prepare his sons for their future life.

Moreover, the BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636 contains a textual variant that could not have been copied from the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. From 42^r to 46^r it contains a chronicle which can be found in two versions in the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. From 60a^r to 61b^r, the first scribe recounted the history of Florence from 1400 to 1423. Later, the second scribe, from 71a^r to 78b^v, rewrote the same chronicle in a different orthographic pattern and continued the narration until 1457. The BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636 also contains the chronicle from 1400 to 1457, but in the orthographic pattern of the first scribe, who, however, ended the narration with the events of 1423. Consequently, the BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636 could have been copied from another notebook of Rucellai[26] which might have served as an early draft for the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*.

All this implies that well before the compilation of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* Rucellai had been collecting sayings and texts in a now-lost notebook that his scribes later used. Like Boccaccio's *zibaldoni*,[27] this lost notebook might have served as a laboratory for further works. However, unlike Boccaccio, Rucellai did not prepare the usual literary product, but another *zibaldone*. That is to say, the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* is not the result of extemporaneous collecting and copying but a conscious production.

Using and Manipulating Textual Fragments

Perhaps the most valuable parts of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* are those which depict the Florentine social world.[28] However, as Perosa pointed out in his edition, Rucellai's descriptions consist of borrowings from different medieval

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[25] Giuseppe Marcotti, *Un mercante fiorentino e la sua famiglia nel secolo XV* (Florence: Nozze Nardi-Arnaldi, 1881), 28.

[26] Unless part of the chronicle written by the first scribe has been lost. However, Perosa, who examined the original manuscript, did not indicate any possible loss from the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*.

[27] Laur. MS Plut. XXIX. 8, Laur. MS Plut. 33, BNCF MS BR 50. Michelangelo Picone, "La Comedia Lidie dallo Zibaldone al Decameron," in *Gli Zibaldoni di Boccaccio, Memoria, scrittura, riscrittura*, ed. Michelangelo Picone and Claude Cazalé Bérard (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 1998), 402.

[28] Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 2–13.

and humanist works. This leads back to the question of this article: How does a compilation of this kind express Rucellai's own point of view? Moreover, how did Rucellai's contemporaries and readers see this "plagiarism"?

In fact, Rucellai not only copied his borrowings word by word but he also rewrote them. His account of the Florentine social world contains passages from the late thirteenth-century florilegium, *Fiore di virtù*, and from the pseudo-version of Leon Battista Alberti's *I libri della famiglia*, known as *Del Governo della famiglia*.[29] The sentences of these works were used as constituents of a new narrative. Unlike the case of traditional commonplace books, the extracted passages do not just follow each other; they are logically related and thus make up a coherent narrative. To understand Rucellai's method of rewriting I compared the extracts from *Del Governo* in the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* with the BNCF MS Pal. 789, which contains the entire version of the *Del Governo*. Rucellai mixed passages from different parts of the *Del Governo* to create his own version. Furthermore, he also changed the syntactic structure of the inserted passages; sometimes he changed the subject or added new adverbs and adjectives. An essential component of his rewriting was omission. Sometimes he excluded important arguments of the *Del Governo*. And finally, among the passages from *Del Governo*, one can find quotations derived from the *Fiore di virtù*. His way of rewriting, thus, consists of the following aspects: omission, the insertion of new elements, changing the order, changing the syntactic structure of the original sentences, compressing the original content, and associating passages from different works. These modifications suggest intentional rewriting. Rucellai's version is unique and cannot be found in any existing copies of the *Del Governo*.[30] It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Rucellai carried out this rewriting himself.

Using sayings, proverbs, and passages authored by others as constituents of texts has a long tradition going back to antiquity. Aristotle, in the *Topics,* defined *topoi*, that is to say commonplaces, as speeches-within-speeches which are arguments that can be used to build or amplify texts.[31] These general arguments, expressing

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[29] Alberti's masterpiece was forgotten for centuries, instead, a rewritten and simplified version of the third book of the *I libri della famiglia* circulated among Florentines, which was attributed to Rucellai's maternal uncle, Agnolo Pandolfini. First published as *Trattato del governo della famiglia di Agnolo Pandolfini colla vita del medesimo scritta da Vespasiano Bisticci* (Florence: Tartini, 1734). See also Judith Ravenscroft, "The Third Book of Alberti's Della Famiglia and its Two *Rifacimenti*," *Italian Studies* 29 (1974): 44–50.

[30] See the manuscripts of *Del Governo* in Lucia Bertolini, ed., *Leon Battista Alberti. Censimento dei manoscritti* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2004).

[31] Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 3.

universally applicable ideas, were essential elements of rhetoric and dialectics. In his *De Inventione* Cicero describes *topoi*, in Latin *loci communes*, as an indispensable component of court speeches and instruments of persuasion.[32] Quintilian in the *Institutio oratoria* defines *loci communes* as "weapons which we should always have stored in our armory ready for immediate use as occasion may demand."[33] During the Middle Ages they were essential elements of letters, poems, sermons, and biographies. Besides, they also functioned as mnemonic devices. As Joan Marie Lechner says "these places or topical headings were referred to as cell and receptacles in which memorable sentences were hidden, and in which excerpts taken from reading were noted down for future use."[34]

Borrowing ready-made arguments or passages authored by others was also widely practiced by the humanists. For instance, borrowed passages from Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* appear in humanist books like Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione* or in the *Vita Civile* by Matteo Palmieri.[35] Italian humanists were the first to reflect critically on the acceptable use of others' passages. Petrarch warned his contemporaries that the writer should not only collect sayings of the ancients but also transform them according to his own purposes. In a letter to Boccaccio he compared the good writer to bees who not only collect flowers, but also use them to make something more precious: "We should write in the same way as bees makes honey, not preserving flowers, but turning them into honeycombs, so that out of many and varied resources a single product should emerge, and that one both different and better."[36]

A few decades later another Italian humanist, Gasparino Barzizza (1360–1430) dedicated an entire treatise, *De imitatione*, to the different, acceptable and non-acceptable, uses of others' passages.[37] In Barzizza's work the use of others' passages is a means of imitation, however, similarly to Petrarch, Barzizza did not

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[32] *De inventione*, II. XV. 50. See also II. XXVI.

[33] *Arma sunt haec (loci communes) quodammodo praeparanda semper, ut iis, cum res poscet, utare*, Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, II. I. 12.

[34] Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces*, 70.

[35] Francis Henry Colson, "Introduction," in Quintilian, *Institutionis Oratoriae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), LXV–LXIX.

[36] *Ut scribamus scilicet sicut apes mellificant non servatis floribus sed in favos versis, ut ex multis et variis unum fiat, idque aliud et melius.* Francesco Petrarch, *Familiarum rerum libri*, XXIII. 19, in Francesco Petrarca, *Prose,* ed. G. Martellotti *et al* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1955), 1018–1020, quoted by Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 51.

[37] Barzizza's *De Imitatione* was published as the appendix of G. W. Pigman, "Barzizza's Treatise on Imitation," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 44 (1982), 349–351.

accept a word-by-word borrowing. Following Seneca, Barzizza emphasized that those who use others' passages must change the sentences and the words so that they do not seem to be borrowings.[38] Collecting sayings and using them was also an essential element of education in the fifteenth century. Students in the Latin grammar schools were often asked to extract sayings from Latin works and use them to compose new texts.[39] In short, starting from antiquity, the use of other authors' passages as ready-made arguments, rhetorical embellishment or a means of education and imitation was widely accepted and practiced. It is impossible to know whether Rucellai was aware of the cultural background of commonplaces. One thing is certain, however: once a quotation was transformed and inserted into a new context, it was considered the compiler's own.

At the same time, the notion of commonplaces was changing in the Early Modern period. Their original rhetorical context was extended to constructing scientific knowledge. While in Antiquity and the Middle Ages commonplaces served as rhetorical devices, in the Early Modern period they also meant concrete facts and data that scientists and philosophers recorded in their notebooks for further use.[40] For example, Guarino da Verona advised Leonello d'Este to assemble sayings and record them in his notebook for further use.[41]

Similarly, Rucellai might have created thematic lists of sayings in his lost *zibaldone*, then, by reworking them, he used these modified sayings as building blocks for compiling the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. In other words, the history of some textual fragments in the manuscript has two different aspects. First, an original author, like Seneca or Alberti, wrote them as part of an organic work. Second, Rucellai extracted, rewrote and inserted them into the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. In terms of our modern notion of authorship, which focuses on creating new artifacts, the second aspect cannot be interpreted as a creative activity in its own right. In contrast, anoted above, Rucellai's contemporaries regarded the modification and use of others' sayings as an acceptable activity which is part of authorship. Rucellai also regarded himself as the author of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale*. The last entry of the table of contents is by his hand, in which he

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[38] *Dicit Seneca ad Lucilium quod imitatio non debet esse echo, id est: quando volumus imitari, non debemus accipere recte litteram sicut stat in illo libro in quo volumus imitari, sed debemus mutare verba et sententias ita quod non videantur esse illa eadem quae sunt in ipso libro.* Ibidem, 349–350.

[39] Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 323–324.

[40] Ann Blair, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 541–551.

[41] Remigio Sabbadini, ed., *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese II* (Venice: A spese della Società, 1916), 270.

titles the last section of the manuscript "Memory of the reasons and motives why Giovanni di Pagolo Rucellai, *author* of this book must thank God."[42] Moreover, he gave the impression that he was the author of the rewritten texts himself. He often addressed his sons by their names; as the "you" refers to the sons, the "I" necessarily refers to Rucellai himself. Consequently, for the contemporary reader, he was the author.

In fact, Rucellai might have had in mind a notion of authorship in terms of which the intellectual contribution of author lies not in creating new artifacts, but in using, manipulating, and more importantly, in the words of Marshall Sahlins, putting textual fragments into the compiler's own disposition. This last feature guarantees that even though the texts were not written but only used and modified by Rucellai, they express, indeed, his own ideas. I call this authorship "indirect authorship," since the texts also express Rucellai's ideas in an indirect way, that is to say, through how he modified and used them. This is a strategic use of culture, throug which the texts of high culture become a means of communication expressing the intention, ideas, and experiences of an everyday actor. Beside Rucellai's *Zibaldone,* another rare example presenting this strategic use of culture is the late fourteenth-century French advice book known as *Le Menagier de Paris,* the unknown author of which also often rewrote his borrowings to create an image of himself.[43] The French sociologist Michael de Certeau notes that culture has two sides. One side is a publicly available system of meaning. The other side is a hidden consumption through which the everyday actors use and manipulate this system of meaning according to their goals, desires or intentions.[44] Generally, this hidden consumption remains invisible to posterity. Creative practices such as Rucellai's rewriting reflect this important field of human culture.

Dialogues between the *auctores*

The *Zibaldone* not only consists of rewritten texts. Rucellai also inserted longer extracts from various works without modifying them or giving the impression of being the author. Some parts of the codex resemble the form of traditional commonplace books where quotations from different authors, separated

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[42] "Righordo delle ragioni e chagioni per le quali Giovanni di Pagholo Rucellai, auctore di questo libro debbe ringraziare Idio," Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," XXI.

[43] Georgine E. Bereton and Janet M. Ferrier, "Introduction," in *Le Menagier de Paris*, ed. Georgine E. Bereton and Janet M. Ferrier (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), XXXVII. I am most grateful to Marianne Sághy for calling my attention to this book.

[44] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (London: University of California Press, 1984), 12.

by empty space, follow each other. Again, in terms of the modern notion of authorship, these quotations do not reflect Rucellai's original ideas. Moreover, by also recording their authors, Rucellai does not even try to present himself as the author. For reflecting on this problem, I will examine one of Rucellai's accounts on *Fortuna* and *virtù*.

The opposition of *Fortuna* to *virtù* was undoubtedly one of the most important issues of intellectual life in the Italian Renaissance. From Petrarch to Castiglione, almost all thinkers reflected on the question of whether a virtuous man can overcome the power of Fortune. Rucellai inserted several texts which seek to answer this question. Here I will examine one of these texts, which seems to be related to traditional medieval rather than humanistic culture.

From 16b^r to 20a^v the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* contains a section called "Della Fortuna" in the table of contents of the codex. Preceding this section is an introduction in which Rucellai presents the topic and informs the reader that he will enumerate various opinions of different authors about Fortune.[45] The first sub-section attempts to answer the question of what are Fortune and accident.[46] The passage from the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle reveals that the notion of accident is only a product of human imagination which cannot find the cause of an event and therefore calls it an accident.[47] Rucellai quotes another passage from Boethius which also stresses that the notion of accident is merely the product of the human brain.[48] The conclusion of the first sub-section is that Fortune refers to a causality which is hidden from the eyes of people.

However, the main question is whether man can comprehend this hidden causality. The answer to the second sub-section is a definite "no," man is not able to understand the invisible causality of the world. Rucellai inserted some passages from Canto VII of the *Inferno*, in which Dante describes Fortune as a celestial intelligence who represents the will of God on Earth, therefore, her intention is necessary for men who will never be able to understand the cause of events in the world.[49] In contrast, the final sub-section is a chapter of hope which proves that prudence, virtue, and good government can resist the power of Fortune. Rucellai starts with a long quotation from the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century physician and poet, Francesco degli Stabili, also known as Cecco d'Ascoli,

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[45] Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 103.

[46] Ibidem.

[47] Ibidem, 104.

[48] Ibidem.

[49] Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia,* ed. Natalino Sapegno (Milan: Ricciardi, 1957), 87–88.

who was burned as a heretic in 1327. The passage from the second chapter of the first book of his famous *Acerba etiam* discusses the ideas of Canto VII of the *Commedia*.[50] In contrast to Dante, Cecco speaks about a deistic God, who, after creating the world, left the creatures to themselves, thus, they can choose their own fates.[51]

In addition to various *auctores*, one also hears Rucellai's personal opinion in the introduction preceding the section about Fortune which claims that good government, wisdom, and prudence can keep the capricious events under control.[52] Hearing Rucellai's voice is a significant novelty in a fifteenth-century Italian commonplace book culture, since *zibaldoni* generally lack the individual voice.[53] In fact, Rucellai is not only the narrator who simply introduces the topic, but also an autonomous point of reference among the *auctores*. Throughout the Middle Ages, the individual's position in respect to the *auctores* was, like Rucellai's, subordinate.[54] However, as Laurel Amtower, a historian of reading culture, has pointed out that, "by the Late Middle Ages the individual has both the ability and the duty to engage texts analytically and to question or doubt those opinions that may turn out to be dangerous or false."[55] Rucellai does not question the opinions of the *auctores,* but by juxtaposing them against each other he offers his sons various interpretative positions, including his own. Thus, the sayings of the *auctores* represent sets of perspective points, they are subjects of a sophisticated discursive game. It is worth comparing Rucellai's account of Fortune with another collection of sayings. The fifteenth-century, probably Florentine, BNCF MS Magl. XXI. 90 contains a short account on friendship.[56] Here, the sayings of the *auctores* are assembled under a common topic; they are part of a thematic list. In contrast, Rucellai creates a dialogue between the *auctores* by juxtaposing their ideas.

In fact, the intellectual world of the entire *Zibaldone* can be seen as a dialogue in which texts of a culture interact with each other. This is completely controlled by Rucellai, who thus used texts not only to transmit a representation of himself

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[50] Francesco Stabili, *L'Acerba*, ed. Achille Crespi (Ascoli Piceno: Casa editrice di Giuseppe Cesari, 1927), 171–189.

[51] "Non fa necessità ciaschun movendo, ma ben dispone creatura humana per qualità, qual l'anima, seguendo l'albitrio, abandona e fassi vile," Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 107.

[52] Ibidem, 103.

[53] Kaborycha, "Copying Culture," 21.

[54] Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 10–11.

[55] Laurel Amtower, *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 2.

[56] BNCF MS Magl. XXI. 90, 202^r–203^v.

and the contemporary social world but also to provide his sons with different perspectives on philosophical, ethical, and other questions. Nevertheless, sometimes these perspectives, like Dante's and Cecco's different views on human fate, are incompatible. Aby Warburg, characterizing Giovanni Rucellai's and Francesco Sassetti's world views, spoke about an equilibrium between medieval faith in God and Renaissance self-confidence.[57] In fact, a close reading of the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* suggests a man who is rather balancing on a tightrope. While in his account of *Fortuna,* echoing Cecco's ideas, Rucellai claims that his faith lies in the power of human action, which determines the course of the world, in another part of the codex he says that his business successes are thanks to God and not to his own efforts.[58] At the same time, some other parts of the codex suggest that faith and God were also subject to doubt and hesitation.[59] A world view is not a coherent whole of ideas, but a set of dilemmas and possibilities originating in the interaction of dissonant theories and ideas. Commonplace books like Rucellai's *Zibaldone* reflect these intrinsic contradictions of an individual's thought and culture.

Conclusions

How do works of high and popular culture express the ideas and world view of everyday actors of history? One can hardly answer this question, therefore, it must be reformulated. How did everyday actors of history use, manipulate or adapt the texts of their culture? Commonplace books are a typical field of these operations. Thus, the methodological challenge that I outlined at the beginning of this paper opens the way to understanding how different works of a culture express not only the general context of a society, but also particular individual situations. As the analysis of Rucellai's knowledge-constructing practice reveals, the world views of the compilers of commonplace books emerged not only from their selections and preferences, but also from the way they used, manipulated, and contrasted texts, which thus became a means of communication, expressing the ideas and dilemmas of everyday actors of history.[60]

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[57] Aby Warburg, "Le ultime volontà di Francesco Sassetti," in Aby Warburg, *Opere I*, ed. Maurizio Ghelardi (Turin: N.Aragno, 2004), 461.

[58] Rucellai, "Il Zibaldone Quaresimale," 117–118.

[59] "Disse uno savio d'anima che quando l'uomo sentisse alchuna cosa che desse dubitazione alla fede Che si vuole inprigionare lontelletto overo chiudere gli orecchi della mente." AR, MS Zibaldone Quaresimale, 80b^r.

REWRITING THROUGH TRANSLATION: SOME TEXTUAL ISSUES IN THE *VULGATA* OF THE *EJERCICIOS ESPIRITUALES* BY IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

Antoaneta Sabău 🔻

At the beginning of 1547, André de Freux (known to his companions as Andreas Frusius, d. 1556), a Frenchman of exquisite education and a new Jesuit, made a new rendition of the *Ejercicios espirituales* of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) into Latin, which remained in the tradition of the Society of Jesus as the *Vulgata*.[1] The text was a success and in 1548, after receiving approval from the Papal See, went to print in 500 copies by the generosity of Francis Borgia (1510–1572). The first printed edition of the *Spiritual Exercises* was issued with a preface signed by Juan de Polanco (1517–1576), Ignatius of Loyola's secretary, who speaks about a translation made "word by word," referring to the *Versio Prima*, the first Latin translation, and a second translation which is the *Vulgata* and was preferred for printing, for "[it] not only renders the meaning, but renders it faithfully."[2] Through a comparative textual analysis this article will exemplify the types of transformation that the text of the *Ejercicios espirituales* (henceforth referred to as the *Autograph*) underwent through this second Latin translation, with reference also to the *Versio Prima*. The textual analysis will be framed by a short review of the history of the text and the first Jesuits. I argue that the rapports between the translation and the *Autograph* echo the relationship between the author and the translator as paradigmatic for the connections within the incipient Society of Jesus.[3]

The *Ejercicios Espirituales* and the Incipient Society of Jesus

Researchers agree that the book *Ejercicios espirituales* was not written all at once.[4] The final organization of the content of the book along with the testimony of

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[1] John W. O'Malley quoting Hugo Rahner, in *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 177.

[2] Eduard Gueydan, "Avertissements et Préfaces," in *Texte autographe des Exercices Spirirtuels et Documents contemporains (1526–1615)* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1986), 258–260.

[3] This article is based on my MA thesis "Translation and Identy in the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Ignatius of Loyola" (Central European University, 2008).

[4] Cándido de Dalmases, *Histoire de la rédaction des exercices spirituels 1522 à 1548*, in Gueydan, 9–14. See also Pablo de De Leturia, "Génesis de los Ejercicios," *Estudios Ignacianos* 2 (1962): 81–124.

Ignatius himself are witness to this from the early handwritten origins of the *Ejercicios* in Manresa to the first printed copies in Rome.[5] Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580), one of the first Jesuits, distinguished two main periods in the history of writing the book.[6] The first period goes from the year of Ignatius' conversion up to the beginning of his formal studies in Paris (1522–1524) and the second begins in 1537, the year when he finished his studies, and ends in 1548, the year when the *Versio Prima* and the *Vulgata* received the Church's approval. The main body of the text was relatively finished by the time Ignatius arrived in Paris,[7] and in the Parisian years, if not even earlier, the first Latin translation, the so-called *Versio Prima*, was completed, probably by the hand of Ignatius himself. The necessity of a translation was raised by the constant scrutiny of ecclesiastical authorities,[8] as well as by meeting an international readership in the persons encountered in the university environment, for example, among the seven friends who vowed the Montmartre promise[9] and made the spiritual exercises with Ignatius, some were French – Jean Codure (1508–1541), Claude Le Jay (1504–1552) – others were Portuguese – Paschase Broët (c. 1500–1562), Simão Rodrigues (d. 1579) – and there was also a Savoyard – Peter Faber (1506–1546).[10] In Nadal's testimony one can read about the importance of the Parisian years that, while dividing the first "stage" of text elaboration from the latter, was also a turning point in the development of the text. I would argue that it is not without importance that the second period of text development practically ends with the year in which the Latin translations were officially approved. In Nadal's point of view, the preparation of the Latin translations continued and supplemented the writing of

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[5] Cf. Ignatius of Loyola, "Autobiografía," in *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), chapter 99 (henceforth: "Autobiografia").

[6] Gueydan, 260.

[7] Thomas Laurent, the inquisitor who investigated Ignatius in Paris, preserved a Latin copy of the "Exercitia." Cf. Josephus Calveras, S. J. and Candidus de Dalmases, S. J., ed, *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*, vol. 100, *Monumenta Historiae Societatis Jesu* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969).

[8] During one of the investigations made by the Inquisition, in Alcalá in 1526, one learns about the "papers" that were to become the book of exercises. Cf. "Autobiografia."

[9] The Montmartre vow is the promise that the eight friends made together to go to the Holy Land and serve God there.

[10] The names of the others are Diego Laínez (1512–1565), Alonso Salmerón (1515–1585), Francisco de Xavier (1506–1552), and Nicolás Alonso Bobadilla (1509–1590). For more information on the practice of the spiritual exercises before the foundation of the Society of Jesus see I. Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios espirituales de san Ignacio de Loyola en vida de su autor (1522–1556)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1946).

the book and the end was perceived as a part of the completion of the book of exercises.

Difference and Sameness

The language peculiarities Ignatius displays in his *Autograph*, even with quite a large use of Latinisms, remind one of the question Roger Wright addresses in his work: When did Medieval Latin arise as a written language sufficiently distinct to require translation?[11] The difficulty in discussing the spiritual exercises as they appear in Spanish compared to their Latin translation is that the two languages have such an intimate kinship that it is difficult to tell how well-modulated the linguistic awareness of their speakers was. At the time Ignatius wrote his spiritual exercises only two centuries separated him from the appearance of the first written Spanish text. The main difficulty in completing a translation from sixteenth-century Spanish to Medieval Latin was raised by their affiliations; one of the conditions for the initial possibility of any act of translation is the intersection between two languages that are different. This preliminary differentiation is a condition as compulsory as the sameness or equivalence of meaning achieved at the end of a successful translation process.[12] Hence translation becomes precisely the effort to overcome this difference and deliver the meaning of the source language into the target language, driven by the certainty that there is sameness in the two languages that can be discovered throughout the act of translation. Rendering a text from one language into another necessarily entails the discovery of this sameness, after going through the experience of an apparently severe difference. In this respect, Latin and Spanish shared an identity that made the initial experience of difference between the two languages rather ambiguous.

The common scholarly perception of the two Latin versions has followed the labeling of Polanco in his editorial letter to the first printed Latin translation of the *Exercises*,[13] where he states that the two translations are perfect illustrations

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[11] Roger Wright, "Translation between Latin and Romance in the Early Middle Ages," in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer, Studies in Medieval Culture 38 (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1997).

[12] In this respect see Anthony Pym, "Translation and Text Transfer: An Essay on the Principles of Intercultural Communication," in *Publikationen des Fachbereichs Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Germersheim*, series A, vol. 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), as well as Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, ed. *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[13] I used the French translation of Polanco's letter from Gueydan, 81–83.

of the situations depicted by the classical dichotomy:[14] *Versio Prima* is an almost perfect example of *verbum pro verbo* translation, while the *Vulgata* aspires to be an example of *sensum pro senso*. To an inexperienced Latinist, as Ignatius must have been when he took up the translation of his text into Latin, the most obvious temptation should have been rendering Spanish words by their formally identical pairs from Latin. How accurate is it to translate *consolación* as *consolatio*, *traer* as *trahere*, *discernimiento de los spiritos* as *discernimentum spirituum*, *indifferencia* as *indifferentia*, or is it simply unavoidable?

Textual Comparison

The fragment quoted below will serve as a sample for the main translation techniques specific to the Vulgata. There is not sufficient evidence to assert whether Frusius made the translation only following the *Autograph* or by consulting the *Versio Prima* as well. Some of the textual data might suggest that he did use the *Versio Prima*, be it simply as a constant reminder of the way he should *not* translate, and maybe his excess of zeal in embellishing the text of the *Vulgata* is justified by the possible simultaneous comparison with the *rudis atque impolita Versio Prima*.[15] The fragment quoted here speaks about the rules concerning the discernment of spirits, offering definitions for spiritual consolation:[16]

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[14] M. Tullius Cicero stated the ideal distinction between *verbum pro verbo* and *sensum pro sensum* translations for the first time. The fact that antiquity left its Christian heirs a preference for *verbum pro verbo* translation, although it theoretically opted for *sensum pro senso*, shows that original meaning is thought to be intimately interlaced with factors exterior to the word alone and that meaning is a *construct*, not the isolated sense of a single word. Cf. Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

[15] In chapter 10, when Frusius translates *Qui antea in via vitae, quam illuminativam appellant, … fuerint potius versati*, he seems to have chosen a middle-way solution between the Spanish *Quando la persona se exercita en la vida ylluminativa* [when the person is living an enlightened life], and the previous Latin rendition, *Qui versatur in via illuminativa*, Cf. Dalmases, 86.

[16] For this sample the *Versio Prima* translates: *tertia est, quod vocamus spiritualem consolationem omnem motum animae internum, per quem anima accenditur in Dei sui et Creatoris nostri igneum amorem, quando etiam nihil creatum in se diligere valemus, sed quicquid id sit, in Deo, omnium illorum authore, diligimus. item, quando emittit lachrymas excitantes ad Dei amorem, vel ob suorum peccatorum dolorem vel ob memoriam acerbissimae Iesu Christi passionis, vel ob quancunque aliam rem directe in Dei Domini laudem et servitium ordinatam. Voco tandem consolationem omnem profectum et augmentum fidei, spei et charitatis, et omnem gaudium internum, quod quidem impellit et excitat ad caelestia et aeterna, et ad propriam animae ipsius salutem, quietando eam et pacificando in Deo Creatore suo et Domino.* Dalmases, 183.

Autograph	*Vulgata*
3a regla. La tercera, de consolación espiritual. Llamo consolación, quando en el ánima se causa alguna moción interior, con la qual viene la ánima a inflamarse en amor de su Criador y Señor y consequenter, quando ninguna cosa criada sobre la haz de la tierra, puede amar en si, sino en el Criador de todas ellas. Asímismo, quando lança lagrimas motiuas a amor de su Señor, agora sea por el dolor de sus peccados, o de la passión de Xpo nuestro Señor, o de otras cosas derechamente ordenadas en su seruicio y alabanza. Finalmente, llamo consolación todo ahumento de esperanza, fee y charidad, y toda leticia interna, que llama y atrahe a las cosas celestiales y a la propria salud de su ánima, quietándola y paçificándola en su Criador y Señor.[17]	quod spiritualis proprie consolatio tunc esse noscitur, quando per internam quandam motionem exardescit anima in amorem Creatoris sui, nec iam creaturam ullam, nisi propter ipsum, potest diligere. quando etiam lachrimae funduntur, amorem illum provocantes, sive ex dolore de peccatis profluant, sive ex meditatione passionis Christi, sive alia ex causa qualibet in Dei cultum et honorem recte ordinata. postremo, consolatio quoque dici potest fidei, spei et charitatis quodlibet augmentum; item laetitia omnis, quae animam ad caelestium rerum meditationem, ad studium salutis, ad quietem et pacem cum Domino habendam, solet incitare.[18]

For the *Autograph*, the person for the generalization phrases varies from the first person singular – *llamo consolación* – to the third person plural. In the Latin translation, as one sees at the beginning of this paragraph and again in the closing statement of the paragraph, as well as in most cases in the *Vulgata*, it is the third person singular – *spiritualis proprie consolatio tunc esse noscitur* – that makes the

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[17] Chapter 376. "Third Rule. The third: Of Spiritual Consolation. I call it consolation when some interior movement in the soul is caused, through which the soul comes to be inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord; and when it can in consequence love no created thing on the face of the earth in itself, but in the Creator of them all. Likewise, when it sheds tears that move of love for its Lord, whether out of sorrow for one's sins, or for the Passion of Christ our Lord, or because of other things directly connected with His service and praise. Finally, I call consolation every increase of hope, faith and charity, and all interior joy which calls and attracts to heavenly things and to the salvation of one's soul, quieting it and giving it peace in its Creator and Lord."

[18] Ibid., 376.

generalization, abandoning thus possible personal shades of the auctorial voice and giving the text an impersonal and more formal expression.[19]

Compared to the Latin language of the translations, Ignatius' use of the Spanish language is sometimes very expressive and embedded with colloquial shades. Where the original text employed a plastic, visual tone, *ninguna cosa criada sobre la haz de la tierra (nothing created on the face of the earth)*, the *Versio Prima* chose a simplified formula that makes the initial text more abstract – *nihil creatum* – and the *Vulgata* opts for a middle-way solution: *nec iam creaturam ullam*, contributing again to a more sober style.

One of the particularities of Ignatius' style is precisely a conscious redundancy in the service of clarity, a feature that lays the foundation for the development of a technical vocabulary specific for the practice of the spiritual exercises. For example, in chapter 53, the phrase *lo que he hecho por Christo, lo que hago por Christo, lo que debo hacer por Christo* (What I have done for Christ, what I am doing for Christ, what I have to do for Christ) is translated in the *Vulgata* by the more pretentious turn of phrase *quid hactenus dignum memoratu egerim pro Christo, quid agam tandem aut agere debeam*. Another example is the translation of the term introduced in the excerpt above, *consolación (consolation)*, which is widely translated as *consolatio*, but also with *commotio devota*, in chapter 252, and *interna delectatio*, chapter 254. Its opposite concept, *desolación (desolation)*, is translated by *desolatio* or the more specific *tristitia,* chapter 6, and *tentatio*, chapter 321.

Another type of formal transformation that at times acts as an auxiliary for the creation of a more formal voice are transformations that aim at adjusting Spanish expressions to the corresponding Latin. There are situations where the *Versio Prima* is translated literally, keeping even the word order specific to the Spanish language, as when rendering the Spanish *Criador y Señor*. In the excerpt above the correctors of the *Versio Prima* changed the translation of *Criador* to *conditor*, which was more plastic, for the more exact *Creator* and, as is shown in this paragraph, with the even more abstract *author*.[20] One also notes that the term *Señor* is not accurately rendered in the *Versio Prima*, which rather prefers *Deus* (in spite of the correct *Dominus*) or is simply ignored altogether, as the author of the *Vulgata* does on almost every occasion when fixed pairs of words, like *Criador y Señor*, appear and when only one of the terms is translated.

There are passages where the translator's intention to display a more academic Latin is conspicuous, as he tries to do in the above passage by hyper-

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[19] The *Versio Prima* translates the phrase as *consolatio vocamus*, and at the end of the paragraph shifts to the singular *voco*.
[20] Dalmases, 79.

translating *inflamarse* with *exardescit* and *a la propria salud* with *ad studium salutis*. The variation in translating *o de otras cosas derechamente ordenadas en su seruicio y alabanza* with *sive alia ex causa qualibet in Dei cultum et honorem recte ordinate* may seem strange. In chapter 16, *que van de peccado mortal en peccado mortal*[21] is translated by the *Vulgata* as *qui facile peccant letaliter et peccatum peccato addunt* and by the *Versio Prima* as *qui ex uno peccato mortali in aliud corruunt*. Both examples are relevant in highlighting one possible feature of Frusius' Latin: while the rendition of *Versio Prima* is a simple translation of the original, the *Vulgata* contains paraphrases using established expressions of ecclesiastic Latin with roots in patristic and scholastic writings. By using *cultum et honorem*, a standard expression referring to the devotion due to God, the Holy Virgin, the saints or parents,[22] Frusius inserted the *Exercitia Spiritualia* into the chain of the Western Latin patristic and scholastic tradition. The same effect is attained by adding *peccatum peccato addunt*, which echoes a rich patristic tradition.[23]

In his translation Frusius displays a consistent effort to clarify obscure terms as a reaction to the rather technical Latin of *Versio Prima*,[24] where much of the vocabulary is not self-explanatory. For one of the central Ignatian concepts, *indiferencia* (indifference),[25] a term which must be understood in its etymological meaning and which the *Versio Prima* renders passim by *indifferentia*, the French

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[21] "Who go from one deadly sin to another."

[22] The expression is attested in Lactantius (*et homo agnosceret deum tantorum beneficiorum auctorem, qui et ipsum fecit et mundum propter ipsum ei que cultum et honorem debitum redderet*, Lactantius – *Epitome diuinarum institutionum* Cl. 0086, cap.: 64, par.: 4, pag.: 753, linea: 12) (quoted from: Library of Latin Texts Database [LLT] A (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010), but it can also be found in later authors such as Thomas Aquinas (*Ad primum ergo dicendum quod obedientia procedit ex reverentia, quae exhibet cultum et honorem superiori, Summae theologiae secunda secundae quaestio*: 104, articulus: 3, responsio ad argumentum: 1, linea: 1) (quoted from LLT B (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010).

[23] The expression can be found frequently in Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and others up to Duns Scotus: (*quare uis adiungere peccatum peccato?*Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, Cl. 0278, tract.: 10, par.: 5, linea: 10) (quoted from LLT A (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010). I would like to express here my gratitude to Cristian Gaşpar who first brought this aspect to my attention.

[24] The *Versio Prima* establishes more or less consciously a technical lexicon to which only the initiated had access. The expression *sentir y cognocer* is translated into Latin by *discernere*, an important fact, for the Spanish text reflects an earlier stage in the formation of the Ignatian mentality. This phenomenon may stand as proof that the users of the *Spiritual Exercises* had a common background of experience that made it possible for technical language to exist and be understood.

[25] Dalmases, 87–89.

translator paraphrased: *absque differentia nos habere* (chapter 23), *in medio quodam interstitio et aequilibrio subsistere* (chapter 179), *in neutram declinare partem* (chapter 179). When he has to translate *moción* (movement), the term Ignatius uses for any sort of movement of the soul, Frusius is rich not only in synonyms, but in explanatory expressions as well: *spiritus* (chapter 313), *instigatio* (chapter 317), and he translates *según la mayor moción racional y no moción alguna sensual* (pertaining to the most important rational movement and not to a certain sensual movement) with *iuxta rationis ipsius dictamen, seposito carnis appetitu omni* (chapter 182).

Tertium comparationis

The sameness on the grounds of which any translation claims a justified validity is the *tertium comparationis* of the two languages that enter a dialogue through translation.[26] Extreme theorists of translation in the twentieth century, such as Pierre Menard,[27] gave expression to a phenomenon similar to the religiously oriented translation of the early Christians and the Middle Ages: it is not enough to write like the author one is translating or to convey the exact meaning. Nor is the identical reflection of the word order or the faithful replication of the syntax sufficient, but one must also duplicate the identity of the author. One has to *become the author* when translating. This can be asserted in the case of Ignatius of Loyola in the way that the translator of the text is not a mere philologist, but an individual who remakes the steps of the auctorial archetype.

