



ANNUAL
OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT THE CEU

1993 - 1994



Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest





ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT THE CEU 1993–1994

Edited by Marianne Sághy



Central European University, Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies



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PREFACE

It is indeed with great pleasure that I take the opportunity to preface the first *Annual* of the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University in Budapest, with a few words of self-assessment and a preview of future developments. In this yearbook we present, albeit somewhat belatedly, the history of the first years, the instructors and alumni of the program, and a selection of the academic output of the Class of 1993/94.

I think it is fair to say that after the first year of full-scale operation, we were able to establish a most successful academic program. Formally recognized by having recently obtained the New York State accreditation for the Master's degree, we were given the green light to develop a doctoral program in the immediate years to come. From my own experience, I can attest that the forty graduate students selected on a competitive basis from a much larger pool of applicants have, almost without exception, been of a very high quality. Many of them have come to Budapest College with an advanced degree from their home institutions. By the same token, I believe their experience at the Central European University has not been a disappointment. On the contrary, it has enriched and furthered their education by exposing them to new methods and approaches of study, and requiring them to use English as a tool of instruction and research.

Most of our students coming from the former Socialist block countries have been generously supported by the Soros Foundation, thus freeing them from immediate concerns about their material well-being. More importantly, they have worked with an international faculty (permanent, temporary, and visiting), of the highest caliber which in virtually no time has made our Department the envy of many European universities with a medieval focus. Each student's



study program and research project has been tailored to his or her specific interests and individual needs.

The papers and thesis-chapters reprinted in Part III of this book are intended to indicate, how much we have already managed to achieve. They were selected to demonstrate the varied interests and the different levels of professional expertise of our graduates. Their English style is far from perfect, even though we assisted in their final copy-editing. However, readers will, we hope, appreciate the fact that these are the first writings in English of young scholars who had rarely any experience with academic writing in a foreign language. There were several more theses and seminar papers that would have deserved inclusion, but proved to be ill-suited for reprinting. Some were non susceptible to partial publication, others seemed to be too technical (with an extensive amount of philological or archaeological detail), and some would have needed more editing than we could afford or wanted to apply without pretense. Maybe in a few years' time the output of our young colleagues will allow us to publish topical volumes or submit articles to refereed journals. What we print here is a first crop, representing, for better or for worse, the work of the pioneering class.

While the Department's focus until now has been on East Central Europe, we recently added the study of Byzantium and the countries of the *Slavia Orthodoxa*, or rather their interaction with East Central Europe, to the scope of our program. In addition to the instructional component, several specific research projects have been launched under the Department's auspices. This provides an opportunity for qualified students to conduct focused research under faculty supervision.

In short, I feel that our Department is well on its way to becoming a preeminent center of medieval studies, currently in the process of establishing close relationships with several comparable institutions both in Europe and in North America. I hope, this *Annual* will give a first taste of this achievement.

Henrik Birnbaum
Chair, Academic Board



Part I

About the University and the Department



THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

The Central European University (CEU) is a private institution for postgraduate education and research. It was founded in 1990 by George Soros, the Hungarian-born financier and philanthropist resident in New York, and is one of his wide-ranging projects for the advancement of pluralist, 'open society' in East-Central Europe.

The CEU consists of two colleges, one in Prague (established in 1991) and one in Budapest (established in 1992). A third campus is being opened in 1995 in Warsaw. The Prague College currently offers programs in art history, economics, international relations and sociology; the Budapest College offers programs in environmental studies, history, law, medieval studies and political science. All programs are conducted in English. Most programs grant a Master of Arts (M.A.) or M.L.L. degree after a year's course work and an appropriate thesis. All programs have a resident faculty consisting of three to five professors supported by junior staff, augmented by full-term or short-term visiting professors from the region and beyond. In the 1993/94 academic year, the total enrollment at the CEU was 420 students.

CEU Budapest College is presently located in temporary quarters in the residential area of Buda (the western part of the city), while new premises in a historical palace in the town center are under construction. It is hoped that CEU Budapest will be able to move there by Fall 1995. At the moment, students live in private rented accommodations in the city, but the construction of a residential college for Budapest CEU students is under way and is planned to be ready by the beginning of the 1995/96 academic year.

The CEU is open to graduate students from all over the world. Most of the students, however, come from former "socialist" countries – from Albania to the Baltic states and the countries of the CIS. In



all programs, there is special emphasis on subjects related to East-Central Europe. The CEU welcomes all students who would like to enlarge their knowledge of the region's past, present, and future; who are interested in learning to work and share knowledge and experience with their East European peers, and who are willing to make their own contribution to enhancing the success of the program. The University aims to serve as a prototype for an open system of education in which different ideas are critically examined, subjects are studied in a comparative, rather than a national context, and original and creative thinking is given the greatest possible scope.

Citizens of former "socialist" countries are eligible for a full scholarship from the Soros Foundation which covers tuition, subsistence and travel.



ADMINISTRATION AND DEPARTMENTS OF THE CEU IN 1994

CEU BUDAPEST COLLEGE

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CEU OFFICERS

Alfred Stepan – President and Rector
Anne Lonsdale – Secretary General
István Teplán – Budget and Planning Director
István Rév – Academic Director, Budapest
Jiří Musil – Academic Director, Prague

CEU DEPARTMENT HEADS, BUDAPEST

Sir Richard Southwood – Environmental Sciences and Policy
Péter Hanák – History
Tibor Várady – Legal Studies
Gábor Klaniczay – Medieval Studies
János Kis – Political Science

CEU DEPARTMENT HEADS, PRAGUE

John Earle – Economics
William Wallace – European Studies
Tomáš Vlček – History and Philosophy of Art and Architecture
Claire Wallace – Sociology
Ernest Gellner – Center for the Study of Nationalism



MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU

The department of Medieval Studies at the CEU offers courses for students who have completed four years of university studies in history, literature, music, history of art, archaeology, or other related disciplines with a medieval specialization, and have earned a B.A. degree or its equivalent. Young scholars working on other post-graduate degrees (*aspirantura*, *Magister*, etc.) are also welcome to apply. The M.A. degree in Medieval Studies is granted according to the accreditation given on May 20, 1994 by the Board of Higher Education of the State of New York. A Ph.D. program in Medieval Studies will be developed within the next two years.

The department's program focuses on the Middle Ages (c. 700 to 1550 A.D.) in what is termed "East-Central Europe", the region covering the countries of Latin culture between the Baltic and the Adriatic Sea. Special attention is given to the region's historical and cultural contacts with Byzantium and the *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The program provides a broad interdisciplinary education and aims to train students in advanced research skills not generally available in the region, with special reference to comparative and supra-national issues. The department's main goals are to engender discussion among students and scholars on unexplored aspects of medieval civilization, and to foster interdisciplinary approaches and new research methods among medievalists in East-Central Europe.

The claim of contemporary East-Central Europeans to a common medieval heritage and cultural legacy with the West is based on the experience of the centuries preceding the modern nation-states. The medieval past is a very important point of reference here, since the origins and early development of European identity in the region date back to this period.



In spite of enormous losses incurred during the many wars since the sixteenth century, the area is rich in medieval monuments, documents, and hidden vestiges of the past which have yet to be unearthed. Neither the art and architectural monuments nor the collections of ancient documents in archives and libraries have been examined using up-to-date methods and analyzed from the perspective of modern scholarship. Archaeological work also lags behind. The treasures available offer our students the chance to study the past *in situ* and to see surviving artifacts of medieval culture first hand.

Besides the traditional training for research in medieval studies, our program fosters in-depth inquiry into the common and divergent elements in the past of the peoples of the region. Being in the unique and fortunate position of complete independence from any national (including governmental) interests or pressures, we hope to be able, for the first time in this region, to examine the historical past and its specificities without any parochial prejudice and narrow-mindedness. In addition, with the help of our international teaching and administrative staff, we hope to contribute to introducing methods, approaches, and questions which were largely prohibited in the scholarly communities of East-Central Europe during the last forty years.

The department is connected to academic institutions in Hungary, Austria, Croatia, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Germany, and Poland. It employs instructors from several East-Central European countries as well as from Western Europe and North America. The geographical location of the program makes it possible to mobilize teaching resources rarely available in one place, combining local talent with guests from abroad. As there is no postgraduate program of this type anywhere else in East-Central Europe, the department hopes to become a center for the development of medieval studies in this region. The department also administers several research projects in comparative history and history of art and architecture, funded by the CEU and other foundations.

In anticipation of a Ph.D. program in Medieval Studies, the department is able to offer research scholarships for a second year in Budapest to a number of successful candidates for the M.A. whose topics can be effectively pursued here. CEU's connections to Eastern and Western European as well as North American universities also enable the department to recommend its graduates to doctoral and post-doctoral studies and fellowships in and beyond the region.