Possibly the most important bond that connected the seven friends in Paris is the fact that each of them carried out the exercises with Ignatius. After this founding practice, two features surfaced as crucial: Ignatius gained spiritual authority over them that later placed him in the leading position of the Society of Jesus,[28] and, at the same time, a transfer of identity occurred from "Master Ignatius" to his friends, a transfer that enabled them to teach the exercises in their turn, and even, for some of them, such as Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580) and Alonso Salmerón, to participate in the emendation of the book of exercises.

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[26] This concept of Platonic inspiration is used by modern linguistics to refer to a common reference that makes communication possible, cf. A. Pym, "Natural and Directional Equivalence in Theories of Translation," *Target* 19, No. 2 (2007): 271–294.

[27] Leena Laiho, "A Literary Work – Translation and Original. A Conceptual Analysis within the Philosophy of Art and Translation Studies," *Target* 19, No. 2 (2007): 297.

[28] There were also members of the initial groups of friends who disputed Ignatius' ability to lead the Society from 1539, the year of their arrival in Rome, until he was on his deathbed. For the "unsupportive" part of the Society see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 178–220.

When Frusius joined the community in 1541, he had already been an experienced priest in Chartres and there are testimonies that even if he was not part of the first group that was bound by the Montmartre vows, he went through the exercises with Ignatius himself and, after his theology years in Padua, he was Ignatius' secretary for a couple of years. During this time, before translating the whole book of exercises, he translated, at Ignatius' request, the *Rules about Our Thinking with the Church*, which is one of the late additions to the text of the exercises.[29] The common experience of spiritual initiation through the practice of the exercises under the guidance of Ignatius established a certain degree of *sameness* that supported the preservation of the identity of the author and the meanings to be found in the *Spiritual Exercises* itself even before making a translation. If Pierre Menard's ambition to be the author himself may prove to have been excessive and just another extravagance of modern theories of translation, it seems rather fit for the Society of Jesus, mainly because of the affiliation between Ignatius and the rest who shared in the creation of the text and in the production of the translations.

Thus, the premise that formed the starting point for a group of people to all be involved in the same project is that "different authors can write the same work,"[30] as long as the context of the initial creation is repeated, namely, the experience of the spiritual journey Ignatius himself had taken back in the days in Manresa. As the strict chronological development of the text is beyond our reach, one can only speculate on the degree of involvement the other Jesuits had in the actual writing of the text. It is clear, nevertheless, that they did at least have knowledge of the fact that Ignatius was still working on the text while he was in Paris and Venice and it is highly probable, if they did not suggest points to be added or corrected, that they participated in some manner in the elaboration and maybe the form of expressing these points. Nadal's distinction of the two stages of text elaboration before and after the university years could imply that the ulterior emendations of the original text were, if not also the work of the friends found in Paris, at least partially the result of meeting, discussing, and, last but not least, doing the exercises with them. This experience was becoming acquainted with the text before the actual reading of the text itself and can be defined as the point of reference to which all of the companions could commonly appeal. By 1548, the Parisian friends were already called "Jesuits" and the paternity of Ignatius' book somehow lay not in the hands of only one person, but was shared

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[29] Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios espirituales*, 170–182.
[30] Laiho, 299.

among a group of people who all had the same style of living. They were sharing the same identity.

Conclusions

The different choices the *Vulgata* makes in translation move between approximations of the source meaning, contrast with the earlier Latin translation, and supplementing the meanings implied in the original text. The *Vulgata* sometimes alters the meaning of the original text to the limit of disobedience, compared to the slavish translation of the *Versio Prima*. It is also relevant that the exigencies pushing for a new Latin translation pertained to rhetoric, as James O'Malley emphasizes in the chapter of his book dedicated to Jesuit education.[31] The sophisticated level of vocabulary he displays demonstrates the multitude of shades added to the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* through the years, as well as the appearance of a new spirit among the Jesuits that mirrored the humanistic model. The language exigencies that shaped the *Vulgata* point to the high education and humanistic formation of the first Jesuit.[32]

The *Vulgata* indicates a figure behind the translation stylistically rather different from Ignatius, and identity of the author is at times overshadowed by the strong profile of the translator. For anyone who attempts to read the texts in parallel, the most powerful impression is that the texts are variations on the same theme, but one cannot establish, outside the historical context, a paternity between them: either the *Vulgata* or the *Autograph* may be an original in its own right. The second Latin translation seems an independent creation precisely because of the freedom the translator took towards the source authorship. Ignatius was elected head of the Society of Jesus, but only after refusing to have this function automatically; he mingled with the group that had come from Paris as among equals,[33] and immersion in a community that became the Society of Jesus in 1539 also meant sharing the authorship of its originating book. Frusius offers proof

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[31] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 255–256.

[32] Ibid., 229.

[33] On the discussions concerning Ignatius' role as a founder of the Society of Jesus see Dominique Bertrand, *La politique de Saint Ignace de Loyola, Analyse Sociale* (Paris: Éditions Cerf, 1985); André Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, tr. Maura Daly, Joan Daly, and Carson Daly (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987); Javier Osuna, *Friends in the Lord: A Study in the Origins and Growth of Community in the Society of Jesus from St Ignatius' Conversion to the Earliest Texts of the Constitutions (1521–1541)*, tr. Nicholas King (London: The Way, 1974).

of this by making an interpretation of the text, as shown above, translating with much freedom of movement.

The authorship of the text is not diminished by ignoring its author when bringing it to the public, but puts the emphasis on the actual text and its universal aspirations rather than on the person of Ignatius. The translation of the *Spiritual Exercises* into Latin was part of a process of "objectifying" a personal experience that thus became the core of a book of spiritual life for universal application. Hence the *Spiritual Exercises* became, from the spiritual diary of a single man, the spiritual manual of an entire community.

The research reported here contributes both to better understanding the relationships between the first Jesuits in the light of the process of translating their fundamental text and highlights some of the extra-textual factors that were actively involved in the translation of the Spiritual Exercises. Further studies could focus on the extent to which the *Vulgata* is a translation of the Spanish *Autograph* or a rewriting of the Latin *Versio Prima*, as well as compiling a full overview of the scholastic and patristic phrases employed by Frusius.

ALKÍMIA OPERATIVA **AND** *ALKÍMIA SPECULATIVA* SOME MODERN CONTROVERSIES ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ALCHEMY

George-Florin Calian 🔋

> Scholasticism with its infinitely subtle argumentation,
> Theology with its ambiguous phraseology, Astrology,
> so vast and so complicated, arc only child's play in
> comparison with Alchemy.[1]

Spiritual Alchemy versus Chemistry

One branch of the historiography of alchemy interprets it as the ancestor of what is today called chemistry. The scholars that contribute to this conception usually come from scholarly fields that require training in chemistry, the history of science and technology or connected disciplines. The history of alchemy is studied as part of the history of science, as prc-chemistry or proto-science, accentuating the laboratory work aspect. Another approach, an almost antithetic posture, comprises a wide range of nuances in interpreting alchemy under a relatively common comprehension that I would label "spiritual alchemy."[2] From this perspective it is considered that alchemy can be seen as part of religious behavior (TVIircea Eliadc[3]), as a projection of psychological content of the level of matter (Carl Gustav Jung's atypical interpretation of alchemy in psychological

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[1] Albert Poisson quoted by John Read, *From Alchemy to Chemistry* (New York: Courier Dover Pubkcations, 1995), 73.

[2] I use the expression "spiritual alchemy" and not occult, philosophical or speculative alchemy because it is an established phrase that expresses speculative, esoteric, and non-laboratory practices. In this study "spiritual" is often a synonym for esoteric, hence it points to special knowledge of the ultimate principles that govern the physical and metaphysical realities. The knowledge of these realities is "spiritual" and implies more than laboratory research. Concerning the use of the phrase "spiritual alchemy," see, for example: Mark S. Morrisson, *Modern Alchemy: Occultism and the Emergence of the Atomic Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 135-183; Daniel Merkur, "The Study of Spiritual Alchemy: Mysticism, Gold-Making, and Esoteric Hermeneutics," *Ambix* 37 (1990): 35^-5; Hereward Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569A 622)* (Beriin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).

[3] Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

terms[4]), as part of Western esotericism (Antoine Faivre[5]), or even as a hermetic tradition (Julius Evola,[6] Titus Burckhardt[7]), or as a hermeneutic practice (Umberto Eco[8]). The immediate observation after such an enumeration might be that the history of alchemy lacks a methodology of its own and that the scholars who study it import the tools of their training. Emerging from the enumeration above, the complexity of alchemy has led to different definitions of it, making it relatively difficult to avoid the risk of a one-sided understanding.[9]

For the present inquiry[10] I will review the research of Jung and Eliade, representing of the spiritual alchemy position, and the critique of their theses by historians of science. William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe are the most recent influential scholars to reject the spiritual face of alchemy in the history of science. In this article I discuss the standpoint which argues that alchemy is the pre-history of chemistry and in addition some problematic approaches to the thesis that the essence of alchemy is its spiritual character.

Spiritual Alchemy

For Carl Gustav Jung, alchemy is not only part of the pre-history of chemistry, that is, not only laboratory work, but also an essential part of the history of psychology as the history of the discovery of the deep structure of the psyche

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[4] His research on alchemy can be found in *The Collected Works of Carl Gustav Jung,* 20 vols, (London: Routledge, 1981, first edition 1953) [Jung, *CW*], vol. 12: *Psychology and Alchemy*; vol. 13: *Alchemical Studies*; vol. 14: *Mysterium Conjunctionis.*

[5] The relation of alchemy to Western esotericism is analyzed by Antoine Faivre in several works. See especially his *Toison d'or et alchimie* (Milan: Archè, 1990) and *The Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1996).

[6] Julius Evola, *The Hermetic Tradition* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1995).

[7] Titus Burckhardt, *Alchemy, Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul* (London: Stuart and Watkins, 1967).

[8] Umberto Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 18–20. Eco does not refer explicitly to alchemy, but the principles of the hermetic tradition are seen as principles of hermeneutics. Also, Hereward Tilton understands the position of Eco as "the history of alchemy as the history of the interpretation of alchemy," see Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 18.

[9] There is also the obscure pseudo-research part of the Western esoteric industry, extended through theosophists, spiritualists, and New Age enthusiasts, an issue beyond the scope of this article.

[10] This study is based especially on the first chapter of my MA thesis, "Spiritual Alchemy and the Function of Image: *Coincidentia Oppositorum* in Michael Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens*" (Central European University, 2009).

and its unconscious. Jung emphasized the significance of the symbolic structure of alchemical texts, a structure that is understood as a way independent of laboratory research, as a structure *per se*. His works are peculiar pieces perceived from the perspective of the historiography of alchemy, since Jung interprets the symbolism of alchemy as a projection of internal developmental psychological stages. Using such hypotheses as a departure point, Jung analyzed the dreams of his patients through the symbolism of alchemy.

The science of alchemy thus reflects psychological content that is projected at the level of matter. In this interpretation, the *opus alchymicum* is a "reality" of the psyche, not of the physical world, as some alchemists believed. Jung operated with a distinction between laboratory and non-laboratory work. The last expression refers to secret knowledge, in a word, what is esoteric. The occult processes, according to Jung, were in fact part of the psychological transformation of the alchemist, and the laboratory work was the externalization of an internal state of the psyche.

These ideas in the historiography of alchemy offered an alternative for understanding the alchemical literature and the symbols it involves. In alchemical symbols, which have a mythological and religious character, one may find a mirror *par excellence* for psychic realities and access to the collective and personal unconscious:

> The personal unconscious, as defined by Jung, is a reservoir of disowned contents and processes which can be experienced as separable parts in normal space and time, and which have location. In the process of projection, the parts of the personal unconscious are experienced as existing 'in' the person, or they are projected 'out of' the person and 'into' another person.[11]

Jung's account emphasizes that there is a powerful connection between the end of alchemy and the rise of chemistry, and the borderline between these two disciplines separates the speculative and psychological features of alchemy from the positivist and scientific character of chemistry. The decline of speculative imagery in alchemy is closely linked with the development of the new science of chemistry. He considered that if the principles of alchemy were proved to be "an error" by chemistry, the spiritual aspect remained part of the psyche that "did not disappear."[12]

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[11] Nathan Schwartz-Salant, *The Mystery of Human Relationship: Alchemy and the Transformation of the Self* (London: Routledge, 1998), 4.
[12] Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 37.

One should observe that Jung's departure point in studying alchemy had a pragmatic feature; he did not merely hypothesize about it, but turned to alchemy after he studied the dreams of his patients. His activity as doctor is well-known and was important for psychological research on the unconscious, implicitly on its alchemical content. The theory of projection is central to his understanding of alchemy. To know the content of the unconscious one should study a projection, and, for Jung, alchemical texts were projections of psychological content. Therefore, his research has a positivistic character; he analyzed dreams with the help of alchemical texts in which he thought that one could see possible meanings of the dreams. He spent half of his life attempting to elucidate the content of alchemical texts. His work is recognized for extensive research on the body of alchemical texts; Jung also made important manuscript discoveries that are of great use for other branches of study in the historiography of alchemy.[13]

On the other hand, according to Eliade, alchemy is part of religious behavior and reflects "the behavior of primitive societies in their relation to Matter,"[14] and it is a way "to pierce through to the mental world which lies behind them."[15] In *The Forge and the Crucible: The Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, Eliade offers a theoretical background for understanding alchemy from the perspective of the history of religion. Alchemy is a spiritual technique and can be understood not as an important moment in the history of science but rather as a kind of religious phenomenon with its own particular rules: "alchemical experience and magico-religious experience share common or analogous elements."[16] Eliade points out that the essential transmutation of matter was the obsession of the alchemist: "to collaborate in the work of Nature, to help her to produce at an ever-increasing tempo, to change the modalities of matter – here … lies one of the key sources of alchemical ideology."[17]

Eliade does not insist wholly on the European climax of alchemical literature, as Jung does, but on different societies that developed alchemical thinking that is fundamentally different from chemical thinking in several ways: the search for

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[13] For example, the text attributed to Thomas Aquinas, *Aurora Consurgens*, was partially discovered by Jung in the monastery on Reichenau Island, Lake Constance. His collaborator later found complete manuscripts of the text in Paris, Bologna, and Venice; see Marie-Luise von Franz, *Alchemy: An Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1980), 177–178, and Eadem, Aurora consurgens: *A Document Attributed to Thomas Aquinas* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966).

[14] Eliade, *The Forge*, 7.

[15] Ibidem, 8.

[16] Ibidem, 165.

[17] Ibidem.

the philosopher's stone, a hyper-religious behavior; the "transmutation" of the individual, and so forth. For Eliade, "the alchemist is the brotherly savior of Nature"[18] and the *"opus alchymicum"* had profound analogies with mystic life."[19] In this regard, Eliade gave the example of a disciple of Paracelsus, who considered that the alchemist tasted the "first fruits of Resurrection in this life and had a foretaste of the Celestial Country."[20] In support of this view, Eliade speaks about *marriage*, *death*, and *the life of metals* as an essential part of alchemical practices.

Eliade's approach, seen as part of the development of the methodologies of religious studies, does not raise serious problems concerning the study of alchemy compared to Jung's research, where several critical questions have been raised, for example, how well can alchemical practice and dream activity be compared. My purpose here is not to discuss the suitability of such methods of the history of religions and psychology, but to argue that considering alchemy as only proto-science sets too narrow limitations.

Alchemy as Experimental Activity

Historians of science, for whom the core of alchemy resides particularly in laboratory work, have pointed out Jung's and Eliade's apparent "ignorance" of laboratory research. The critique of the spiritual and religious interpretation of alchemy formulated by William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe is an ordinary rejection coming from the field of the history of science. At the moment their thesis is relatively wide-spread among the historians of chemistry and also of alchemy. It may be described as an attempt to introduce a kind of exclusivist position (it can be called *eliminitavism*) into the field of scholarly research on alchemy, the assumption being that alchemy does not have a strong enough spiritual component to place it within the scope of the history of religion or similar fields of research. Through its laboratory practice, however, alchemy does have a proper place in the history of science. This position was strongly formulated in 1998 in a provocative article, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry: The Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake,"[21] and reinforced in 2001 with a second more substantial paper entitled

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[18] Ibidem,52

[19] Ibidem, 165.

[20] Ibidem, 166.

[21] William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry: The Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake," *Early Science and Medicine* 3 (1998): 32–65.

"Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy,"[22] which developed largely around the question about the reasons why the spiritual interpretation is not in agreement with historical reality.[23] In the latest edition of *The Cambridge History of Science*, Newman[24] fortifies their position revisiting the same ideas.

In *Alchemy vs. Chemistry*, Principe and Newman assert that there was no conceptual difference between alchemy and chemistry *(alchemia* and *chemia)* in the seventeenth century, that the usage of both terms creates "confusion among historians of science," and that it would be better to use the term *chemia* (chemistry) for the Early Modern period. The different terms do not refer to different disciplines and were used interchangeably. Since the two terms are not separated, they propose using the word chemistry in its archaic spelling (chymistry).[25]

Besides this terminological issue, the most striking claim is that there is almost no connection between early modern alchemy and the Western esoteric tradition. The apparent esoteric language can be decoded as referring to chemical research. Principe and Newman judge that the reception of alchemy as a discipline separate from chemistry devolves from inadequate constructions of its historical context that "consequently have little resemblance to the topic as known and practiced in the early modern period."[26] Their purpose is to "deny the validity of interpretations that artificially, unwarrantably, and most of all, ahistorically introduce a chasm between 'alchemy' and 'chemistry',"[27] discarding thus the idea that alchemy in the seventeenth century had broken off from chemistry;[28] they

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[22] William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," in *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT] Press, 2001), 345–431.

[23] Even though the topics of the articles are quite different, Principe and Newman deal with them together as a whole as references concerning their rejection of spiritual alchemy.

[24] William R. Newman, "From Alchemy to 'Chemistry,'" in *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Science*, ed. Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 497–517.

[25] See also Lawrence M. Principe, "A Revolution Nobody Noticed? Changes in Early Eighteenth-Century Chymistry," in *New Narratives in Eighteenth-Century Chemistry*, ed. Lawrence M. Principe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 1–22.

[26] William R. Newman, Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), xiii.

[27] Newman and Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," 417.

[28] In an earlier publication Principe also put forward the experimental character of alchemy, saying that "some phenomena described in alchemical texts – even those dealing with the *arcana maiora* – can be successfully reproduced in the modern chemical laboratory,"

consider alchemy as a phenomenon mainly bound to experimental activity. In the scholarship on alchemy this thesis has been received almost without significant reservations, as, for example: "It is therefore a healthy response for historians such as William R. Newman to remind us that alchemists were *chiefly* concerned with physical processes and material goals."[29]

An Ahistorical Approach

From a historiographical point of view and from a scholarly perspective, the most problematic issue in the Jungian approach is that he does not have a clearly defined historical approach. He puts together medieval and Renaissance alchemical ideas in an almost infra-historical understanding. His differentiation between medieval and Renaissance alchemy is seen as pointing to the difference between unconscious and conscious mystical implications of processes for an alchemist. He is not interested in the "history of alchemy" as part of historiography; for Jung, alchemy is a science that can stand in a way beyond its historical manifestation and its contextualization does not clarify too much concerning aspects of the cryptic symbols as androgyny or the animus–anima relation. This poses serious problems for historical approaches, because Jung "found no difficulty in linking together ideas from different times and cultures, and in viewing these ideas as arising, not from any specific historical conditions, but rather from underlying universal dispositions within the psyche itself."[30]

These issues were noted by Principe and Newman in their rejection of a psychological Jungian interpretation. Their approach – focused especially on early modern alchemy – follows, among others, the critique of art historian Barbara Obrist,[31] who, referring to medieval alchemy, claims that Jung's perspective is "a perspective which... had acquired the status of a self-evident truth and was no longer questioned by historians of alchemy."[32] Obrist considers that the Jungian conception "does not take into account the specific political, social and intellectual

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Lawrence M. Principe, *The Aspiring Adept: Robert Boyle and His Alchemical Quest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 161.

[29] Leah DeVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2009), 105. Emphasis mine.

[30] John James Clarke, *In Search of Jung: Historical and Philosophical Enquiries* (London: Routledge, 1992), 51.

[31] Barbara Obrist, *Les débuts de l'imagerie alchimique (14e–15e siècles)* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1982), 14–36.

[32] Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix:* 8

contexts of the periods and societies in which alchemy has functioned."[33] For her, as for almost all historians, "alchemy is not a trans-historical myth, but a construct which is culturally produced."[34] In this context, Principe and Newman build their argument not only on Obrist's critique of the Jungian approach, but also on the writings of Robert Halleux, an important historian of medieval alchemy who had similar ideas about Jung's interpretation.[35] It should be noted that this critique does not fully undermine Jungian research, taking into account that his purpose was almost totally different from that of a historian.

Victorian Occultism and Spiritual Alchemy

For Principe and Newman, the research done by Jung and Eliade should not be considered as part of scholarly research, as they "were directly influenced by late nineteenth-century occultism."[36] Consequently "in spite of their origins outside of properly historical studies,"[37] the theses of spiritual alchemy "have all permeated the historiography of alchemy to such an extent that many historians have adopted them without being aware of either their origins or their unsuitability."[38] Therefore, the understanding of alchemy as basically spiritual, distinct from "chemistry," is "an ahistorical formulation which postdates the early modern period and was fully developed only in the context of nineteenth-century occultism."[39]

After a review of the history of the spiritual interpretation of alchemy by authors such as Mary Anne Atwood (1817–1910), Ethan Allen Hitchcock (1798–1870), and Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942) as representatives of the esoteric school which impacted equally on "the general and the learned perceptions of historical alchemy," Principe and Newman consider that writers such as Julius Evola (1898–1974) and Titus Burckhardt (1908–1984) "extended the movement through the twentieth century."[40] In this context, "the prevalence of the esoteric interpretation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries seems to have had even greater indirect effects"[41] on modern research on alchemy. Thus "the

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[33] Ibidem.
[34] Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light. Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden: Brill 2000), 10.
[35] Newman and Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," 406.
[36] Ibidem, 417.
[37] Ibidem.
[38] Ibidem.
[39] Ibidem, 400.
[40] Ibidem, 396.
[41] Ibidem, 400.

currency of the notion of an internal alchemy whose goal was the transformation of the soul cannot have failed to influence the construction formulated by Carl Gustav Jung, with which it shares an emphasis on psychic states and spiritual self-development."[42]

An element that Principe and Newman use to reinforce their arguments against Eliade, and in consequence against the spiritual alchemy hypothesis, is, as in the rejection of Jung, marked with biographical elements. They sustain the peculiar idea that "in his student years, he was a devotee of Rudolph Steiner's 'Anthroposophy'," and for this reason, Eliade was closer to a spiritual (theosophist?) understanding of alchemy. While in the case of Jung the biographical element might have some kind of relevance (indeed, Jung had been involved in some spiritualist sessions in his youth), in the case of Eliade it seems that the biographical element is only a bibliographical issue, mandatory for someone dealing with the history of religion.[43]

The Limitations of the Proto-science Thesis

Researching alchemy through the eyes of only analytical psychology or the history of religion has its limits. The attempt to fully explain that the perception of alchemy as a spiritual discipline was "developed only in the context of nineteenth-century occultism" because the alchemist himself was not aware of the spiritual character of his research, however, gives rise to many methodological problems.

What makes the ideas of Principe and Newman not fully justified? First, their attitude seems to be dramatically inflexible in the rejection of spiritual alchemy, which is difficult to sustain in the case of many alchemical texts as, for example, *Aurora Consurgens,* the *Ripley Scroll* or authors such as Michael Maier

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[42] Ibidem.

[43] Newman, Principe, "Some Problems in the Historiography of Alchemy," 404. They also revisit the idea in Newman, Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire,* 36, where they affirm that: "Eliade [was] immersed in the anthroposophy of Rudolph Steiner." Here is not the place to critique the easy manner of making this kind of assumption without bibliographical references, but I add only that, indeed, Eliade read several books by Steiner, Mircea Eliade, *Autobiography: 1907–1937. Journey East – Journey West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 86, and "during his university years… acquired an interest in Anthroposophy… for its combination of the spiritual and the logical in its approach to religious material," David Cave, *Mircea Eliade's Vision for a New Humanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7, but still he was by no means ever "devoted to" or "immersed in" it. Also, close readings of his *Autobiography* and *Journal* clearly show his reserved attitude towards anthroposophy.

or Jakob Böhme, to name only some works and authors that cannot fit into the thesis of those two historians of science. Their manner of presentation is fallacious; they assert that Jung was a kind of "victim" of the occultism of the nineteenth century. There are extensive studies on Jung, out of which they chose to use a bizarre book as their authority, that of Richard Noll, *The Jung Cult*, which rather comes from tabloid literature than from the academic world.[44] Much of their thesis concerning the Jungian conception of alchemy is based on "Richard Noll's fundamental study,"[45] and also on an additional volume by Noll, offensively entitled *The Aryan Christ*, on the cult that developed around Jung.[46]

Principe and Newman assert that the conceptions of Jung and Eliade are disseminated through a "common perception" of alchemy. I would argue the contrary, namely, that it is difficult to understand how a Jungian image-archetype works and what a psychological interpretation of alchemical stages presupposes with the tools of "common perception." Also, it is improbable that Eliade's suggestion that the alchemist tried to recreate at the level of matter the primordial conditions when God created the world is so widespread in the common perception of alchemy. The "common perception" is of "medieval zealots rummaging through ancient books and scrolls in dark hot basements, seeking the secrets of transmutation in the dim firelight of brick furnaces and archaic laboratory equipment."[47] The alchemist in ordinary perception is a man of the laboratory and only a few are familiar with the writings of Eliade or Jung. Only through esotericism or the traditionalist theses of Evola or Burchardt has the spiritual and hermetic interpretation of alchemy been spread. What is important, and Principe and Newman did not note when claiming that Eliade and Jung are victims of the occult interpretation, is that Evola and Burckhardt rejected the Jungian thesis.[48] The Jungian concept is not acceptable for the esoteric school because of his psychological reading of alchemy, which somehow left alchemy without its metaphysical components and placed it in the psyche, as a product of

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[44] Richard Noll, *The Jung Cult* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[45] Newman and Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," 404.

[46] Richard Noll, *The Aryan Christ* (New York: Random House, 1997), 25–30, 37–41. Both of Noll's books support the idea that Jung believed to be himself an "Aryan Jesus" and that he could be compared with pseudo-spiritual leaders such as David Koresh or Jim Jones. These types of comparisons are irrelevant for scholarly research and instead give the discussion an overall vulgar and proselytizing tone.

[47] Morrisson, *Modern Alchemy*, 3.

[48] Evola considered that Jung was too modern and scientific in his psychological approach, see Evola, *The Hermetic Tradition*, 97; Burckhardt, also an adept of tradition, rejected the psychological interpretation of alchemy, see Burckhardt, *Alchemy*, 8.

it. Therefore, it is not esoteric knowledge that has its root in a transcendent reality. For religious and esoteric temperaments Jung is too positivist in approaching religion, and for the scientist he is too spiritual in approaching the history of science. However, Jung seems to have been caught up in the pseudo-spiritual movements typical of New Age adepts who are militant for syncretism, the theory of synchronicity (also elaborated by Jung), and ultra-spiritual attitudes. Jung's perspective as part of New Age spirituality, with its integration of alchemical symbolism, is nevertheless a misunderstanding and crude simplification of his thesis. Research on Jung is currently in decline, to the extent that some aspects of his theory of archetypes have been ridiculed and considered inappropriate for research on the nature of the psyche. As I argue in this paper, Jung's contribution to understanding the emergence of science in the early modern period has been increasingly overshadowed. The unfortunate consequence of this leads to disregarding a massive intellectual effort to make sense of the dynamics of symbols in alchemy.

Hereward Tilton, a scholar whose research is mainly focused on Michael Maier and early modern alchemy, scrutinizing the thesis of Principe and Newman, considers that there are "a number of methodological and factual errors in their analyses."[49] Tilton underscores that they are not so accurate in the review of Jungian reception, underlining that Robert Halleux, one of the authors on the basis of which Principe and Newman rejected Jung, eulogized "Jung's scrupulous adherence to the fruits of erudition concerning the dating and authorship of texts"[50] and "contrary to Principe and Newman, Halleux's opinions on the matter of medieval alchemy are diametrically opposed to those of Obrist."[51] Tilton considers that "the misappropriation of Halleux by Principe and Newman could be explained as a simple matter of error in translation."[52] Tilton rightfully adds that in reading Principe and Newman, "newcomers to the subject are liable to gain a false impression concerning the acceptability of certain conceptions in the academic milieu."[53] Therefore,

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[49] Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 10.
[50] Ibidem.
[51] Ibidem. Tilton emphasizes that, commenting on the texts of pseudo-Arnoldus de Villanova, Halleux talked about a "close connection of religion with alchemy in the medieval period," while Obrist (in *Le Debuts*, 21) says that "nothing allows us to speculate on the religiosity of an author when he uses a consciously rhetorical process."
[52] Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 11.
[53] Ibidem.

if we follow Principe and Newman in counterposing a positively valued 'correct chemical analysis' carried out by 'serious historians of alchemy' with a negatively valued 'analysis of unreason', we not only run the risk of committing a violence against the texts at hand, but we also perform a disservice to contemporary scholarship on the subject of alchemy.[54]

To subsume alchemy in chemistry seems to be the greatest difficulty in accepting Principe–Newman's position. In this regard, Tilton argues against their misconception, that alchemy is "a subject study in the field of the history of Western esotericism," and, as a corollary, "the term 'alchemy' becomes entirely indispensable."[55] If Jung's distinction between "spiritual" alchemy and "physical" chemistry, also used by modern writers on the history of Western esotericism, is fallacious, as Principe and Newman are trying to argue, than all contemporary studies on Western esotericism should review the subject of their studies, and, also, alchemy should not be within the purview of religious studies.

Alkimia Speculativa

Despite the campaign of Principe and Newman, the distinction is still used at the moment in scholarly research: "it is now clear that alchemy was a scientifically and spiritually serious pursuit."[56] Or, in a different tone, alchemy

> in the sixteenth century promised much more than producing gold from base metals. The successful alchemist gained control of life's forces and uncovered secret wisdom – the essence of all truths and religions.[57]

I suggest that a more moderate thesis, such as that of Bruce T. Moran, a historian of chemistry who argues that alchemists and early chemists switched thoughts and methods until alchemy gradually lost its spiritual or religious aspect and became chemistry at the time of the so-called scientific revolution,[58] is more practical and proper for studying this ambiguous discipline that is alchemy. The statement is close to Eliade's suggestion that chemistry "was born from

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[54] Ibidem.

[55] Ibidem, 2.

[56] Morrisson, *Modern Alchemy*, 3.

[57] Sally Metzler, "Artists, Alchemists and Mannerists in Courtly Prague," in *Art and Alchemy*, ed. Jacob Wamberg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 131.

[58] Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (London: Harvard University Press, 2005).

the disintegration of the ideology of alchemy,"[59] or Charles Webster's similar thought, that there is "an almost perfect correlation between the rise of science and the decline of magic."[60]

Nevertheless, the roots of the spiritual/laboratory distinction can be found in medieval alchemy and not only in nineteenth century occultism, as Principe and Newman suggested. Roger Bacon, in chapter XII of *Opus tertium* (1267),[61] seems to be one of the earliest alchemical authors who made the distinction between *alkimia operativa et practica* and *alkimia speculativa.*[62] The first was dedicated to a mundane purpose, the making of gold, for example, while the latter was the true *scientia*, metaphysical knowledge. An early description by Petrus Bonus of Ferrara in *Pretiosa margarita novella* (1330) stands as another testimony for the fact that it was not only a chemical discipline; it supports the idea that alchemy had a double character – it was a *science* (the mundane facet), but also a *donum Dei* (a supernatural facet). In this context Petrus connected *lapis* with Christ, which means a *lapis divinus.*[63] In the Renaissance, the distinction became sharper than in the Middle Ages, and one sees an abundance of speculative alchemical literature, up to the point that it lost any kind of contact with laboratory realities.

The conception of alchemy as a discipline that only precedes chemistry and is "quite alien to the image of alchemists as primarily seekers of a *unio mystica*"[64] is almost scandalous, considering the fact that there are many authors who called themselves alchemists, such as Vilanova, Ripley, Fludd, Maier, and others, who had an obsession with *unio mystica*. For this reason it is hard to accept that spiritual alchemy has "very little reference to the historical reality of the subject,"[65] and to try to reduce the whole massive speculative alchemical corpus to only chemical research would create serious methodological problems, leaving

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[59] Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, 9.

[60] Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

[61] Roger Bacon, "Opus tertium," in Roger Bacon, *Opera quædam hactenus inedita. I Opus tertium, II. Opus minus, III. Compendium philosophiæ* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859), 39–40.

[62] *Alkimia speculativa, quae speculatur de omnibus inanimatis et tota generatione rerum ab elementis... alkimia operativa et practica, quae docet facere metalla nobilia, et colores, et alia multa melius et copiosius per artificium, quam per naturam fiant.* Roger Bacon also speaks of a *medicina* of metals that is also a *medicina* of the body, an elixir of life. *Medicina* thus became the ultimate way of making perfectible things.

[63] Leah DeVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time*, 109.

[64] Newman, Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire*, 38.

[65] Ibidem, 37.

essential compounds of alchemy unresolved and developing a research trend based on false premises.

Conversely, Principe and Newman, in a book published in 2002, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire*, revised their opinion to a certain extent; they claim that they do not "deny that alchemy is replete with a singular lushness of symbolism and overlapping levels of meaning or that it presents important resonances with religious speculations."[66] But, this does not mean that "alchemy is nothing but the manipulation of such symbolism or texts without reference to laboratory activities."[67] This supposition is somehow appropriate, but with serious exceptions, especially in cases where alchemy is connected with cabala,[68] with moral life,[69] spiritual life,[70] divine inspiration, the similitude theory of sympathy and correspondences between what is down and what is above or, in Michael Maier's case, with musical fugues. This religious and esoteric spider-web is

> because Renaissance alchemy believed that the changes in the external world moved in parallel with those in the soul, as throughout the occult sciences – cosmology, psychology, astrology, numerology – a continuous two-level model is used.[71]

During the Renaissance many alchemists were also physicians, and they were under the influence of Paracelsian medicine, a medical-alchemical conception that was closer to a sacred than a secular understanding of the body. The mystical conception of the body linked alchemy strongly with Christianity. Szulakowska[72] has shown that Christian eschatology was an intimate part of alchemy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and Tilton has concluded that

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[66] Ibidem.

[67] Ibidem.

[68] Many relations of alchemical imagery with cabala, theological discourse, and Christ-Anthropos are thoroughly analyzed in Urszula Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[69] "After all, the alchemical operation was to be valid also for them; it was a religious function requiring of the alchemist a pure, often ascetic life," Thomas Steven Molnar, *God and the Knowledge of Reality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 86.

[70] For example, the acrostic of Basile Valentin present in many alchemical emblems and cited in many alchemical treatises: V.I.T.R.I.O.L. (*Visita Interiora Terrae Rectificando Invenies Occultum Lapidem.* "Visit the interior of the earth and by rectifying find the hidden stone"), beside its possible connection with the matter, has an important spiritual meaning, a *descensus ad inferos*, which may be linked with "saturnine melancholy" and the symbolism from Durer's *Melancolia*; see more in Eliade, *The Forge*, 162.

[71] Brian Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 129.

[72] Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, passim.

"there exists an ideological congruence in the history of esotericism pertaining to matters of alchemy."[73] Thus, the emphasis on the laboratory side of alchemy cannot completely uncover the complicated state of Renaissance alchemy and the obvious influence of Neoplatonism, cabala or any other type of spiritual science. Accordingly, the questions that are reached by Western esotericism

> cannot be fully answered on basis of the objective or positivistic techniques of traditional approaches to the history of science. We also need help from religious studies and historical anthropology. The concept of self-fashioning also seems useful, leading us, to some extent, to the territory of psychology as well.[74]

Therefore, is alchemy part of the history of science or part of Western esotericism? Or of both? In order to suggest a reply and to express my serious reservations on the Principe–Newman thesis, I will briefly review further, as case studies, the alchemical ideas of two complementary figures of alchemical literature: Michael Maier (1552/1576–1612), an alchemist who over-spiritualized his discipline, and Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), a mystic who alchemized his mysticism.

Almost the entire opus of Maier falls under the rubric of the spiritual understanding of alchemy. First of all, Maier, "the most prominent alchemical physician in Germany since Paracelsus,"[75] followed a tendency developed by Melchior Cibinensis, to make alchemy a religion. In *Processus sub forma missae* (1525),[76] published in 1602 in *Theatrum Chemicum III*, Melchior[77] took the transubstantiation of the bread and wine in Christianity as a replica for alchemical transmutation. In *Symbola aureae mensae duodecim nationum* (1617), Maier published: "a defense and legitimization of the alchemical tradition with the practitioners of twelve nations,"[78] a work considered sometimes its *magnum opus* – the alchemical mass of

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[73] Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 253.

[74] György E. Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2004), xiii.

[75] Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology, and Rituals of an Esoteric Order* (York Beach: Weiser Books, 1988), 32.

[76] See Farkas Gábor Kiss, Benedek Láng, Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "The Alchemical Mass of Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis: Text, Identity and Speculations," *Ambix* 53 (2006): 143–159.

[77] His identity is still a controversial topic. See the chapter *The Identity of Nicolaus Melchior* in Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 2008), 158–161; Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 40; Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 396.

[78] Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 139.

Melchior. But Maier added to Melchior's mass an illustration made by Matthieu Merian depicting an alchemical mass, copied from the Roman Catholic one with elements of the Book of Revelation.[79] It is assumed that even if Melchior did not want to identify the *lapis philosophorum* with Christ in his alchemical mass, Maier clearly did.[80] In this framework, the highly marked religious character of Melchior's and Maier's alchemy is clear. And these are not unique examples: "Fludd, Boehme and Franckenberg regarded the Eucharist as a metaphysical type of chemical process" as well.[81]

In a better-known work published in the same period, *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617), Maier completed his spiritual understanding of alchemy with "more overt references to the alchemical sacrament," connecting this with "both the sacrament of Baptism and also that of the Eucharist."[82] This book deserves special attention in order to dispell doubts concerning the spiritual character of alchemy. It is the first alchemical *Gesamtkunstwerk* that comprises music, images, poetry, and prose together in one piece. As is stressed on the frontispiece of the book, all the senses are involved in contact with this treatise: *partim oculis et inteflectui… partim auribus et recreationi… videnda, legenda, meditanda, intelligenda, dijudicanda, canenda et audienda.* In this respect, *Atalanta* is a book that requires a rather contemplative exercise and which seems to lack a direct connection with laboratory work, "providing a series of meditations on the spiritual significance of alchemy."[83] The use of myths in *Atalanta* and in Maier's other works, like *Arcana Arcanissima* (1614),[84] as analogies for alchemical realities – one of Maier's attempts was to reconstruct the entire mythical space through alchemical principles – developed a kind of alchemy that chose a mythological reading of alchemy and an alchemical reading of mythology.

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[79] For a comprehensive commentary on this peculiar illustration and its contextualization see Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 41–44.

[80] Ibidem, 43.

[81] Ibidem, 54.

[82] Ibidem.

[83] Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light. Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration*, 156.

[84] This is his first published book that can be considered an immersion in Classical mythology in order to make sense of it with the help of alchemy. Here one can see Maier's incipient interest in mythology and hermetism, the book being "a combination of scientific and hermetic research with a particular sensitivity to literature, humanistic rhetoric, and classical mythology, often treated satirically," see György E. Szőnyi, "Occult Semiotics and Iconology: Michael Maier's Alchemical Emblems" in *Mundus Emblematicus: The Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, ed. Karl Enenkel and Arnoud Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 304.

This is referred to in scholarly literature as *Mythoalchemie*.[85] One can see that Maier's aim was not only to underline the alchemical character of religion, but also that of mythology. Later, Jacob Tollius (1626–1696), philologist and alchemist, in a book published in the same year as Newton's *Principia* (1687), asserts a similar thought that the true meaning of myths is related to alchemy.[86]

But, the most striking thing is not the ultra-spiritualization of alchemy through the sacraments or the alchemical hermeneutics of myth, but the introduction of musical scores in *Atalanta* as part of alchemical science.[87] There is no testimony from the author himself concerning the choice of the musical scores, one can only make hypotheses.[88] One can say that the musical scores must serve a religious and magical purpose since music, especially fugues, because of the rules of counterpoint,[89] rely in the highest way on carefully thought-out mathematical and metaphysical principles.[90]

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[85] See Friedmann Harzer, "*Arcana Arcanissima:* Emblematik und Mythoalchemie bei Michael Maier" in *Polyvalenz und Multifunktionalität der Emblematik/Multivalence and Multifunctionality of the Emblem*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and Dietmar Peil (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 319–332.

[86] Jacob Tollius, *Fortuita: In quibus, præter critica nonnulla, tota fabularis historia Græca, Phoenicia, Ægyptiaca, ad chemiam pertinere asseritur* (Amsterdam: Jansson-Waesberg, 1687). The book has no reference to Maier's *Atalanta* or *Arcana arcanissima*.

[87] There are important studies on the musical scores from *Atalanta fugiens*, for example: Christoph Meinel, "Alchemie und Musik," in *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Christoph Meinel (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 201–227. Franz Liessem, *Musik und Alchemie* (Tützing: H. Schneider, 1969). Another study concerns the relation between the musical fugues and alchemy of David Yearsley, "Alchemy and Counterpoint in an Age of Reason," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1998): 201–243, unfortunately Maier's book is not so discussed. I think that the question of Maier's musical education is still unresolved. The problem is more delicate taking into account that his fugues were compared with the high level of Bach's fugues.

[88] The hypotheses are that the music was performed at the court of Rudolf II; as an accessory for laboratory practice; as part of a theatrical play, and so forth. The following presumption is notable for laboratory practice: "Maier intended these alchemical 'incantations' to be sung by an alchemic choir at critical moments during the concoction of Philosopher's Stone, under the simultaneous influences of prayer and the heavenly bodies," Read, *From Alchemy*, 73. One could say that its function is similar to that of talismans.

[89] "One of the most challenging exercises in counterpoint," see: Joscelyn Godwin, "The Deepest of the Rosicrucians. Michael Maier (1569–1622)" in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment Revisited*, ed. Ralph White (Hudson: Lindisfarne Books, 1999), 120.

[90] An important study on the magic of music is Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Unfortunately, Tomlinson did not take into account the musical scores of *Atalanta*.

Each musical score has three melodic lines, where Maier notes at the beginning:
— *Atalanta seu vox fugiens* (first voice)
— *Hippomenes seu vox sequens* (second voice)
— *Pomum obiectum seu vox morans* (third voice)

Every voice symbolically corresponds to the volatility, flightiness, and fugitiveness of Mercury (Atalanta), Sulphur's virtue (Hippomenes), and Salt (the golden and delaying apples of the Hesperides).[91] Also, these melodic lines match the triad: spirit – soul – body. Atalanta can stand for Nature and for Alchemy herself, while Hippomenes is the alchemist desiring to understand Nature or the science of alchemy. Through the golden apples of the Hesperides, the alchemical Salt, Maier illustrated the way to catch Mercury (Atalanta), which is in eternal polarity with Sulphur (Hippomenes).

The parallelism of the alchemical triad with the myth of Atalanta seems to be interpreted in diverse ways by different scholars. For example, Lyndy Abraham says that Sulphur is symbolized by the golden apples.[92] If one assumes this, then the music also should be thought of in another way: *cantus firmus* would not be only *pomum morans*. I would argue that Maier's alchemical conception is illustrated in the structure of the music. The relation of Mercury and Sulphur (as a unity of opposites) with the third element, which is Salt, apparently expresses his Paracelsian[93] understanding and the way in which an alchemist should research the spiritual and natural levels, and, even more, how to achieve the Great Work.[94]

If, for Maier, the ultra-spiritual character of alchemy is more than evident, in Böhme's work one can say that it is almost the other way around, at first sight

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[91] Carolien Eijkelboom, "Alchemical Music by Michael Maier," in *Alchemy Revisited*, ed. Z. R. W. M. von Martels (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1990), 98.
[92] Lyndy Abraham, *A Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 13.
[93] Paracelsus attached a new conception about matter to the Aristotelian four elements – *tria principia* or *tria prima* – adding two medieval principles of matter (sulfur and mercury) and a third element, which is salt, with an enormous influence on alchemy.
[94] One of the modern editors of *Atalanta*, Joscelyn Godwin, converted the fifty canons into modern score notations, see Joscelyn Godwin, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens (1617). An Edition of the Fugues, Emblems and Epigrams* (Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 22) (Grand Rapids MI: Phanes Press, 1989). The edition, now a rarity, was published in 250 copies with a seventy-minute recording of the complete canons. A reviewer of the edition compared the recording with Machaut, Gesualdo, and Stravinsky; Douglas Leedy, "Atalanta Fugiens: An Edition of the Fugues, Emblems and Epigrams by Michael Maier; Joscelyn Godwin," *Notes* 47, No. 3 (1991): 737.

it seems that he used alchemical language for a purpose that is beyond alchemy – the spirituality of the world. In other words, if for Maier alchemy was the ultimate science, for Böhme it was mediation to mysticism. In several works he used alchemical principles and symbols without hesitation to demonstrate theological realities. Borrowing alchemical terminology in order to explain religious and mystical frameworks, Böhme assumed that alchemical language is not only a metaphor for laboratory research. Alchemy is a metaphysical science because he understood that matter is contaminated with spirit.

The deeply mystical and alchemical character of Böhme's work is not so obvious for Principe and Newman, who claim that:

> Even if Böhme's work were taken as evidence of the 'spiritual alchemy' promoted by esoterics and occultists, it would remain to be proven by historical argument that he falls into the mainstream of early modern alchemical thought, and that extrapolations about alchemy in general could be reliably or usefully made from him.[95]

For a historian it is perhaps the hardest and most challenging task to prove the non-alchemical-spiritual character of Böhme's work. It is questionable whether it is representative of early modern alchemical thought, especially because of its esoteric and mystical extravagance concerning the conception of nature at a time when "positivist" alchemical thinking was becoming increasingly popular. One can say that a mystic like Böhme fits, and at the same time does not fit, in the "the mainstream of early modern alchemical thought," and surely his work does not fit, as I will argue below, in the scope of the tendencies of chemical thought as conceptualized by Principe and Newman.[96]

It is generally accepted by scholars that the Paracelsian conception of "the healing purposes of alchemy" had "considerable significance" in Böhme's corpus.[97] In *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (1612), one of his first works, Böhme claims in a subchapter called "The Gate of the Highest Depth of the Life of the Tincture" "that neither the doctor, nor the alchemist, hath the ground

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[95] Newman and Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," 399.

[96] One can see that the Early Modern period has two strong opposite tendencies, more or less well expressed: an esoteric and mystical one, and an experimental and positivist one that sometimes agree with each other (e.g., Böhme versus Boyle), or overlap (e.g., Athanasius Kircher or Newton). But even so, the gap between chemical thought and alchemy is too profound to research them with the same methodology.

[97] Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany: SUNY press, 1991), 50.

of the tincture, unless he is born again in the spirit."[98] Here it is clearly assumed that the research conducted by the alchemist only in the laboratory, like a mere metallurgist, without any spiritual aim, remains profane and meaningless. And this is not a unique case in Böhme's corpus. Another example of his confidence in alchemy can be found in *De Signatura Rerum* (1621), which abounds in examples of alchemical imagery, speaking about all things (the sun, the elements or all creatures) as a revelation of eternity.

In a later work, *Mysterium Magnum* (1623), an interpretation of the Book of Genesis, Boehme discusses the relation of alchemy to mystical experience. One can see "Boehme's alchemical understanding of salvation"[99] where he translates his anthropological theology into alchemical language. For example, for Böhme,

the true Adamic man whom God made out of the Earth-matrix in whom stands the covenant and gift is similar to a tincture in coarse lead; the tincture consumes in itself, through its own desire, the coarseness of the lead as the coarse Saturn, kills the saturnine will, leads his own will, understood as the tincture-will and selfhood up into lead and through the lead is transformed into gold.[100]

For Arlene A. Miller, the interpretation of this fragment in a spiritual framework does not raise significant problems: "What this passage means is simply that lead or Saturn, here used synonymously… through a tincturing process, here associated with the love and grace of God, become gold, the reborn sinner."[101] Miller added that here Böhme should not be interpreted merely through the Eckhartian *unio mystica*,[102] but rather close to alchemical realities: "it is akin only to the alchemical conception of a gross metal losing its gross accidental properties to a new spiritual core of gold within the gross metal, a new metal which emerges through fire and the tincturing process."[103] Böhme is unable to see only *vulgar* and material realities in alchemical processes. Everything is linked until the moment when doing alchemy is the same thing as doing theology:

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[98] Jakob Böhme, *Concerning the Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (London: John M. Watkins, 1910), 207.

[99] Arlene A. Miller, "The Theologies of Luther and Boehme in the Light of Their Genesis Commentaries," *The Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970): 278.

[100] *Mysterium Magnum; oder Erklärung über das erste Buch Mosis in Theosophia Revelata...* (Hamburg, 1715), chapter 51, in Miller, "The Theologies of Luther and Boehme," 278.

[101] Ibidem.

[102] I suppose that here Miller emphasizes the priority of the transmutation more than the transcendence of the matter in Boehme's alchemical thought.

[103] Ibidem.

the sun gives its tincture to the metallic essence and the metallic essence gives its desire to the sun's tincture so that out of these two a beautiful gold is born... the same spiritual essence is the inner, new man, as a new house or residence of the soul in which it [the soul] lives in accordance with the heavenly world.[104]

Understanding alchemy as a mirror for mysticism can be found from the beginning, in his first book, *Aurora* (1612). At this time, discussing the notion of *Salitter*, it is assumed, as in *De signatura rerum*, that there are two complementary layers: a transcendent and a corrupt *Salitter*. These two forms were "idealized by Böhme to represent the duality of the pure and the spoiled divine substance."[105] As a corollary, the "entire work" consists of these two realities, holy and earthly, each of them a representation of eternity. This is why, for Böhme, alchemy is a sign, a divine mark, of the sacred reality, and can be understood as a metaphysical discipline.

The most representative example of the presence of a spiritual understanding of alchemy is exactly where one would expect, least. Isaac Newton's (1643–1727) manuscripts provide evidence that he gave considerable thought to alchemy as emblematic of a purely scientific explanation of nature and was in fact deeply involved in conceiving alchemy as spiritual. Next to Eirenaeus Philalethes (George Starkey, d. 1665), Michael Sendivogius (1556–1636), and Jan de Monte Snyder, Michael Maier was one of Newton's preferred alchemists, *authores optimi*.[106] Newton believed that alchemical writings "if properly interpreted, would reveal the wisdom handed down by God in the distant past."[107] Like Maier himself, he considered that there "was a close connection between spiritual and experimental domains."[108] Newton "seems to have been particularly interested,"[109] in Maier; the "interest in Maier's writings also supports the view... that his alchemy cannot be seen solely in connection with his chemical experiments but was also a link between his religious beliefs and his scientific aims."[110] One of Newton's earliest

[104] *Mysterium Magnum*, chapter 52 in Miller, "The Theologies of Luther and Boehme," 295.
[105] See Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography*, 67.
[106] I. Bernard Cohen and George E. Smith, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Newton*, ed. I. Bernard Cohen and George Edwin Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] Ibidem.
[109] Frances Amelia Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2002), 256.
[110] Cf. Karin Figala, "Newton's Alchemy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Newton*, ed. I. Bernard Cohen and George Edwin Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 375.

manuscripts, from about 1669, includes extracts from an important book by Maier, *Symbola Aureae Mensae* (Keynes MS 29).[111] As Yates noted, "Newton had entered that world of Maier's alchemical revival, had studied the alchemical sources which it brought together, and had pored over the strange expression of its outlook in the alchemical emblems."[112]

Like Maier, who saw an alchemical discourse in mythology, Böhme considered that all sciences (i.e., the traditional and esoteric disciplines, such as cabala) speak about the same mystical reality. Considering the fact that Böhme's insight into alchemical terminology seems to be that of someone who knows this discipline well, it is hard to presuppose that his speculation concerning the mystical character of alchemy is unfounded. Even Principe, discussing the notion of *Salitter* in Böhme's work, agrees that Böhme "demonstrates knowledge of both theoretical and practical alchemy," and his "notion of the *Salitter* bridges the gulf between Hermetic naturalism and mechanistic science."[113] As a result, I agree with Andrew Weeks, who considered that "Böhme's own approach to alchemy stressed its spiritual allegory."[114]

Of course, there are differences in the perception of the spirituality of alchemy. If for Maier alchemy is the ultimate speculative and spiritual discipline, for Böhme it is a tool to create analogies with his mystic theology, while Newton saw in alchemy the possibility of understanding the divine plan. Maybe there was no unitary understanding of alchemy as spiritual, but it is sure that, in the light of this spiritual feature, a pure empirical approach was insufficient. As I have argued until now, one should seriously take into consideration Paracelsus' assertion that

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[111] Ibidem, 374–375. The manuscript Keynes Ms. 32 also contains the abstracts of five works by Maier (from the early 1690s), one of which is *Atalanta fugiens*, see *Newton Manuscript Catalogue*. For more information see John Harrison, *The Library of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 188–189 and Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 122–123.

[112] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 257.

[113] Lawrence M. Principe and Andrew Weeks, "Jacob Boehme's Divine Substance Salitter: Its Nature, Origin, and Relationship to Seventeenth Century Scientific Theories," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 22 (1989): 61. I cannot comment on whether one can see here a contradiction between assuming Böhme's "knowledge of both theoretical and practical alchemy" and the later consideration that "it would remain to be proven by historical argument that he [Böhme] falls into the mainstream of early modern alchemical thought." See Newman and Principe, "Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy," 399.

[114] Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography*, 193.

"the discipline's worth is to be evaluated in terms which have nothing to do with the ennobling of metals."[115]

Concluding Remarks

It is not the purpose of this study to defend or to support Jung's and Eliade's research, but I certainly would like to emphasize the arbitrary character of labeling alchemy as primarily a scientific and positivistic inquiry. The argument of Principe and Newman that alchemy is not as spiritual as one would suppose is not consistent and it is also based on controversial biographical features of Jung and Eliade. As I have argued, however, Principe's and Newman' sources do not have academic relevance for either the life or scientific research of Jung and Eliade.

My suggestion is not that the Jung–Eliade thesis could perfectly account for the topic in the history of science or of Western esotericism, but I claim that the Principe–Newman thesis is sterile and does not satisfactorily demonstrate exactly how the so-called spiritual approach of alchemy failed.[116] The proto-chemical thesis is not necessarily inappropriate, but this position (which I would call "positivistic ideological") reduces something that in almost all cases is too complex to be limited solely to the activity of laboratory research.[117] The Principe–Newman thesis implies reductionism, while Jung or Eliade never dismissed the scientific character of alchemy. This is the reason why, for the historians of ideas,

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[115] Massimo L. Bianchi, "The Visible and the Invisible. From Alchemy to Paracelsus," in *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Piyo Rattansi and Antonio Clericuzio (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), 17.

[116] Newman tried to show that the title of *Decknamen* includes reference to a chemical process, thus elucidating the obscure language of Eirenaeus Philalethes. Therefore, the alchemical symbols are simple signs as they are used in today's chemistry, *Decknamen* being "cover names" for "mineral substances" used by alchemists, see William R. Newman, "'Decknamen or Pseudochemical Language?' Eirenaeus Philalethes and Carl Jung," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 49 (1996): 159–188. For a critique see Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, 234.

[117] Thomas Kuhn, in his famous *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), introduced the term incommensurability to stress the fissure between scientific theories, that a previous scientific theory cannot be translated into a new theory. Even if one accepts that alchemy was closer to chemistry than to spiritual and esoteric behaviour, there were still "paradigm shifts" that make it difficult to understand – there are two basically different systems of explanation and understanding of matter. According to Kuhn, the past work is "incommensurable" with our current science. Therefore, if one accepts their thesis of a continuum of a linear progress, the Kuhnian challenge of gaps between scientific theories remains.

religion, or esotericism, to name only a few branches, the Principe–Newman attempt should be doubted. A definite answer concerning the nature of alchemy is intricate. In some cases, indeed, it is rather chemical research than alchemical, but questioning the religious character of alchemy, for example in the case of Maier or Böhme, is unfortunately an error.

I consider that the nature of early modern alchemy is one of the most challenging issues for the history of ideas and the history of Western civilization. Alchemy is only chronologically close to the rise of scientific research, but "ontologically" it is almost at the opposite pole.[118] The hypothesis of the existence of metaphorical language used in order to express chemical processes does not seem too problematic to me. Indeed, in several alchemical works one can presuppose that the crypto-alchemical discourse in fact covers a pseudo-chemical one; and that the obscurity of symbols can be revealed like *Decknamen*, as Newman pointed out. To generalize to the whole alchemical movement, however, is too hazardous. The popularization of the idea that alchemy was only spiritual is even more harmful, as can easily be seen in pseudo-scientific research.[119] Both tendencies can be regarded as part of what David Fischer called the historian's fallacies.[120]

To summarize, the line of my argument to reject the Principe–Newman thesis was based on the following ideas and the aim of reconsidering the exclusivist approach of the historians of science dealing with alchemy: 1. The distinction between alchemy and chemistry can trace its roots from the Middle Ages. 2. The distinction is accentuated until the moment when such speculative literature appeared, so that it is almost impossible to find any kind of material or laboratory issues. 3. The attempt to demolish the difference by arguing that scholars such as Jung and Eliade were influenced by the nineteenth-century fashion for occultism and that the root of the distinction cannot be found earlier, being an "ahistorical"

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[118] Another issue that is almost totally ignored by Principe and Newman is that with Newton one can see a transition towards *inductive* scientific thinking, a characteristic of modern physical and chemical sciences. On the other hand, alchemical thinking is tributary in almost all the cases, to *deductive* thinking, specific to medieval scientific research. Therefore, making alchemists into a kind of "modern" researchers in primitive laboratories, is like saying that they used an *inductive* way of thinking *avant-la-lettre*.

[119] It is almost impossible to nominate a representative voice for this pseudo-science that promotes erroneously the ideas of Jung or Eliade in order to have a kind of *auctoritas* voice for its purpose. The production of this kind of literature is huge, and it is another topic and part of another phenomenon.

[120] See David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970).

approach, is entirely incorrect. 4. The annihilation of the difference would leave important disciplines without subjects or restrict their subjects. One such example is the history of Western esotericism, a controversial academic discipline, but still a young and imperative one for understanding the history of Western civilization. 5. Finally, the spiritual–non-spiritual dichotomy is the result of the exclusivist and partisan character of some researchers who accentuate only the chemical facet, while humanist researchers do not exclude the chemical nature of alchemy.

JIHAD, HOLY WAR, AND CRUSADING[1]

Michel Balard

In relation to recent events, two concepts have come to the fore: *jihad*, that is to say, "a fight on the road to Allah," and *crusade*, an armed pilgrimage to free Jerusalem from the yoke of the heathens. It is necessary to go beyond the commotion surrounding both concepts and consider what influence they had on the development of the relations between Christendom and Islamic countries between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. Four initial remarks: First, the *jihad* was previous to crusading; in his work, *Le djihad dans l'islam médiéval*,[2] Alfred Morabia enhanced the continuity between the warrior traditions in pre-Islamic Arabia, where war was the usual way to survive and be successful, and Mohammed's expeditions against Mecca, where the *razzia* (raiding) progressively looked like a fight on the road to Allah. In other words, the *jihad*, once a method, became a goal for warriors. Second, the events, that is to say, conquests, whether those of the Arabs, who created a large empire, or those of the Latins, who conquered Jerusalem and created the four Frankish states in Syria-Palestine, preceded the theories of both concepts. The conquests became *jihad* during the first century of the Hegira, and likewise the idea of crusading was based on the experience of the soldiers of the First Crusade.[3] Third, both concepts have had various meanings according to the time period when they were used. The offensive *jihad* of the time of the conquest became an interior *jihad* in which the salvation of the *umma* (community) required various forms of purification through moral improvement and, at the same time, a defensive *jihad,* which aimed at safeguarding the community against the expansion of the heathens. In the same way, the idea of crusading, which at the beginning only concentrated on the liberation of Jerusalem by Christians, was extended to include fighting against heretics or the papacy's foes. Fourth, these concepts interacted with each other; the aims and methods of the *jihad* were transformed due to the growth of the idea

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[1] This paper was presented at the international workshop "From Holy War to Peaceful Co-habitation. Diversity of Crusading and the Military Orders," held at Central European University, Budapest, 17–20 July, 2008.

[2] Alfred Morabia, *Le Gihad dans l'islam médiéval. 'Le combat sacré' des origines au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993).

[3] Reuven Firestone, *Jihâd. The Origin of the Holy War in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); also E. Tyan, "Djihād," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, eds. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht (Leyden: Brill and Paris: Maisonneuve-Larose, 1965), 551–553.

of crusading. This changed as the image of Islam evolved in Western societies and according to the circumstances of the confrontations between the enemies.

The *jihad*

From the point of view of etymology, the word *jihad* means an effort toward a fixed aim, that is to say, a personal effort for moral and religious improvement, a fight against one's passions, which is called major *jihad*. But, according to the classical doctrine, the *jihad* is also military activity for the expansion of Islam and sometimes for its defense.

This warlike and militant activity allowed Mohammed to solidify his authority in Medina and enlarge his influence on the Arabian Peninsula. Each expedition was presented as a religious duty, a fight on the road to Allah. Traditional *razzia* among Arabic tribes as well as great conquests led to the formation of an empire within a century. The events of the conquests preceded a theory of *jihad*.[4]

Considered etymologically as an effort directed toward a fixed goal, the word *jihad* meant two different things. The major *jihad* was an effort towards personal moral improvement[5] and the minor *jihad* was military activity for the expansion of Islam. The second meaning is due to the fundamental principle of universalism in Islam: the religion must spread through the whole world, though it admits, within the Islamic community, the existence of faithful followers of the biblical religions, Christians and Jews.

In the Koran, among the thirty-five verses which mention the *jihad*, twenty-two make reference to a general effort. In the treatises concerning the theory of *jihad*, the justification is as follows: Allah sends an injunction to his community, which must prove its right, establish the supremacy of Islam, fight against heathens outside Muslim countries, and also struggle against the inner foes of Islam. But this theory was late and developed continuously: the *jihad* as a collective duty forced upon the Muslim community by the caliph's authority only appeared in the ninth century.

The main characteristics of *jihad* can be outlined as follows: First, *jihad* is not an end in itself, just a factor which is an evil, but a legitimate and necessary evil owing to its aim: to relieve the world of the greatest evil, unfaithfulness. The *jihad* is therefore a religious duty, prescribed by God and his prophet, whose aim is to enlarge the reign of the religion. The Muslim faithful must devote themselves to the *jihad* just as in Christendom the monk devotes himself to God's service. Secondly, the *jihad* is a collective duty, which is forced first on a besieged city or

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[4] Morabia, *Le Gihad*, 51–75.
[5] Ibidem, 293–336.

the inhabitants of the areas near foes. In a well organized state, the prince or the caliph alone may proclaim this duty when the circumstances are convenient and give hope of a victorious conclusion. Thirdly, the duty of *jihad* continues until Islam has spread all over the world, until the day of resurrection or the end of the world. Therefore, peace with the unfaithful is only temporary; there can be no peace treaty with them, only truces which cannot exceed ten years and can be denounced if it seems more useful for Islam to resume the fight. Fourthly, the *jihad* has offensive and defensive characteristics at the same time; it must protect Islam against aggression.

Manifestations of the *jihad* at the Time of the Crusades[6]

Owing to the First Crusade, the *jihad* was intensified through lawyers, religious lecturers, and sovereigns. After the conquest of Jerusalem (1099), the first manifestation of the *jihad* came from the treatise written in 1105 by al-Sulami, a *faqih*, a specialist in the *fiqh*, Muslim law. In his *kitab al-djihad* (book on the *jihad*), al-Sulami defines the rules of a holy war and collects the *hadiths* (words or acts of the prophet) which enforce the *jihad*.[7]

The main themes of Sulami's treatise are the assertion of a religious gulf between the Franks and Muslims, a protest against the passivity of Sulami's contemporaries in the duty of *jihad*, and a call for holy war. The political division of Islam comes from a decline of moral and religious consciousness, which explains the caliph's carelessness. In this situation, al-Sulami calls for a moral rearming so as to put an end to the spiritual decline, the mainspring of the defeat by the Latins. He calls for unity among the Islamic forces, for the defense of Muslim areas against the Franks, and for a re-conquest of lost territories. It does not seem, however, that al-Sulami had great influence on public opinion or on Damascus politics.

The first attempt at a revival of the *jihad* came from Zengi, governor of Mosul and master of Aleppo, in 1128.[8] He was the first sovereign to understand what benefits he might reap from *jihad* propaganda, which began in 1137, on the occasion of an expedition against the Franks. Developed by three poets of Zengi's court, the themes of this propaganda are not very original: religious antagonism between Muslims and Franks, Muslim brotherhood, and the duty of *jihad* for every

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[6] Emmanuel Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade: idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1968).

[7] Emmanuel Sivan, "La genèse de la contre-croisade: un traité damasquin du début du XIIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), 197–224.

[8] Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade*, 39–58.

faithful person. At the end of his reign, the conquest of Edessa by Zengî led to wild and turgid propaganda with an emphasis upon the religious character of the war and the *mugahid* (fighter for the faith) character of the sovereign. From then on, a holy war had a precise aim, the conquest of Jerusalem and the Latin Orient. Thus, *jihad* became an offensive war, but only at the end of Zengî's reign; it was not yet a popular movement, just propaganda of the pious circles in Aleppo.

With Nûr al-Dîn (1146–1174) the idea of *jihad* became one of the main forces in the spiritual and political life of the Near East, a capital piece in Nûr al-Dîn's ideology.[9] Two new concepts were formulated: the holiness of Jerusalem and Palestine, which implied the complete destruction of the Latin East, and the restoration of the political unity of Islam in the Near East as a preliminary stage of the *jihad* against the Franks. Nûr al-Dîn raised organs of propaganda which inserted the *jihad* in a spiritual movement, the re-establishment of Islamic orthodoxy, in such a way that the *jihad* became a popular movement. It included classical themes, such as the fact that Nûr al-Dîn was a true *mugahid*, a true fighter for the faith in his time and thus promoted the idea that the palm of martyrdom would be given to Muslim fighters. New themes also appeared: Jerusalem was from then on to be the main aim of the *jihad*; all the *Sahil* (the Latin Orient) must be reconquered; all of the Near East must participate in the reconquest as a religious duty; the unity of the Muslim forces is a true necessity. The ideology of *jihad* was spread in many ways: poetry, chancellery letters, treatises on *jihad*, sermons and lectures at mosques, inscriptions with the sovereign's titles, among which is *mugahid*. Nûr al-Dîn facilitated the melding of *jihad* with moral rearming and received legitimization of his activity and his conquests from the caliph of Baghdad.

The climax of the *jihad* came with Saladin (1174–1193), who passed the *jihad* from the Zengid to the Ayyubid dynasty without changing its structure.[10] Saladin used four main arguments: he was to be the only one to lead the holy war in his time; his opponents had neglected to act for the *jihad* (which he used as a propaganda weapon against them); his activity in the *jihad* allowed him to promote an Islamic rally under his authority so as to create a large force to fight against the unfaithful; he worked for the honor of Jerusalem and not for his own interests.

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[9] Ibidem, 59–92; Nikita Elisseeff, *Nûr ad-Dîn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1967).

[10] Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade*, 92–124; M. Cameron Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin. The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 201–220; Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008).

These arguments resulted in concrete actions in favor of Islamic orthodoxy. Saladin behaved according to the rules of his religion. He manifested a great respect towards the *ulemas* and *sufis*, helped in the construction of mosques and *madrasa*s (religious schools), fought against the Shiites and the Assassins, and above all received the caliph's support for his conquests in the Sahil. Poems, letters, treatises about *jihad*, eulogies for Jerusalem, whose conquest was celebrated with bombast, inscriptions, sermons, and lectures, discussions about the meaning of the crusade, considered as a religious war for the True Cross; everything was used to emphasize Saladin's success and gain the support of the people.

The climax of the *jihad* followed the reconquest of Jerusalem, where Saladin entered triumphantly on 2 October 1187: sixty letters, twelve poems, and many sermons dedicated to the event show how Saladin realized God's will and settled the true religion once more in the holy city. Jerusalem returned to the heart of Islam, polytheism was overcome, the holy city became Abraham's house, the place of the Prophet's ascension and the first *qibla* (the direction of the Kaaba, toward which Muslims turn for their daily prayers) of Islam. Saladin was praised as the champion and the protector of the holy land of God.

In a few words, Saladin took Nûr al-Din's *jihad* program, which he had extended, but after the reconquest of Jerusalem, the *jihad* declined until the Mamluks, who gave it new growth after 1260. Was the evolution of the Christian holy war the same?

The Christian Holy War

On 27 November 1095, at the end of the council of Clermont, Pope Urban II appealed to the Western knighthood to encourage it to assist the oriental Christians and to release Jerusalem, which had fallen into the hands of the unfaithful.[11] The pope's message, which paved the way for a crusade, was the starting point of many comments on holy war, which is at the core of the crusade. One must thus first examine the Church's conception of war through the centuries.

In the early times of Christendom, armed violence was totally rejected by the Church, which considered that a soldier can be a Christian, but that a Christian cannot become a soldier. In the eleventh century, in contrast, this pacifism was rejected by the Church, which led to the definition of holy war through the consecration of some military operations.[12] In opposition to the pacifism of the

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[11] Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 31–39.
[12] Jean Flori, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris: Aubier, 2001), 29–58.

first centuries, Saint Augustine in his work *The City of God* states that war is always an evil, but often a lesser evil, and one must be prepared to participate in it, if it fulfils the conditions of just war. Then the war can be considered righteous, therefore lawful, in contrast to the unjust war which is to be abandoned.

Three characteristics distinguish the just war; first, the prince's authority. A Christian alone does not have the right to kill another person. God's vicar on earth, that is to say, the pope, and the sovereigns are the only ones responsible for deciding whether recourse to war is necessary. Therefore, war must be proclaimed by the lawful authorities and led without hatred against the foe. Second, a lawful cause; the cause is lawful when the case is to revenge oneself for injustice, to reinstitute justice, or to restore the law; for instance, to defend the fatherland, to recover a lost country or stolen goods, or castigate offenders. The use of violence therefore becomes lawful, no matter whether the fight is defensive or an offensive. Thirdly, righteous conduct; this concept implies the refusal of violence, plunder, and looting. On the contrary, it is lawful to take possession again of stolen goods or countries. Saint Augustine takes the biblical example of God's wars led by the Hebrew people to conquer the Holy Land. Commanded and led by God, the righteousness of these wars cannot be denied.[13]

From Lawful War to Holy War?

The criteria of the lawful war became blurred when the unity of the Christian fatherland was broken by struggles between barbarian Christian kingdoms. Under Charlemagne, the idea of lawfulness was reborn: the Christian emperor led the troops and defended the Church of Christ, while the pope helped the army by mediating between the army and God, for instance, during the missionary wars against the pagan Saxons and the Avars and during the wars against the Muslims to expand Christendom in Spain.[14]

In the ninth century, when new invaders, Saracens, Hungarians, and pagan Normans frightened Christendom, the Church consecrated military operations against them led by the princes. Prayers and liturgical forms of benediction were composed for the arms and banners of the royal or princely troops going to fight against the pagans. In this way, the lawful war became a holy war and a theocracy which incarnated the unity of the Christian world was born. With the guarantee

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[13] Christopher Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 33–35.