THE STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAM

The department aims to offer the broadest possible panorama of modern problems and innovative research methods in medieval studies, while encouraging students to develop their individual projects for the M.A. thesis. All courses are led by specialists in the discipline and promote interdisciplinary inquiry into the Middle Ages, rather than rigid or narrow specialization. The purpose of the program is to develop well-rounded medievalists with a sound knowledge in a number of related fields, who will be able to enrich the discipline with a fresh outlook, and to open up new avenues of research.

The academic year is now divided into five segments: a one-month introductory period, three terms of courses, and a research period.

In 1993/94 the schedule was:

Introductory Period: September 1 – October 1

Fall Trimester: October 3 – December 17

Winter Trimester: January 16 – March 31

Spring Trimester: April 15 – June 30

In 1994/95, the Fall and the Winter Trimester will last 11 weeks each, followed by a research break of 6 weeks and a Spring Trimester of 7 weeks.

PROPEDEUTICS: LANGUAGE, ORIENTATION, COMPUTING

During the introductory period, we offer intensive language courses: advanced English, Latin, and Greek as well as basic "survival" Hungarian; introductory lectures; and propedeutical orientation on the general topics of the program, on access to major research libraries, archives, museums, and other collections in Budapest. Introductory computer classes familiarize students with word-processing and databases. This is also a period of getting acquainted with one another, and with the region: a three-day excursion to important medieval monuments in Hungary provides a good opportunity for both.



MANDATORY SEMINARS

Since researching and writing the thesis is the central part of the program, the core seminar of all three terms is the *M.A. Thesis Seminar* (two hours per week for three terms, two credits per term). This seminar starts with lectures by resident and visiting professors on their own research, on methods and modes of inquiry, and proceeds with discussion of work-in-progress by the students. In the last term, the M.A. Seminar is transformed into intensive workshops on thesis-writing.

The *Excursion Seminar* (two hours per week for two terms, one credit per term) is another mandatory course for all students in the first and second term, geared towards the spring excursion (field trip), designed around a historical theme (such as settlement patterns, borders and borderlands, cultural interaction and difference). Students are expected to prepare formal presentations about the sites to be visited, and, once there, to offer guidance to the group on a particular topic connected with the place.

OPTIONAL COURSES

Seminars demonstrating research problems on specific historical issues, with presentations by students, are offered by both resident and visiting faculty in the first and second term (two hours per week, two credits each). Students are free to choose those they attend. The seminars are scheduled so that more than one can be attended within a given period. Seminar topics vary according to the special research expertise of the instructors.

The purpose of the *Reading Courses*, offered in all three terms (two hours, two credits each), is to familiarize students with sources and literature in diverse fields, and to train them in critical reading and reviewing scholarly publications. Some visiting professors and short-term visitors compress their courses into a few weeks of intensive reading and discussion, which can be completed by weekend workshops as well.

Research Methods courses (four to five offered every term, one hour per week, one credit each) are tutorials with five to eight students. To ensure that all M.A. candidates acquire the basics of the craft, at least one of these courses has to be taken in both the first and second term



(mandatory block), while others can be chosen according to needs and interests. The tutorials cover two main categories:

- (a) traditional “auxiliary disciplines” (bibliography, palaeography, diplomacy, heraldry; Latin and Greek philology, textual criticism) with a strong emphasis on innovative approaches and new methods, such as computer-assisted analysis of medieval data or images;
- (b) theoretical and historiographical issues, such as recent developments in medieval studies; new nuances and points of emphasis; aspects of the philosophy of history, art, and literature.

Students can select the courses within the prescribed framework in consultation with their thesis supervisor and tutor so as to earn the necessary number of credits for graduation.

FIELDS OF STUDY

While the department aims at a comprehensive training in medieval studies, its resident and visiting staff emphasize a few main fields of study and research. These are the following:

COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

One of the obvious connections and parallel developments between the countries of the region – partly caused by dynastic and internal alliances of leaders – is to be found in the legal-political sphere. Mutual influence can be detected in both statute and customary law, organs of local and central administration (counties, voivodships, *župi*, etc.), and in the representative assemblies of the Estates (diet, sejm, etc.), specific to the region. The study of these in a comparative framework has rarely been attempted. We intend to explore the similarities, influences and divergences in the context of social implications as well as that of internal and external political history. Seminars and reading courses in this field are based on edited and unedited texts of charters, laws, and documents on kingship (coronation ordines, etc.) as well as contemporary writings on the history of dynastic connections, struggles against external enemies, alliances and

confrontation within and beyond the region. Connections to culturally oriented topics treating relationships between “East” and “West” are also explored, especially the impact of the “image of the other” on the actions and political decisions in different countries.

A selection of topics covered by seminars and reading courses in this field

- Late Medieval Political Theory
- Statute Law and Custom
- The Papacy and Central Europe
- The Year 1000 in Central Europe
- Jagiellonian Central Europe
- Kingship and the Estates
- Royal Finances and Other Resources
- Conciliarism in Central Europe
- Foundation of States between the Two Empires
- Central and Local Administration of Justice
- Diets and Dietines
- Medieval Legal Practice in Dispute Settlement

CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL SOCIETIES

The department’s major interests in social history concern the elites (nobility, aristocracy), urban history, and social groups which have been less intensively studied until recently (women, children, marginals, ethnic and religious minorities). The importance of the wide stratum of lesser nobles (*szlachta*, knights) in East-Central Europe is well-known, but comparative studies of the relevant societies are lacking. Similarly, urban history in Hungary-Croatia, Slovenia, Bohemia-Moravia and Poland is well-developed, but only rarely have the results of the various researches been compared and contrasted. Our seminars concentrate on developing comparisons as well as confronting evidence from traditional written sources with that from archaeology in the widest sense (including material culture and everyday life). This complex method is also applied to discussions on those parts of society which traditional research has excluded from its purview, such as the structure and function of the family and household, or the relationship between linguistic and ethnic segments of medieval society.

Topics covered

- Castles and Villages: Settlement and Society
- Law and Society in Urban Setting
- Genealogy as Social History
- Urban Development in Dalmatia and in Central Europe
- Narrative Sources and Social History
- Jews in Central Europe
- Strangers and Otherness in Medieval Cities
- The Place and Image of Women in Medieval Central Europe
- Social Stratification as Reflected in Wills
- Crisis and Prosperity in the Fourteenth Century
- Perception of Foreigners in the Late Medieval World View

RELIGION AND CULTURE

Conversion to Christianity was a crucial component of the integration of this region into what would later become medieval Europe. Although this is well known, the ecclesiastical institutions or cultural achievements of East-Central Europe are still largely absent from scholarly syntheses or atlases. Our department aims to examine the various problems of East-Central Europe in a comparative perspective, trying to confront unexploited Central European sources and research results with the current problems of the general enquiries being conducted in the Western world. New research and systematic documentation of subjects like conversion, monastic development, ecclesiastical society, heresy, hagiography, liturgical traditions, "popular" devotions and witchcraft would provide a rich store of new documents and a series of productive enquiries into the different types and layers of medieval European Christianity. The history of medieval culture is intertwined with this subject, but embraces broader fields as well: the history of secular signs and symbols, new traits of courtly and urban culture, and the problems of clothing, rituals and festivities. Examining culture could also provide new clues to understanding regional patterns of evolution.

Topics covered

- Latin, Greek and Slavic Hagiography
- Golden Ages and Utopias in Medieval Thought
- Popular Religion
- Scholastic Philosophy
- Narrative Sources and Religion
- Comparative History of Slavic Cultures
- Early Christian Monastic Traditions
- Social History of Late Antique and Early Medieval Christianity
- Greek and Latin Components in Medieval Platonism
- Witches and Other Scapegoats
- Bogumilism on the Balkans
- Hussitism in and beyond Bohemia
- Lay Piety in Central European Towns
- The Crusading Experience in Literature
- Courtly Culture and Literature

VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE

Traditional art history tried to construct a set of criteria by which a certain number of visual representations could be taken out of their general context and could be analyzed separately as part of the higher region of art history. Recent scholarship, without contesting or rejecting the principle of this choice (which became the basis of a separate discipline), approaches the problem of visual sources in a different manner. In the first place (following in the footsteps of great art historians and historians of culture), it points to the complex interrelationship between works of art and ritual, craftsmanship, and social relations. It tries to unearth the specific ways in which the various works of art speak about various aspects of history (including the aspects of material culture, religion, craftsmanship, and secular rituals). When visual documentation is viewed in this way, it ceases to play an auxiliary role of "illustration", and becomes an autonomous field of historical enquiry. It can thus be regarded as a medium through which information about the Middle Ages can be transferred, analyzed and criticized just as other kinds of sources. Computer databases and massive documentation offer significant help in this kind of analysis.

Topics covered

- Medieval Images of Women and Family in East-Central Europe
- Iconography and the History of Images
- Medieval Images of Outcasts and of Biblical Women
- Image and Cult in the Middle Ages
- ORBIS Database for Images
- Monastic Art and Architecture
- Romanesque Architecture in Central Europe
- Gothic Painting in Bohemia and Northern Hungary (Slovakia)
- The Sculptures of Medieval Buda
- Text and Image in Illuminated Manuscripts

MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Medieval archaeology plays an extremely important role in medieval studies in East-Central Europe. Due to the field's complexity, it is necessary to offer courses that do not simply continue the traditions of the history of research in the countries of the region, but give a manifold and comparative picture together with other courses (history, art history) in medieval studies. For different periods, the role of fortified settlements in the region is investigated, how these settlements influenced the process of forming a state, and how they became royal residences or feudal centers. Archaeological case studies represent specific research problems, and at the same time indicate how excavations can help solve historical problems. When introducing the methods of medieval archaeology, we concentrate on two areas: the joint interpretation of written sources and archaeological research, and the reconstruction of medieval material culture. In the latter, we can draw on other courses, such as medieval images and pictorial sources, and computer-aided research.

Medieval archaeology is also the major emphasis of several field trips to important archaeological sites (Visegrád – medieval royal center, Pannonhalma – Benedictine Abbey, Sopron – medieval town, Bratislava – medieval town, Mikulčice – Great Moravian center, Prague – medieval capital).

Topics covered

- Monastic Sites
- Castles and Villages: Settlement and Society



- Fortified Sites and their Function
- Ethnogenesis in the Medieval Balkans
- Avars and Lombards
- Coin Hordes and Commerce
- Urban Topography and Urban History

MATERIAL CULTURE

The history of medieval material culture in East-Central Europe is one of the most advanced and complex aspects of medieval studies. This complexity is not only represented by the great variety of sources (historical, artistic, archaeological) but also by the various schools of studies in this field. Important centers for the study of material culture have emerged in the former Soviet Union and Poland, and the prominent role of medieval archaeology in medieval studies provided significant support for the development of these researches. In other centers (e.g. Krems/Austria), pictorial sources were emphasized, as well as the complex utilization of computer techniques. With the help of these methods, medieval pictorial sources ceased to be regarded only as illustration for historical textbooks or as parallels for archaeological finds.

The computer courses offered by the department summarize the recent developments in this field, and contribute to our students' individual M.A. topics. Computer-aided analysis of medieval pictures or source-oriented full-text studies of written documents were parts of several M.A. theses written in 1994. The computer courses in our program are generally geared to these topics, and the methods of analysis also helped students to apply computer programs (KLEIO, digital image processing, statistical analysis, database problems) to studies of material culture.

Topics covered

- Material Culture in Archaeology
- Introduction to Cliometry
- Advanced Computer Skills for Medievalists
- Women and Family Life in Medieval Central Europe
- Everyday Life in the Royal Courts of the Jagiellos
- Methods of the Study of Daily Life
- Dress and Fashion in the Middle Ages
- Sumptuary Laws

INTERACTION OF LATIN AND ORTHODOX (BYZANTINE AND SLAVIC) CIVILIZATION

Today we can still detect the influence of historical Eastern and Western religious animosities which date back to the Middle Ages or to the early modern era (the Schism, Roman imperialism, the Crusades, the theological conflicts in the Hesychast movement, the emergence of the Uniate Church, various heresies). These issues have mostly been investigated by partisan, i.e. biased, historians. The comparative aspects of Byzantine studies have received far too little attention. Similar desiderata were obtained in studies of the interaction of Orthodox Slavic civilizations with Latin Christianity. The institutions of the Eastern and Western Empires, including the respective Christian churches, have played an important role in the struggles of these two political entities. Already well before the symbolic date of the Schism in 1054, the two branches of the Church competed for ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Hungarians, Slavs, etc. It was largely Byzantine missionary activities that brought about the success of the Slavic mission. We intend to study these problems with interested students and hope to become a meeting point for Eastern and Western experts in this field.

Topics covered

- Introduction to Byzantine Studies
- Slavic Cultures and Their Eurasian Setting
- Early Christian Monastic Traditions in the East and in the West
- Ethnogenesis in the Medieval Balkans
- Medieval Slavic Cultures in the Balkans
- Byzantium: An Accepted or Rejected Legacy
- Greek and Latin Components of Medieval Platonism
- Social History of Late Antique and Early Medieval Christianity
- The Cyrillo-Methodian Mission and Its Problems
- Byzantine Elements in Central European Culture (Art and Architecture)

RESEARCH METHODS

While we expect newly enrolled students to be familiar with the basic skills of medieval research (Latin and Greek, palaeography, major source collections), we offer courses in advanced methods ap-

plied in the traditional “auxiliary sciences” and in more recently developed methods, such as those of medieval archaeology, semiotics, linguistic analysis, and computer-assisted analysis of written and non-written sources. Special fields covered in the department include: modern approaches to medieval images, and the study of specific urban records (wills, inventories). Several theses have been built upon special databases constructed by the students, mostly using the programs of KLEIO, ORBIS, and related systems.

Topics covered

- Bibliography and Source Collections
- Palaeography and Diplomacy
- Signs and Symbols in History
- Geographical Names as Sources
- Historical Demography
- Prosopography
- Historical Anthropology
- History and Computing
- New Themes in Medieval Research (Time; Space; Body)
- Medieval Texts and Modern Approaches
- Heraldry as Medieval Semiotics
- Sources for Ecclesiastical History
- Text Edition



THE FACULTY

The teaching and research activity of the department is guided and supervised by an Academic Board whose members also act as recurrent visiting professors or external examiners.

ACADEMIC BOARD MEMBERS

Henrik Birnbaum

Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures,
University of California, Los Angeles;

Hans Belting

Department of Art History, University of Karlsruhe;

Robert J.W. Evans

Brasenose College, Oxford;

Aleksander Gieysztor

Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw;

Jacques Le Goff

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris;

Omeljan Pritsak

Harvard University; Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev;

Ferdinand Seibt

Collegium Carolinum, Research Center for Central Europe, Munich;

František Šmahel

Institute of History,
Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.

The teaching faculty of the department consists of resident professors, recurrent visiting professors, guest professors and lecturers. Through the combination of resident faculty with an extensive network of visitors and external consultants, the department is able to combine the best expertise in the field with individual supervision and consultation, as well as continuity. A considerable part of seminars and reading courses is provided by guest professors, undertaking longer or shorter teaching commitments (ranging from term appointments of 6–10 weeks to shorter lecture series of 2–3 weeks or a concentrated workshop-type block seminar and consultation during a visit of 8–10 days). By this arrangement, it is possible to adjust the courses to the changing research interests of our students and considerably widen the fields available for M.A. research. External supervisors and consultants (who are also serving as contact persons to other universities) are called on as special consultants in fields not covered by the department's core network, and as external examiners for M.A. theses.

The resident and visiting faculty is assisted by full-time tutors with graduate degrees who cooperate with the students on their research and writing, and also serve as conduits between the student body and the department. Tutors assist those students assigned to them in mastering the difficulties of language, of life in a foreign environment, and of preparing long-term plans of study and research.

RESIDENT PROFESSORS

Gábor Klaniczay (Dr. Phil., Budapest, 1983)

Professor, Head of Department

János M. Bak (Dr. Phil., Göttingen, 1960, Prof. emerit. UBC, Canada)

Senior Professor

Gerhard Jaritz (Dr. Phil., Graz, 1970)

Professor

József Laszlovszky (Ph.D., Budapest, 1992)

Professor

Ernő Marosi (Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1993)

Research Professor

István Perczel (Ph.D., Budapest, 1994)

Assistant Professor

Marianne Sághy (Dr. Phil., 1989, Budapest; Ph. D. cand., Princeton)

Assistant Professor

RESEARCH INTERESTS AND SELECTED PUBLICATIONS
OF THE RESIDENT PROFESSORS

Gábor Klaniczay

Comparative study of sainthood in medieval Central and Western Europe; rulership and charisma; popular religion; cultural anthropology; editor of *Budapest Review of Books*; also affiliated with the Medieval History Department of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Recent publications

The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformations of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Polity Press; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

A civilizáció peremén [On the Margins of Civilization] (Budapest: Magvető, 1990).

Heilige, Hexen, Vampire. Vom Nutzen des Übernatürlichen (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1991).

Szent Margit legendái és stigmái [The Legends and the Stigmata of Saint Margaret], in collaboration with Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994).

János M. Bak

Medieval symbology of the state; rites and ceremonies; legal and institutional history; social history of the medieval nobility; editor of *History and Society*

Recent publications

Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae – The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, ed., in collaboration with Gy. Bónis, J.R. Sweeney et al., 3 vols. (Los Angeles: Schlacks, 1990–94).

Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual, ed. (Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California Press, 1990).

“The Late Medieval Period: 1382–1526”, in *A History of Hungary*, eds. P. Sugar and P. Hanák (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

“Symbol – Zeichen – Institution: Versuch einer Systematisierung”, in *Institutionen und Geschichte*, ed. G. Melville (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992).