[14] Jean Flori, *La Guerre sainte, jihad et croisade. Violence et religion dans le christianisme et dans l'islam* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002), 48–63.

of the Church, the holy war, led in the name of the faith, transformed the soldiers into auxiliary troops of the heavenly powers in their fight against evil.[15]

The evolution of the Church from innate pacifism to holy war was a true revolution led by successive transfers. In the ninth century, Pope John VIII's letters to Charlemagne compare the soldiers' engagement in favor of the Roman Church with a late repentance. Therefore, a war in defense of the Church became holy, inasmuch as the decay of imperial authority in the eleventh century led the popes to secure their own protection.

In the eleventh century, the idea of holy war appears in many documents. For instance, warriors who died during the fight were canonized as saints; for example, King Edmund, captured and murdered by the pagan Danes in 1000. In the *Song of Roland*, the angels come down and search for Roland's soul to carry it to paradise. In the same way, the champion of the *Pataria* in Milan, Erlembaldo, put to death on the main square of the city, was considered a martyr, as he fought for the liberty of the Church. Therefore, the struggle for the Church of Rome and for the papacy assumed the characteristics of a holy war.[16]

With Gregory VII (1073–1085), the remission of warriors' sins became pronounced; their military expedition served as repentance. The pope glorified those who draw their swords in the service of the Roman Church: they are called *milites S. Petri* or *milites Christi*. Gregory devised plans to release the oriental Christians persecuted by the unfaithful. In this way, during the eleventh century, war became holy, owing to its initiator, the pope, and not owing to the fact that the foes were heathens. Holy war then extended and took on a new direction without any changes in its character. The war against the Muslims in Spain had the same sacred character as the crusade proclaimed by Pope Urban II, and the fight in Spain was as worthy as that in the Near East.[17]

The Difference between Holy War and Crusade

In order to see what the difference between holy war and crusade was, if any, we must analyze Urban's message at the council of Clermont in 1095. Elected pope in 1088, Urban II was imbued with Gregory VII's thought. In 1089, he encouraged the princes to participate in the siege of Tarragona, in repentance

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[15] Ibidem, 139–158.

[16] Jean Flori, "Réforme, reconquista, croisade (L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II)," in idem, *Croisade et chevalerie XIe–XIIe siècle* (Brussels: Complexe, 1998), 51–80.

[17] Ibidem, 59–80.

for their sins. He made the fight of the Christians in Spain sacred as being one of the meritorious acts for the liberation of the Church. God, wanting to help his penitent people and to restore their freedom, allowed the reconquest against the Saracen invaders. In this way, the crusade entered into a global program of Christian reconquest.[18]

The difference between Gregory VII and Urban II came from the fact that the latter pope spoke to all knights (*milites*) and not only to the *milites S. Petri*, without reference to kings and princes, because he considered himself the head of Christian society and as such the head of all the forces of the knighthood dubbed by the Church. One can sum up the pope's message in the text of the canon related to the crusade: "For everyone who will have taken the way to Jerusalem with the aim of liberating the Church of God, provided that it was with piety and not for earning honor or money, the travel will be considered as repentance."[19]

This canon meant that the aim of the expedition was Jerusalem and the holy places desecrated by the Muslim occupation. The reconquest of Jerusalem includes the idea of pilgrimage, but not the reverse. The association of both ideas, the Christian reconquest of Jerusalem as an offspring of holy war and pilgrimage to the holy places, explains the success of the pope's initiative. The help given to the oriental Christians is in the background of the message, as well as the eschatological theme of the warriors' participation in Christ's last fight against the Antichrist and his devoted followers.

The Christian holy war was justified by the image of Islam which can be found in the chronicles of the twelfth century: the Muslims are described as worshippers of false gods, among which Mohammed is seen as the main god of the Saracen pantheon, a false god, whose worshippers are described as barbarians who have desecrated the churches and oppressed the Christians. The image of a corrupted Orient played an important part in the mobilization propaganda of the holy war, which the pope, as God's lieutenant, commanded to reconquer Christ's heritage, unjustly stolen by the Saracens. The crusade therefore entered into the Gregorian movement for Church liberation, which implied the eradication of the unfaithful from Christian areas.[20]

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[18] Flori, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade*, 299–343.
[19] Ibidem, 310.
[20] Flori, *Croisade et chevalerie XIe–XIIe siècle*, 161–178.

Conclusion

What kind of comparison can one draw between Christian holy war and *jihad*? First, neither crusade nor *jihad* appears as a missionary war, the aim of which would be the conversion of the unfaithful. The war of conversion was condemned by Innocent IV, Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis), and Saint Thomas Aquinas. The persecutions inflicted on the Jews of Germany during the First Crusade came from a popular apocalyptic movement connected to anti-Semitism, but never from the official proclamation of the crusade. On the other hand, the aim of *jihad* is to spread the political domination of Islam, though it admits, within the Islamic community, the survival of Jewish and Christian religions in the areas it has conquered.

The crusade is considered a just war, firstly to release the Church from the atrocities of the unfaithful and from the damage inflicted on the churches. The mission of the war is to protect the Christian community, to relieve captured areas, to release the sacred places of Christianity and territories inhabited by Christians. On the contrary, the *jihad* is devoted to the conquest of areas of impiety. Crusade was holy because it was undertaken according to the decision of a legitimate and public authority, that of the Romans' bishop, who succeeded in correlating the Church and the papacy. The pope was not only the head of the Church, but also its defender instead of the failing emperor. He initiated the crusade, which he managed indirectly through his legate. The pope specified the foes and Christ led the expedition, the participants of which were Christ's soldiers.

Spiritual rewards existed in Islam from its origin, while the idea of martyrdom for soldiers appeared in Christianity only at the end of the eleventh century. All the same, one can notice a precise parallelism between Islam and Christianity, which both grant the palm of martyrdom to warriors who die in the fight for God. According to Islam, God forgives the sins of warriors and opens the gates of paradise to them. From the council of Clermont onwards, an expedition against the unfaithful included the remission of sins. The holy war preached by the pope was a war ordered by Jesus for the release of his heritage. It gave the participants the remission of their sins and the crown of eternal life to those who died fighting.[21] In this way, the Christian holy war, that is to say, the crusade, joined the *jihad*.

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[21] Flori, *La guerre sainte, jihad et croisade*, 263–269.

THE LAST *REX CRUCESIGNATUS*, EDWARD I, AND THE MONGOL ALLIANCE

Attila Bárány 🔸

This study explores the crusading efforts of Edward I, king of England (1272–1307), in the last decades of the thirteenth century. It investigates the reason why the Plantagenet ruler was highly respected as the only *athleta Christi* on whom all the Christian powers laid their hopes to withstand the Muslims. I would not like to provide a detailed overview of King Edward's 1270 crusade, but give an analysis of the king's role and introduce his motives in the mirror of the expectations of the West. Edward I never ceased to support the *negotium Terrae Sanctae*, and after the fall of Acre he was treated as the apostle of the *recuperatio*. Edward was the only ruler in Europe to realize how rational it was to ally with the Mongols; therefore here I am examining Edward's life-long struggle to have an alliance with these pagans acknowledged.

I am not giving an overview of the formation of the Franco-Mongol alliance from the late 1240s. Nevertheless, it has to be noted at the outset that England, and especially her monarch, Edward, played a primary role in the endeavors to establish not only political but strategic and tactical cooperation with the Il-Khans of Persia against the Mamluks. The Plantagenets were much concerned with taking a stand in the crusading enterprises and were the first to seek knowledge about the Mongols. They were well aware of the Tatars' superior military machinery. I will give a few snapshots of how they obtained direct knowledge about the Mongols, for instance, the letters incorporated in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*.[1] The *Carmen Miserabile* of Rogerius, Dean of Várad (Oradea) must also have been known to them through Rogerius' patron, the English Cardinal John Toletanus, and his circle, the English delegates at the Council of Lyons I.[2]

At the outset, England acted "normally," as an enemy of the Mongols. In 1241 Pope Gregory IX appealed to Henry III to take up arms against the Tartars

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[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora,* vols 1–8, ed. H. R. Luard (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, Rolls series [RS], 57) (London: Longman, 1872–1883), vol. 4, 270–277; vol. 6, 79–80.

[2] Francesco Babinger, "Maestro Ruggiero delle Puglie relatore prepoliano sui Tatari," in *Nel VII. Centenario della Nascita di Marco Polo* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955), 53–61, 58–60.

plundering Hungary.[3] Gregory agreed to transfer the crusading vows already taken against the Muslims to an enterprise against the Mongols.[4] The crown of England was one of the first to respond positively; when the pope proclaimed a crusade in Eastern Europe in 1253,[5] King Henry and Prince Edward assumed the Cross and enrolled to fight in Hungary.[6] Although Henry III fixed a schedule for his departure (for 1256), due to the *negotium Siciliae* he did not fulfill his oath.[7] Thus, after the 1259 assault of the Golden Horde, Prince Edward himself was urged to come to the aid of Hungary,[8] as Khan Berke envisaged a great assault against Western Europe.[9] The pope also asked Richard of Cornwall to engage in the defense of the eastern boundaries of Christendom.[10]

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[3] Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, ed., *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata instrumenta, quæ supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus*, 12 vols (Paris: Henry Plon, 1852–1861), vol. V, 360–841; 921–985.

[4] Karl Rodenberg, ed., *Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica [MGH] Epistolae), 3 vols (Hannover: MGH, 1883–1894), vol. I, 723, no. 822; Innocent IV licensing *commutatio*: Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*, 2 vols (Rome and Zagreb, 1863–1875), nos. 379 and 388; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: CUP, 1994), 84–85.

[5] Gustav Friedrich et al, ed., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, 5 vols (Prague, 1907–1993), vol. IV, fasc. I, ed. Jindřich Sebánek and Sása Dusková (Prague: Čekoslovenská akademie, 1962), No. 466.

[6] W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, 20 vols (London: His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office [HMSO], 1893–[2005]) [hereafter: CPL] vol. I, 290.

[7] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*, 20 vols (London, 1704–1735 unless otherwise mentioned) vol. I. i. 282; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* [1232–1509] 52 vols (London: HMSO, 1891–1916) [hereafter: CPR], vol. IV, Henry III: 1247–1258, 157–158.

[8] Alexander IV's *exhortatio* against the Tatars threatening Hungary: The National Archives [Public Record Office, hereafter PRO] Special Collections Ancient Correspondence [hereafter: SC] SC 7/3/24; Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* 43 vols (Buda, 1829–1844) [Fejér, *CD*], vol. VII/1. 314–319; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. i. 402: 1260 *ad resistendum Tataris, diuersa regna, inter haec etiam Hungariam, depopulantibus, prouocat.... Cum enim iidem Tatari, ... extrema pene desolatione concussa, ... Christiano ... suo nomine subiugatis, ... per Vngariam ..., cum eisdem Tataris, pestis desolationis intrauit.*

[9] Georg Waitz et al., ed., *Chronica minor auctore Minorita Erphordiensi* (MGH Scriptores in Folio XXIV) Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI–XVII). Gesta saec. XII et XIII (Supplementa tomorum XX–XXIII) (Hannover: MGH, 1879), 202.

[10] *Epistolae saeculi*, vol. III. 548. no. 560/1.

Attila Bárány

For a long time the Mongols were seen as "another heathen" and it was a long process before they came to be accepted as allies. I will not cover here the long history of the papal-Mongol embassies after 1241; I am focusing on only those proposing a joint action, mainly those concerning the role of Edward I. From 1245 the popes assigned England a particular role; they appealed to Henry III several times to depart on a passage.[11] After the defeat at La Forbie in 1244, the Franks sent *exhortationes* to King St. Louis IX and Henry III, but still against the Mongol threat.[12] In a way it was England that contributed to the realization of the necessity of an alliance with the Mongols. It is not surprising that Waleran, bishop of Beirut, travelled to England to ask Henry personally[13] and Bohemund VI, prince of Antioch, proposed to England the first scheme of alliance with the Mongols.[14]

The first papal mission to treat with the Mongol army leaders in Persia was that of Lawrence of Portugal in 1245, escorted by two English friars.[15] In 1247 Ascelino of Lombardy negotiated with *Noyan* Baiju/Baichu about a combined

[11] Innocent IV, 1245: PRO SC 7/20/5; Jane E. Sayers, ed., *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), no. 270; 1247: PRO SC 7/21/20; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 323; *Exhortatio* to accelerate the preparations, 1250: PRO SC 7/19/21; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 384; 1250–52: a three-year tithe imposed: PRO SC 7/35/2; SC 7/20/30; SC 7/20/36; *Original papal documents*, nos. 367; 416.

[12] Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1097–1291) 2 vols (Innsbruck: Libraria Academica Wageneriana, 1893), vol. I, no. 1124; Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 337–344.

[13] *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* [1226–1516] 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1903), 1242–1247, 372; *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* [1226–72] 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1917–1964) [hereafter CLR], vol. III, 1245–1251, 10–11; 15; 37.

[14] 1255: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 321; *Annales de Burton*, in H. R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols (RS, 36) (London: Longman, 1864–1869), 369–371; *CLR*, 1251–1260, 261; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1235.

[15] Martiniano Roncaglia, "Frère Laurent de Portugal O.F.M. et sa légation en Orient (1245–1248 env.)," *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 7 (1953): 33–44.

action to capture Baghdad.[16] The *noyan* also sent envoys to the curia.[17] In 1248, Eljigidey, *noyan* of Mosul, put forward a scheme for a joint operation to King Louis IX of France, who sent Andrew of Longjumeau in return.[18] He forwarded the letter to Henry III, who also learned of Longjumeau's report.[19] In 1253 it was well-known at the English court that Louis was making attempts to induce Sartaq, the Golden Horde khan's son, who was said to have received baptism, to assist the Latin Christians against the Muslims.[20]

The Mongols' successes in the Near East were short-lived. After the defeat at Ain Jalut (1260), and particularly as the Mamluk sultan, Baybars, contracted an alliance with the Golden Horde and coordinated their offensives, the situation became acute both for the Franks and the Mongols, who were caught in a Mamluk–Golden Horde "pair of pincers."[21] The Il-Khan had to face almost constant assaults from across the Caucasus.[22] The Il-Khans were now dependent upon a military alliance with the Christians. In practice, although they were making constant efforts to collaborate with the Christians, they only found a reliable ally in King Edward.

At first, in 1262, Il-Khan Hülegü/Hulagu suggested a joint campaign to King Louis IX.[23] The crusaders were to blockade the ports in Egypt while the

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[16] 1245: Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 53–54; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Longman, 2005), 88; Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1981), 198.

[17] Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 23 (1923): 3–33; 24 (1924): 225–325; 28 (1931–32): 3–84. Here: (1931) 12; 31. Dawson, *Mongol*, xviii; Innocent IV's bull to the khan, 1245: Dawson, *Mongol*, 73–75.

[18] 1248: Pelliot, "Mongols," (1931): 13–18; 20–1; 23–6; 31; Jean Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen age (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1977), 60; 75.

[19] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, V. 80; 87; VI. 163–5.

[20] Lupprian, *Beziehungen der Päpste*, 129; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck, his journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*. Ed. Peter Jackson and David Morgan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), 17–18; 241.

[21] Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1943), 59.

[22] Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit, 1220–1350* (Leipzig: Hinrichs Verlag, 1939), 192; Burkhard Roberg, "Die Tataren auf dem 2. Konzil von Lyon 1274," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 5 (1973): 272.

[23] Jean Richard, "Une ambassade mongole à Paris en 1262," *Journal des Savants* (1979): 299.

Mongols attacked the Mamluks in Syria.[24] In missions from 1262 to 1264 the Il-Khan offered to hand Jerusalem over to the Franks if they set out on a new *passagium*.[25] However, the Franks were still averse to accepting the Mongols as allies and appealed for aid against a Mongol invasion.[26] The breakthrough came only during the pontificates of Clement IV and Gregory X, when the Holy See started to treat the Mongols as potential allies.[27] The military orders openly advocated, and found it inevitable to coordinate their efforts with the Mongols and asked the Western princes, particularly of England, to come to terms with them.[28] As the danger of a Mamluk invasion became imminent, the Franks had to approach the Mongols. From 1263 to 1265, the Mongols protected the northern Syrian marches in vain; the Mamluks stormed Nazareth, Caesarea, Arsuf, and Haifa. The following year Baybars, as the Mongols were beating off the Horde's attacks,

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[24] Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator* 11 (1980): 245–259.

[25] 1262: Lupprian, *Beziehungen der Päpste*, 217; 219; Richard, Une ambassade, 299; Idem, "Le début des relations entre la Papauté et les Mongols de Perse," *Journal Asiatique* 137 (1949): 291–297; Meyvaert, "An unknown," 249–250.

[26] [Matthew of Westminster], *Flores historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. H. R. Luard (RS, 95) (London: Longman, 1890), vol. II, 451–452; *Annales de Burton*, 493; The bishop of Bethlehem: *de invasione Tatarorum et de summo periculo, in quo Christiani Terrae Sanctae versantur*; in 1260: Ludwig Weiland, ed., *Menkonis Chronicon Werumensium* (MGH. Scriptores in Folio vol. XXIII [Annales Aevi Suevici.]) (Hannover: MGH, 1874), 547–549; in 1263 to Henry III: Pierre Chaplais, ed., *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. I, 1101–1272 (London: HMSO, 1964), no. 385; PRO SC 1/55/2; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 395; 1261: Thomas Bérard, Grand Master of the Temple: *Annales de Burton*, 491–495; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. nos. 1289; 1299; *Flores Historiarum*, vol. II, 451–452; in 1263: PRO SC 1/5/56; *Diplomatic Documents*, no. 386; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. i. 396; José Manuel Rodríguez García, "Henry III (1216–1272), Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284) and the Crusading Plans of the Thirteenth Century," in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216–1272)*, ed. Björn K. U. Weiler and Ifor Rowlands (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 117, note 74; the Grand Master again: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. i. 396; The Templars, 1263: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1325; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. i. 395; The bishop of Acre: PRO SC 1/47/27; *Diplomatic Documents*, no. 343.

[27] It was first propounded in 1266 that who fought the Muslims with the aid of the Mongols would receive crusading indulgences: *contra Saracenos adjuvantibus Tartaris*, see Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2001), 67.

[28] 1263: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii, 54; *Diplomatic Documents*, no. 385.

broke directly into Persia. Galilee was conquered; Safed and Toron were hemmed in.[29] Jean de Valenciennes, lord of Haifa, asked the aid of Henry III in person.[30]

It seemed that without formidable Western support the Il-Khans would not be able to retain their Mesopotamian territories.[31] The new khan, Abaqa/Abaga, in utter despair, sent a series of embassies to the West and offered substantial forces to join the crusading host.[32] The Great Khan Qubilai also sent ambassadors to the curia.[33] At last, in 1267, Pope Clement IV notified the Mongols of the impending crusade, the banner of which Prince Edward joined and assumed the cross.[34] The loss of Antioch in 1268 shocked the Western world, and the Il-Khan tried to use this feeling to accelerate the preparations for a joint campaign since he was defeated by the Horde near the Terek River in 1269.[35] Mongol envoys visited King Louis IX while he was embarking for the 1270 crusade, but the khan was astonished to see the host diverted to Tunis. In the eyes of the Mongols the only true Westerner whom they found worth negotiating with after the death of St. Louis was Prince Edward. Edward kept the crusading spirit alive and went to the Holy Land with a few hundred knights in 1271.[36] He was followed by a contingent led by his brother, Edmund of Lancaster.[37] Edward was much needed since the last

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[29] Sir Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3: *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: CUP, 1951), 317–319.

[30] Simon D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: OUP, 1988), 36–37.

[31] J. B. Chabot, "Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Rabbam Çauma," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 10 (1893): 567–610; 11 (1894): 73–142; 235–304, esp. 237.

[32] Jean Richard, "La croisade de 1270, premier «passage général»?" *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances* (1989): 510–511. On the 1266–1267 embassy: Roberg, "Die Tataren," 279.

[33] Escorted by Matteo and Niccolò Polo. Lupprian, *Beziehungen der Päpste*, 221–222; 224–225.

[34] *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1354. A final agreement with King Louis in 1269: PRO Exchequer Diplomatic Documents E 30/1539. A one-twentieth income tax passed in Parliament: T. Hudson Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I, Especially of his Relations with the Moghul Sovereigns of Persia," *Archaeological Journal* 8 (1851): 45; *Chronicon vulgo dictum chronicon Thomae Wykes*, in *Annales Monastici*, vol. IV, 217–218.

[35] Eugène Card. Tissérant, "Une lettre de l'Ilkhan de Perse Abaga adressée au Pape Clément IV," *Le Muséon* 59 (1946): 555–556; Runciman, *Crusades*, 310.

[36] The army was in the range between 300 and 1000 (Guillelmus Tripolitanus OP, *Tractatus de statu Saracenorum et de Mahometo pseudopropheta ipsorum et eorum lege et fide*, in *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: Mittler, 1883), 587; Walter of Guisborough, *Chronicle*, ed. Harry Rothwell (London: Camden, 1957), 207.

[37] 1271: *"Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277,"* in *Annales Monastici* vol. II, 110.

footholds of the military orders had been reduced between 1267 and 1271 (such as Krak des Chevaliers, Montfort, and Beaufort), and the Christians had now been driven back to Acre, Tripoli, and Tyre.[38] Edward became aware that there was no other chance but to maintain close, practical cooperation with the Mongols.[39] As soon as he arrived, he sent an envoy to Khan Abaqa.[40] Arrangements were made for a united campaign.[41] Although the khan was forced to turn his attention to Central Asia, he dispatched a force of 10,000 to 12,000 men.[42] Later he apologized for not giving adequate support.[43] They were victorious over the Mamluks and, cooperating with Edward, opened a new front towards Damascus.[44] Edward drove deeply into Mamluk territory, although owing to the lack of manpower he could not initiate sieges, but he made the Christians believe that there was a reason to cooperate with the Mongols. The sultan became aware of the threat of the union of Mongols and crusaders. He asked for reinforcements to defend Damascus, and was ready to sign a peace for ten years afterwards. Edward himself did not acknowledge the treaty, but sought to go on fighting;[45] however, he was forced to leave as he was nearly killed by an assassin.[46] Still, the combined operation did get results and he made it clear that he would return with a great army.

All over Christendom Edward was expected to liberate the Holy Land. His contemporaries placed all their trust in him and firmly believed that the king would never abandon the scheme of the crusade. The king's statements were found genuine. Even though he no longer trod the soil of Christ, he was the only hope for the Latin East. He felt he would never betray his vow; until the very end of his life he ardently pursued the great passage and kept the idea of the Mongol alliance on the agenda. Pope Gregory X, who proclaimed the crusade in

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[38] *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1374.

[39] Bruce Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades" (PhD diss., St. Andrews, 1970), 60–61; 67.

[40] *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1380.

[41] With the Mongol governor of Eastern Syria, see "*Chronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, 1188–1274," in Thomas Stapleton, ed., *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (London: Camden, 1846), 143.

[42] Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," 56.

[43] Thomas Wright, ed., *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes* (London: Longman, 1859) (RS, 13), 250; Antonia Gransden, ed., *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, 1212–1301* (London: Nelson, 1964), 63.

[44] Laurence Lockhart, "The Relations between Edward I and Edward II of England and the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia," *Iran* 6 (1968): 24.

[45] Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 208. On the embassy to Abaqa in 1272: Reinhold Röhricht, "Études sur les derniers temps du Royaume de Jérusalem: La Croisade du prince Édouard d'Angleterre, 1270–1274," *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881): 623–623.

[46] Wykes, *Chronicon*, 248–250; Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 209–210.

1272, did not object to an agreement with the Mongols.[47] Early in 1273 Edward visited the pope and negotiated over the crusade and a two-year tithe.[48] In the years to come all the pontiffs saw Edward as the only savior of Christendom and sent a series of supplications to England.[49] Edward was expected to take part at the Second Council of Lyons, but his continuing ill-health, the difficulties of repaying the debts of the crusade, and his deep engagement in home affairs made it impossible.[50] He did not withdraw from the *negotium*, however; he began making preparations as soon as he returned, and financed the defense of the East, e.g., for the Order St. Thomas the Martyr (i.e., St. Thomas Becket).

The military situation was gradually deteriorating in the East. The Il-Khans themselves also laid all their hopes on Edward and applied directly to him to join forces. They were now to rely on the aid of the Christians as from 1273 to 1275 Baybars made an incursion deep into Persia and annihilated Armenia Minor. Abaqa sent an Englishman, David of Ashby, to Lyons and England *pro perpetua confederatione procurata*, and was now willing to restore *totum regnum Ierusalem* to the Christians.[51] Edward answered that he was much concerned to set out; however, he was prevented from doing so in the immediate future by the first Welsh war, from 1277 on.[52] Although Abaqa chose to stand against the Mamluks in the 1277 Anatolian campaign, he had to retreat and sent another embassy to England.[53]

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[47] *Flores Historiarum*, vol. III, 14; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 81; Roberg, "Die Tataren," 286.

[48] W. E. Lunt, "Papal taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I," *English Historical Review* [EHR] 30 (1915): 399–400.

[49] John XXI, Nicholas III, Martin IV: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I, ii. 560–561; 610; 624; 641–642; CPL I, 446–447; Martin IV, 1281–1285: PRO SC 7/58/5; 1284: PRO SC 7/28/1; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 864; Honorius IV, 1285: PRO SC 7/18/26; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 881; Nicholas IV, 1289: PRO SC 7/32/13.

[50] 1272: CPL I. 447; Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 210; taken into the "special protection" of the Holy See, 1272: PRO SC 7/16/3; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 739; the pope asked him to postpone his coronation, 1273: PRO SC 7/16/22; sent a special nuncius, 1274: PRO SC 7/46/1; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 764.

[51] Roberg, "Die Tataren," 298–301. Edward was sent another letter, held now at Durham Dean and Chapter Muniments, Loc. I. 60.*; Lockhart, "The Relations," 24; Abaqa to Edward, 1274: CPR I. Edward I: 1272–81, 116; Jean Richard, "Chrétiens et Mongols au Concile: la Papauté et les Mongols de Perse dans la seconde moitié de XIIIᵉ siècle," in *1274. Année charnière. Mutation et continuité, Lyon/Paris, 30 septembre–5 octobre 1974* (Paris: CNRS, 1977), 37–38.

[52] Edward to Abaqa, 1275: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I, ii. 520; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1401; CPR II, Edward I: 1272–81, 116.

[53] Joint envoys from the khan and Leo III of Armenia, 1276: PRO SC 1/20/201; Charles Kohler and Charles Victor Langlois, "Lettres inédites concernant les croisades, 1275–

Edward again was unable to give a concrete answer, but he opened the issue of a *passagium* under the leadership of Edmund, earl of Lancaster.[54] At the same time he made arrangements for an enterprise led by his brother-in-law, Jean II de Dreux, duke of Bretagne.[55]

After 1271–1272 Edward raised great hopes in the Latin East. A large number of letters survive in which clergymen, military brethren, and barons called upon his aid, both military and financial. The king was concerned to keep communication links open and receive information on the military situation.[56] His major allies were the military orders, who were keeping the program of Mongol cooperation alive, and mediated, with the Il-Khans.[57] The Templar castellan of Château Pelerin called upon Edward's mediation to have the Mongol and Christian military activities coordinated.[58] From the early 1280s the Outremer saw England as the last resort and were hopelessly begging for immediate military help.[59]

However, Edward was also held back by the fact that Charles of Anjou took a strong stand on preserving the status quo; he had already had dealings

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1307," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 52 (1891): 46–63, n. 3; Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, "Mémoires sur les Relations politiques des princes chrétiens, et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs Mongols," *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 6 (1822): 396–469; 7 (1824): 335–438, esp. 346–347. Leo's envoys to England, 1278: CPR I. Edward I: 1272–81, 265.

[54] 1276: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 537.

[55] CPR I. Edward I: 1272–81, 186; arrangements: *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 573; and for Edmund: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 532; 610.

[56] Guillaume de Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Temple to Edward, 1275: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1404; Kohler and Langlois, "Lettres inédites," no. 1; 1276–77: PRO SC 1/21/1; 1/21/2; 1/21/100; The Templars ask for a loan, 1286: PRO SC 1/21/5. 1275–88: Sibylla, Princess and Regent of Antioch, invokes Edward's aid: PRO SC 1/14/188; 1275: Hugues Revel, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John reports: PRO SC 1/18/136; Kohler and Langlois, "Lettres inédites," no. 2.

[57] Grand Master of the Hospital, Nicole le Lorgne, to Edward, 1280: Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres de Rois, Reines et autres personages des cours de France at d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII. jusqu'à Henri IV., tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny,* vol. I (1162–1300) (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1839), no. 253; Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospitallers in England reports, 1283: PRO SC 1/18/135.

[58] Between 1285 and 1289: PRO SC 1/17/196.

[59] In 1270–1272 Edward gave donations to the Franks: 5000 London silver marks to Walter, bishop of Hebron in 1272; and 7000 marks to Hugues de Revel: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. II, no. 1384a; 1385a; in the years 1278–1285 Hugues de Revel again asks for aid: PRO SC 1/18/140; before 1291: Guillaume de Beaujeau asks for money: PRO SC 1/21/3. The bishop of Hebron asks for money, 1280: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 586–587.

with the Mamluks, assuming the title of king of Jerusalem in 1277, and taken over the government at Acre through his *bailli*.[60] Edward already disapproved of Charles' diversion of the 1270 crusade and his secret treaty with the emir of Tunis.[61] The death of Baybars (1277) and a period of anarchy opened a new prospect for waging war against the Mamluks until the new ruler, Qalāwūn, stabilized himself on the throne. However, in the absence of a positive Christian response to collaborate in a common assault, Khan Abaqa made no attempt to profit from the end of Baybars' rule. In vain did the Il-Khan make a last bid in 1280 to secure Western European cooperation and dispatch an unheard of force of 100,000 to the Franks' aid.[62] None of the Western princes took the chance. Only the Hospitallers of Marqab joined forces with the Mongols and held Aleppo for some time, but a larger force would have been needed to establish themselves at the newly captured bases.[63] The Hospitallers were begging for King Edward to join forces, drawing his attention to the opportunity presenting itself to deal the Mamluks a heavy blow, "if we received knights from the West, we would be able to smash the forces of the Heathen."[64] The Franks would now have been contented if Edward dispatched a force under the earl of Lancaster in his stead, but straightforwardly asked for money and provisions.[65] As their demands were not met, the Mongols were forced to surrender Aleppo.[66] At the defeat at Homs/Hims in 1281 the Il-Khan learned that without a formidable crusading army from the Western princes even the Mongols were doomed to failure. The Angevin administration chose to make peace with the Mamluks for ten years in 1283. With this sense of security the sultan was able to take the offensive against the Il-Khans again. The peace, however, only gave a false sense of security and in practice it was a real threat; in no time the Mamluks overran not only the Latin East but

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[60] Runciman, *Crusades*, 345–346.

[61] Guisborough, *Chronicle*, 206–207; Wykes, *Chronicon*, 238. He also wanted to take up arms against the Tunis Muslims, see *Flores Historiarum*, vol. III, 20.

[62] *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, 256; Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard (RS 16) (London: Longman, 1859), 160; *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, 72.

[63] *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, 260; Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, 160. 163; *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, 72; 76–77.

[64] 1285: PRO SC 1/18/137; Kohler and Langlois, "Lettres inédites," no. 4; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1442.

[65] The bishop of Hebron to Edward, 1280: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 586–587; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1436.

[66] Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13.–15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994) (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 16), 330.

Persian territories as well. The Mongols were again urging Edward to embark on a campaign.[67] Unfortunately, he was caught up in the second Welsh war (1282–1283).[68] He also realized that as long as Jerusalem insisted on keeping the *modus vivendi* with the Mamluks there was no point in embarking on a great passage.

Edward's arrangements were troubled by his quarrels with the popes about the usage of the crusading tithe. The tax decreed at Lyons in 1274 had nearly all been collected by 1278. In 1278 he asked the pope to use the proceeds from his own realm to make arrangements for the crusade. He was answered that he would only receive 25,000 marks, about a fifth, but only if he guaranteed that he would lead the host in person.[69] From 1280 to 1283 he tried to secure the money for his brother, Edmund of Lancaster, but the popes refused this, since the person of Edward, understandably, was of prime importance to them.[70] But the money, amidst the Welsh wars, kept in sealed sacks in monasteries, was a strong inducement to the king. In 1282 Edward had the money seized and immediately came into conflict with Rome.[71] 1283 saw reconciliation; the king re-paid the money and took another oath to lead the crusade in person within five years.[72]

No step forward was made; additionally, from 1282 the Sicilian Vespers absorbed most of Edward's energy, acting as an arbitrator between France, Naples, and Aragon. The new Il-Khan, Arghun (1284–1291), continued the strenuous attempts to court the Latin world. With the fall of the last crusader stronghold, Marqab, in 1285, the Il-Khan realized that even their existing positions could hardly be held unless they had Edward's cooperation.[73] Arghun sent four missions to the

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[67] Nicole le Lorgne to Edward on the battle, 1282: Kohler and Langlois, "Lettres inédites," no. 5; Joseph de Chauncy reports, 1282: PRO SC 1/55/18; Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des rois*, no. 231; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1446.

[68] Prestwich, *Edward I*, 183–185.

[69] Nicholas III's response, 1278: CPL I. 455; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 560; William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 313.

[70] 1282: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 608. Martin IV ordered that the money be repaid, 1283: PRO SC 7/28/15; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 624; CPL I. 467; 1284: PRO SC 7/29/7; 7/28/1; SC 7/28/9; 1283: Martin IV to Edward: *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.* [1272–1509] 47 vols. (London: HMSO, 1892–1963) [hereafter: CCR], vol. II. Edward I. 1279–88, 235–236.

[71] Objection by Martin IV, 1283: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 631; CCR I. Edward I. 1279–88, 206; Lunt, A papal tenth, 52–5.

[72] Martin IV to Edward, 1284: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 641–642; CPL I. 473–474; 476; negotiations with Honorius IV, 1285–86: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 652–653; 666; 674–675.

[73] Runciman, *Crusades*, 395.

West.[74] In a most critical situation, Great Khan Qubilai also sent an ambassador – both to the Holy See and King Edward – outlining a specific project of a two-pronged attack and offering to divide Egypt.[75] The scheme reckoned on Edward preventing the African and Syrian Mamluk troops from joining forces.[76] The khan took a firm stand not to wage war against Islam unless the West in fact dispatched formidable forces.[77] As the Mongol envoys mostly did not get tangible results from the Holy See – the pontiffs being buried under the weight of the Sicilian business – they placed all their hopes in King Edward. In parallel, from the early 1280s, the Franks, the military orders, and the Acre government chose to treat only with England.[78]

Edward, though, still busy mediating between the warlike Aragonese and the weakened Angevins, sought to renew the negotiations with Pope Martin IV to launch the crusade. It was not Edward's fault that the Ilkhanid missions were treated with ceremonial gestures but left only with numerous assurances of support.[79] The Vespers detained most of the traditional protagonists of the *cruciata*. Edward did seek to bring forth a compromise at Oloron-Sainte-Marie in 1287.[80] However, his efforts became void since both the Capetians and Pope Nicholas IV promptly refused the truce. Edward was again kept from turning to the defense of the Holy Land and had to have the parties sit at another congress table at Canfranc.[81] While the obstinate pope and the French were not able to agree, the Mamluks, unimpeded, started their campaign against Tripoli, being astonished themselves at the Christians' lack of interest in its defense.[82] In vain did the king of England present a proposal to Philippe IV the Fair in 1286; France preferred to embark on an Aragonian campaign.[83]

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[74] The first embassy of 1285: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I, no. 1456.

[75] *terram Scami videlicet terram Egipti inter nos et vos estrengebimus… Saracenis de medio nostri levabimus dominus pap et Cam*, J. B. Chabot, "Notes sur les relations du roi Argoun avec l'Occident," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1894): 566–629, esp. 571.

[76] Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 571; Lupprian, *Beziehungen der Päpste*, 245–246.

[77] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan Emperor of China* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928), 42–61; 72–75.

[78] 1286: Benjamin F. Byerly and Catherine Ridder Byerly, ed., *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286* (London: HMSO, 1977), nos. 1988; 2019; 1990–1991; 2015; Nicole le Lorgne to Edward, 1286: Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des rois*, no. 253; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1470.

[79] Dawson, *Mongol*, xxix.

[80] Rymer, *Foedera*, [London edn], vol. I. ii. 677.

[81] 1288: Rymer, *Foedera*, [London edn], vol. I. ii. 687–696.

[82] 1288: CPL I. 492–493; March 1289: CPL. I. 495.

[83] 1286: PRO Chancery Miscellanea C 47/29/2/2.

While the knights of Christendom were fighting one another, the Mamluks were encircling Acre. Although a legate had already been sent to England in 1284 to preach the crusade,[84] the *negotium crucis* suffered another delay with the pontifical vacancy from April 1287 to February 1288. Furthermore, although in 1287 Edward assumed the cross at last and was appointed *capitaneus exercitus Christiani*, he was again tied up in the lingering Aragonese-Angevin crisis[85] and had to arrange a third treaty in February 1291.[86]

Feeling the threat of the overwhelming Mamluk power, Arghun sent an embassy again in 1287. Edward warmly received the Nestorian Rabban Sawma, an associate of Patriarch Mar Yahballaha III, and assured the khan of his commitment, but was unable to make a concrete promise.[87] The new pontiff, Nicholas IV, was capable of treating the Mongols with great distinction – sending a "portable" church(!) and a tiara to the newly confirmed patriarch of all Orientals[88] – but not of discussing practical details on the departure of the crusading host.[89] Arghun tried again to wake the Christians' conscience and a joint Christian-Mongol embassy was sent to the West.[90] Still in 1287, in utter despair, he was even willing to take an oath that when Jerusalem had been won by the allied forces he would receive baptism. In 1289–90 another embassy was empowered to treat with the pope and Edward.[91] The Mongols outlined a specific military plan and fixed a time when they would meet the crusading army near Damascus in February, 1291. It was proposed that by that time the Il-Khan would launch a force of 20,000 to 30,000 men to capture Damascus, adding that "if you send your troops at the time fixed, when we have taken Jerusalem, we will hand it over to you."[92] The khan also asked the pope to send missionaries to the East. Great

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[84] Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 641–642.

[85] "*Annales monasterii de Waverleia*, A.D. 1-1291," in *Annales Monastici*. II. 404.

[86] PRO Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Miscellaneous Books. Liber B E 36/275.

[87] Norman McLean, "An Eastern Embassy to Europe in the Years 1287-8," *English Historical Review* 14 (1899): 312–315; Turner, "Unpublished Notices," 45–50.

[88] To Arghun, 1288: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1475; Lockhart, "The Relations," 25; Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 575–579; 581–584.

[89] J. D. Ryan, "Nicholas IV and the Evolution of the Eastern Missionary Effort," *Archivum Historiae Pontificum* 19 (1981): 79–95.

[90] Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 712.

[91] The Genoese Buscarello di Gisolfo spent an unusually long time (20 days) in England, probably having talks about the crusade. Turner, "Unpublished Notices," 48–49; Budge, *Monks*, 185.

[92] *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1485; Antoine Mostaert and Francis Woodman Cleaves, ed., *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Scripta Mongolica, 1 (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Inst., 1962), 18.

Khan Qubilai undertook to support the enterprise with the whole of the Mongol military machinery and provide remounts and provision for the Christians.[93]

Nicholas IV took up the stand of the crusade and sent a letter to Edward with the envoy and urged his departure.[94] Edward was now fully prepared to embark on his campaign, and in 1289 commissioned his envoys to the Holy See to negotiate the details of the departure[95] – and at the same time asked for a new crusading tithe.[96] The former pontiff had died a before settlement could be reached with regard to a new tithe that the English had asked for before.

Even though in the mid-1280s it seemed unlikely that the king himself would depart, arrangements were being made for smaller contingents to make their way in advance, before the royal host. Edward did not at all give up leading his army personally to the Holy Land: he had initiated his preparations in 1287 and visited shrines, commending himself to God and their prayers, and constantly stressed the firmness of his vow.[97] He summoned a parliament to proclaim "for all to hear that his vow should be kept" and arrangements with the pope – and the Mongols – carried out.[98] To propagate the *negotium Christi*, Edward had copies of the crusading bull distributed throughout England.[99] In 1287 "a great multitude of men," of his entourage and followers assumed the Cross.[100] Besides, several barons donated to the great cause.[101] What is more, the king urged Englishmen to enlist for the crusade by donations and gifts.[102] The crown of England was touched in a number of crusading ventures. In 1287 it financed the campaign of Alice, countess of Blois, in which several lords of England and Plantagenet relatives took part (among others, Florence, the would-be count of

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[93] Only one letter has survived: Lockhart, "The Relations," 29–31; Abel-Rémusat, "Mémoires," (1824), 363.

[94] 1289: PRO SC 7/32/4; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 713; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1497.

[95] PRO King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various, E 101/352/18. m. 7; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 708–709.

[96] 1289: PRO SC 7/31/19; *Original Papal Documents*, no. 924.

[97] Frederick Maurice Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward. The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), 600–602.

[98] Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," 306.

[99] *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III–Henry VI*, ed. Frederick Devon (London: J. Murray, 1837), 105.

[100] *Flores Historiarum*, vol. III, 66.

[101] 1287: CPR II. Edward I: 1282–91; 208; CPR III. Edward I: 1290–91: CPL I. 537; 542; 550; CPR II. Edward I: 1282–91; 340; 357; 365; 371; 422; 427.

[102] Lunt, *Financial*, 338.

Holland, the fiancée of Edward's daughter, Elisabeth).[103] In 1288 a force under Jean de Grailly set out for Syria, and served in the defense of both Tripoli and Acre.[104] In 1290 the king enrolled crusaders for the expedition of Otho/Odo de Grandison/Grandson, and a few hundred knights were dispatched to Acre.[105] Several influential politicians assumed the cross and took an oath to depart with Grandson (for instance, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke; Thomas Bek, bishop of St. David's).[106] The English *crucesignati*, together with the 1288 crusaders of Jean de Grailly, fought at the siege of Acre, and in the last stages took control of the defense themselves.[107]

The pope persistently continued to urge the *passagium* upon Edward. Great progress was made when the king accepted the terms set by the pope of the imposition of a new sexennial crusading tithe.[108] The pope now insisted on a fixed date of departure: June 1292, which was postponed at the request of the king to a year later.[109] Edward also swore a solemn oath to depart and set June 1293 as a "personal" deadline.[110] The pope, however, only agreed to pay half of the proceeds before departure.[111] Edward took an oath to repay it all if he did not go in person.[112] In 1290–91 and 1293 a one-fifteenth tithe was levied by the English Parliament, signifying the serious intentions of the king.[113] In May 1290 the negotiations concerning the passage were complete and the departure was fixed

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[103] Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," 259; 268–269.

[104] CPR II. Edward I: 1281–92. 297; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1480.

[105] The crusade of Grandson: Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Death of King Alexander the Third to the Accession of Robert Bruce* (Edinburgh: H. M. general register house, 1870), vol. I. 136. Edward offered 3000 marks: CPR II. Edward I: 1281–92, 373; besides donating to Grandson the royal revenues of Guernsey and Jersey as long as he fought for the Cross, see Francisque Michel and Charles Bémont, ed., *Rôles gascons*, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885–1906) (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. sér. 1), vol. III. no. 1924; Indulgences, 1290: CPR II. Edward I: 1282–91, 364, 366, 373–377.

[106] Lloyd, *English Society*, 59.

[107] 1291: *salvus conductus* to stay in the Holy Land: CPR II. Edward I: 1282–91, 440, 462; Runciman, *Crusades*, 418–419.

[108] 1290: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 705.

[109] Negotiations with Nicholas, 1290: PRO SC 7/32/12; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 732–753; tenth imposed, 1291: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 747.

[110] Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, 178.

[111] 1290: PRO SC 7/30/19; Acceptance of conditions, 1291: PRO SC 7/31/20–21; Ratified by Edward: PRO SC 7/31/18. Preaching starts, 1291: PRO SC 7/31/1.

[112] 1289: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 705.

[113] Powicke, *Lord Edward*, 511; 1293: PRO Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls and Registers E 401/1619–1620; Lunt, *Financial*, 339–340.

for 24 June 1293 in order to have more time to secure other prospective partners. Arrangements were made for the prior payment of moneys in 1291–92.[114]

By that time Tripoli had collapsed (April 1289) and it was an imminent danger that if the *passagium* did not depart immediately the Holy Land would be lost. The Christians were hard-pressed for time. In early 1291, on behalf of the Christians caught in Acre, Bernard, bishop of Tripoli, made a last desperate invocation to the English clergy to put pressure on Edward. Then he also travelled to England to beg the king himself.[115] King Hethoum II of Armenia also dispatched an embassy directly to England in 1291.[116] However, after the death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, recognised as queen of the Scots in 1290, he had to intervene for his son's "inheritance" in Scotland. He was not able to focus only on the crusade. However, even amidst the troubles in Scotland, Edward was determined to duly depart for the relief of the Cross. At the end of 1290 he even took an oath both before Parliament and the pope.[117] His preparations inflated hopes; Arghun sent another embassy to the pope and Edward immediately after the fall of Tripoli in 1289.[118] The Mongols were now ready to get directly involved in the organization of the Christian war effort, supplying provisions, arms, horses and "anything the army might need" *(equitatura…et aliis exercitui nostro necessariis)*. The last Ilkhanid mission arrived in England in 1291, by which the time the West had learnt the appalling news of the fall of Acre. The king answered that as soon as possible he would depart with the host, the exact time of which he would immediately notify the khan.[119] The Il-Khan could not believe his ears that the princes of Christendom were unable to come to the aid of the Outremer in the final hour of peril. The pope was not able to give a concrete date for the departure either; he was also waiting for Edward to act. He now sent a legate to the Mongol Empire, the Franciscan Giovanni da Monte Corvino.[120]

Undoubtedly, the fall of Acre caused great shock. The contemporaries did not believe that it could happen. The realists, however, like Edward himself, were

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[114] Edward 's renewed oath: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 714–715.

[115] Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, 223–226.

[116] 1291: British Library [BL] Royal MS 12 D XI, fol. 15v.: Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, 219–223; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. no. 1514; Edward's answer: BL Royal MS 12 D XI, fol. 16v–17v.

[117] 1290: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 741; Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, 118–119.

[118] Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 588–590; 616–23; PRO SC 7/30/18; SC 7/31/16; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, vol. I. nos. 1506; 1507.

[119] Edward's answer to Arghun, 1290: CCR II. Edward I: 1288–96, 145; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 744.

[120] Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 595–598.

aware that the spiritual significance of the city of Acre was much greater than its real strategic one. It was a great blow, but also meant that there was no need to hurry to retrieve the city under siege; there was now time for a profoundly devised, thoroughly organized campaign. Nicholas IV did not abandon the Mongol alliance, as his letter of 1291 signifies.[121] The pope went on sending his supplications to the king, but now with the task of organizing the great host of all Christendom, not just an urgent action to relieve Acre.[122] Although Edward was still engaged in Scottish affairs, he now turned to the organization of the crusade on new grounds, with the participation of all possible partners. All the princes of Christendom came to look upon him, expecting guidance. It was owing to events beyond his control, a renewal of the Scottish war, that he found himself again unable to leave England. The English public placed the crusade lower on the order of priorities, and serious arguments were raised against Edward leaving the country, "if King Edward had gone towards Acre, greatly would the kingdom and royalty have been in peril."[123]

At the news of the fall of Acre Edward did not call off his project. He still believed in the success of the crusade. He did issue letters, to the kings of Hungary, Norway, and Aragon, and made it clear that he would rely on the forces they had offered in his campaign now to *recover* Acre, planned for 1292 or 1293.[124] He hurried to notify the Il-Khan that he had not abandoned the collaboration. In 1292 he sent an envoy to Persia to announce his commitment and convince the Mongols of the earnestness of his plans.[125] This is also underlined by the amount the Exchequer issued for the expenses of the envoy, since he was to visit all potential allies.[126] Unfortunately, when the envoy arrived, Arghun had died and his orientation was not followed by his successor, Gaykhatu.[127]

However, the *negotium* suffered a serious blow; one of its prime movers, Nicholas IV, died in April 1292, and a long papal vacancy followed. By the time a

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[121] Nicholas IV to Arghun, 1291: Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 621–622.

[122] Papal *exhortatio*, 1292: PRO SC 7/30/9; SC 7/30/16; *Original Papal Documents*, nos. 975–976.

[123] Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1725), 247; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), 92.

[124] To the king of Hungary, June 1292: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 760; to Norway, 1293: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 787–788; offers from Aragon, 1293–94: Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. I. ii. 787; 793; 798.

[125] CCR III. Edward I: 1288–95, 145.

[126] Prestwich, *Edward I*, 331.

[127] Chabot, "Notes sur les relations," 617–619.

new pope was elected and Edward was ready to depart, he was prevented again; in May 1294 Philippe IV summoned him as his vassal before the Parliament and Edward had to use part of the tithe for the defense of Guyenne.[128] He did not receive sufficient funds from it, and collection proved difficult in England. But even in the midst of the conflict with Philippe IV in 1294 Edward was dedicated to his holy task and expressed his eagerness to recapture the Holy Land.[129] However, engulfed in war between the Franco-Scottish *Auld Alliance*, he had an ever smaller chance to fulfill his expectations. As a practical man, as Powicke has observed, he was determined to make sure of his ground before he walked on it,[130] and perhaps he was aware that in his earthly life he would not see Jerusalem. Yet in the evening of his life he was still making arrangements for his departure "when I have finished my wars." In 1306 he swore an oath to launch the passage if the Scottish war ended.[131] He did even care for the *negotium*; in his 1307 testament he ordered that his heart be buried in the Holy Land and left a fund to pay for 100 mercenaries annually to stay in arms for the defense of the Cross.[132]

Edward was not an old-fashioned crusader and abandoned the traditional day-dream of the *passagium generale*. He sided with the platform of the *passagium particulare*, emerging at the Council of Lyons II, of limited-scale warfare aimed at securing well-protected military bases. The new schemes reckoned with an efficient background in logistics and supply and were to launch smaller contingents along deployment routes safeguarded by strategic footholds from the Balkans through the Asia Minor coastline. In its *new* idea, the crusade could equally mean the defense of a single castle or arrangements for provisions. The *cruciata* was no longer to be seen as a glorious great passage led by illustrious saint-kings to capture Jerusalem. It was not feasible that everything had to be started again from the mainland of Europe and a great host had to be re-arranged every time. The essence of *passagium particulare* lies in regularity; the small-scale ventures had to be continual and permanent garrisons had to be maintained in the bridgehead bases. A similar program was envisaged by the theoreticians of the *recuperatio* at

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[128] CPR III. Edward I: 1292–1301, 12, 576.

[129] PRO SC 1/13/66, 67.

[130] Powicke, *Lord Edward*, 729.

[131] *Flores Historiarum*, vol. III, 131–132; oath to the Grand Master of the Temple, Jacques de Molay: CCR I. Edward II: 1302–7, 208.

[132] Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex Regum Angliae, 1135–1307*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), 408–409.

the beginning of the fourteenth century, Pierre Dubois[133] and Hethoum/Hetum of Armenia Minor.[134]

The continued postponement of the organization and departure of the crusading host did not at all mean that the king of England was not involved in the effort for the defense of the Holy Land. He had a "military presence" in the East, mainly by subsidizing monetary funds and reinforcing garrisons. Edward was more or less left alone to organize and finance the defense of Acre by the 1280s. He left funds for the subsequent payment of garrison troops and began the construction of an "English Tower" to strengthen the walls of Acre. The Order of St. Thomas the Martyr fought at the siege of Acre. The English government backed several confraternities, e.g., that of Edward the Confessor, of the masons and defenders of the *turris Anglorum* in Acre.[135] The crown had contributed "the mark of the Templars" to the Temple since the reign of Henry II.[136] Edward disapproved of the venture of purely voluntary forces and promoted the commutation of vows through monetary payments or the purchase of a skilled military substitute. He himself hired *stipendiarii*.[137]

In the late thirteenth century it was Edward's court that was seen all over Christendom as the "engine" of the *cruciata*. Edward sought to act as a center for collecting all kinds of contributions – he made a great effort to enlist the king of Aragon[138] – that is why the kings of Norway and Hungary applied to him when

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[133] Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte. Traité de politique générale,* ed. Charles Victor Langlois (Paris: Picard, 1891); Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land,* ed. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 69; 84.

[134] "if the passage will go by sea, at every port ships must be fitted out and other necessities readied to cross over... at a prearranged and appropriate time." Hayton of Korykos or Lambron, "La Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient" [Flos historiarum terre Orientis], in *Recueil des historiens des croisade. Documents arméniens,* ed. Charles Kohler, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1906), 243–276. English trans.: Robert Bedrosian, *Het'um the Historian's History of the Tatars,* 2004, http://rbedrosian.com/hetumint.htm (accessed 26 January 2009), Book IV. Hayton did not think of the Tatars as "Saracen aliens" but took them as potential allies: "Should it happen that the Tatars occupied the realm of the Holy Land, the Christian forces should be ready to receive the Tatar lands and keep them. … Tatars might greatly ease and benefit the Christian forces." Ibidem.

[135] 1278: CPR I. Edward I: 94. Lloyd, *English Society,* 240.

[136] *Issues of the Exchequer,* 98; Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," 270; 274; Lloyd, *English Society,* 240.

[137] *Flores Historiarum,* vol. III. 29; Jean Guiraud and Léon Cadier, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire X et Jean XXI,* 4 vols. (Paris: Bibliotheque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1892–1906), no. 797.

[138] 1289: Rymer, *Foedera,* vol. I. ii. 713.

they supplied aid to the crusade. He welcomed all kinds of contributions, be they a sum of money or a military unit maintained to serve in Palestine. He was not only thinking in terms of a grand crusading alliance, but would receive any kind of reply to his initiative, no matter how modest it might be. He was searching not for illustrious monarchs or "lionhearted" knights, but prospective partners in the venture who would contribute in various ways. His search continued even after the fall of Acre, now for the cause of the *recuperatio*. Edward's new *passagium particulare* scheme was based on the broad cooperation of Christian monarchs. He sought to engage the kingdoms of Hungary and Norway in the crusading effort. In 1291 King Andrew III offered to dispatch a substantial force, 1000 knights and mounted crossbowmen, for the imminent campaign at his own expense. In his response the king of England recommended that Andrew should join him in the Holy Land.[139] Eirik Magnusson, king of Norway, also offered a crusading force.[140] Edward provided for strategic schemes; a crusading treatise was written at the English court, attributed to one of Edward's companions, Otho de Grandson. This tractate elaborates a detailed strategic scheme, with different tasks assigned to European rulers and the Mongols, the use of military bases and ports, and so on.[141]

From the early 1290s it can be doubted whether Edward's professions were sincere. Some scholars question his genuineness; Lloyd says that *in abstracto* he was sincere.[142] However, it is not a simple question whether he kept his word or not. Purcell states that his chief interest lay in utilizing money for his own ends.[143] It is true that there were long and tedious negotiations with the subsequent popes concerning the exact terms and conditions upon which Edward would take the Cross and be granted subsidies. His failure to fulfill his personal vow is satisfactorily explained by the pressures upon him from Wales through Scotland

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[139] Only Edward's answer has survived, 1292, *mille vero militibus et sagittariis equitibus… per unum annum nobis in Terre Sancte succursum faciendo per terram offertis,* Rymer, *Foedera,* vol. I. ii. 760; Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Árpád-kori új okmánytár.* [Arpad period new archive], *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus,* 12 vols. (Pest–Budapest, 1860–74), vol. V. 44; CCR II. Edward I: 1288–1296, 266–267.

[140] Rymer, *Foedera,* vol. I. ii. 787–788.

[141] Charles Kohler, "Deux projects de Croisade en Terre Sainte croisade en Terre-Sainte composés à la fin de XIIIe siècle et au début du XIVe siècle," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 10 (1903–04): 516.

[142] Lloyd, *English Society,* 236.

[143] Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy 1244–1291. The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre* (Leyden: Brill, 1975), 113.

to the Sicilian Vespers. This does not mean that he did nothing for the defense of the Holy Land; he had a hand in launching and financing a number of ventures as well as regularly subsidizing the Outremer to a greater extent than any other ruler in the past. When he was entangled by protracted crises, he persisted with the nomination of a substitute but was rejected by the inflexible papacy. It is also true he was eager to have everything settled that might hinder his passage. Edward was entirely distracted from the great cause as the Scottish succession dominated his thoughts. It is understandable in the political context that he did not dare to risk the Plantagenet interests in the West for the Great Cause. Not one of the contemporary monarchs would have done it. Yet he consistently expressed his resolve to set sail to the East. Crusading, and making arrangements for it, was a risky business. In comparison, the crusader pope, Gregory X, was not able to raise more than a few hundred knights. His only result was that the king of France sent 125 knights to Acre, then dispatched a force of 500, and Guillaume de Roussillon embarked with 40 knights and 460 footmen.[144]

Edward's crusading policy was based on rational, pragmatic grounds. The revival of the concept of limited-scale expeditions from the mid-1280s was due to Edward. He believed what he said to the Mongol envoys in 1287: "I have the sign of the cross on my body. This affair is my chief concern. My heart swells at the thought of that."[145] However, he was aware of all the difficulties that might arise. He expressed the firm intention to go to the relief of the Holy Land, but only when all basic conditions – considerable assistance from the Mongols, active participation of the Franks and the king of Cyprus, and so on – were fulfilled. But when Khan Arghun died, the prospects for the passage were diminished in the absence of the hoped-for Mongol alliance. Although the West rejoiced at the news that Il-Khan Ghazan had success against the Mamluks and had taken control of Jerusalem for a few months in 1300, it was now a new situation as he had embraced Islam. However, when his follower, Öljeitü, appealed to the West in 1305, Edward contemplated a united effort, but his envoy arrived after his death, and his son, Edward II, made only vague references to collaboration.[146]

What is unique about Edward is the fact that he alone of the Western princes appeared anxious to encourage the Mongol alliance, and so long as he lived he maintained far more contact with the khans than any European ruler. Although he died with his crusading vow unfulfilled, he did a great deal as a politician, as a new type of a crusader king, a new *capitaneus exercitus Christiani* who worked

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[144] Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," 255–256.

[145] Chabot, "Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha," 110; Powicke, *Lord Edward*, 731.

[146] Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. II. i. 8.

hard for about forty years for the *negotium crucis* and organized a wide front of crusaders. His crusade, though not a success in the end, was the most profoundly planned and concerted action, with the Mongols diplomatically prepared. He was never speculative in his projects; he thought in terms of practical tactical operations; his projects depended on preliminary groundwork. His great project was pushed further and further aside and his efforts frustrated either by the intransigence of the papacy or by the Capetians' or Aragonese's narrow-minded search for grandeur. Edward's earnestness in the cause of the Cross did not wane. Interestingly, his contemporaries trusted Edward even though it seemed obvious that the aged king would not recover the Holy Land; they still found his intentions sincere. It is conspicuous that 13 years later, in 1306, the apostle of the recovery, Pierre Dubois, trusted Edward as the only suitable prince to lead the *recuperatio*. His *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* is addressed to the 67-year-old king.[147] He explains it in his *adresse*:

> This you have accomplished not merely by the threat of punishment but also by the constant offer of rich rewards. Instead of seeking that ease which other princes have been accustomed to choose after such strenuous, and even lighter, labors, you are planning to devote your splendid energies to the recovery of the Holy Land and its deliverance from the hands of the infidel.[148]

Edward's reputation was unspoiled, his exploits were magnified even decades afterwards, and his zeal was admired by the realist Dubois. For the time being he supplanted the Capetians as the expected savior of the Holy Land.

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[147] Dubois, *De recuperatione*, 1.

[148] *non solum metu penarum, sed etiam magnorum exhortatione frequenti premiorum; demumque guerris vestris feliciter exercituum agente Domino rege regum, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, jam peractis, loco quietis quam alii principes post tantos labores longeque minores eligere consueverunt, ad Terre Sancte recuperationem, ut de manibus infidelium eripiatur, vestrum gloriosum animum fortiter inclinasse,* Dubois, *De recuperatione*, 1–2.

CRUSADERS' MOTIVATIONS AND CHIVALRIC CONSCIOUSNESS: FRENCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LATER CRUSADES

Irina Savinetskaya

In Quest of a Crusading Spirit

After the loss of Acre in 1291, the last Christian bastion in Palestine, the Christians launched no more military expeditions to Palestine. However, the crusading idea did not lose its attractiveness in the West and the recovery of the Holy Land remained a prominent idea in crusading theory. Military crusading activity following the fall of Acre moved from the Holy Land to the lands of the Baltic pagans, Moors, Mamluks, and Turks.

At the end of the fourteenth century France was preoccupied with the Great Schism, the Hundred Years' War, and an unstable internal situation caused by the acute madness of King Charles VI. At this time, however, the duke of Bourbon launched the Mahdia crusade in 1390; the most important large-scale crusade of this time took place to Nicopolis in 1396; and every year a great number of knights left the country for Prussia in pursuit of religious battles.

The crusade was an enterprise of contrasting patterns. It was always perceived in general as an occupation honorable to God. However, certain expeditions and general weaknesses of the crusaders' military organization were a constant subject of criticism not only in the works of clerics (Michel Pintoin, Honoré Bonet), but also in the treatises written by authors with a lay background (Philippe de Mézières, Jean Froissart). At the same time, knights perceived the crusades as an individual activity; they were supposed to combine crusading with service to their lord or their country. Financing crusading campaigns was generally the knights' responsibility, although sometimes this was covered by donations from generous lords. Despite all the difficulties attending crusading campaigns, they still tended to be a popular type of "pastime" among knights.

In this article I will try to establish the crusaders' motivations in choosing this kind of activity despite all the difficulties connected with it. I will investigate whether the French crusading campaigns of the end of the fourteenth century were determined by a special kind of crusaders' group consciousness and whether

one may actually speak about a particular "crusader identity" or whether a better covering term might be "crusader consciousness."[1]

First I describe how critics of crusading expressed their opinions in contemporary sources (treatises, chronicles, knightly biographies). Second, I address questions concerning the individual responsibilities of a knight willing to participate in a crusade. The third part presents a model of social interactions among crusaders, where I will try to define individual and social motivations that could have influenced the decision of a knight to leave on a crusade.

French crusading theory of the end of the fourteenth century is generally a well researched subject. A considerable number of studies have been dedicated to one of the most prominent preachers of crusade of his times – Philippe de Mézières.[2] Alphonse Dupront researched the crusading ideas of Honoré Bonet, Philippe de Mézières, and Eustache Deschamps.[3] A large part of this topic has been studied in the context of the Great Schism.[4] Therefore, in this article I will consider only critics of the crusades.

Individual knightly contributions to the later crusades have been studied by several scholars. Werner Paravicini has authored a fundamental three-volume work on the expeditions to Prussia.[5] Maurice Keen and Anthony Luttrell have studied the participation of English knights in crusading campaigns in the light of Chaucer's Knight.[6] Jacques Paviot has researched the contribution of

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[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Theory, Practice, and Chivalric Identity: French Contributions to the Later Crusades," Central European University (Budapest, 2009).

[2] The most important contributions are: Nicolae Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières, et la Croisade au XIVe siècle* (Paris: É. Bouillon, 1895); *Le Songe du vieil pèlerin*, ed. George W. Coopland, 2 vols (London: CUP, 1969); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975); Philippe de Mézières, *Une epistre lamentable et consolatoire adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis (1396)*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 2008).

[3] Alphonse Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), vol. 1, 212–217, 220–225, 256–298.

[4] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2006).

[5] Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989–1994).

[6] Anthony Luttrell, "Chaucer's Knight and Holy War" (in press); Maurice Keen, "Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Vincent Scattergood (London: Duckworth, 1983), 49–61; Idem, "Chaucer and Chivalry Revisited," in *Armies, Chivalry, and Warfare in Medieval England and France*, ed. Matthew Strickland (Stamford: Paul Watkins Press, 1998), 1–12.

the Burgundian knights to the crusading campaigns of the fourteenth century[7] and, based on his material, questioned the role of knightly ideals in the desire of knights to join the crusades.[8]

The best-studied individual French crusaders of the end of the fourteenth century are Marshal of France Jean II le Meingre Boucicaut;[9] Enguerrand de Coucy, Edward III's son-in-law;[10] Jean de Chateaumorand;[11] and Philippe d'Artois, cousin of Charles VI of France.[12] I believe that studies in this field of research will be furthered with a case study of the state of crusading ideas, crusading practice, and crusaders' motivations in France at the end of the fourteenth century. This work is a contribution to the study of group identity in the Middle Ages. I believe that group consciousness is an important element of constructing history and needs to be studied comparatively using examples of various institutions and enterprises. Crusades are excellent material for such an analysis.

Critics of Crusades

Crusading was always perceived as an expedition viewed favorably by God. Late medieval crusading theory distinguished two types: *passagium generale* and *passagium particulare*. The "ideal" crusade was meant to be general, that is, to involve all Christian rulers, and its major aim was the recovery of the Holy Land. *Passagium particulare* referred to a small expedition which was often locally or nationally

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[7] Jacques Paviot, "La croisade bourguignonne aux XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles: un idéal chevaleresque?" *Francia* 33, No. 1 (2006): 33–68.

[8] Ibidem.

[9] Joseph Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVᵉ siècle. Expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols (Paris: Thorin, 1886); Denis Lalande, *Jean II Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366–1421). Etude d'une biographie héroique* (Geneva: Droz, 1988); Norman Housley, "One Man and his Wars: The Depiction of Warfare by Marshal Boucicaut's Biographer," *Journal of Medieval Studies* 29 (2003): 27–40.

[10] Jacques Paviot, "Noblesse et la Croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Cahiers des recherches médiévales* 13 (2006): 69–84; Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14ᵗʰ Century* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

[11] Gustav Schlumberger, "Jean de Chateaumorand: un des principaux héros français des arrière-croisades en Orient à la fin du XIVᵉ siècle et à l'aurore du XVᵉ," *Byzance et Croisade* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927), 282–326.

[12] Émilie Lebailly, "Le connétable d'Eu et son circle nobiliare," *Cahiers des recherches médiévales* 13 (2006): 41–52.

organized and which was usually perceived as preparation for the final recovery of the Holy Land.[13]

Despite the general praise of the idea of a crusade, however, the ideologists of the crusade produced an extensive critique of the knighthood participating in the crusades in general and of certain crusades in particular. One even encounters the explicit discouragement of the *passagium particulare*. Honoré Bonnet's work urges abandoning the passages of a small company undertaken by a king because they would only bring blame on the Christians and there would be a great risk of oppressing the Catholic faith rather than propagating it.[14] It is clear that the crusaders themselves provided the material for such critiques. The general criticism of the crusaders was part of the stream of contemporary knightly critiques. They were usually accused of lacking military skill, effeminacy, and poor organization on the battlefield.

The crusade of Nicopolis was the central event in the crusading activity at the end of the fourteenth century and it was widely criticized in the sources. An express aversion to crusaders runs through Michel Pintoin's account of the battle of Nicopolis. First, he accuses the knights of not listening to the advice of ecclesiastical men concerning their way of life at war.[15] Secondly, he blames them for their pride and the constant pursuit of honor, which deprived them of military rationality. He even states that due to their vices the crusaders were unworthy of mercy and therefore the masses which were celebrated for them in Paris in their absence, according to the instructions of the king, did not reach the God of Mercy.[16] According to Michel Pintoin, the defeat of the Christians was a celestial vengeance for the numerous crimes of the Christian army and requital for their reluctance to listen to any advice except that of youngsters.[17]

Pintoin strongly criticizes the crusaders for the massacre of the Greek population of the city of Rahowa and for the execution of nearly a thousand prisoners. *La Chronique de Saint-Denis* as well as *Le Livre des Fais* reports that the Christian army took around a thousand citizens of noble origin from Rahowa as prisoners. The Christians presumably wanted to profit from the ransom which

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[13] Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 16–19.

[14] *The Tree of Battles*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), 127.

[15] *La Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols (Paris: Crapelet, 1839–1852), vol. 2, 484.

[16] Ibidem, 496.

[17] Ibidem, 510.

they hoped to receive for these noble captives,[18] but the imminent approach of the Turkish army to their camp near Nicopolis changed their plans. They decided to execute the prisoners, probably because they feared that the captives would side with the Turks. *Le Livre des Fais* passes over this episode of the Nicopolis crusade in silence, while *La Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* explicitly states what happened.[19]

Jean Froissart also criticizes the excessive pride of the Frenchmen on the battlefield at Nicopolis, who did not listen to the wise advice of the king of Hungary and therefore "became the reason for the deplorable loss, which was the greatest since the battle of Roncevalles, where twelve peers of France died..."[20] Jean Froissart criticizes not only the crusade of Nicopolis, but the crusaders of other campaigns as well for their lack of spiritual devotion. He speaks about the son of Philippe de Valois, Jean II le Bon, who took the Cross in 1363 at the great desire of the king of Cyprus, who was traveling through Europe seeking aid against the Turks. According to Froissart, Jean made this decision, first, because he wanted to repeat his father's heroic deed and, second, in order to remove from his kingdom all the men at arms "who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right and to save their souls."[21]

The account of Boucicaut's biographer of the battle of Nicopolis is completely different from other critiques found in contemporary sources. This seems to have been an attempt to restore the chivalric reputation and, mainly, the reputation of the marshal of France, Boucicaut, who was one of the chief army commanders during the expedition. The author presents the battle of Nicopolis to his readers as a collection of separate examples of knightly courage, ending with extensive reasoning on the qualities of French chivalry, which surpassed all other nations in its qualities and lost battles only "because of treason or because of the faults of their chiefs or of those who had to conduct them."[22]

Boucicaut's biography represents a separate tradition among contemporary crusader critiques and, in my opinion, can be seen as an expression of a certain crusader consciousness. The fact that neither crusade critiques nor the difficulties that arose from participating in crusading campaigns discouraged the knights

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[18] Ibidem, 494.
[19] Ibidem, 510.
[20] Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Jean Froissart. Les Chroniques,* ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels: Comptoir Universel d'Imprimerie er de Librairie Victor Devaux, 1872), vol. 14, 475.
[21] Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Jean Froissart. Les Chroniques,* vol. 6, 372.
[22] *Le Livre des Fais du Sage Roy Charles,* ed. M. Petitot (Paris: Foucault, 1825), 107–108.

from fighting unbelievers can be regarded as evidence for the existence of a certain kind of crusader identity.

Participating in a Crusade

The crusades were perceived as the individual activity of knights. Financing crusading campaigns was generally the knights' responsibility, although sometimes generous lords made donations. The crusading knights at Nicopolis (1396) were financed to some extent by the duke of Burgundy, but mostly by themselves. According to Jean Froissart, the duke of Burgundy asked noblemen to join his crusade at their own expense or, if they were not willing to join the crusade, to donate something toward the organization of the crusade. Thus, old knights donated sums of money and young knights joined the expedition.[23] According to *Le Livre des Fais*, everyone went on the crusade at his own expense except knights and esquires who accompanied higher-ranking warriors.[24] Boucicaut's biographer reports that the marshal took with him seventy *gentilshommes*, among whom fifteen were knights of his parents.[25] Some crusaders received donations from the organizer of the crusade, the duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi, before their departure and upon their arrival.[26]

Funding an expedition to Prussia was also the knight's responsibility, although in some cases generous noblemen supplied them with resources. According to Cabaret d'Orville, in 1384 Luis de Bourbon, with his closest entourage of knights, went to Savoy to visit his sister. Before he returned from Savoy to Paris several knights asked him for permission to spend the winter of 1385 abroad, in Prussia, as "many knights from different countries were going there,"[27] promising to come back shortly after Easter. "Do you have money?" asked the duke of Bourbon. The knights answered him that the duke of Anjou had already given them transport and money before the departure.[28]

The limitations on knights allowed to take part in the expedition suggests that the king was preoccupied with the rational use of warriors in state affairs such as the Hundred Years' War and desired to limit their crusading ardor. Charles VI did not allow Jean Boucicaut to join the Mahdia expedition, which

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[23] Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Jean Froissart. Les Chroniques*, vol. 15, 447–448.