Gerhard Jaritz

History of everyday life and material culture; history of women; images as historical sources; computer databases; editor of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* and *Historical Environment Database of Austria*, developer of the Central European image database REAL at the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems

Recent publications

Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit. Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters (Vienna – Cologne: Böhlau, 1989).

Image Processing in History: Towards Open Systems, ed. in collaboration with Jurij Fikfak (St. Katharinen, 1993 – Halbgraue Reihe zur Historischen Fachinformatik A16).

Images. A Primer of Computer-Supported Analysis with KLEIO IAS (St. Katharinen, 1993 – Halbgraue Reihe zur Historischen Fachinformatik A22).

Umweltbewältigung. Die historische Perspektive, ed. in collaboration with Verena Winiwarter (Bielefeld, 1994).

József Laszlovszky

Medieval archaeology (presently leader of three projects: field work of the Upper Tisza region, in cooperation with the University of Newcastle upon Tyne; international excavation of the Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, Burgundy; excavations of the Franciscan friary of Visegrád). British-Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages; monastic architecture; also affiliated to Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, as Head of the Department of Medieval Archaeology

Recent publications

“Nicholaus clericus: A Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century”, *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988).

“Social Stratification and Material Culture in Tenth- to Fourteenth-Century Hungary”, in *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, eds. A. Kubinyi and J. Laszlovszky (Krems).

“Archaeological Theory in Hungary since 1960: Theories without Theoretical Archaeology”, with Csilla Siklódi, in *Archaeological Theory in Europe*, ed. I. Hodder (London – New York, 1991).

English-Hungarian Contacts from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century, Ph.D. thesis, 1992, to be published.

Ernő Marosi

Medieval art and architecture; Gothic cathedrals in Hungary; monumental sculpture in fifteenth-century Buda; courtly culture and representation; iconography

Recent publications

Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.–13. Jahrhunderts (Budapest: Corvina, 1984).

Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 [Art in Hungary 1300–1470], ed., 2 vols. (Budapest, 1987).

A budavári szoborlelet [The Gothic Statue Find of Buda Castle], with L. Zolnay (Budapest, 1989).

“Modelle Mitteleuropas in der Historiographie zur Kunst des Mittelalters”, in *Westmitteleuropa – Ostmitteleuropa, Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. W. Eberhard, H. Lemberg, H.D. Reimann, R. Luft (Munich, 1992).

István Perczel

Church Fathers and Byzantine ecclesiastical writers; Neoplatonic philosophy; history of Byzantine monasticism; comparative history of spirituality

Recent publications

Plótinosz: Az Egyről, a szellemről és a lélekről [Plotinus: On the One, the Intellect and the Soul] – translation of one third of the Enneads from Ancient Greek with notes and commentaries, in collaboration with J. Horváth (Budapest: Európa, 1986).

“A szerelmes értelem és az egy létező. Egy elfelejtett plótinosiszi tanítás” [Intellect in Love and the One Being. A Forgotten Doctrine of Plotinus], *Századvég*, Spring 1994: 82–102.

Aranyszájú Szent János: A Felfoghatatlanról és az Egyszülött dicsőségéről [St. John Chrysostom de incomprehensibili et de gloria unigeniti] – translation of nine homilies from Ancient Greek with notes and postface, in press.

Marianne Sághy

Late antique and late medieval intellectual and social history;
political theory

Recent publications

Politikai álmok [Political Dreams in Fourteenth-century France], Dr.
Phil. thesis, Budapest, 1989 – to be published.

“A nők városa” [The City of Ladies in Fifteenth-century France], *Café
Bábel*, 1994.

“*Conversio animae*”, *Augustinian Studies*, 1995 (in press)

RECURRENT VISITING PROFESSORS

Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA, USA) – Slavic Literature and Languages

Urszula Borkowska (Lublin, Poland) – History

Neven Budak (Zagreb, Croatia) – Urban History

Neithard Bulst (Bielefeld, Germany) – History and Prosopography

Peter Burke (Cambridge, England) – Historical Anthropology

Sima Ćirković (Belgrade, Serbia) – Balkan Studies

Maria Dobozy (Utah, USA) – Language and Literature

Kaspar Elm (Berlin, Germany) – History

György Geréby (Budapest, Hungary) – Philosophy

Aleksander Gieysztor (Warsaw, Poland) – History

Hana Hlaváčková (Prague, Czech Republic) – Art History

Janet Nelson (London, England) – History

Evelyne Patlagean (Paris, France) – Byzantine Studies

Susan Reynolds (London, England) – History

James Ross Sweeney (Penn State, USA) – History

Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey, Switzerland) – Genealogy and Heraldry

Vladimir Vavřínek (Prague, Czech Republic) – Byzantine Studies

László Veszprémy (Budapest, Hungary) – Palaeography

GUEST PROFESSORS, 1992–1994

Jacek Banaszkiewicz (Warsaw) – Cultural History

Nóra Berend (New York) – Cultural History

Peter Dinzelbacher (Salzburg) – History of Religion

László Dobszay (Budapest) – Musicology

Pál Engel (Budapest) – Social History



Günter Fehring (Hamburg) – Archaeology
Peter Johanek (Münster) – Urban History
Jaroslav Kudrna (Brno) – Political Theory
Balázs Nagy (Budapest) – Urban History
Sándor Rot (Budapest) – Linguistics
Tamás Sajó (Budapest) – Art History, Computing
Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris) – Cultural History
Ferdinand Seibt (Munich) – Social History
Anna Somfay (Budapest) – Cultural History
Peter Sommer (Prague) – Archaeology
Randolph Starn (Berkeley) – Art History
Ludwig Steindorff (Münster) – Urban History
André Vauchez (Paris) – History of Religion
Herwig Wolfram (Vienna) – History, Archaeology
Heide Wunder (Kassel) – Social History

PROGRAM COORDINATOR

Marcell Sebők (M.A., Budapest, 1992)

PROGRAM SECRETARY

Annabella Pál



Part II

The First Two Years





THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU*

Gábor Klaniczay

THE CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT

This moment of harvest, when the first M.A. degrees in Medieval Studies at the Central European University are being handed over, provides an appropriate opportunity to look back on the common efforts which have contributed to this achievement: the first twenty-seven successfully defended M.A. theses, and the anticipated successful presentation of a further dozen in the near future. We are witnessing the realization of an almost utopian plan to give new impetus to medieval studies in East-Central Europe by gathering in Budapest an international and interdisciplinary group of graduate students who study here in Hungary with a similarly international and interdisciplinary group of scholars. Let me commemorate this with a brief historical account of how we could get so far.

The idea of creating a Medieval Studies department within the recently founded CEU emerged during the Fall of 1991, in various conversations with István Rév, who had recently been appointed academic director of the Budapest college. By then we had both participated, at various stages, in the elaboration of the general concepts defining the mission of this new institution founded and sponsored by George Soros. The envisaged role of the CEU had three key components at that time.

* Edited version of the commencement address in September, 1994

First, it aimed to promote international collaboration by offering East-Central European students and intellectuals an educational experience corresponding to world standards. The CEU was to continue in a new way the earlier Soros scholarship projects supporting the graduate studies of "Easterners" since the eighties, in Oxford, Leuven and New York. The university set out to organize graduate education with internationally recognized professors from the West and from the East here in Central Europe, in Prague and Budapest. This new orientation was based on the realization that the furthering of East-East relations needed at least as intensive a support after the collapse of communism as the promotion of East-West cooperation.

Second, the foundation of the CEU also had important tasks in supporting the "transition process" by providing the best expertise in fields vital for the creation of new "open societies": constitutional law, privatization-oriented economics, "transitology"-oriented political science, European studies, and environmental studies destined to counteract ecological disaster.

Finally, the pursuit of these goals needed, a combination of teaching, research and "doing". We wanted to build an unconventional private university, which would multiply its impact by creating networks within the chaotic institutional structure of postcommunist cultures, and by generating and sponsoring efficient projects to revitalize several spheres of learning.

A graduate program in medieval studies was not an obvious addition to the initial agenda centered upon contemporary needs. Though a few classic disciplines were included into the original configuration of the CEU, such as history, sociology or art history, medieval studies did seem at first glance too traditional to many. But we were confident that we could support our proposal with strong arguments to dissipate initial hesitation.

Transition in this region, we argued, should rely not only upon modernization and westernization, but also upon the rediscovered roots and resurrected framework of a once existent European identity. One must recognize that, in Central Europe, this was founded and first elaborated during the Latin Middle Ages. We also stressed that the revitalization of this tradition could benefit from the expertise and support of a slightly different segment of the intelligentsia than the one which had been the beneficiary of Soros support thus far. During the socialist regimes, representatives of classical learning suffered nearly as much as political dissidents. Their institutions disintegrated or stagnated, their scholarly reproduction was severely im-

peded and their personal fortunes were subjected to ideological control. This might explain why some of the most prominent dissidents happened to come from the field of medieval studies, like Bronislaw Geremek, Aron Gurevich, František Šmahel and Jenő Szűcs.