[24] *Le Livre des Fais*, 91.

[25] Ibidem.

[26] Jacques Paviot, "La Croisade bourguignonne aux XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles," 46–54.

[27] *La Chronique du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon,* ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Paris: Renouard, 1876), 63.

[28] Ibidem.

disappointed the marshal.[29] However, Boucicaut soon received permission to join the crusade to the Baltic lands, which the king may have regarded as a less dangerous enterprise. But the story does not end there, because while waiting for the beginning of the campaign in Prussia, the king sent Boucicaut messages urging him to come back to Paris for another expedition. Boucicaut, not daring to disobey, prepared himself for the journey, but was suddenly stopped by another message allowing him to continue his campaign in Prussia. Boucicaut's obedience to the king's orders shows that the king's service took priority over crusading. However, as Norman Housley has suggested, this episode shows the tension that existed between the king's service crusading activity, which was regarded in a way as individual.[30] The example of Boucicaut shows that it was hard, although still possible, to combine these two types of military service.

The number of knights traveling to Prussia increased during the peaceful periods of the Hundred Years' War. According to Christopher Tyerman, the highest peaks of crusading activity in Prussia followed the truces and peaces of the Hundred Years' War, notably in 1347–1352, 1362–1368, and 1390–1398.[31] This pattern suggests that the involvement of Western knights in crusading campaigns in the Baltic lands depended greatly on the level of their occupation with home affairs.

A knight willing to participate in a crusade was supposed to ask special permission from his master to leave the country – *congié*. Upon receiving the permission the knight became officially free from service to his master and could offer himself in the service of other noblemen. Thus, Boucicaut and Renaud du Roy took *congié* from the duke of Bourbon and went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They traveled to Venice, from where they traveled to Constantinople. They stayed in Constantinople for Lent, waiting for permission from Sultan Murad I to make their pilgrimage on his territory. Murad I organized a solemn reception for the knights at his court and in return Boucicaut and Renaud offered to join him if he should decide to fight the Saracens. Murad accepted their proposal and they stayed at his court,[32] but he did not lead any wars against the Saracens then and soon the knights left. Shortly after this episode they arrived at the court of the king of Hungary and stayed there for three months. Probably during this period

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[29] *Le Livre des Fais*, 74.

[30] Norman Housley, "One Man and his Wars."

[31] Christoper Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 268.

[32] *Le Livre des Fais*, 61–62.

they were considered his knights, because Boucicaut's biographer indicates that upon their departure they received *congié* from him.[33]

This material suggests that crusading bore a strong individual character. Being performed at a knight's own responsibility, even though with a hope of receiving a reward in the form of a donation or part of the booty, they were perceived as activities beyond service to their lord or country. Individual knightly interests bound French noblemen together in such enterprises and seem to have defined a group consciousness of a cosmopolitan military elite seeking adventure, entertainment, experience, and honor.

Crusades as Social Interaction among Knights

For a French knight at the end of the fourteenth century the common crusading destinations were the lands of the Baltic pagans, Moors, Mamluks, and Turks. The campaigns in Prussia were the most popular among the knights, as they went on constantly and were easy to access.

Expeditions to Prussia were a unique experience for the European chivalry, because the Teutonic knights had developed, in Christopher Tyerman's expression, "a knightly package tour," which included feasting, hunting, military action, and a system of prizes for the most successful combatants.[34] In only a matter of several weeks spent in Prussia, knights could participate in a military campaign and a feast, and then return home with honor, reputation, and spiritual reward.

The most frequent explanations in the primary sources for joining a Baltic crusade are a knight's boredom and the lack of occupation at home. The duke of Guerles, in order "to employ his time, while he did not know what to do at home, went to Prussia."[35] The same story is told by the anonymous author of *Le Livre des Fais*. When all the elite of the French army went on the Mahdia Crusade in 1390, leaving Boucicaut in Paris as the king had not allowed him to join, he became upset and unwilling to stay at court and left France as soon as possible in order to join a crusade in Prussia;[36] another time he left France for Prussia because "it seemed to him that he was no longer needed in France on the battlefield."[37]

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[33] Ibidem, 62.

[34] Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, 267.

[35] Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques du Sire Jean Froissart,* ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris: Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1803), vol. 2, 751.

[36] *Le Livre des Fais*, 74.

[37] Ibidem, 42.

Another important matter for crusaders was a hearty welcome. The crusaders usually enjoyed their stay at the grand master's of Prussia; this is attested by the fact that crusaders often went there several times during their careers. One of these knights was Jean Boucicaut. In a seven-year period, from 1384 to 1391, he went to Prussia three times and planned one more expedition, but decided to postpone it.[38] The duke of Guerles went to Prussia twice, in 1386 and in 1388. The count d'Eu traveled to Prussia at least twice, in 1385 and 1386.[39]

The warm welcome played an important role elsewhere besides the crusades undertaken in Prussia. *Le Livre des Fais* testifies that one of the reasons for Philippe d'Artois to launch a crusade to Hungary was the fact that he had already been at the court of King Sigismund once and his stay there had pleased him so much that he decided to join the king of Hungary in his crusade against the Ottomans.[40]

When the welcome was less hearty than the crusaders expected, they usually left the battle. Henry Lancaster traveled to Prussia in 1390–1391 and returned there in 1392. According to John Capgrave, having arrived, "when he found out that the reception which was given to him by the lords of the country was not as friendly as he had wished, he left them and proceeded to Venice, and from thence to Jerusalem."[41] Froissart relates another episode in his *Chronicles*. In 1388 the duke of Guerles planned a crusade to Prussia. On his way, he was captured by Wenceslas, duke of Pomerania; he was released from captivity only with the help of the Grand Master of Prussia, Conrad Zoellner von Rotenstein. This incident made the duke of Guerles so "melancholic" that he decided not to stay in Königsberg and left.[42]

Crusading was a matter of prestige. It required vast expense to exhibit a crusader's wealth and status. A well-known example of this kind of representation can be found in the La *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*. According to this chronicle, during fifteen days spent under the walls of Nicopolis before the battle, crusaders visited each other daily and exchanged courtesies. They always appeared in new embroidered robes with sleeves of "unbearable length" and wore shoes with pointed toes two feet long and sometimes more; their tables were full of the

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[38] Ibidem, 63.
[39] *La Chronique des quatres premiers Valois (1327–1393)*, ed. Simeon Luce (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1862), 313.
[40] *Le Livre des Fais*, 88–89.
[41] John Capgrave, *History of the Illustrious Henries*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London: Longman and Roberts, 1858), 104.
[42] Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques du Sire Jean Froissart*, vol. 2, 751–753.

rarest wines and foods.[43] In the camp there were women and girls of ill repute, with whom many of them committed "all sorts of adultery and libertinism" and some of them spent whole nights in debauchery and playing at dice.[44]

The knights presumably were allied in friends' circles when going on crusades. From time to time small groups of crusaders going from one expedition to another are mentioned in the sources. Below I will give several examples of such relationships of Marshal Jean Boucicaut selected from his biography, *Le Livre des Fais*.

Jean Boucicaut and Renaud de Roye, mentioned together several times in the sources, formed a small group. The first time, they appear together in Poitou guarding the frontier during the winter of 1385–1386. To procure provisions they were making raids on nearby villages together with other knights.[45] In 1390 Jean Boucicaut, Renaud de Roye, and Jean de Sempy organized the famous jousts of St. Inglebert near Calais. In the third mention Renaud de Roye and Jean Boucicaut appear together on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in November 1388. Renaud accompanied Boucicaut to Hungary, where he left him. The last time Renaud and Boucicaut met was at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, where Renaud du Roye died.

Philippe d'Eu, Enguerrand de Coucy, and Henry de Bar, known to Boucicaut from his adolescent years spent at the court of the dauphin, the future King Charles VI, and through the Order of *Baboue* to which Boucicaut and his brother also belonged,[46] probably likewise represented another small group of knights. On their departure to the Mahdia Crusade in 1390 Eustache Deschamps composed a comic poem about their wives waiting for them to return from the crusade.[47] Henry de Bar, married to the daughter of Sire de Coucy, died on the battlefield at Nicopolis in 1396; Enguerrand de Coucy died at Mikalidsch on 18 February 1397.[48]

Jean Chateaumorand (1352–1429), chamberlain of the duke of Bourbon, was one of Boucicaut's most devoted friends. They are mentioned together for the first time in Prussia in January and February 1385.[49] In 1385–1386 they

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[43] *La Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, vol. 2, 498.

[44] Ibidem.

[45] *Le Livre des Fais*, 47–49; *Chronique du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, 154–157.

[46] *Œuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1903), vol. 5, Ballade 927 "Sur l'ordre de la Baboue," 134.

[47] Ibidem, Ballade 769 "Sur l'expedition de Barbarie," vol. 4, 266–267.

[48] "Index des noms propres," *Le Livre des Fais*.

[49] *Le Livre des Fais*, 40; *La Chronique du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, 62–64.

spent the winter in Poitou guarding the frontier together with Renaud du Roy, mentioned above, and other knights. They survived the battle of Nicopolis and Chateaumorand participated under Boucicaut's command in the expedition against the Turks in aid of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos in 1399.[50] In 1401 Chateaumorand became one of the thirteen members of the Order of the White Lady on the Green Field, founded by Boucicaut.[51] Relationships established during the crusades seem to have been long-lasting. Thus, Froissart reports that when Wautier de Zelles, sire de Balastre, died in 1387, the duke of Guerles was distressed because a year before they had been together in Prussia on a crusade.[52]

One can assume that crusading played an important role in social promotion. One such example can be found in *Le Livre des Fais*. In the winter of 1387–1388, Philippe d'Eu, cousin of King Charles VI, went on a crusade to Prussia[53] and afterwards on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he met Jean Boucicaut. Boucicaut's pilgrimage was already coming to an end when he accidentally heard that the sultan of Egypt had arrested Philippe d'Eu in Damascus. Boucicaut decided to join the count of Eu despite the fact that he had to leave his ship full of provisions for the crusade in Prussia. Instead of crusading with his friend Renaud de Roye, Boucicaut preferred to stay four months in captivity with Philippe, relative of Charles VI.[54] In captivity along with the companions of Philippe d'Eu, Jean de Cresque, and the seneschal d'Eu, they composed *Les Cent Ballades*[55] – a poem about pure love and devotion. After their return to France, Boucicaut's prowess was communicated to the king and he was promoted.[56]

Crusading – an Enterprise of Contrasts?

At the end of the fourteenth century crusading was praised in general, but the *passagium particulare* was criticized in particular. The campaign of Nicopolis (1396) made the weaknesses of the French crusading army obvious and gave rise to an extensive critique of French knighthood. For a successful knight it was hard to combine crusading activity with service to his lord or to his country. Crusades were to some extent business enterprises, in most cases not compensated, which

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[50] *Le Livre des Fais*, 133–147; *La Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, vol. 2, 558–564.

[51] *Le Livre des Fais*, 150–171.

[52] *Les Chroniques du Sire Jean Froissart*, vol. 2, 711.

[53] Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels*, vol. 1, 98.

[54] *Le Livre des Fais*, 61–64; Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, vol.1, 159–165.

[55] *Les Cent Ballades*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1905).

[56] *Le Livre des Fais*, 64.

needed investment. Despite financial exigencies, French crusaders contributed much to the crusading campaigns of the Late Middle Ages. Crusades were not only associated with travel and military expense; they were also supposed to be a demonstration of knightly wealth. At the end of the fourteenth century crusading was a matter of prestige. The crusaders were not provincial gentry lacking an occupation at home. Most of them were outstanding warriors with significant military experience, occupying excellent offices and acknowledged at the European courts. French crusading knights constituted a cosmopolitan chivalric elite along with the knights from England, Germany, Italy, and other regions.

In summary, I have shown that several motives influenced crusaders: Crusading was an honorable expedition as a confirmation of knightly reputation and as a religious exercise. Crusading campaigns played an important role in social interaction among knights along with the participation in the orders, jousts, and tournaments which constituted the activities of noblemen at court. Knights were motivated by the entertainment aspects and social features of the crusades. Thus, crusades were one of the structural elements of knightly identity. Based on the results of this study one cannot speak of a special crusader identity, but about a certain group consciousness among crusaders which was an indispensable part of the identity of late medieval knights.

REPORT OF THE YEAR

György Geréby

Let me begin the report on my second year of headship with the remark that it is a pleasure to chronicle a truly remarkable academic year. In retrospect 2008–2009 was indeed outstanding since it was packed with promising, even elevating, events and interesting episodes. To mention the most important one at the beginning: the CEU Medieval Studies Department celebrated its 15 years of existence – an event which only shortly preceded the eightieth birthday of one of the department's founders and academic designers, János M. Bak.

More on this issue soon, but let me report first the remarkable developments of the year which were the four new faculty joining us as further testimony of the investment of CEU leadership in the humanities. Tijana Krstić (PhD Michigan) joined us from Pennsylvania State University's Department of History as our new historian of the Ottoman Empire. Tijana is interested in the social, cultural, and religious history of the Early Modern Ottoman and wider Mediterranean world, specializing in relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and cultural encounters and interactions between Christendom and Islam. Volker Menze (PhD Princeton) will take up his new duties as Associate Professor of Late Antique Studies with a focus on the Eastern Mediterranean in January 2010. Volker, who taught formerly at the Institute for Ancient History and Epigraphy at the University of Münster, Germany, is the author of *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford, 2008), and the co-author of *John of Tella's Profession of Faith: The Legacy of a Sixth-century Syrian Orthodox Bishop* (Piscataway, 2009). Carsten Wilke (PhD Cologne) joined us as a shared appointment with the Department of History and the Nationalism Studies Program. Carsten arrived at CEU with teaching experience at the Free University of Brussels, the University of Düsseldorf, and the College of Jewish Studies in Heidelberg. He brings much-coveted expertise on medieval and early modern Jewish history; inter alia he is the author of *Den Talmud und den Kant: Rabbinerausbildung an der Schwelle zur Moderne* (Hildesheim, 2003); *Die Rabbiner der Emanzipationszeit in den deutschen, böhmischen und großpolnischen Ländern, 1781–1871* (Munich, 2004); and *Histoire des juifs portugais* (Paris, 2007), which also appeared in a Portuguese translation earlier this year.

Daniel Ziemann (PhD Frankfurt/Main), who previously taught medieval history at the University of Cologne, Germany, is our new specialist in Central and East Central European history of the Middle Ages. His book *Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.–9. Jahrhundert)*, was published in 2007. Let us welcome all of them on board to share the fascinating mission of Medieval Studies at CEU!

This mission is expanding in the sense that this year marked the beginning of our new two-year MA program, run jointly with the History Department, leading to an MA in Historical Studies. The initial difficulties arising from implementing the new program led us to revise our ambitious curricula. We hope the quick and effective reorganization both clarified the structure and set the priorities clearly for the program with the promise of stability and gradual development. This restructuring gave us the opportunity to accentuate more the source-language teaching component of our program, and now we are looking forward to the establishment of a Source Language Teaching Group under the aegis of the School of History and Interdisciplinary Studies. The changes seem to have been received well by our first two-year students.

Turning now to the academic events, and covering them in chronological order, the year started with the usual beginning-of-the-year excursion, this time to Szeged and other sites on the Hungarian Plain. After the Premonstratensian priory in Ócsa we visited Kecskemét, and then Szeged, where we had a look at the new University Library, the Somogyi Library, and finally went to Hódmezővásárhely for a visit in the local museum of the "communist" years 1948–63. In November, Eva Österberg (Lund University) delivered the annual Natalie Zemon Davis Lectures on "Friendship and Sexuality in Premodern European Ethics and Politics." An impressive audience attended the three lectures and interesting discussions ensued. An outstanding event happened in December, when Geza Vermes (Oxford) was awarded an honorary doctorate by CEU. The *laudatio* was delivered by Aziz Al-Azmeh and myself on the merits of this great scholar of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the same month Menachem Lorberbaum (Tel-Aviv University) gave our students a seminar on "Spinoza's Theological-Political Problem." This event was organized together with the Jewish Studies program.

Our regular yearly interdisciplinary workshop in March addressed "Monastic Landscapes – Physical and Spiritual." This was the first of four conferences to be convened with the support of the DAAD-MÖB Mobility program, in cooperation with the Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen. The main aim of this common project is to encourage student mobility between Budapest and Göttingen. The group of German scholars and advanced doctoral students is led by Hedwig

Röckelein; the CEU team is headed by József Laszlovszky. At the workshop, 28 speakers addressed a variety of aspects of recent research on medieval monastic cultures, such as the social and economic background of the foundation process, the landscape setting of monasteries, and gender aspects of monastic life. The range of speakers included several of our alumni: Cristian Gaşpar (MA'98, PhD'06), Rossina Kostova (MA'95, PhD'02), Péter Szabó (MA'98, PhD'03), László Ferenczi (MA'05, PhD candidate), Beatrix F. Romhányi (MA'94), Vasco La Salvia (MA'96, PhD'06), and Zsolt Hunyadi (MA'96, PhD'04). The common approach was based on an interdisciplinary study of monastic complexes (monastic architecture, monastic landscapes, archaeological investigations of monastic complexes, etc.). The intensive workshop offered a wide range of methodological approaches and case studies on the diverse character of medieval monasticism. The cooperation with Göttingen will continue until the Fall Term of 2010.

Needless to say, the three-day celebration of our fifteen-year anniversary was one of the highlights of the year, organized by Marianne Sághy, Csilla Dobos, Annabella Pál, and our PhD candidate Ágnes Drosztmér. The main event consisted of a plenary address by Giles Constable (Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton), followed by a special afternoon "merry-go-round" of presentations entitled "Tradition and Innovation in Medieval Studies," moderated by Cristian Gaşpar, in which a panel of fifteen of our former alumnae/i shared with us their experiences of teaching and research in medieval studies in the region. Reports on developments in the field were offered by Michael Brauer (MA'00) from Germany, Ildar Garipzanov (MA'98) from Russia, Levan Gigineishvili (MA'95, PhD'00) from Georgia, Ryszard Grzesik (MA'94) from Poland, Martin Homza (MA'96) from Slovakia, Antonín Kalous (MA'00) from the Czech Republic, Rossina Kostova from Bulgaria, Benedek Láng (MA'99, PhD'03) from Hungary, Anu Mänd (MA'96, PhD'00) from Estonia, Giedre Mickūnaitė (MA'97, PhD'02) from Lithuania, David Movrin (MA'03, PhD candidate) from Slovenia, Péter Levente Szőcs (MA'02, PhD candidate) from Romania, Trpimir Vedriš (MA'04, PhD candidate) from Croatia, Yuriy Zazuliak (MA'99, PhD'08) from Ukraine, and Nada Zečević (MA'98, PhD'04) from Serbia. Giles Constable concluded the scholarly evening with a memorable talk on "Recent Trends in Medieval Studies." It was equally rewarding that more than a hundred alumni attended the wine-and-cheese reception, opened by Neven Budak (Zagreb) and Patrick Geary (Los Angeles). The fifteen-year celebrations ended at Saint Martin's Abbey in Pannonhalma. The reunion proved to be a delightful success. All the anniversary presentations, with attendant documentation, appeared in the 2009 *Annual* of the department and are also available as a separate fascicle.

The series of invited speakers in this academic year began with Ralph Cleminson (our former faculty member, now at University of Portsmouth) on the subject "Relics of St. John the Baptist in the Topkapı Sarayı." Our alumnus, Péter Szabó (Institute of Botany, Czech Academy of Sciences, Department of Ecology, Brno) lectured on "Of Trees and Men: Ancient Woodland Management in Central Europe" in November. István Perczel (CEU – Tübingen) summarized for us the findings of his archival fieldwork in Kerala: "The History of South Indian Christianity on the Basis of Newly Found Documents – Methodological Challenges and Possible Answers." Gerhard Wolf (director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence – Max-Planck-Institut) spoke on "The Transfigured Mountain. Sacred Topography and the Icons at Saint Catherine's monastery" in December. In the spring, Deirdre O'Sullivan (University of Leicester) visited us, talking on "Friars and Towns. A Review from Britain," and then our colleague, József Laszlovszky (Medieval Studies Department, CEU) related his recent fieldwork experiences in Cambodia under the title "Temples and their Landscape in Tenth-Century Cambodia." Adjoining the 15 year celebrations, Giles Constable (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton) gave us a wonderful talk on his life-long subject, "Cluny (and Rome)." In April, R. Howard Bloch presented an illustrated lecture on "The Bayeux Tapestry and the Norman Conquest of 1066." In May, Tom Scott (University of St. Andrews) showed us how "A German Historian Looks at the Italian City-State" and Sarah Rees Jones (University of York) spoke on "Medieval English Civic Archives." From Tom we also received a generous book donation for the Medieval Library. Pavel Lukin (Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences) was a CEU guest this year, and he offered a talk on "The Political Culture of Old Rus': a Comparative Approach." A most entertaining talk was offered by Alan Macfarlane on "What I told Lily. Are there Laws or Patterns in History and Anthropology?"

The spring field trip this year targeted Ravenna. The itinerary included monuments in Austria and towns of Northern Italy like Cividale Treviso, Rimini, Pomposa, and Forlì. This time, following last year's successful joint excursion with the students of the FernUniversität Hagen, the medievalists were joined by Patrick Geary and four of his graduate students from UCLA. We hope to continue with this tradition since the experience of the excursions proved inspiring for our guests, as they were a source of inspiration for our student group, too.

In December, István Perczel, though absent on his Southern India project continuing with his long-term task of digitizing the archives of the St. Thomas Christians, organized, with the help of CEU and the CEU Open

Society Archives, a successful major conference on the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, entitled "Gandhi in a Globalized World: The Contemporary Relevance of Gandhian Thought," followed by a photo exhibition of "The Gandhian Village."

An exploratory workshop was organized by the Medieval Studies and History Departments and convened by their respective Heads, László Kontler and myself, under the title: "Unity of the Mind and Concepts of Cohesion. Intellectual Strategies of Large-scale Political Entities from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period." The workshop addressed the problem of the role of cultural factors in the long-term stability of large-scale political entities, also known as empires. The working hypothesis was that a significant difference exists between, for instance, the Roman Empire and its successor entities, such as the Byzantine Commonwealth or the Western Roman (German) Empire (or even the medieval Church, for that matter), the Arab Empires, and the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and, on the other hand, entities like Alexander's empire, the Hun, Tartar, or Avar empires. While the Roman Empire showed a remarkable permanence (observed already by Polybius), other empires came into existence and disappeared within a short period, together with the elites which had established and run them. Stability is especially interesting in the case of such long-term institutions as rabbinic Judaism, the Church, or Islam. What is the explanation for their permanence? The conclusion of the workshop was that the conceptual framework seems promising and further investigations would be welcome. The participants were: Ory Amitay (Haifa), Niels Gaul, Andrew Louth (Durham), Claudia Rapp (UCLA), Yosset Schwartz (Tel Aviv), Tamás Visi (MA'02, PhD'06) (Olomouc), Ádám Vér (ELTE Budapest).

There were five successful doctoral defenses this year, the new doctors representing five different countries (Albania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, and Romania). The abstracts of their dissertations can be read, as usual, in this edition of the *Annual*. Last but not least, the MA thesis defenses, fourteen of them, again went very well under the expert and critical eyes of the chairs, Marianna Birnbaum and Patrick Geary. We were proud of many students, but special mention should be made of Nikoloz Aleksidze (Georgia), who won a full scholarship to Oxford's Oriental Institute. The special distinction of the Zvetlana Michaela Tănasă prizes in this year went to Jeremy Mikecz and Miklós Somogyvári: Jeremy absorbed "medievalism," and Miklós was a model for collegiality.

In retrospect I think the reader can agree: never a worse year!

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2009

The Joint Cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava under Milutin.
The Monastic Aspect
Anna Adashinskaya (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Niels Gaul
External Readers: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić (University of Belgrade); Jelena Erdaljan
(University of Belgrade).

This thesis is dedicated to the problem of the origin, function, and development of the joint cult of two Serbian saints, Simeon and Sava, father and son, the founder of the ruling Nemanid dynasty and the first Serbian archbishop. Traditionally, their association has been regarded as part of Milutin's political activity and his new ideological program. However, most of the sources connected with this cult come from Hilandar and the monastic milieu, and their liturgical meaning has been underestimated. Thus, the goal of this work is to reconstruct the circumstances of the origin and development of the joint cult from the point of view of religious practices and liturgical veneration.

As a background to the cult, the political situation of Milutin's epoch seems to have been highly unstable, which was reflected especially in struggles for succession to the throne in which not only members of the Serbian Nemanid dynasty participated, but also some Byzantine aspirants. In this situation of domestic instability and continuous interaction with the Byzantine empire, Hilandar monastery became a kind of "ministry of foreign affairs," representing the interests of the state of Raška and Milutin himself in the international field as well as in domestic conflicts. Consequently, in Hilandar, which was the main center of Sts. Simeon and Sava's cult, a specific milieu formed which combined politics with piety.

The second chapter focuses on visual representations of Simeon and Sava as a pair. In Serbian medieval painting there were two different types of representations of the saints. The first had dynastic content, but did not imply the unification of the two saints; the connections between them were rather occasional. The

second group had a Hilandarian origin and always preserves some reference to this monastic community, where both saints were venerated as monks. The main reason for this unification lay in their common monastic foundation of Hilandar. However, King Milutin adopted this joint cult and the iconography and included it in wider iconographical projects such as the King's Church and Hilandar, where the pictorial pattern received additional meaning by being put into iconographical structures with dynastic meaning. In some monuments, such as the Hilandarian icon or St. Nikitas' church, however, this joint iconography preserves its initial purely monastic significance.

In the third chapter the written sources for the cult are examined from the point of view of liturgical practices and manuscript traditions. Based on the analysis of the context of Teodosije's canons and the ways they were performed, the cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava was shown to have been established by associating the saints as a pair of *ktetors* and founders. The relative chronology for the liturgical poems of Teodosije (1306–1308, 1307–1310, 1313) was assumed based on historical references in the works and comparison with Byzantine liturgical rites. The specific features essential for the joint cult were also drawn from the analysis of the main motifs in the works of Teodosije. In contrast with liturgical poems, Teodosije's encomium uses the paradigm established for the veneration of saints in Domentian's writings. The introductory part was probably translated from Greek or composed of quotations from different Greek authors. This text can be dated to the time of Hilandar's active participation in Serbian political life, i.e., the 1310s. Finally, the shift from purely monastic veneration to the addition of national and dynastic aspects in the cult can be observed in the writings of Danilo, the life of Sava written by Teodosije, a late charter of Milutin, and a colophon of Grigorije II, written in Hilandar. This was probably caused by the growing role of Hilandar monastery in the politics of Serbia after 1308 and reunification with Byzantium.

Identifying Kyros of Alexandria
Nikoloz Aleksidze (Georgia)

Supervisors: Istvan Perczel, Niels Gaul
External Readers: Timothy Greenwood (University of St. Andrews); Basile Markesinis
    (Catholic University of Leuven)

The aim of this thesis is to create a hypothetical reconstruction of the biography and theological background of three men with similar names – Kyron of Mtskheta,

Kyros of Phasis, and Kyros of Alexandria. I argue that these three are the same man. In the first chapter the political situation in the Caucasus at the time of Herakleios' invasion is discussed. Oddly enough, Kyron of Kartli, a Georgian *catholicos*, was completely erased from medieval Georgian historiography; I argue that, except for the fact that Kyron's name might have been erased from the Georgian diptychs for supposed heresy, the overemphasized role of Herakleios in Georgian narratives might also be one of the reasons for this oblivion. Herakleios took on himself some of the achievements for which Kyron should have been credited, like "cleansing the faith" in Kartli. In the second and third chapters I advance as many arguments as possible for the identification of Kyron of Mtskheta/Kyros of Phasis and Kyron of Mstkheta/Kyros of Alexandria as the same person. Besides the written sources, in my opinion some archaeological and linguistic data also support this suggestion. The fourth chapter is fully dedicated to the restoration of Kyros' possible theological background. I argue that in Kyros's person Monotheletism had a different course, namely, an Antiochean character as contrasted to Monotheletism as presented by Theodore of Pharan, which tended towards a Cyrillian interpretation of the doctrine. I advance the hypothesis that the identification of these three persons might also explain the Antiochean elements in Kyros' theology, because, according to many reports, Kyron of Mtskheta had been educated to some extent in Nestorian surroundings and moreover had appointed a Nestorian bishop in Kartli.

Spiritual Alchemy and the Function of Image:
coincidentia oppositorum in Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens*
George-Florin Călian (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: György Endre Szőnyi, Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Urszula Szulakowska (University of Leeds)

The function of images in alchemical treatises like Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* opens a discussion of alchemy as laboratory work or as spiritual discipline. According to some scholars, the iconography of alchemy is a metaphorical illustration of laboratory work. This thesis argues that this is not the case with *Atalanta fugiens*, where the iconographical language is part of a tradition that stresses the power of the image to express spiritual and metaphysical achievement. The tradition for which the image plays the major role is identified by Ernst Gombrich as Neo-Platonic. Using Gombrich's theory (the Neo-Platonic symbol theory) and his terminology pertaining to the function of images (didactic, revelative, magic),

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I explore the possible ways of interpreting the iconography in *Atalanta fugiens* for both the initiated and the common reader.

Three emblems from *Atalanta fugiens* (VIII, XXX, and XXI) are analyzed in relation to supplementary text to illustrate the possibility of building a structural model for images (didactic-revelative, didactic, and revelative) and also to discuss their ambiguity in several semiotic layers. The hypothesis is also advanced that the illustrations in *Atalanta fugiens* were influenced by the iconography of Lambspring's *De lapide philosophorum* and not the other way around. This entire excursion returns to the starting point of the thesis, which stresses that alchemy is an allegorical manner of expression for something spiritual and religious and not merely pre-chemistry.

Constructing Imperial Honor in the *History* of Leo the Deacon
Ivana Dobcheva (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul
External Reader: Ingela Nilsson (Uppsala University)

For a long time Byzantine history-writing was regarded as important, but at the same time a distorted source of information about Byzantine history. Recently, however, Byzantinists have embraced the idea of using modern literary theory in the analysis of texts, including histories, and thus examining them as literary pieces and extant evidence for the textual production of the milieu. This thesis embarks on an analysis of the *History* of Leo the Deacon, a tenth-century work describing the reigns of Emperor Nicephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) and John Tzimiskes (r. 869–976), from a literary and narratological perspective.

The analysis of the structure, context, and sequence of the narrative reveals the peculiar way in which the author portrayed the emperors as the main heroes of his story. In the first and second part of the *History* (dedicated to Phokas and Tzimiskes, respectively) the reader can trace the same rhythm of the rise and fall of the emperors. The model which is disclosed presents heroes who first earned a new "imperial status" because of their alleged deeds and virtues during military campaigns, but later encountered difficulties with the lifestyle of the court and the capital and lost everything.

Thus, taking into consideration the focus of the narrative on honorable acts of warrior-emperors and the intention of the *History* to tell an exemplary story, the questions to be answered are: "Who was the text addressed to?" and "How did this affect the writing of the text itself?" To answer these questions

the text is viewed and examined as a means of communication between author and audience. The first chapter analyzes the author's style – quotations from and similes to Classical texts of histories from the sixth century (Prokopios' *Wars* and Agathias' *History*) – as corresponding to his audience's aesthetic criteria. The following two chapters discuss the image of the emperors with special attention devoted to the construction of honor and dishonor. The analysis reveals the main characteristics of this tenth-century code of honor and hints at the possible audience which this code suited. Furthermore, it sheds light on the production process of writing and reading the text in connection with the political, social, and cultural framework of the period. Thus, it becomes clear that Leo's *History* must be regarded as part both of the synchronic social interaction between different circles in tenth-century Byzantium and the swiftly-flowing diachronic course of Byzantine literature.

Glamor, Money, and Love Affairs
Jehan de Saintré and the Decline of Chivalry
Ancuţa Iuliana Ilie (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Niels Gaul
External Readers: Jean-Marie Fritz (Université de Bourgogne); Tivadar Palágyi
(Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

In the novel *Jehan de Saintré*, written by Antoine de la Sale in 1456, everyone shows off perfection in a story of a young man becoming a famous knight. The time of Lancelot and Tristan was long past, but the characters struggle under the weight of the past's models, covering their imperfections in silk and damask. In this world, love in its courtly garments seems a rather anachronistic phenomenon. What is left of it is nothing but an inefficient crust. Above all, attire, adornments, expensive gifts, and money seem to shape the politics of this world. Saintré, a knight brought up with money, does not succeed in protecting the chivalric ideology. He dedicates his undertakings to a fabricated ideal and is left with only a search for vainglory. Belles Cousines, the female protagonist, in spite of her efforts to create a perfect relationship with Saintré, falls lamentably into the arms of an abbot. Starting from Huizinga's observations on the preponderance of the visual at the end of the Middle Ages, corroborated by Michel Stanesco's connections between flamboyant Gothic aesthetics and the Baroque, the thesis follows the structure of the fictitious world to offer an interpretation. Ostentation and luxury could not cover the incompatibilities and contradictions of this world. The distance was

sizeable between projection and accomplishment, between surface and depth. Jehan de Saintré may have been one among many knights declaring, victorious at the end, "I won," but behind the glamorous image chivalry was in decline.

Early Medieval Warfare Objects from Macedonia
Jelena Jarić (Macedonia)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Tivadar Vida (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

This study focuses on military activities in the Central Balkans during the Early Middle Ages. Between the fourth and the seventh century, this area was a target of continuous raids by several groups of barbarian people of both autochthonic and Asiatic origin. In response to these raids, the Byzantine army was forced to strengthen its defenses. As a result, there was an increased presence of Byzantine troops in the Central Balkans from the fourth century onwards. The main goal of this thesis is to answer how and how much the territory of the Central Balkans was influenced and altered by the military collision of the *Romaioi* and the barbarians, in particular how these raids affected urban life.

The first chapter presents the chronological and geographical background in order to explicate patterns of raiding activities and the factors that influenced the intensity of the raiding activity itself. The second chapter deals primarily with the presence of Byzantine soldiers as demonstrated by archaeological evidence of military insignia. The third chapter looks at the urban life in the Central Balkans and how it was altered by raiding activities.

The conclusion is threefold. First, I have tried to demonstrate that raids in the Central Balkans were part of wider raiding patterns, primarily targeting Constantinople and Thessalonika. The Central Balkans was raided by Goths, Huns, Coutrigurs, Avars, and Avaro-Slavic groups. Second, I attempt to show that the fortresses that were the most vulnerable to raids had the greatest numbers of soldiers, who, in turn brought larger numbers of insignia. The density of fortresses most likely depended more on the exposure of the area to frequent raids than to the length of the border. Lastly, I suggest that barbarian raids altered urban life but did not destroy it. Archaeological evidence has shown that in large cities layers of renewal rapidly follow layers of destruction.

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Two Funerals and Two Bodies of King Richard II:
A Study on the Idea of Kingship,
Transference of Power and Political Theology
Kosana Jovanović (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Aziz Al-Azmeh, Gábor Klaniczay
External Readers: Elisabeth A. R. Brown (City University of New York); János M. Bak
    (Professor emeritus, CEU); Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen)

England was a turbulent place at the time when King Richard II was in power (1377–1399). This thesis addresses events which occurred at the time of a change in political power. Near the end of his rule Richard II was gradually losing support; his previous image of the savior of the nation was fading in the eyes of his subjects. The constant struggle for power with the nobility cost the English king his crown, office, and royal dignity. Henry of Bolingbroke stepped onto the scene claiming the throne based on hereditary rights as well as the king's incompetence to rule.

The thesis covers three major events which testify to the transition of power from Richard II to the new king, Henry IV (Henry of Bolingbroke), and to his son and heir, Henry V. These events were the deposition of King Richard II, his first funeral, which was held in 1400, and his second funeral, which took place in 1413. The thesis portrays the political situation in which these events took place in addition to giving an account of their symbolic meanings. As an aid to deciphering the significance of these events I relied upon the debates concerning the theory of the "King's Two Bodies," as formulated by Ernst H. Kantorowicz.