Besides the past political commitment of some medievalists, however, there is a real and actual significance to this field of scholarship: much of the heated, sometimes even murderous nationalist political debates which now divide this region have their origins in the Middle Ages. Without understanding the ethnogenesis of these peoples, and without assessing medieval interactions between Latin and Orthodox Christianity, as well as the Muslim world, one can hardly find a way out of the present crises.

Finally, we argued, medieval studies could also provide practical help in preserving or restoring an endangered historical legacy, by saving precious artistic and cultural treasures in this part of the world.

In addition to these general reasons, there were two practical arguments for the creation of this new department. It seems that, after various ups and downs, medieval studies has become a very lively field of learning all around the world. This field of scholarship maintains an affection for the classical elements of culture (such as the preservation of Latin and Greek traditions, a taste for old manuscripts and libraries, a curiosity for archaeology, and a connoisseurship of treasures of art), yet medievalists, heirs to a thousand-year-old international community of scholars, have been in the avant-garde of pioneering the use of modern research tools, such as computer-assisted databases, CD-ROM editions and visual archives. They have developed an exemplary international network of cooperation, which not only reinvigorated representatives of the field here, but also assisted other disciplines in accessing wider international contacts.

The other practical consideration was the fortunate availability of a group of scholars to embark on such a venture. János M. Bak, about to take early retirement from his professorship at the University of British Columbia to move home to Hungary, was willing to invest his energies and to mobilize his well developed American, West European and East European contacts for this new enterprise. The moment also seemed to be appropriate for other friends of ours: my half-year-long stay in 1992 at the Getty Center for the Arts and Humanities in Santa Monica, California, enabled me to negotiate with medievalist colleagues there, and we carried on the talks while János M. Bak was there. We felt reassured by the enthusiastic response to our idea.



Henrik Birnbaum, head of the Slavic department at UCLA, became involved in this project, and a year later, became chairman of our Academic Board, and also one of our recurrent visiting professors. It also seemed to be appropriate and stimulating to plan the future medieval studies program at the Getty Center. The J. Paul Getty Trust, founded some decades ago thanks to philanthropic motivations similar to the Open Society of George Soros in the 1970s, is a specific private foundation which allocates the largest support in the world to the study of ancient and medieval cultures, and to the preservation of their cultural legacy. The idea of creating an interdisciplinary medieval studies program at the CEU was also received with special interest at the largest annual gathering of medievalists, at the Kalamazoo conference in May, 1992, where I had the opportunity to present it to several thousand medievalists.

All that was lacking at this point was the consent of the direction of the quickly expanding CEU, and above all that of George Soros. We did our best to convince him of the importance and the viability of this new department. Support came from an unexpected direction. Out of interest in our unresolved proposal, Soros read a book by an American medievalist, Norman Kantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, which, although a monograph on historiography, climbed the best-seller lists in 1992. The book, even if rather controversial among medievalist colleagues, somehow hit the right tone for Soros and the CEU Board. Kantor argued that by "inventing" a specific vision of medieval Europe, traditionalist scholars of medieval studies had made an unexpected contribution to the foundations of modern liberal political culture. So, it could follow that the Central European Middle Ages are yet to be "invented" to serve as a future basis for open society around here.

THE PREPARATORY YEAR

The Medieval Studies department was thus created in September, 1992, beginning with a preparatory year primarily organized by János Bak and myself. And, let me add here the name of my student, Marcell Sebők, who had just graduated from the Eötvös Loránd University, and whom I was able to seduce away from his original plan to write a Ph.D. thesis on humanist scholars in Hungary, so that he could act as the coordinator of this new program for a few years. While discussing how the program should be structured and adver-



tised, how the first students should be recruited, and who should be among the first year's professors, we were offered the chance to give two courses on medieval Central Europe within the History department of the CEU directed by Péter Hanák. We were thus able to get acquainted with the kind of students we might expect for ourselves. We also had five students writing their theses on medieval topics with us.

This initial experience was very favorable. Our Polish and Czech students had a reliable training in the traditional crafts of medieval studies. Their Latin was good, they had already had some training in palaeography, and they knew how to orient themselves in source editions and bibliographies. What they seemed to need most, according to our first impressions, was a familiarity with the modern approaches that had become current in medieval studies, as well as thorough training in English academic writing. The latter was a challenge, not only for linguistic reasons, as students in East European universities are not offered training in academic writing. Thus we decided that the most important part of the future program should be the M.A. Thesis Seminar, where both methodological and stylistic problems could constantly be discussed.

In planning the curriculum of our future department, we also wanted to rely upon the advice of an international group of scholars who were possibly interested in helping us. We organised a two-day discussion in November, 1992 at the eighteenth-century Kubinyi Castle in Erdőtarcsa. The participation of Aleksander Gieysztor and Jacek Banaszekiewicz from Poland, Dušan Třeštík from Czechoslovakia, Ferdinand Seibt and Hans Belting from Germany, Gerhard Jaritz from Austria, and Ernő Marosi, József Laszlovszky and Pál Engel from Hungary allowed us to design a complex interdisciplinary program and to formulate the basic principles of our plan. We made a decision on the creation of an academic board, discussed the ideas of our prospective research programs and conducted a brainstorming session on the possible people to be invited to teach here.

An enterprise of crucial importance was the creation of a library. Our idea was the following: instead of building a new library (which would have meant a huge first investment in expensive working tools and source collections), we sought to cooperate with existing libraries. We were successful in signing an agreement with the Medieval Seminar Library of Eötvös Loránd University. In exchange for our promise to keep our books in their reading room in the Váci street building, they offered our students the right to work there and use their valu-

able collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century source editions and manuals (Du Cange, Muratori, Bouquet, Huillard-Bréholles, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Potthast, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, etc.). This is a valuable library containing a few thousand volumes, mainly from before World War II. In past decades, there was not enough money to buy new books (only a few hundred important reference books were purchased). Therefore, the financial possibilities of our library budget could be used to supplement this gap and to obtain the important new manuals, monographs and source editions, and also make them accessible to Hungarian students: an important support from the CEU to Eötvös Loránd University. The ambitious task of ordering existing resources and preparing strategies for developing our new library was carried out by Péter Molnár, the librarian for the first year, whose functions were taken over at the end of this preparatory year by Csaba Dombóvári.

Preparatory work and discussions concerning the forthcoming academic year were continued in March, 1993. We combined a second meeting of our Academic Board with a workshop on *Ethnicity in Medieval East-Central Europe*. The first part of the workshop consisted of presentations by nearly a dozen graduate students from six different countries. Some of them were selected from our best applicants for the next academic year. Others were recommended by our colleagues. The papers were commented by senior scholars, participants of the two-day-conference, and mainly members of our Academic Board. The discussions gave us an opportunity to see how such an international mixture of graduate students and scholars would coexist. We were also able to acquire our first experiences of scholarly excursions (Zsámbék, the Danube Bend and Szentendre, where we found about the half of the museums we had intended to visit closed), and receptions adorned with medieval music (where the presentation of the *Schola Hungarica* went very well). And we were able to finalize our educational plans for the first year with the important decision to integrate Gerhard Jaritz as the third full-time member of our faculty, and made an arrangement with József Laszlovszky and Ernő Marosi to act as part-time professors of archaeology and art history.

The end of the first preparatory year was marked by the selection of students. The trips for the interviews proved to be a useful addition to our recruitment strategies: these visits to Saint Petersburg, Sofia, Zagreb, Kiev, Moscow, and Warsaw allowed us to establish closer contacts with the scholarly circles from precisely where we wanted to get our students. Although special attention was paid to



East-Central Europe, we did not neglect the West. Since it was among our objectives to provide students with a training accepted anywhere in the world, and since we also had the intention of relying upon the expertise of all our colleagues from the West who were willing to spend some time here with our students, we had to work upon the improvement of these contacts.

An important step in this direction was made by our scholarly excursion in May, 1993 to Spoleto, to the first all-European conference on medieval studies, organized by FIDEM (Fédération des Instituts d'Études Médiévales). Six students came with us, thanks to scholarships offered by the organizers, as well as some of the junior staff and some research assistants. We had the opportunity to invite the international group of leading medieval scholars to have a glass of Tokaj wine after our presentation. It was there, in the medieval lounge of the Palazzo Ancaiani, in the middle of the fascinating Roman and medieval town of Spoleto, that we really had the feeling that our program was becoming a reality. And this feeling was reinforced when we went on walks with the students in the streets of Montefalco, Assisi, Perugia, Gubbio, Arezzo, and Bologna: surely a more immediate way to meet the Middle Ages than in classrooms.