The thesis is comprised of three chapters, each discussing one event (the abdication, the first funeral, and the second funeral), which are discussed in relation to the theory of the "King's Two Bodies." Contemporary narrative sources were used with the addition of some sources from later periods. The parallel between the accounts and the theory relied mainly on the importance of the transmission and the immortality of the royal dignity. The situation of Richard II losing his power, his death, burial, and reburial was an excellent test case for examining the explanatory value (and shortcomings) of the theory of the "King's Two Bodies."

The Place that Lies Between:
Slavonia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries
Jeremy Mikecz (USA)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Readers: Neven Budak (University of Zagreb); Miklós Takács (Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

Medieval Slavonia (the border area between modern Hungary and Croatia) was a place between cultures and kingdoms. In the tenth and eleventh century it existed at the intersection of a variety of cultural, political, social, economic, and religious influences, making it a fascinating subject for a study of frontiers and borderlands. Few written sources from this period survive and those that do are often vague or ambiguous; this region was more complex than is reflected in the textual sources alone. The archaeological record provides the best hope for answering the many questions left unanswered by the historical record. Using a Geographical Information System approach, distributions of cemeteries, grave goods, coins, and pottery from published archaeological reports were plotted on maps of a project area along both sides of the Drava River. The spatial distribution patterns of grave goods aided in identifying patterns of exchange and interaction. Regardless of any real or perceived differences in the authority of medieval political or religious entities, the similarities seen in both sites and artifact assemblages suggest that this region was characterized more by contact than conflict. Perceptions of boundaries may be affected by the perspectives of archaeologists and historians from modern states. The spatial patterns that emerged from the study revealed that the river was not a barrier, but a conduit for trade and interaction.

Sancti reges Hungariae in Mural Painting of Late Medieval Hungary
Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay and Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Tünde Wehli (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

This research analyzes, from an iconographic perspective, the mural representations of the three holy kings of Hungary – St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas – which were depicted as a group in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Previous scholars have considered that this iconographic theme emerged generally in the

Angevin age without attempting to define it precisely. The meaning of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography has been interpreted as an expression of the national values that the holy kings had embodied since the beginnings of their depiction as a trio. The goal of the thesis is to identify a more precise time for the emergence of the concept, to emphasize the iconographic similarities and differences of the separate and collective depiction of the three holy kings, and to recover the meaning that the frescoes had when they were created.

The first chapter analyzes various types of textual evidence (charters, correspondence, and excerpts of chronicles and *vitae*) where the three holy kings are associated or the concept of *sancti reges Hungariae* occurs. Because the separate cults of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas originated at different times and existed individually, the iconographic antecedents of each of the three holy kings are examined in the second chapter. The last chapter is dedicated to an iconographic analysis of the preserved frescoes depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae*. The analysis focuses not only on their intrinsic characteristics (the iconic type of image, the collection of attributes, the depiction of kingship at different ages), but also on the extrinsic data (the iconographic context, historical background, donors).

The conclusion is, first, that the occurrence of the holy kings' trio in the second half of the thirteenth century belongs to the *beata stirps Arpadiana* context, which also included female sacred representatives of the dynasty. The exclusive and politically charged concept of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, however, is the result of the consistent strategy of King Louis the Great (1342–1382) and his influential mother to promote the royal trio in the mid-fourteenth century. Second, I conclude that, although he was only a prince in real life and had a separate iconography, St. Emeric finally became a king in the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography, where he is depicted with the royal dignity's attributes (crown, scepter, and crucifer orb). Third, and most significant, not all extant mural representations of the holy kings of Hungary should be judged as the result of a political decision, despite the common conceptual association of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas. As indicated by their dating and extrinsic characteristics (iconographic context and low visibility), the depiction of the holy kings on the pillars of triumphal arches pre-dates the mid-fourteenth century and has an exclusively theological meaning; it emphasizes the role of St. Stephen as the apostle of the Hungarian Church *(sanctissimus rex Stephanus ungarorum apostolus)* and St. Ladislas as its defender *(columpna milicie Christianae)*. Political aspects began to pervade this type of representation in the first decades of the fifteenth century, when King Sigismund of Luxemburg

made St. Sigismund his personal Bohemian patron saint and a companion of the Hungarian royal saints, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas.

Maria Laskaris and Elisabeth the Cuman:
Two Examples of Árpádian Queenship
Zuzana Orságová (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, Gerhard Jaritz
External Readers: László Veszprémy (Institute and Museum of Military History,
    Budapest), Martin Homza (Comenius University, Bratislava)

This thesis focuses on Maria Laskaris and Elisabeth the Cuman – two thirteenth-century Hungarian queens. These figures have been discussed in the academic discourse so far only as parts of the broader concept of Árpádian queenship, which has not been examined extensively. This research took up two main tasks: presenting the biographies of both Maria Laskaris and Elisabeth the Cuman and comparing the source representations of these characters with the established patterns of medieval queenship – how their different backgrounds and individual circumstances affected their images as queen of Hungary and how well they fit into the model representation of medieval queenship.

The first chapter presents the view of queenship in the Middle Ages in general, with an emphasis on the Hungarian milieu. The ideal medieval queen consort should have been, according to tradition, a loyal, pious wife without significant political aspirations. The ambitions of such women were usually judged harshly – though in some cases they were approved when the wife's only interest was to support the policies of her husband. The second chapter presents and contrasts the biographies of Maria and Elisabeth, the Nicaean princess and the daughter of a Cuman chieftain, respectively, representing the two different traditions meeting the expectations bound with the role of queen of Hungary. The third chapter discusses the possibilities of defining their relationship as mother- and daughter-in-law in the light of the available source material, which rather offers clues than certain statements. The relationship between Maria and Elisabeth was much influenced by the mutual struggle between their husbands, but still cannot be perceived as completely hostile. The last chapter is dedicated to the representation of Maria and Elisabeth in written sources and seals compared with the patterns of medieval queenship.

I conclude that both women adapted successfully to the roles they were assigned – after they married they became queens of Hungary rather than a

Nicaean princess and a Cuman girl. In Maria's case, particularly, her origin became quite insignificant compared to her actions as queen – although still renowned, for instance, in the chroniclers' tradition. Elisabeth's case was somewhat different – her Cuman origin was often stressed in a negative manner. Her primary interest was not to represent herself as a Cuman, but as queen of Hungary. Finally, the image of both figures in the sources is multivalent. Naturally, as real characters they could hardly fulfill all the requirements of the ideal model; they were remote from it indeed. Both Maria and Elisabeth proved to be much more colorful and complicated characters than simply the Nicaean obedient wife and the Cuman incapable regent, which are among their traditional schematic representations.

Theory, Practice and Chivalric Identity:
The French Contribution to the Later Crusades
Irina Savinetskaya (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Jacques Paviot (Université Paris 12 Val-de-Marne)

At the end of the fourteenth century, the crusade was still a prominent idea in France. Crusade, praised in general, was often criticized in particular. The battle of Nicopolis (1396), the greatest crusading enterprise of its time, showed the weaknesses of the French knighthood and brought about an extensive critique of French chivalry. Participation in the crusades was paired with financial expenses and was usually considered a slightly marginal activity (if not organized or propagated by the king) compared to service to the country. Despite all the contrasting treatments of the later crusades, a large number of French knights left France each year to take part in crusading campaigns.

The goal of this research is to investigate the motivations of knights participating in crusades and to establish if the crusaders were united by a special crusader identity. The sources for this work are French chronicles, treatises on crusading theory, the biography of Jean II le Meingre called Boucicaut, and the works of Eustache Deschamps. The first chapter deals with crusading theory as it existed in France at the end of the fourteenth century. The second focuses on several organizational aspects of the crusades. The last part is dedicated to the social interactions among crusaders.

The research brought me to the conclusion that one cannot speak of a crusader identity, but about crusader consciousness, which was constituted from the following motivations of the crusaders: 1) the crusade was still a prestigious

activity and a religious exercise; 2) crusade played an important role in the social interactions among knights, which contributed to the success of noblemen at court; 3) crusades could be a sort of a "knightly package tour" with various entertainment activities.

Forging Ninth- and Tenth-Century Western Europe:
A Comparative Study of the Viking and Hungarian Activities
Miklós Somogyvári (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Jón Víðar Sigurðsson (University of Oslo)

Viking and Hungarian attacks on the Frankish Empire and Northern Italy in the ninth and the first half of the tenth century, contrary to visible differences, shared basically the same features and contributed to the development of the West in the long term. General but separate overviews of different subfields of early medieval Norse and Hungarian societies have shown that besides military prowess, the reasons for temporary Viking and Hungarian success in Western Europe also had environmental and social aspects. Such studies, however, have never attempted to compare and contrast these pagan cultures and never emphasized the long-term contribution that Scandinavia and Hungary added to Europe's eleventh-century revival and expansion. In this thesis I examine military, social, and historical aspects to show the similarities of the two societies and their contribution to Europe through the destruction they caused.

Based on primary sources and archaeological data I created action radiuses for the Vikings and Hungarians. I examined weaponry, transportation (ships and horses), intelligence gathering, and social structures. Looking for reasons for their success, I concluded that their worldviews, religions, trading systems, and social structures were invaluable in helping them defeat the armies of the West.

Information and Instruction in Fifteenth-Century Florence:
Giovanni Rucellai and his *Zibaldone Quaresimale*
Gábor Mihály Tóth (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Marcell Sebők
External reader: Lisa Kaborycha (The Medici Archive Project, Florence)

The *Zibaldone Quaresimale* manuscript by Giovanni Rucellai (1403–1481) is an outstanding example of the fifteenth-century Florentine family records and book tradition. In 1457, Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, began to have the codex compiled in order to give information and instruction to his sons. Previous scholarship has focused on the philological and social anthropological aspects of the codex, and parts of it were published in 1960. Most of the codex, however, has never been published. In this thesis I studied the so-called *Zibaldone vetus* (ff. 1^r–84^v).

The *Zibaldone Quaresimale* is a commonplace book which contains heterogeneous texts not authored by Giovanni Rucellai. This raises the obvious question: What was Rucellai's intellectual contribution to the codex? How does it express his personal ideas and worldview? In the first chapter I studied Rucellai's editorial praxis by comparing the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* with other unpublished Florentine and North Italian *zibaldoni*. As a result, I identified the elements of Rucellai's authorship in the codex. Moreover, through a philological analysis of the BNCF MS Magl. XXV. 636, I can state that behind the *Zibaldone Quaresimale* there was a conscious and complex program which Rucellai prepared before the compilation of the codex.

Another question I dealt with was the function and goal of this program. By means of the ample section dedicated to family records, Rucellai wanted to transmit identity and information about the place of his family in the history of the *commune*. The family records were also meant to establish his and his sons' social and political prestige. An equally important function of the codex was instructing the sons in the most important skills of their time, namely, building social networks, processing information, and maintaining social, economic, and political stability. In the second part of the thesis, I analyze these skills. Finally, Rucellai transmitted his erudition and cultural interest by inserting historical and philosophical texts into the codex which also served to define the place of man in the world.

I also examined what the codex communicates about fifteenth-century Florence. Rucellai depicts his city as a place of social, economic, and political instability. In fact, he wanted to teach his sons those skills that would enable them

to counter-balance this instability. At the same time, the manuscript gives insight into the cultural experience of the fifteenth-century Florentine economic elite in a particularly interesting mixture of antique, medieval, and Renaissance texts.

Finally, my research also addressed the question of what one can learn about Giovanni Rucellai himself from the codex. Aby Warburg described him as a typical example of Renaissance self-confidence. The detailed analysis, however, revealed another image of Giovanni Rucellai. The manuscript rather reflects a man full of preoccupations and anxiety. The *Zibaldone Quaresimale* shows a Giovanni Rucellai who is searching for stability and security in an extremely precarious world.

The *Zibaldone Quaresimale* is one of the most quoted sources from fifteenth-century Florence. By analyzing the unpublished parts of the codex, I have attempted to create a more complex and detailed picture of this manuscript and its owner than has hitherto been available. Finally, in the appendix I present transcriptions of unpublished but interesting sections of the codex in order to offer a better view of this unique source from the Italian Renaissance.

Dish to Cash, Cash to Ash:
The Last Roman Parasite and the Birth of a Comic Profession
Goran Vidović (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Niels Gaul
External Readers: Christoph Pieper (University of Leiden); Ralph W. Mathisen
   (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne)

The subject of this thesis is the unconventional role of the parasite Mandrogerus in an early fifth-century Latin comedy, the *Querolus*. The topos of parasitic gluttony is replaced by the hunger for gold, and this transition is accompanied by frequent humorously ambiguous allusions to food in connection with money. Mandrogerus ultimately appears not as a ridiculous, voracious, and subservient clown, but as a hitherto unattested comic character: an arrogant independent impostor chasing after gold. However, his attempts to get hold of the treasure end unsuccessfully. The author organized the plot in order to secure the parasite's defeat and restoration to a dependent position; I argue that he thereby demonstrated how binding the comic conventions were. I compare the appearance of Mandrogerus during his episode of independence with the satirical images of legacy-hunting practices, and I conclude that the comic character of the parasite in the *Querolus* is upgraded, concretized, and updated. I interpret this development as a symptom of the modernity of this comedy.

Religious Representations on Stove Tiles from the
Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

Ana Maria Gruia (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 12, 2009, consisted of: Susan Zimmermann (Gender Studies Department, CEU), chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Adrian Andrei Rusu (Institute of Archeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Judith A. Rasson (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: David Gaimster (Society of Antiquaries, London); Adrian Andrei Rusu (Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca).

This dissertation focuses on stove tiles with religious representations from medieval Hungary from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; it aims at discovering the inner mechanisms of tile production, use, and reception. It uses a two-fold approach. Both the transmission of motifs on tiles and the possible functions of such representations in their contexts of use constitute the "red threads" of the research. Despite the fact that medieval stove tiles have been discovered in large numbers in Hungary, there is still no general perspective on how these items were produced, copied, and displayed, what made people prefer tiles decorated with certain motifs, and what the functions of these images were. Attempting to formulate the answers to such questions, I employ a specific interdisciplinary methodology dictated by the nature of the source material.

This is the first time that a catalogue recording tiles from the entire medieval Kingdom of Hungary has been compiled and analyzed. The research is also new in its focus on the religious tiles from the region and in a visual and cultural approach. It contributes to the English terminology of the topic, since most

research on stove tiles has been done in German or in the numerous national languages in the regions with medieval stove tile use.

According to the present state of the discovery and publication of stove tiles, the catalogue comprises 389 entries of tiles with religious representations from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century in medieval Hungary. Considering also the available data on the actual number of tiles that can be reconstructed based on the fragments discovered, I discuss here a group of over 650 individual items. Most are entire tiles or tile fragments, but the group also includes eight molds, seven made of clay and one, exceptionally, made of stone.

The material analyzed reveals the great variety of religious representations on stove tiles in Hungary. There are over 100 different iconographic scenes depicted on these items, and even more numerous identifiable holy characters from the Old and the New Testaments or taken from the legends of the saints, besides religious symbols (the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in her Piety) and signs (crosses). Some of the motifs were popular enough to be copied and re-copied. I have identified over 40 groups of directly related tiles from small areas or across provinces, sometimes with analogies outside the borders of the kingdom. As for the sites containing tiles with religious representations, almost 160 contexts of discovery are discussed, ranging from royal palaces, castles owned by magnates, fortifications, cities and towns, village houses, workshops, and religious contexts. The most numerous are the castles, fortifications, and manor houses (representing 40%), then the urban contexts (20%), and villages (3%). 12% of the find sites are religious, monasteries and churches, and they are analyzed separately because they are more valuable for the interpretation of possible functions of images on tiles. Unfortunately, a significant proportion of places of discovery remain unknown, stray finds or tiles from museum collections where no data on their place of discovery was recorded (22%).

Very few tile-producing workshops have been excavated in Hungary, and in most cases their existence and location is indicated by the distribution of tiles with similar characteristics in certain areas, by the discovery of molds, and by large numbers of tiles discovered on single sites. Some of the religious tiles in this group were probably produced by royal workshops in Buda, unattested by documents or by archaeological research, but probably located somewhere in the capital of the kingdom and working mostly for the needs of the royal palace. The largest known medieval tile-production center was located in Northern Hungary, in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya). Two workshops have been excavated archaeologically in this prosperous mining town, and the existence of a third is suggested by other numerous tiles with similar technical and stylistic characteristics. One

knows that even in this case some tiles were copied from originals in Buda, proof of connections between tile-producing loci in the kingdom. Another workshop identified with the benefit of archaeological evidence and producing religious tiles besides tiles with other representations and pottery is located in Transylvania, in Feldioara (Földvár). It seems that its products did not enjoy great popularity, since most of them are unique and were only discovered on this site. Other tiles with religious motifs discussed here were created by urban or popular workshops, like those probably located in Cristuru Secuiesc (Székelykeresztúr, in the Szekler region of Transylvania), those from Nova Ves (in Slavonia, excavated archaeologically), the workshop in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Transylvania, also excavated) or those active in Transdanubia (around Lake Balaton). Sometimes the discovery of molds indicates the existence of workshops, as in Varaždin (Varasd). Tiles imprinted with molds found there have been discovered in nearby Ružica and the distant capital, Buda, indicating that motifs circulated (also) through the transmission of molds between workshops. Molds discovered in monasteries indicate that temporary workshops might have existed for the completion of certain commissions, such as the building of tile stoves in monastic complexes (see, for example, the mold found in the ruins of the Franciscan friary in Slovenská Ľupča). It is certain that many more workshops functioned in medieval Hungary, considering the great number of tile discoveries. More than 30 sites with pottery workshops and kilns have been excavated, but there is little information on how many of them also produced stove tiles.

One of the aims of this research is to identify the ways in which tile motifs were copied and transmitted. Analyzed here mostly from an iconographic perspective, the numerous cases when similar motifs have been found on tiles in different locations only indicate groups of directly related tiles and the distances between their places of discovery. There are 41 groups of directly related tiles among those included in the present analysis, each containing between 2 and 6 tiles with similar or even identical representations. The minimum distance that motifs traveled is a few kilometers, while the maximum reached 650 km. Considering the maximum distance in the case of directly related groups composed of more than 2 tiles, the motifs circulated on average 200 km. Most of the time, such groups were located in the same province (25). Sometimes identical tiles, or molds and tiles created from them, were found in different locations inside the same settlements, such as in Cluj, Cristuru Secuiesc, Banská Bystrica, and Varaždin. Other times the same motifs were found in very restricted areas; St. George tiles produced by Transdanubian workshops have been found in locations around Lake Balaton no further than 35 or 50 km apart. Villages in the Szekler area of southeastern

Transylvania probably used tiles produced in workshops in Cristuru Secuiesc. Most production and use sites are found in the same area, at distances between 100 and 300 km, but there are also 16 cases when directly related tiles were found in different regions of medieval Hungary. Tiles from Buda were copied and used in Transylvania, Northern Hungary, and Slavonia. Other tiles were used in distant and very different contexts, such as a representation of St. George found both in Mihăileni (Transylvania) and Klaštorisko (Northern Hungary), 640 km away. The representation of Ladislas on horseback was found in Transylvania and Central Hungary on several sites, the maximum distance between them being 300 km. Jephthah was also a popular motif, found in Central and Northern Hungary on sites at distances up to 248 km away. Other tiles with religious representations from Hungary have analogies outside the borders of the kingdom, in the Swiss area, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Austria.

The richest site, from the point of view of motif transmission, is the castle of Ružica, in Slavonia. Seven of the religious motifs decorated the interiors refurnished with heating stoves in the second half of the fifteenth century by Nicholas of Ilok (Miklós Újlaki), one of the most important magnates in Hungary. Representations of the Pelican in her Piety, St. George, and an unidentified holy bishop have analogies in Buda, situated at a distance of ca. 650 km. A fragment decorated with the image of the Archangel Michael has an analogy in the royal castle of Visegrád (345 km away). Two other tiles found in the castle, depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and their Banishment from Eden, have good analogies among the tiles produced for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (ca. 450 km away). A crown tile decorated with the image of St. George on foot slaying the dragon has several analogies in Slavonia and in neighboring Carinthia, part of Austria at the time. The furthest site of discovery of such an analogy is in Celje (Cilli), 650 km away. Considering the variety of motifs copied and the long distances from which they were brought, Nicholas of Ilok seems to have made a great effort to embellish his stove tiles. He might almost be considered a collector of tiles.

The exact means of transmission of motifs on tiles remains unknown. The identification of indirectly related tiles suggests that motifs or elements were copied from representations on other artistic items such as reliefs, manuscript illuminations, and, especially, prints. Tiles discovered in the workshop of Feldioara contain details clearly inspired by the reliefs and corbel of the local church. A tile from the St. Peter suburb of the city of Cluj, also in Transylvania, has analogies in manuscript illuminations and clay reliefs in Western Europe. Tiles dated to the time of the Reformation in particular were inspired by prints, such

as those depicting the 12 heroes of the Old Testament (among which the image of Jephthah seems to have been the most popular on stove tiles in Hungary). The tiles analyzed also indicate the use of separate molds in the creation of tiles, combining figures in various manners. Such is the case of saintly figures used in the decoration of niche tiles from Buda (afterwards copied elsewhere in the kingdom), the tiles from the castle of Făgăraş (Fogaras), where identical figures were used in the scene of Jesus and the Samaritan woman and as supports in a heraldic composition. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of some tiles from the castle in Diósgyőr, where individual molds representing human faces were used in different combinations on crown tiles, besides imprints from what might have been metal badges.

In general, the transmission of these motifs took place among contexts of equal rank (rural around Lake Balaton, castles and fortifications in general, and monasteries). The most peculiar stylistic transmission is that from the manor house of Racoş to the near-by castle in Făgăraş. The latter is the only case not matching the top-down or equal-level distribution of St. George motifs. When motifs circulated from upper-social contexts to lower ones, from castles to cities, for example, their quality also decreased, details were lost, open-work elements were flattened on panel tiles, and glaze might be omitted. These changes are most visible on the tiles decorated with the knight in tournament, but also some of the religious representations, such as St. George. An open-work semi-cylindrical tile depicting the St. George was found in the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorisko in Northern Hungary and a related panel tile in the village of Mihăileni, in Transylvania, 640 kilometers away. I have also noticed, as a general trend, that most of the related tiles are dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century, indicating increased circulation of tiles, tile molds, drawings, or pottery masters by that time.

Stove tiles initially spread in Europe along the waves of German colonization and on the commercial routes from German areas to Central and Eastern Europe. In Hungary, besides royal and noble palaces and fortifications, the sites richest in stove tiles were the German settlements of Northern Hungary and Transylvania. But the use and production of tile stoves spread among all ethnic groups, just as it did, for example, in neighboring Moldavia (much less exposed to German colonization in the Middle Ages). Vernacular inscriptions on religious tiles, in Slovak, German, and Romanian, clearly indicate that tiles were produced and utilized in interiors used by all social and ethnic groups. One can therefore point both to an ethnic transmission of technology and motifs and a top-down social

transmission from royal centers to those owned by magnates, the higher and lesser nobles, in cities and towns, and also in rural areas.

It becomes apparent that the distribution of tiles depended on various factors, mostly regulated by the balance between supply and demand. Numerous tiles were used in the areas around the large production centers, their activity answering a need but also creating and supporting tile stove use. Restricted availability of such items in some cases determined the use of low-quality tiles, even in castles. Popular variants of St. George slaying the dragon appeared on tiles used in the region of Lake Balaton in several village houses and also a fortification, a castle, and a Benedictine monastery. The nobles wanted the best, the most fashionable, and most knightly depictions in their interiors but sometimes had to use what was available on the local market.

By comparing the distribution of knight-in-tournament tiles and religious tiles as a group, I have concluded that besides technical considerations, the images decorating tiles also contributed to their distribution. The fact that image mattered is confirmed by the changes in tile iconography triggered in the sixteenth century by the Reformation. In 1553 and 1551 (or 1571) tiles inspired by Reformation prints were already in use in the kingdom. Several characteristics of the tiles in this period indicate the receptivity of tile iconography to Protestant ideas and fashion: fewer religious representations in general, an increased proportion of Old Testament scenes and scenes from the life of Christ, more numerous inscriptions added on tiles (including some in vernacular languages), and prints more often used as models. The only longer texts come from the end of the period analyzed, in the second half of the sixteenth century. The lettering changed from Gothic minuscule to classical antique capitals. Inscribed years became more frequent, inscriptions appeared in vernaculars (German in Latin letters and Romanian in Cyrillic), and the initials of potters were added to tiles for the first time. The taste for antiquity extended to the way writing was included in the image. In one case the inscription appears in a Roman *tabula ansata*. Tiles are good illustrations of the changes the Reformation led to in the field of decorative arts.

The trends in tile iconography confirm that, at least to some degree, image did matter. Some motifs and holy characters were more popular than others on tiles, and this cannot be reduced to a matter of "fashion." Images that were fashionable became so because they fulfilled certain functions. The possible reception and function of representations on stove tiles is an intricate topic because it cannot rely on direct written sources, but has to be inferred from indirect information such as context, depiction on neighboring tiles in the composition of stoves, symbolism, etc. What is certain is that such images were liable to various interpretations

depending on the viewers and the context of use. The tiles also served several functions at the same time, those of heating interior spaces, decorating interiors, and transmitting certain information about the owners.

Besides the embedded functional and decorative features, representations on tiles could have indicated the personal or collective devotion of the owners; they could have indicated their loyalties or allegiance or their identity (especially in the case of heraldic representations, but also through the choice of certain saints, certain inscriptions, or scenes reflecting certain beliefs). The tiles were also objects of prestige, showing the social status of the owners. In the case of tiles copied from upper social contexts, or good-quality tiles, with tracery and polychrome glazing, or fashionable tiles recently entering fashion, the stoves could have constituted items of prestige and display. These images, especially the narrative ones, were probably used as means of visual literacy and as aids to memory. The Reformation tiles were probably also used for religious propaganda. A less discussed function of representations on stove tiles is that of offering supernatural protection. All religious images were believed to have an apotropaic function, and in some cases tiles bearing magic symbols and representations were used together. The few reconstructed stove ensembles reveal the fact that religious representations were used beside lay, heraldic, and even magical symbols.

Comparing the occurrence of saints on tiles and their attested cults from other types of sources in Hungary, I have identified both similarities and differences. Some saints are almost equally popular on tiles and as church patrocinia, such as St. George, the Virgin, or St. Peter. But on the level of the entire medieval Hungary, some holy persons were much more popular on stove tiles: St. Ladislas, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara. Any comparison must be detailed, taking into consideration both the nature of stove tiles as functional and decorative objects and the popular manifestations of such cults and their presence in various forms of popular culture and mentality. Future studies have to accomplish the task on a case-to-case basis, comparing the distribution of tiles with certain saints and the spread of their cults in smaller areas, such as medieval counties, in order to show to what degree religious tiles reflected popular cults.

Future research will be much eased by the creation of an online database of tiles in which all interested researchers (archaeologists, art historians, historians, and others) will be able to find, add, and edit the entries and post links to their studies on the topic. This tool is essential since, as is shown in this dissertation, tiles are published in numerous languages. The role of such a database is even more important since tiles are receiving increasing attention and continue to be discovered during archaeological research; museologists would also be able to

continue processing the items kept in museum collections across Central and Eastern Europe. A tile database is only the first step in the valorization of this exceptional source material for the European Late Middle Ages, which can be used to increase knowledge on various aspects of daily life and religiosity.

In Heaven and on Earth. Church Treasuries in Late Medieval Bohemia
Kateřina Horníčková (Czech Republic)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 31, 2009, consisted of: Lajos Rácz (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Milena Bartlová (Masaryk University, Brno); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Milena Bartlová (Masaryk University, Brno) and Paul Crossley (Courtauld Institute of Art, London).

This dissertation focuses on the role of the church treasury in late medieval Bohemia and the political and cultural concepts behind its creation and existence as well as its religious and social functions. The study tackles questions of the treasuries' foundation, growth, function, and place in the medieval culture of Bohemia, and to a lesser extent, of their management and content. It is confined to the geographical and chronological limits of Luxemburg and Jagellonian rule in Bohemia and Moravia from roughly 1310 to 1526. These particular dates bracket the flourishing late medieval culture in Bohemia with its high quality – albeit now mostly lost – artistic output and set limits to a period of great importance in the development and redefinition of ecclesiastical treasuries in terms of their political and cultural roles.

My work, thus, focuses on intellectual concepts and practical policies and their development, or sometimes conflicts, as related to the development of treasuries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Bohemia. It oscillates between three important elements in history: art, religion, and cultural history. I follow the relationship among general concepts, both biblical and literary, to treasures and their subsequent transformation in church treasuries. I view the medieval church treasury in its social context as a result of piety as well as a medium communicating the status of an individual or a community, or – as in the particular case of Bohemia – as a manifestation of specific cultural policies. More narrowly, I examine the evolving functions of ecclesiastical treasuries in

late medieval Bohemian culture. Thus, I studied my sources through the lens of cultural history; this approach has helped me to untangle the network of manifold social and cultural phenomena inherent to a treasury. In particular, I examine treasure as an intellectual construct under the Luxemburg dynasty and its practical implementation in a medieval church treasury with its own aspects of formation, growth, function and presentation, patronage, administration, differentiation, or destruction.

The study is divided in two main parts. First is a general introduction to the study of medieval Bohemian church treasuries. The second part focuses on the historical development of Bohemian treasuries, with the core part in the period from the rule of Charles IV of Luxemburg up to the death of Louis II of Jagiello in the battle of Mohács in 1526.

Research on complex entities such as medieval treasuries can be approached from a multitude of directions. When starting my work, I approached the material with a set of questions such as: What functions can we identify in the uses of medieval church treasuries and what fostered their growth in pre-1420 Bohemia? What policies influenced the use and presentation of church treasuries? What was the position of the treasury in religious reform-oriented discourse around 1400 in Bohemia? How did the complicated confessional development in Bohemia leave its imprint on church treasuries? And, finally, how should the Hussite destruction of treasuries be understood, and what was the afterlife of the medieval church treasury in this confessionally polarized environment, especially with regard to the Bohemian Utraquist Church? These last questions are specific to the situation in Bohemia, which culminated in the Hussite movement and the rise of the Bohemian Reformation in the fifteenth century, the first nationwide religious reformation attempt in European history.

My work aims at understanding the transformations of concepts and functions of the church treasury and the ways in which the meaning of treasuries and the objects themselves were manipulated. In a particular micro-context, each treasury, and even each object, represents a narrative evolving over time and exposed to interpretations, manipulation, varying contexts, and alterations. I focused particularly on the "public" life of the treasury, i.e., the presentation of treasuries on various occasions, such as public displays of relics, and their destruction. I have shown that these treasuries were not only silent witnesses to the turbulent religious and political events between the fourteenth and sixteenth century in Bohemia, but they that they played active roles in developments and, at certain points, they became objects of inquiry on the true biblical tradition.

Treasuries in Bohemian late medieval religious culture were constructed and manipulated in order to communicate the meanings religious masterminds wanted them to convey. The capacity of treasuries to construct memory and put it in the service of political and religious agendas made them vehicles that carried specific meanings for each interpreter or group at different points in time. Twice – once in Charles IV's fourteenth-century imperial concept and again in the context of the Hussite critique of the Catholic cult in the 1420s – they became objects of conflicting interpretations. General biblical concepts and their moral implications were the foundations for both discourses; one was Charles IV's attempt to carry out religious reforms and the other its later materialization in the Hussite phase of the Bohemian Reformation, set in the wider context of Early Modern Reformation efforts. There, treasuries became objects of controversy and were even subjected to physical destruction. Ironically, it was the area of art and cultural production which paid for the strategies originally employed to foster the growth of the Christian cult. Treasuries, when they emerged from the religious conflict of the fifteenth century, had turned into different structures with different meanings and partly different content as well. In the fourteenth century, treasuries helped to shape the devotional customs of people; now they themselves had become objects to be manipulated to serve new needs, particularly those of personal and family representation. Under the aegis of religious reform, manipulation and interpretation of church treasuries in Bohemia shifted towards the pragmatic needs of the community.

I have attached four appendices offering the reader little-known sources on the range of problems in the study of church treasuries in Bohemia (a forgery of a document, the fragmentary nature of the sources on administration and collecting, the motivation behind donations in the confessionalized environment, a list of preserved inventories, the contents of Utraquist treasuries, and the contents of fourteenth-century church treasuries) in a separate section at the end of my study. The second appendix contains a full list of available church treasury inventories, both published and unpublished, from this period in Bohemia and Moravia.

Provisions for Widowhood in the Legal Sources of Sixteenth-century Lithuania

Jurgita Kunsmanaitė (Lithuania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on February 26, 2009, consisted of: Lajos Rácz (Department of History, CEU), chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Grethe Jacobsen (The Royal Library, Copenhagen); János M. Bak (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Judith A. Rasson (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Grethe Jacobsen (The Royal Library, Copenhagen) and Giedrė Mickūnaitė (Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts).

This dissertation deals with the property status of mid-sixteenth-century Lithuanian noble widows and their relation to the family property in sixteenth-century Lithuania. The time frame chosen for the research is the period between the *First Lithuanian Statute* of 1529 and the *Second Lithuanian Statute* of 1566. The materials used in the research are the sources of normative law (the *First Lithuanian Statute*, the *Second Lithuanian Statute*, ducal privileges, and decrees of the Council of Lords) and the records of legal practice (judicial records from the *Lithuanian Metrica*, the collection of records of the chancery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). The dissertation concentrates on the analysis of two coexisting legal models: contractual provisions and legal provisions. Under contractual provisions, I mean dower contracts, testaments, and the mutual donation of property between spouses. Under legal provisions, I mean the basic rights guaranteed for all widows, enshrined in law and applicable without any special arrangements or agreements. My aim was to trace the development of these two legal models, to compare them, and to see their reflection in legal practice.

A classification of the legal norms into those belonging to the legal provisions and those belonging to the contractual provisions has shown that the legal and the contractual provisions have many features in common. According to both types of provisions, the status of a widow depended first of all on her marital status and the age of her children. Dowered widows were essentially entitled to the return of the equivalent of their dowry plus some of their husband's property, usually for life, as well as to some movables of the husband, if so indicated in the testament. That is, a widow took back what she had brought in and received some of the husband's property only for life or until remarriage. Non-dowered widows were entitled to a share of property for life, essentially similar to the share

received by the dowered widows. Although in the scholarship one opinion is that the non-dowered widows were left with nothing, I would argue that they were left with none of the husband's property rather than nothing. As some laws and some legal practices show, the non-dowered widows before the *Second Lithuanian Statute* were probably entitled to a dowry: that is, as a result, they also got back what they had brought into the marriage. The only clear advantage of the contractual provisions was that widows with such provisions could hope to hold some of the husband's immovable property with ownership rights.

The coexistence of the two different models may be explained by the contractual provisions being easier to enforce than the legal ones. With the spread of written culture, various forms of contracts gained more power, and with the widening of the freedom of testamentary inheritance, contractual provisions enabled people to express their will in a more specific way. These could be some factors which determined and explain the appearance and the strengthening of the institution of dower; as court records show, non-dowered widows were few, with the dower contract being the main form of providing for widowhood.

However, this development does not explain why such detailed legal provisions survived in the normative law and why they changed simultaneously. My explanation for this is that the dower was not mandatory, thus legal provisions remained in power. Testaments never became mandatory either, with the property division according to the law always remaining in power. Thus the dower – which in practice was often a sub-section of testamentary inheritance with the dower being assigned by a testament – was not mandatory either. And thus legal provisions kept being adapted to the contractual provisions in order to preserve similar conditions for all widows and all children in the same position, guaranteeing them the same rights, regardless of the presence or absence of contractual provisions.