STUDENTS, COURSES AND PROFESSORS OF THE FIRST ACADEMIC YEAR

All this preparation finally led to the arrival of the first forty graduate students of the department in September, 1993. I remember one of the first reactions of János Bak after the general orientation we gave: "This is a huge crowd. How are we going to handle them? It is nearly impossible!" Indeed, we had invited perhaps the largest group of medievalist graduate students in the world to work together here in Budapest. It took us some time to feel that the situation was under control. We began with a rather discouraging "acquaintance questionnaire" and a nearly disastrous Latin test. Lengthy thesis topic discussions reassured us with a variety of suggestions, but we realized that we could hardly cope with the multiplicity of the students' interests, and had to hire external consultants. Propedeutic lectures, library and museum orientations went fairly well, but we had quite a hard time conducting our seminars with sometimes 20–30 participants. It was only near the end of the first term, during our scholarly excursion in December that we felt more relaxed and reassured as to



how to proceed. The “staff” spent an entire evening in a bar in the smoky bowling room of the broken-down workers’ hostel in Sopron where we were lodged. There, we meticulously discussed the individual problems of the whole list of students, and we could conclude that after all the situation was under control.

The real challenge of the first term was how to teach these students from so many different backgrounds, and with so many diverging directions of scholarly interest. The courses turned out to be very stimulating. Often, they resembled minor conferences with the participation of well-informed graduate students from various countries. Whatever problem we touched – courtly culture, hagiography, popular religion, legal systems, urban structures – we were immediately able to put together a comparative panorama. Ours was a unique situation providing us with a wealth of information unavailable anywhere else. And this information was immediately accessible to all of us because of our common language of communication transcending linguistic boundaries. Prior language barriers had more or less secluded this type of information from neighbors. Putting together the papers coming from each seminar, we frequently felt the desire to put together topical study-collections. But we had to reject it, because our principal target was more ambitious: to have students write an M.A. thesis in English that would match international scholarly standards. This was a major task for all of us.

While we barely had any guests in the Fall, the Winter term brought in a large group of guest scholars: Henrik Birnbaum, Vladimir Vavřinek, Szabolcs de Vajay, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Peter Dinzelbacher, Hana Hlaváčková, Neithard Bulst, Günther Fehring, Evelyne Patlagean, Aleksander Gieysztor, Jacques Le Goff, and Janet L. Nelson. The students were nearly overwhelmed by this crowd of international authorities, and we were again confronted with a new experience: an ongoing conference on medieval Central Europe. We were pleased to notice that our guests were thrilled with the experience of working with such a demanding and excellent group of students, and did not object to a nearly endless series of consultations. And we exploited them as well, by gathering their impressions and suggestions as to how to improve our program.

The first tangible outcome of these conversations was a “feasibility workshop” in February on the possible expansion of our field of interest with the addition of courses on Orthodox Christianity. Adding Peter Schreiner and István Kapitánffy to the presence of Vavřinek and Birnbaum, after hearing a series of stimulating lectures



we discussed the proposal by two philosopher colleagues of ours, György Geréby and István Perczel, to engage in a more intensive research on Slavic and Byzantine topics. As became evident from our discussions, this also corresponded to the interests of a considerable number of students, and generated a genuinely enthusiastic response from the scholarly community around us. In their view, this seemed to be the best way of taking advantage of our geopolitical and cultural situation on the border of East and West for over a thousand years.

Among the guests, a special visitor sent by the Regents of the New York State University came to judge the accreditation of our right to grant an M.A. degree in medieval studies. The "inspector" turned out to be a well-known and estimated colleague of ours, Elizabeth A. R. Brown from Brooklyn College, who was more like an addition to our team of guest professors willing to engage in discussions with students and colleagues, rather than a stern examiner. Her collegial advice and the serious discussions of problems and further projects were an important contribution to our program.

The Winter term ended with two events: an academic board meeting to approve the developing new form of our program, and a workshop organized by one of our research programs, "Women and Power in Medieval Central Europe". The former added Jacques Le Goff, Robert Evans, Evelyne Patlagean and František Šmahel to members of the board already here in Budapest, such as Birnbaum and Gieysztor. We combined our board meeting with a discussion of another board, that of the editorial group of Le Goff's book series *The Making of Europe* at the Collegium Budapest, where our board members gave suggestions as to how their authors and topics could incorporate more of Central Europe. The whole sequence was crowned by a crowded lecture at the City Hall by Jacques Le Goff on the peripheries of medieval Europe. As for the workshop, we had another important contingent of senior and junior scholars joining our campus: among them, Nancy Partner, John C. Parsons and Ferdinand Seibt. We were also able to experiment with yet another way of extending our activities: the granting of a series of research scholarships for pioneer investigations in these topics to young colleagues in East-Central Europe.

ACADEMIC EXCURSIONS

The first long excursion gave us many memorable experiences. On arriving in the Sopron archives in the afternoon, we were received with wine and an excellent topographical presentation by Katalin Szende, who also showed us a series of interesting documents the following day, illustrating the contents of the archive. Crossing the western border, the principal attraction was the tour of Vienna, with two scholarly guided visits. The superb presentation of the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós at the Kunsthistorisches Museum by Herwig Wolfram's team, and the generous reception offered to the whole group at his institute was the beginning of a lasting relationship. The passionate commentary by János Bak on the symbology of all the imperial and royal treasures kept in the *Schatzkammer* was interesting from quite a different point of view. Besides describing what we saw, he brilliantly unveiled the precious tradition of this field of learning descending from his late master, Percy Ernst Schramm. Gerhard Jaritz arranged other important local tours to Klosterneuburg (where we admired the magnificent twelfth-century altarpiece by Nicolaus de Verdun, the analysis of which János Bak and Ernő Marosi expected in vain from our Russian art history student, Gennady Babankov) and to the royal monastery of Heiligenkreuz. We also had some ventures in Vienna night life (opera and pubs), and on our way home we finished our excursion with a meeting with the professors and students of the archaeology department in Bratislava led by Professor Stefaničova.

The second excursion took place after the spring break, in April, 1994. The long pilgrimage to Prague brought the group through the excavation sites of Magna Moravia (with the learned guidance of Vladimír Vavřínek), and through a series of cosy little towns, monasteries and castles of southern Bohemia. We were very pleased to have with us one of the guest professors who had come for the third term, Susan Reynolds, who shared with us the fascinating experience of this new type of work with the students. By the way, there was indeed work during the excursion: we had several dozens of *in situ* presentations, for which the students had prepared in the excursion seminar, so besides the local guides, we had our "home-trained" ones as well. In Prague, apart from the beauty of the city to be explored, we had a special agenda. We stayed in the Táborská building on the Prague campus of the CEU; this was part of an exchange arrangement organized with the Department of the History and Philosophy of Art, directed by Tomáš Vlček. (Meanwhile, the exchange students were

traveling around Hungary.) We toured their libraries and classrooms, and sat in on some their lectures. Lubomír Konečný lectured on emblems in their marvellous new building in Prague Castle. Hana Hlaváčková guided us around the National Gallery in Prague and took us to the Holy Cross chapel in Karlštejn, the most famous treasure depository of Charles IV, which at the time was closed to the public due to restoration. We also had the opportunity to have an introductory lecture on the medieval beginnings of Prague's career as the "center of Europe" by our friend Dušan Třeštík. We even spent an especially rewarding afternoon in the Prague antiquarian bookshops, and acquired several dozens of precious source editions and art history handbooks. It is dangerous for a group of scholars to be in the position to be free to buy whatever they wish for their common library; they can hardly stop one another (this same occurrence was experienced again during our participation in the summer conference in Leeds). On our way home, we had one more site to visit, the Saint Barbara cathedral in Kutna Hora, the beauty of which was counterbalanced by the awful "ossuary" of the Capuchins, with its morbid funeral architecture of bones and skulls (the visit to which has provoked a lively debate).

There were a couple of shorter excursions as well, with the participation of only a part of the group. One of these included a visit to the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma (with a possibility to inspect its rich archives). Another to Szeged, where we were hosted by István Petrovics and György Endre Szőnyi of the József Attila University; there, we also visited the Observant Franciscan monastery and the magnificent old book collection of the Somogyi Library.

Our summer participation at the first International Medieval Congress in Leeds could also be called the third scholarly excursion. We went there with an unusually large group of four professors, two tutors, two research assistants, ten students, and half a dozen scholars from elsewhere who spoke in our panels – a real battalion. This was made possible by various resources. Our *Women and Power* research program organized two very successful sessions which attracted a large audience. Our other departmental research program, the *Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe* presented its important new visual database system, ORBIS, developed by Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács. (This session enabled them to make important contacts with ICONCLASS.) Gerhard Jaritz and József Laszlovszky took part in the sessions of the Austrian-based *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*. We had our own bookstand thanks to a special agreement organized

between János Bak and the Steiner Verlag (which brought a large donation of books to our library as well). Finally, some of our graduate students benefited from the special support given by the organizers themselves.