The analysis revealed that the main change in the normative law concerned the size of the dower. Here, my main finding is the interconnection of the dower laws with general laws regarding the disposal of immovable property. Between the two *Statutes* a widow could receive up to one-third of her husband's ancestral and acquired lands. Before, the size of the dower was not strictly defined. This clearly follows the development of the general laws concerning the ownership of immovable property. When the change appeared in the general laws – that is, the disposal of the immovable property was limited – the same was reflected in the laws concerning the dower. That is, if the husband could dispose freely of only one-third of his property, then he could not assign more of it to his wife as a dower. The disposal of the immovable property was not limited for long and was cancelled in the *Second Lithuanian Statute* due to pressure from the nobility.

However, the restriction on the size of the dower remained in effect, but took on a different meaning: if between the two *Statutes* it meant the *maximum* that a widow could get as a dower, now it marked a *minimum* that a widow would receive if her husband assigned her a dower.

As regards the differences between the normative law and the legal practice, the decisions of the court mainly conformed to the normative law, with some exceptions. Court decisions sometimes claim to rely on the *Statute*, and sometimes on custom; this was fully permissible, as the *First Lithuanian Statute* itself allowed a court to rely on the customary law if the norm was missing from the *Statute*. Testaments and dower contracts quoted in the court records reveal that when assigning property to their wives the husbands by and large followed the normative law, but a certain testamentary freedom allowed many variations within the prescribed limits. The testament was not only the means of assigning or confirming the dower, but also an opportunity for the husband to leave all or some of his purchased and movable property to his wife. As the court cases of the *Lithuanian Metrica* show, this was practiced quite extensively, with some testaments containing various restrictions on the management of the property that the husbands assigned to their wives, and some testaments entitling the widow to extensive ownership rights to the purchased and movable property of her husband. Donations of the property to each other between the spouses, probably a Polish influence, were another way of giving property to the wife.

Analysis of the normative law and legal practice also allowed me to note some more general points regarding the status of widows in Lithuania in the first part of the sixteenth century. Because of the variety of options available in the normative law, the status of widows could vary immensely, from as little as being left with only their own separate property, if any, to as much as not only receiving a substantial dower but also all that the husband could dispose of freely. In many instances, the position of the widow depended less on the law than on the family circumstances, the generosity of the husband, and the kindness and helpfulness – or animosity and greediness – of the children. Although the law provided most of the necessary norms establishing the rights and duties of widows, society was not always able to enforce these rights.

The situation of Lithuanian widows was comparable to those in other European countries. Compared to the closest neighbors from the ethnic point of view, the few surviving Prussian norms reveal some similarities with the early Lithuanian norms on widows. As to the *Russkaja Pravda* of Kievan Rus', there also are some similarities with the early Lithuanian laws; this is the result of parallel development and possibly some indirect rather than direct influence. The

influence of Polish laws is, on the other hand, undeniable, the concepts of the *veno* and *venets* being influenced by Polish law. Due to this influence, the status of Lithuanian widows was most similar to that of those in Poland, where contractual provisions were the dominant means of providing for widowhood.

The means of providing for widowhood in other countries differed to a variable extent. Everywhere widows were provided for both legally and contractually, with the emphasis falling on the contractual provisions in some countries and on the legal provisions in others. In all countries, the marital status and the parental status of a widow were taken into consideration. Everywhere remarriage or having minor children meant a different status: more restricted amounts or the right to the property of the husband in the first case, and much wider rights and access to the husband's property in the second. In general, widows in other countries received back what they had brought into marriage or were compensated for it. A share of the husband's ancestral property was normally given to widows only with usufruct rights and acquired property could be shared. My opinion is that although widows' legal options differed quite considerably from country to country, various types of agreements, such as marital contracts and testaments, leveled this situation out to a great degree, and the widow's situation probably depended more on the personal relationship of the spouses than on legal prescriptions.

To summarize the main finding of this dissertation, my contributions to the research in this field are: connecting laws on the disposal of land with dower laws; re-evaluating the status of non-dowered widows; the detailed comparison of different legal models, with the conclusion that they coexisted because the contractual provisions were not mandatory; some further analysis of court records, with the conclusion that the legal practice followed the normative law in a very flexible way; and placing Lithuania into a wider European context.

Regnum Albaniae, the Papal Curia, and the Western Visions of a Borderline Nobility

Etleva Lala (Albania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on November 26, 2008, consisted of: Viktor Karády (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität Hagen); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external reader was Pellumb Xhufi (University of Tirana).

Almost all the territories in the southwestern Balkans became Catholic in the second half of the fourteenth century. If we bear in mind that this area lay on the borderline between the Eastern and Western Churches, that the majority of its territories had been Byzantine and that the Eastern rite was practiced there until the late thirteenth century, the Catholicization of the region cannot be considered a self-evident phenomenon. There were various reasons for the success of Catholicism in this region at the cost of the Eastern rite which have not been articulated clearly in the historiography. I argue that the interaction of the Holy See with the local nobility through the political structure of the *Regnum Albaniae* played a significant part in converting the region's populations to Catholicism.

Regnum Albaniae was a political structure created in the 1270s by Charles I of Anjou. It has been studied thoroughly by many scholars because it was created to be a basis for the "universal" plans of Charles I Anjou. These plans included the recapture of Jerusalem, the restoration of the Latin Empire in Constantinople and the creation of a Mediterranean Empire. The general attitude of scholars has been that it was simply an Anjou invention that had little or no impact on the Albanians themselves. As such, *Regnum Albaniae* was studied only as an isolated political structure in the Albanian territories and its interaction with the locals was seen only in a negative light and simplified into a relationship between occupiers and occupied. In this study, I try to shed light on the positive role of the *Regnum Albaniae* in the southwestern Balkans, especially with regard to establishing an identity for the local nobility, for implementing papal plans for the southwestern Balkans, and, as a result, for the flourishing of Catholicism in the region.

After the Sack of Constantinople (1204), when the Byzantine Empire lost its power as the central authority in Byzantine lands, the local nobility of

the southwest Balkans had a crisis of identity. The fragmented political powers that emerged aimed to acquire this central authority, at least in their purported territories, but managed it only with various levels of success. The local nobles of the southwestern Balkans also tried to create their own political power center called *Principatus Albaniae,* but they had no continuous success with it. As a result of this failure, the local nobles tended to attach themselves to what they perceived as the strongest political powers. Thus, at any one time, the smaller territories controlled by the local nobility came under the sphere of influence of various power centers outside these territories. The opportunistic political worldview of the local nobles created a fluid situation where political alignments were taken up and dropped with an array of large power centers in the greater region. The way they chose a central authority to submit to and self-identify with determined whose "periphery" they wanted to be in.

After the emergence of the *Regnum Albaniae,* the local nobility in this region thought of its king, Charles I of Anjou, as their protector against neighboring aggressive powers. The *Regnum Albaniae* was for them a kind of mental fortress which they could call upon when they came under attack by their neighbors; that is why they joined or abandoned it according to their need for protection, also based on the shelter this *Regnum* provided for them.

After the Sicilian Vespers in 1283 and the death of Charles I of Anjou in 1285, the *Regnum Albaniae* continued to operate within a very limited territorial space with uncertain and fluctuating geographical boundaries. The descendants of Charles I had various degrees of success in keeping the *Regnum Albaniae* alive but more in name than reality. However, it needs to be stressed that this nominal existence seems to have exerted a significant influence on the subsequent development of the political and religious situation in the southwestern Balkans in the fourteenth century.

The southwestern Balkans was an important region in the plans of the Holy See during the Middle Ages. Geographically, the Balkans offered the shortest and the most convenient terrestrial routes to Jerusalem and the East. They not only acquired special importance for crusading campaigns, but also for pilgrimages and passages of papal envoys to the East. Politically they represented the frontier between the Byzantine Empire and the Latin sphere of influence. Having one foot in the southwestern Balkans reflected the Papal Curia's hope for eventually taking control of Byzantium. Religiously, the southwestern Balkans also represented a frontier between the Byzantine Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. The installation of the Anjou *Regnum Albaniae* at the end of the thirteenth century opened new perspectives for successful papal impact in the region and beyond.

The universal visions of Charles I of Anjou corresponded with the visions of the Holy See in terms of reaching out towards the East, which sometimes led to successful collaborations.

Local nobles eventually became aware of the papal powers, on the one hand, through the crusading attempts of the Holy See and, on the other hand, through the negotiations of the latter with the Byzantine and Serbian Orthodox rulers. During the fourteenth century the Holy See showed itself to be quite a powerful force in effectively threatening kings and emperors of the Eastern commonwealth with military crusades and making them recognize papal authority at least *pro forma*. On these grounds, local nobles who were eager to align themselves on the side of the most powerful entities started to figure out ways by which they could become part of the Western coalition of power centers led by the Holy See.

Through the correspondence of the Holy See with the representatives of the *Regnum Albaniae,* the local nobles of the southwestern Balkans realized that the *Regnum Albaniae* was considered an important political power in the Balkans from the pontifical point of view, a power upon which the papal curia relied. In this context, *Regnum Albaniae* represented a source of power, identification, and self-representation for the local nobility. Although the *Regnum Albaniae* was almost physically nonexistent in the fourteenth century, local nobles started to be interested in perpetuating the *Regnum Albaniae* because they realized that it provided them with a political status which was recognized by the powers they wished to ally themselves with, such as the Holy See, the Hungarian Kingdom, the ban of Bosnia, the French king, and the Venetians. The local nobles began to develop ways they could and should personalize the *Regnum Albaniae* in order to use it as a political costume, one which they had to assume in order to be recognized and treated as allies of the Western powers, especially the papacy.

The *Regnum* was created by the Anjous and the Holy See recognized it as Catholic. From this point of view, one of the ways to personalize the *Regnum Albaniae* at the royal level was the Anjou origin of the pretender to the throne. Since the *Regnum Albaniae* was an Anjou creation, claiming connections to the house of Anjou became one of the codes that helped men reach out to the royal throne, a tactic used extensively by the local nobleman, Charles Thopia. The other way to personalize it, available to the other local nobles who could not pretend any kind of French or Anjou origin, was the Catholic status of the *Regnum Albaniae*. The local nobles, who pretended to be recognized as *barones* of the *Regnum Albaniae*, considered their conversion to Catholicism to be the most important step towards this aim.

Catholicism thus became one of the key ideologies that connected the political and religious visions of the Avignon popes and local nobility of the *Regnum Albaniae* in the fourteenth century. While the Avignon popes saw it as a means of religious and political outreach into the Balkans, the local nobility considered it a political means to connect with the West and reap benefits of power by association. At this time of apparent triumph, the French religious influence in the region grew quite strong. Supported by both the Holy See and the local nobility, the number of Catholic religious houses and clergy increased, and the territories of the nobles who considered themselves members of the *Regnum Albaniae* became true strongholds of Catholicism against the Orthodox rite in the area. The religious and political visions of the Avignon popes and of the local members of the *Regnum Albaniae* were again united on the eve of their almost simultaneous downfalls.

Late Antique Motifs in Yezidi Oral Tradition
Eszter Spät (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 11, 2009, consisted of: Viktor Karády (Department of History, CEU), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Christine Allison (Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter); Philip Kreyenbroek (Institute of Iranian Studies, Georg-August University, Göttingen); György Geréby (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were Christine Allison (Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter); Philip Kreyenbroek (Institute of Iranian Studies, Georg-August University Göttingen) and John C. Reeves (The University of North Carolina at Charlotte).

This thesis contains the results of my research on the presence and use of late antique motifs in the oral religious tradition of the Yezidis of Northern Iraq. Such a quest simultaneously contributes to a better understanding of Yezidi religion, orality in the Middle East, and the influence of late antique religiosity on the religious development of the region.

Yezidis are a Kurdish-speaking religious minority of a few hundred thousand souls living throughout the Middle East, with the highest concentration and their religious center in Northern Iraq. Yezidis are not Muslims, neither may they be considered Jews or Christians. Rather they follow a highly syncretistic oral religion of their own which shows strong Sufi influence, though its core mythology retains

the imprint of pre-Zoroastrian Western Iranian mythological thinking. Vestiges of other religions once flourishing in the region can be detected as well.

Yezidi mythology and religious imagery have also incorporated and adapted to their particular religious system certain myths and motifs which once enjoyed widespread popularity among the interrelated religious movements of Late Antiquity, from Judaism through Christianity (or rather the varieties of Christianity) to Gnosticism and Manichaeism, but which have since been mostly relegated to oblivion. The study of such motifs and myths helps us explain some elements of the Yezidi faith which have previously been considered obscure and confusing, or even childish. Such elements were deemed to be the results of Yezidis' misunderstanding or distorting legends or myths taken from other religions, or were simply dismissed since interpreting them proved too difficult. These motifs fall into place within the Yezidi system of beliefs and become easier to understand once light is shed on their origins.

It must also be emphasized that Yezidis are not an exceptional, isolated case in the region. The thesis demonstrates that these motifs can be found in the religious lore of numerous other groups, both medieval and contemporary, in the Middle East, strengthening the argument that they derive from a common substratum shared by the people of the region. Placing these motifs within the context of a religious language originating in Late Antiquity is the key to a better understanding of Yezidi religion. Furthermore, it shows the way this religion developed and highlights the working of oral tradition in the Middle East in general. In this context, establishing the late antique origins of some motifs reveals the way literacy interacted with orality in the region. Finally, such a study highlights the long-lasting influence late antique religious thought had on the religious development of the area, even in a region that was formerly on the periphery of the Hellenistic world.

The study of Yezidi religion is made harder by the fact that it is a religion based on orally transmitted tradition instead of written works. This prevented the development of a canonized corpus of texts, a coherent system of theology, or even a theological language. Furthermore, Yezidis have until recently practiced *taqiye*, that is, dissimulation or secrecy, as far as the outside world was concerned. As a result, little is known about their religious system, and scholarly works on Yezidis have been very limited both in number and range. The present study was mainly based on material collected during my repeated fieldwork among the Yezidis of Northern Iraq, and the sacred texts recently translated and published by Philip Kreyenbroek.

Following the introductory chapters, the thesis analyzes the nature of Yezidi religion and oral tradition. Special attention is given to the question of how oral tradition changes, the motivations triggering the adoption of new elements and the rejection of old ones, and the need to transform and adapt in conformity with the demands of the external world. As there are no written sources available describing how oral tradition, especially Yezidi oral tradition, worked in the past, examining the way Yezidi oral tradition functions today and how it is influenced by external impacts, especially by literacy and literate traditions, has been of crucial importance. The thesis argues that the same factors which generate these changes must have been at work in the past, too, making it easier to understand the incorporation of late antique motifs discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

Two of the chapters dealing with late antique inheritance are primarily based on the Yezidi myth, collected during my fieldwork, on the creation of Adam and his divinely conceived son, the forefather of the Yezidi race. This composite myth, much ridiculed by earlier researchers, in fact, retains many motifs popular in Late Antiquity. The notion of divine essence being enclosed in a human body, a positive interpretation of tasting the Forbidden Fruit, and the creation of the forefather of a chosen race through the agency of divine beings and from the divine power lost by Adam, can all be traced back to the dualistic mythologies of Late Antiquity, where they formed the backbone of Gnostic and Manichaean anthropogony. Other motifs, such as the angelic clothing, or *khirqe*, worn by Adam in Paradise and then lost, can be connected both with dualistic religions and Judaism and Christianity, from which the former ultimately drew many of their ideas. The same is true for the symbolism of the *khirqe* in Yezidi sacred hymns and in traditional lore, analyzed in a separate chapter. Detailed comparison shows pronounced parallels between the multi-layered meaning of the Yezidi *khirqe* and the extremely rich late antique tradition of "garment theology," which produced many diverse forms. The *khirqe* is, among other things, an eschatological garment, and appears as such in the next chapter concerned with the "Song of the Commoner." This hymn, ceremoniously sung every morning, calls on the believer to wake up, abandon sinful sleep, and offers heavenly reward to those who spurn sleep. It fits into the literary tradition of the Call or Awakening (or Gnostic Call) developed in Late Antiquity, where sleep and night stand for spiritual ignorance, while awakening symbolizes religious conversion or gaining spiritual consciousness. The Song of the Commoner contains not only the sleep-awakening symbolism, best represented in late antique dualistic as well as Manichean literature, but also the three usual doctrinal elements associated with the Call of Awakening: The *Call,*

followed by *Moral Instruction* and a *Promise of Heavenly Reward*, which includes the donning of the *khirqe*, or angelic garment (discussed in the previous chapters). The quest for late antique elements is rounded off by the chapter dealing with the trimorphic, or three-form appearance of the divine, in the Yezidi myth of the birth of Prophet Ismail and in late antique (both Christian and Gnostic) as well as medieval works. While it would be difficult to pinpoint a single source for these motifs, as many of them were shared by various groups with diverse ideologies, it is safe to conclude that their ultimate source was the religious and cultural milieu of Late Antiquity.

How these legends were transmitted from the peoples of Late Antiquity to the Yezidis, a group that did not appear on the historical scene before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, would be hard to answer given the present level of knowledge of the religious history of the region. It is widely accepted that countless connections existed between Jewish, Syriac Christian, Gnostic and Manichean legends and religious motifs, while little is known of the way these elements were transmitted. Similarly, one can see the connection between Late Antiquity and the Yezidi belief system of today, but the chain of transmission must remain obscure. It is quite possible that already in Late Antiquity (and even earlier) such legends were transmitted, not only through texts, but orally as well. The key may lie not with the Yezidis in particular, but with the various, often orally transmitted, traditions of the Middle East in general.

Comparison with the religious traditions of other groups, whether oral or written, demonstrates that these motifs once enjoyed widespread popularity in the region. It is this popularity, often coupled with an ability to confer prestige in the eyes of the outside world, which accounts for their incorporation into the Yezidi system. This incorporation can be compared to the process of change affecting Yezidi religion today, where popular motifs from present-day Western or Westernized culture are being integrated into Yezidi lore. These motifs can be scientific, historical or moral, but they all are well-known ideas from mainstream culture. As a matter of fact, today many of the late antique motifs analyzed in this work are being discarded, exactly because they are no longer part of the common culture surrounding the Yezidis and are believed to make Yezidis seem outlandish and ridiculous. In their place new motifs are being adopted and new myths are being built around them.

The aim of my thesis was to add to the understanding of the nature of Yezidi religion and of oral tradition in the region by finding the place of some motifs in a religious tradition which can be traced back to Late Antiquity. This study does not pretend to be the last word on late antique motifs, Gnostic or

otherwise, in Yezidism; rather, it hopes to be the first of its kind, opening the way to further research. Clearly, there is a great deal more to be done in this field, especially as regards the possible influence of Gnosticism and Manichaeism on Yezidi religion. During the course of my research, a number of motifs I suspected as being of possible Late Antique origin had to be put to one side due to a lack of sufficient corroborating data. As scholarly research (hopefully) gathers more information on the various religious and ethnic groups in the Middle East and their oral traditions, new details may appear that would make it possible to find further connections and refine the ones already treated by this work.

A TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR IHOR ŠEVČENKO BY CEU MEDIEVALISTS[1]

Ihor Ivanovich Ševčenko and Byzantine Studies at CEU
István Perczel

Byzantine Studies at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies began with a brainstorming meeting in Spring 1994, to which the then-Head and founder of the Department, Gábor Klaniczay, invited Peter Schreiner, Vladimír Vavřínek, Henrik Birnbaum, and István Kapitánffy. I was already working for the department as a tutor and also attended the meeting. Schreiner and Vavřínek gave lectures to an enthusiastic audience of students newly come from Eastern and East Central Europe and we were discussing the possibilities, the persons to invite and, most of all, the profile, of the future studies which we, then, imagined as focusing on the Byzantine historical and cultural heritage of Central Europe, walking in the footsteps of Gyula Moravcsik, whose disciple István Kapitánffy was. We felt that something important was beginning.

Things Byzantine reached an incomparably more mature stage when one of the greatest international Byzantine scholars began to give regular classes in our program: this was Ihor Ivanovich Ševčenko, who started his service as a Recurrent Visiting Professor in our department in Fall 1995. In the same semester I had the honor of co-teaching a class with him on "Early Byzantine Monastic Traditions." This duty caused me some awe – what a disproportion between the qualities of the two teachers! – but the course went well, due to the generous attitude of the senior instructor, who in no way made his seniority felt.

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[1] This section of the Annual only intends to commemorate Professor Ševčenko as a guest professor at CEU and mentor to many of our students. An extensive commemorative internet site created by his family can be found at http://sites.google.com/site/ihorsevcenko/. The editors gratefully acknowledge the help of Divna Manolova (coordinator, CEU, Center for Hellenic Traditions) in compiling the material presented here.

Ihor Ševčenko's activity was not restricted to his regular seminars; any time he came to Budapest he also gave public lectures on topics of his current research, ranging from the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogennetus to the question of what was the *lingua franca* which Greek prelates residing in the court of the Moscow tsars in the seventeenth century used to converse with their Russian hosts – incidentally, Latin – and how the translation process went from Greek to Latin and from Latin to Russian and *vice versa* through able court translators. His lectures were real *Vorlesungen* in the classical German tradition. He composed them carefully and read them with perfect rhetoric and intonation, conveying the impeccable logic of the arguments. Naturally, the audience, consisting mainly of young and gifted students from Eastern Europe, was overwhelmed by this experience and received the lectures with great enthusiasm.

In his seminars he was different. Although a person with a princely appearance and great elegance, when surrounded by the few students attending the classes, he became relaxed, joking, often sarcastic, manifestly immensely enjoying the presence of these young and enthusiastic people. He felt good and spread around himself an atmosphere of satisfaction and the joy of life. Once, when we celebrated his birthday in a little restaurant close to the university, he, in an aura of happiness, exclaimed: "You see, it is the presence of students, young people like you around me, which is the source of constant rejuvenation for me!" And young he was indeed, unfailingly, being full of humor and spirit.

I never saw his other face, about which I heard reports later. A colleague has recounted that once, when Ihor Ševčenko had made severe critical remarks after the presentation of a younger colleague, the latter could not bear the burden and collapsed. So I believe that he could be like this, too, but there was not a single occasion during his visits to Budapest that would remind us – far from it – of this aspect of his character. Certainly, he was severe in his judgments, never compromising on scholarly quality. However, this judgment was so obviously balanced and correct that nobody ever took offence.

As to many people, Ihor Ševčenko was very helpful to me, too. Our collaboration in the classes on early Byzantine monasticism also resulted in private discussions on this topic. I shared with him my bewilderment at seeing Origen's doctrines so influential on the early formation of the monastic movement. He found the idea interesting and encouraged me to publish these findings. It was only later that I discovered other scholars, most importantly Samuel Rubenson, who had already published substantial contributions on the same subject. Ihor Ševčenko's encouragement meant a great deal to me; it helped to overcome my original fears and also reassured me that this was a "good" Byzantine topic with

a place in the discipline. As he saw me so very ignorant of the social context of scholarship, he also instructed me in this matter. The long conversations in restaurants and cafés transformed all my perceptions. From him I learned how to apply for scholarships and grants and how to handle what I received. Once – this was in 1998 – I applied for a fellowship and, to my surprise, received it together with another one for which I had not applied. I was about to decline one of them, feeling an incompatibility between so many opportunities and my usual duties, and told Ihor about this. At that moment he appeared very severe: "This you should learn once and for all: you never ever refuse what has been granted to you!" The sentence was laconic and peremptory; it gave no room for contradiction. I obeyed and things have worked out well. Ever since, I have tried to transmit to my students this and other of his apophthegmata that help us on our way in the practical issues of scholarship, and I believe he assists us even in this indirect way. In fact, Ihor showed empathy for the pursuits of all of us, students and faculty alike, whom he invariably considered as his younger peers, and his only perceptible aim was to help us.

Now Ihor Ševčenko has departed. He has left behind an astonishing oeuvre of Byzantine and Slavic studies that generations of scholars will continue to read and exploit. Among his lesser known achievements he also left behind an invigorated Byzantine studies program at CEU and, perhaps as his most important but also most imperceptible heritage, warm memories in our minds and hearts.

Critique and Praise
Remembered by János M. Bak

Some time in the past century it happened that because of our fault or the candidate's, an MA thesis to be judged by Ihor was submitted too late to him for to send his comments in writing. We agreed that he would give his assessment by telephone on the day of the defense. We called him and passed the phone to the student. Ihor spoke to her at length. All that we saw was the face of the candidate becoming ever more sad, finally tears running down her cheeks. After some 20 minutes or so, she handed the phone over to us: "Professor Ševčenko wants to talk to you." Ihor's assessment followed: "This is a major contribution to scholarship, exemplary work, more than *summa cum laude*!" Only then did the candidate understand that if no less than Ihor Ševčenko spends half an hour pointing out minor mistakes and suggests improvements to a beginner's first paper – then that is a unique honor and reflects a rare achievement.

Scholarship and Friendship
Anna Kuznetsova (MA 1994)

I met Ihor Ivanovich Ševčenko on May 31, 1995, in a sunny green meadow at the old site of CEU on Hüvösvölgyi Street. I knew him as the author of an important work on the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, which I had worked on. He was the one who saw some paradoxes in the work of Cyril and Methodius while many others, including one of his senior colleagues, Father Francis Dvornik, tended to find an easy explanation of the discrepancies in the subject. I asked Ševčenko to read my MA thesis and listen to some of my further concerns. He taught me a quite a few important lessons and helped as only he could.

I had a chance that was given to me by our Department, where Professor Ševčenko was very valued and invited as often as possible, to see him and talk to him about scholarship and life. He was always a true scholar for whom scholarship was indeed in the very first place. But unlike many other "big men" he was interested in other people and their work even if they were just beginners. He took the work of the students in my tutorial group (1995–96) very seriously and spent hours and hours with those who needed his counsel. And he was really happy when I or any other student was successful in something. Once, when he heard that I had received a grant for one of my projects, he immediately bought a rose and gave it to me with the words – "You get a grant – you get a rose."

He was absolutely childish in many ways. Once many of his colleagues at a Moscow conference waited for him for an hour to go for a joint dinner because he couldn't stop working on improving his modern Greek translation of the paper his was to present there. Then they gave up and only János Bak and I remained waiting for him... for another two hours. We understood that for him time did not matter when a piece of work had to be done. Texts – be they his or an ancient author's or merely scratched-in words on a stone – were sacrosanct for him, and he was unable to stop polishing his writing until it was faultless to the last iota. When he was done he looked at us with such eyes that it was clear that for him only a short time had passed. Maybe that was the last time I saw him.

We corresponded and I called him occasionally. He always managed to find the truest and warm words in his letters. And was sincerely sorry if I didn't send him a small article of mine that I did not think would be of any value to him. He called himself Pliushkin (a character in Gogol's *Dead Souls*) who liked to collect everything.

He was a personally important older friend from whom I learnt the world of high values in this life. I remember us walking in the Museum of Fine Arts in

Budapest on his first visit. He told me – "See, I will tell you the subjects of those paintings without looking at their titles." And he did it well, in many cases even recalling the names of the painters.

After my graduation, he recommended me for a position at the Department of Medieval History at the Institute of Slavic Studies in Moscos, at that time led by Gennadij Grigorievich Litavrin. They were great friends and Litavrin valued him probably more then anybody else. They died within 50 days of each other and will remain unreachable examples for many of us in serving people and scholarship.

I did not cross out his name in my e-mail list or address book since he will remain one of the best and eternal correspondents I ever had in my life, still alive in my heart.

Glimpses of Memories
Levan Gigineishvili (MA 1995, PhD 2000)

I think it is redundant to write another panegyric to Professor Ihor Ševčenko, enumerating his scholarly achievments and contributions. I will just speak about my personal feelings and memories of him, traces that he left on me. I remember him giving seminars at CEU, his joyful and boisterous air, his wisdom seasoned with, or even manifested in, humor, his gentleness.

I vividly remember his general lecture on Byzantine civilization at CEU in 1998 or 1999. The lecture was like a piece of art; quite purposefully, in the beginning he quoted Yeates' "Sailing to Byzantium" and in fact captured all the listeners to the Holy City. The effect of the lecture can be described by the fact that it was not followed with the usual questions from the audience, but with the silence of admiration, without a single question! – I have never seen such a reaction from an academic audience, before or since. A few minutes later, at a cheese and wine reception, I asked him, "Why weren't the Byzantines prone to translate from Latin literature?" "They were arrogant! They thought, like French did in the eighteenth century, that they were Number One and could not possibly be enriched from outside." He then lightly reprimanded me for not having asked this question immediately after the lecture.

I next saw, or better to say, bumped into, Ihor Ševčenko, already a Professor Emeritus, in Harvard Yard. I was a student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 2002-03. Since there had been a few years' hiatus since our encounters at the CEU he did not immediately recognize me, and I reminded him

that I had been a participant in his seminars and mentioned his wonderful lecture a few years before at CEU. He asked for my address and, to my joy, a few days later in the mail I received the published version of the lecture with his signature. I was so impressed by this meeting that I even wrote a funny poem in Georgian entitled "Meeting in Harvard Yard."

We next met at a dinner where both of us were invited by an American whose name was Hue, who sang in the Boston Holy Trinity Orthodox Church choir; he was also interested in medieval Georgian chants and that was one of the reasons he invited me. I do not remember the topics of conversation, but only the air of the evening, which was created mostly by Professor Ševčenko's charming manner and engaging, lively conversation.

On June 5, Ascension Day in 2003, which coincided with my graduation day, the courtyard of Harvard Yard was packed with students in black caps and gowns. Since I was late getting to the School of Education student group I had to sneak through other groups, but the ceremony had already started and I had to stop in the middle of the yard, near the main passage, through which the distinguished professors were to pass. The ceremony was opened by a Latin address, and the professors, in somewhat bizarre, colorful gowns, proceeded through. Professor Ševčenko stood out from all the others due to his height. He looked around absentmindedly and suddenly noticed me (perhaps because I happened to stand with the students from the Divinity School and was the only one who did not have white wires forming a halo above my head); there was a spontaneous salutation and the rush of smile. We congratulated each other on the day of the Ascension of the Lord amidst a sea of unfamiliar faces. That was my last sight of Professor Ihor Ševčenko.

Viennese Invention
Maya Petrova-Taneva (MA 1994, PhD 2003)

It is strange perhaps that when thinking of Professor Ševčenko what comes first to my mind are not his undoubted qualities as a scholar – his exceptional erudition in Byzantine and Slavic studies, his scholarly publications and revelations, but his extraordinary personality. I am sure that the people lucky to know him will never forget his overwhelming presence, his sense of humor, his elegant style of speaking and writing, and his vivid interest in past and present events. I remember Professor Ševčenko's 75th birthday party that the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU organized for him and the letter of greeting that we, his students and

colleagues, composed in almost as many languages, modern and ancient, that he had command of. I often reminisce about his lecture at the PhD seminar in 1997 where he was invited to share his insights about historical research and his insistence on the simple truth that the past makes sense, so its reconstruction should make sense too, and thus the task of the historian is "to make sense out of nonsense using his own common sense."

I also remember his last visit to Sofia in 2006 at the international symposium "Byzantium and the Slavs," his interesting contribution about the social context of linguistic borrowings and the fun we had after the end of it while trying to get a taxi. It was raining heavily and Professor Ševčenko was fussing about me getting wet and my hair and dress being destroyed by the rain, but at the same time persuading me not to worry because he had with him a very special umbrella, a "Viennese invention," no bigger than a pair of glasses. When we went out of the university we struggled with it for more than half an hour and finally became soaked to the skin, but we could not find a way to make it open; later, in the taxi, the umbrella suddenly opened by itself, but refused to close, so we had to travel the rest of our way holding the Viennese invention out the open taxi window.

I will never forget the tense moments of waiting for his evaluation of my PhD dissertation and the relief I felt seeing its first line, saying "It was a joy to read Ms Maya Petrova-Taneva's thesis." For me, Prof. Ševčenko's praise is still the greatest reward for my work.

Memory of Greek Fire
Rossina Kostova (MA 1995, PhD 2002)

It was the spring of 1995, when, as one of the masters' students at the Department, I was waiting with pleasant impatience to see the two "living gods" of Byzantine studies, Ihor Ševčenko and Evelyne Patlagean, who were coming to teach a course on Byzantine hagiography. For those who knew them, it is needless to say that they did not behave like gods, yet the fundamental contributions they made to medieval scholarship gave them, for me, the romantic aura of scholar-aristocrats coming from another world, where knowledge about the past was not fragmented into fields but was only possible as an encyclopedic whole. In fact, their erudition allowed Ševčenko and Patlagean not to teach, but to talk with us about the saints, their lives, and life of the lives in the Byzantine society. Their lectures were a real relief from the burden of thesis writing for all of us and, honestly, I did not have the feeling that these hours were a time to collect memories.

HAPPY 75 BIRTHDAY, IHOR!

But two years later I got that feeling when chance brought me again, this time as a doctoral student, to Ševčenko's course on text and image in Byzantine church literature. No need to say that I added what I learned there to my *instrumenta studiorum*. What I added to my personal memory, however, is the Professor's birthday. On a colored piece of paper we wrote our greetings in our own languages and gave it to him at a nice birthday party in a small café nearby the university. The culmination was the appearance of the birthday cake with shafts of fire in the darkened room. I was sitting close to him and noticed that he was really surprised by the light show. "Just like Greek fire," I told him. "Yes, you, the Bulgarians, know it quite well," the Professor answered the joke. Unfortunately, in packing my student's luggage I lost the copy of the improvised multilingual greeting card he signed for each of us with a personal remark and for me that was "Remember Greek fire"… But what I still keep and will never lose is the notion Ševčenko gave me that one cannot rush through Byzantium but one has to walk carefully, not staring around but reading the words inscribed on the stone, because they may give one the key to the story. And you cannot simply read the books of Byzantium, you must read the text of the images because they may tell you the entire story. And finally, you cannot learn Byzantium, you must be learned enough to understand what a magnificent story it is.

I did not manage to become learned enough to read the entire story of Byzantium, but I am proud of myself that I was capable enough to understand these messages of the Professor, because Ševčenko's teaching was not a didactic process but an intellectual challenge.

A Great Man and Kind Person
Irma Karaulashvili (MA 1996, PhD 2004)

Probably many scholars will remember Professor Ihor Ševčenko as an exemplary professional whose seminal works influenced several generations and are still inspiring for many people dealing with Late Antique, Byzantine, and Medieval Studies. There are others, his friends and colleagues, who will recall not only his professional, but also his personal characteristics, remembering a dear friend whom they will miss a lot. And there are former students, who were lucky enough to listen to the lectures delivered by a great scholar and extraordinary man. I am among the latter.

It was a great surprise for us, the MA students of Medieval Studies Department at CEU back in 1995, when we discovered that, together with our

own István Perczel, Ihor Ševčenko would teach a course on monasticism. For me, an ordinary Georgian student, who at that time was a little afraid of being abroad and studying at an international university, it was an astonishing fact. Never before had I any chance to attend a lecture by a professor so well-known. Being used to the "Soviet style" of teaching, subconsciously I was very afraid of meeting an arrogant man, listening to whom could have deepened the personal feeling of my amateurishness and ignorance. To my great surprise I found out that Prof. Ševčenko, like all the other professors whom I met while studying at CEU, was as modest and well-disposed toward students as (I learned afterwards) great scholars and the kindest persons usually are. I remember tutorials when Professor Ševčenko showed his genuine interest in what we, students, were doing. His intriguing questions on the topic I was dealing with helped me strengthen the idea that I was doing something interesting and worthy of scholarly attention. Needless to say, I will always remember Prof. Ševčenko as an exceptional professional and will always boast that I was among those lucky students who attended his lectures.

May God rest his soul in peace!

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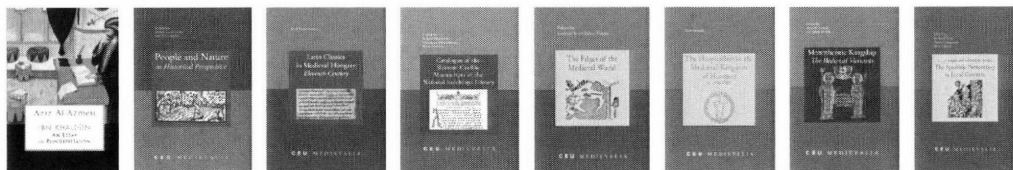
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