Our cooperation with the Leeds Centre for Medieval Studies goes back to the agreements made on one of Spoleto's old squares while chatting with Simon Forde. It first incorporated Hungary into their regular publication of the *International Medieval Bibliography* (taken in hand here by Balázs Nagy). Later, special scholarships were granted by them to a number of our students to participate in the conference. Today, we have an elaborate cooperation agreement which is partly the fruit of our discussions in Leeds at the congress. One can see in the program of this year's second Leeds congress how these apparently futile scholarly gatherings (lots of talk, lots of beer in the canteen and lots of money spent on piles of books) open future opportunities for students. One of our graduate students, Ryszard Grzesik (Poznań) is now the organizer of his own session (with some other participants of CEU alumni), and five other CEU alumni will present papers in different sessions.

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the period of thesis writing, and the experience of thesis defense, and to assess our results and formulate our plans for the future?

What I should recall here is the series of last desperate consultations: what can really be done? What should be cut from the thesis? And how can the original gigantesque plans merge into a well-ordered agenda for future research? The summer provided the first year's students with a long, extended period of thesis writing, with the possibility for them to stay in Budapest (which we will not be able to offer to our second group, obliged to deliver the theses by June 15). Still, at the last minute, it seems that time is never long enough. So we were pleasantly surprised to find that a much larger number of students than we expected delivered their theses on time, and most of them presented good and interesting work. We did not have any reason to be ashamed of sending the theses to external reviewers from London to Warsaw, and from Paris to Los Angeles.

Theses were frequently written and adjudicated with the idea that research would possibly continue towards a Ph.D. dissertation. We



were pleased by the acceptance of several of our students to various Ph.D. programs in the United States and Europe. External examiners also gave us some help. But what we were most interested in was that we were starting to build up our own resources. This year we have received permission to move forward to the accreditation of a Ph.D. program (the first among the CEU departments). Rector Alfred Stepan and János Bak have elaborated an ingenious scheme baptized in the restaurant where it was drawn up, the "Amadeus Plan". According to this plan, a Ph.D. program can be built on our existing budget with only slight additional costs, by gradually reducing the number of those admitted in the first year, and using friends to support students in second, third or fourth years studying here or doing research for their dissertation elsewhere. In this construction our M.A. program would become the first obligatory year of the Ph.D. program, which will be open to those interested and able to proceed to higher degrees. We have been able to secure ten second-year scholarships. We hope that they will become the first group of Ph.D. students, if we manage to get the accreditation during the academic year of 1994/95 or soon thereafter.

This decision reduced the number of students to be admitted in the first year to 30–35, and made the competition more intense (we had a ratio of three candidates to one place). We were pleased to travel to Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Sofia, Riga, Zagreb, Cluj and elsewhere to interview students. By increasing the level of requirements (e.g. by testing knowledge of Latin or Greek), we still found more than enough good candidates. And we were very pleased to welcome the newly admitted group in the beginning of September in a new way, by starting the year with a three-day excursion. But all this belongs in the next yearbook.

On another note, the three days of defenses at the end of September do belong here. As expected, this first round of discussions was much more than a mere ceremony. We had to make judicious decisions, knowing that it was then that we set the patterns for future M.A. dissertations. We were very much helped by the presence of Simon Forde from Leeds, who shared his experience with us as well as his comments and pedagogical wisdom. Henrik Birnbaum, Chairman of our Board, was also there and took an active part, especially when his favourite Glagolitic themes were the order of the day; and we also had other external aides with us: Lívia Varga (Toronto), Marianna Birnbaum (Los Angeles), Pál Engel and Endre Bojtár (Budapest).

Some of the defenses went brilliantly, either for purely scholarly reasons (the topics being of great interest and the candidate well prepared to address it), or because the candidate was able to defend him- or herself against the critiques in an eloquent manner. Some other defenses led to a real disagreement between students and some members of the jury. Though we did not reject any of the theses completely, in six out of twenty-seven cases (less than a fourth), we demanded a more or less thorough revision before we granted the diploma. These “suspended” theses also represented good and important work, which we recognized, as we did not ask new defenses from them. The examiners considered it reasonable to have the theses brought up to the high standards of the other dissertations.

So this is how we got here, to these commencement festivities in the Institute of Monument Preservation, a proper and symbolic place to celebrate the graduation of a new generation to preserve the precious legacy of medieval Central Europe for our future. I am glad that George Soros can be here with us to celebrate this achievement. May I repeat the commonplace “without him all this would not have existed”? The presence of the second generation of medieval studies students, the faculty, the rector, the academic director, the recurrent visiting professors, and the interested and receptive public of the medieval scholars of Budapest, is not only a tribute to the work of these twenty-seven students being awarded an M.A. degree, but also offers promising continuation for building a true center of medieval studies at the CEU in Budapest.



OUR ROAD TO ACCREDITATION

János M. Bak

The accreditation of the Medieval Studies M.A. program was in many respects one of the most memorable events of the 1993/94 academic year. We, that is the skeleton staff and members of the Academic Board, worked together to consider the needs and possibilities of the program. When we received the news of our success, we were, of course, elated: the program we had planned and presented to the profession measured up to the standards of internationally respected colleagues and college administrators.

While writing the application – with the help and guidance of our colleagues at the Open Society Institute's New York Office, and especially Professor Karen Greenberg – we had a chance to look back, to compare ideas and assess expectations. In one academic year, we worked out the framework and planned the entire program. We had virtually started with nothing more than a dream of having a modern interdisciplinary program in Medieval Studies, one which had no precursor or parallel in the region. The needs of our future students, their background training, their interests and their abilities to cope with the multiple challenges of “culture shock”, were not yet known. We tried to imagine the difficulties our students would meet, abandoning their mother tongue and replacing it with an acquired language (English), while living in a foreign environment (Hungary), with yet another language and way of life. What problems might students used to strictly regulated curricula and fact-oriented instruction encounter in a program open to choices and mainly concerned with asking questions and opening up untried avenues? Those planning the program could only build on their individual conceptions of graduate school and their personal experiences with Polish, Czech, Hungarian or Austrian students. The pilot project in the Department

of History – in which Professor Péter Hanák and his colleagues allowed us to conduct a medieval seminar for a few East European students – gave us some indication of the practical prospects. However, the real trials occurred throughout the first academic year as we worked ferociously to formulate a feasible program on the basis of trial and error. This preliminary procedure helped us to clarify the necessary courses and the curricular changes. While we do not claim to have perfectly succeeded, our students have proved most helpful in pointing out inconsistencies and deficiencies, and have often suggested better solutions. The first drafts of our application were commented upon by a good number of friends and colleagues, visiting faculty and members of the Board before they were ready for submission to the American authorities. The work and effort was worth every minute, not only for the resulting academic approval, but also as an exercise in clarifying issues for ourselves.

The *visitatio* by the team of the New York State Department of Education in February came at the best of times and the worst of times. The end of the second trimester was approaching, and we were in the midst of preparing a major workshop, the “*Women and Power*” Research Project. On the other hand, the visitors had a chance to obtain first-hand impressions from medievalists like Janet Nelson and Neithard Bulst visiting the CEU. This formal inquiry would have been a tense experience had not Professor Elizabeth A.R. Brown been our reviewer. Her congenial and empathetic, yet critical approach to our project dispersed any apprehension we may have had. Her presence in seminars and interest in the work of our students, her visit to our library and discussions with the staff, were enjoyed by all, and we learned a great deal from her questions and suggestions. At the end we had little doubt that we would most likely be granted the right to offer the *Magister Artium* degree in Medieval Studies.

Still, it was a memorable occasion when, in the historic meeting hall of the Budapest City Council, Mr. Mike Van Ryn handed the Rector of the CEU the document stating that we – together with other accredited programs – had obtained the license to grant our graduates an M.A. by the University of the State of New York. One could have imagined different arrangements, such as a utopic agreement among the states of Central Europe (a scholarly confederation of countries recently liberated from satellite status) jointly issuing a diploma of the Central European University, or one in concert with the traditional universities of Central Europe, from the Carolina to the Jagiellonska to the Eötvös Loránd. But, as always, reality differs from



the dreams of scholars. A diploma from an American state with prestigious institutions such as Columbia University, the State University of New York, the City University of New York and New York University constitutes an impressive acknowledgement of scholarly standing, and one that is appreciated all over the world.

Our next step is already afoot. We are applying for the accreditation of a Ph.D. program in Medieval Studies. We have already made progress in refining our initial plans and expanding our program. The possibility of offering second (and maybe third) year scholarships for those whose research can be productive in Budapest, our expansion into the field of Latin-Orthodox interaction, as well as the more demanding language requirements and rigorous training in English (and Latin or Greek) have been decisions geared towards higher goals. We dare hope that soon we shall have a Ph.D. program. *Deo propitiente.*



PUBLIC LECTURES, 1992–1994

JACEK BANASZKIEWICZ (Institute of History, Warsaw)
Three Deaths of an Evil Ruler – November 24, 1992

JAROSLAV KUDRNA (University of Brno)
Medieval Political Thought – March 10, 1993

PETER BURKE (Emanuel College, Cambridge)
*The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione
(1500–1630)* – March 24, 1993
A Social History of Silence – March 26, 1993

HANA HLAVÁČKOVÁ (Ustav Dejín Umeni, AVČR, Prague)
Artistic Representation in the Court of Charles IV and Wenceslas IV –
April 24, 1993

ANDRÉ VAUCHEZ (Université de Paris X, Nanterre)
Lay Saints in Thirteenth-Century Italy and Central Europe –
May 5, 1993

JAMES ROSS SWEENEY (Pennsylvania State University)
Hungary and Other Central European Countries in the Crusades –
September 22, 1993

HANA HLAVÁČKOVÁ (Ustav Dejín Umeni, AVČR, Prague)
Celestial Hierarchies in the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn –
February 9, 1994



PETER DINZELBACHER (Salzburg)

Psychic and Somatic Aspects of the Birth of God in Female Mysticism –
February 10, 1994

HERWIG WOLFRAM (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,
Vienna)

On the Location of Great Moravia – February 21, 1994

JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales,
Paris)

Cult Images and Society – February 23, 1994

Ghosts in the Middle Ages: Images of Dead Members of the Family –
February 24, 1994

EVELYNE PATLAGEAN (Université de Paris X, Nanterre)

*Basileus and Christ: The Entrance of the Holy Face from Edessa into
Constantinople, August, 944* – March 16, 1994

*Un héritage revendiqué: l'historiographie latine des X^e–XII^e siècles face à
Byzance* – March 16, 1994

JACQUES LE GOFF (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

Les périphéries de l'Occident médiéval – March 18, 1994

FERENC ZEMPLÉNYI (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Was There a Courtly Literature in Medieval Hungary? – March 21, 1994

JANET L. NELSON (King's College, London)

Carolingian Royal Ritual – March 21, 1994

GÜNTHER FEHRING (Institute of Archaeology, Hamburg)

*Early Medieval and Medieval Trade Centers: The Archaeology of
Medieval Trade and Commerce* – March 23, 1994

KASPAR ELM (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Vita Media: Das mittelalterliche Semireligiosentum – May 2, 1994

RANDOLPH STARN (University of California, Berkeley)

Arts of Power: Siena is Inventing the Republic in Art (1338–1340) –
May 6, 1994



- PETER JOHANEK (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster)
Medieval Towns of Germany: Constitution, Topography, and Urban Networks – May 18, 1994
Forschungsarbeiten im Institut für Vergleichende Städtegeschichte – May 19, 1994
- LUDWIG STEINDORFF (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster)
Multinational State Yugoslavia: Models of Constitution and Reality – June 6, 1994
- SÁNDOR ROT (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The Life of Languages in the Amero-Euro-Asian Linguistic Areas – June 14, 1994
- PETER BURKE (Emanuel College, Cambridge)
A Social History of Jokes in Renaissance Italy – June 15, 1994



CALENDAR OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1993/1994

PREPARATORY PERIOD, SEPTEMBER 6 – OCTOBER 1

Languages

- Advanced English for Historians (weekly 5×6 hours)
- Advanced Latin (weekly 3×2 hours)
- Survival Hungarian (weekly 2×2 hours)

Propedeutics (weekly 2 hours each)

- Research Tools and Methods – János Bak
- Libraries and Archives in Budapest – Marianne Sággy
- Museums and Collections in Budapest – Ernő Marosi
- Bibliographical Orientation – Gábor Klaniczay

Computers, word processing, databases

- Introduction – Gábor Hraskó (weekly 4×1 hour)

Introductory lectures

Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Gerhard Jaritz, Ernő Marosi

I. TERM: OCTOBER 4 – DECEMBER 17

M.A. Thesis Seminar (mandatory, 3 credits)

János Bak, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky

Reading Courses (2 credits each)

Customary and Statute Law – János Bak

Hagiography – Gábor Klaniczay



Castles and Villages: Settlement and Society – József Laszlovszky
with Pál Engel (Budapest)

Excursion Seminar (mandatory, 2 credits)

János Bak, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky

Courses in Skills and Theories (1 credit each)

Semantic Issues in Medieval Latin – Anna Somfai (Budapest)

New Sensitivities in Contemporary Historical Research (Time/Space,
Gender, Body) – Gábor Klaniczay

Bibliography and Source Collections – János Bak

Palaeography and Diplomatics – László Veszprémy (Budapest)

Introduction to Cliometry – Gerhard Jaritz

II. TERM: JANUARY 10 – MARCH 25

M.A. Thesis Seminar (mandatory, 3 credits)

János Bak, Gábor Klaniczay and Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky
with Jacques Le Goff (Paris), Janet L. Nelson (London)

Seminars (3 credits each)

Records of Material Culture – Gerhard Jaritz with Peter Sommer
(Prague)

Slavic Cultures and their Eurasian Setting – Henrik Birnbaum (Los
Angeles) and Vladimír Vavřínek (Prague)

Medieval Images of Women and Family – Gerhard Jaritz with Jean-
Claude Schmitt (Paris) and Peter Dinzelbacher (Salzburg)

Reading Courses (2 credits each)

Genealogy as Social History – Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey) with Alek-
sander Gieysztor (Warsaw)

Courtly Culture in East-Central Europe – Gábor Klaniczay

Narrative Sources and Social History – Neithard Bulst (Bielefeld)

Visual Sources of History – Ernő Marosi with Jean-Claude Schmitt
(Paris) and Evelyne Patlagean (Paris)

Excursion Seminar (mandatory, 2 credits)

János Bak, József Laszlovszky, Hana Hlaváčková (Prague), Herwig
Wolfram (Vienna)



Courses in Skills and Theories (1 credit each)

- Signs and Symbols in History – János Bak
- Prosopography – Neithard Bulst
- Heraldry – Szabolcs de Vajay
- Medieval Archaeology – József Laszlovszky
- Medieval Canon Law – Nóra Berend (New York)

III. TERM: APRIL 19 – JUNE 26

M.A. Thesis Seminar (mandatory, 3 credits)

János Bak, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky

Seminars (3 credits each)

- Political Theory in the Late Middle Ages – János Bak with Jaroslav Kudrna (Brno)
- Scholastic Philosophy in Vienna and Prague – György Geréby (Budapest)

Reading Courses (2 credits each)

- Law and Society in Urban Setting – Susan Reynolds (London) with Peter Johanek (Münster)
- Popular Religion – Gábor Klaniczay and Kaspar Elm (Berlin)
- Linguistic Interference in Central European Vernaculars – Sándor Rot (Budapest)
- The “Feudalism” Debate – Susan Reynolds, János Bak and Heide Wunder (Kassel)

Courses in Skills and Theories (1 credit each)

- Historical Anthropology – Gábor Klaniczay with Peter Burke (Cambridge)
- Advanced Computer Skills – Gerhard Jaritz
- Text Edition – János Bak
- Historical Demography – Tamás Faragó (Budapest)
- Iconography – Ernő Marosi
- Trade in Central Europe – Balázs Nagy (Budapest)
- Reasoning and Proof in History – Susan Reynolds



ACADEMIC EXCURSIONS TO THE REGION

FIRST EXCURSION: WESTERN HUNGARY, EASTERN AUSTRIA AND BRATISLAVA DECEMBER 7–11, 1993

DECEMBER 7, TUESDAY

Morning: church in Lébény

Afternoon: in Sopron – walk in the city, main square, city walls, citizens' houses, Roman forum (exhibition), Roman stone collection (Fabricius House)

At the County Hall: Introduction to the history of Sopron, slide show by Katalin Szende

DECEMBER 8, WEDNESDAY

Morning: City Archives – tour of the exhibition on the government of medieval Sopron; Franciscan church; synagogues of Sopron

Afternoon: St. Michael's Church; walk in the medieval suburbs; Storno Collection; folklore exhibition (craftsmanship, folk art)

DECEMBER 9, THURSDAY

Morning: Wiener Neustadt – Military Academy

Afternoon: Klosterneuburg – Monastery, altarpiece of Nicolaus de Verdun



DECEMBER 10, FRIDAY –

Morning: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum – guided explanation of the treasure of Nagyszentmiklós by Falco Deim, Walter Pohl and Herwig Wolfram; visit and reception at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung

Afternoon: Galerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste (H. Bosch, Last Judgement); Schatzkammer in the Vienna Burg

Evening: Volksoper – Mozart, Don Giovanni

DECEMBER 11, SATURDAY

Morning: Heiligenkreuz monastery

Afternoon: Bratislava - Visit to the Comenius University and National Museum, lecture at the City Hall on the archaeological finds by Tatjana Stefanovičova

WINTER EXCURSION:
A VIKING IN THE CONTINENTAL WINTER
Erik Somelar

As all survivalist adventures, the winter excursion of the Medieval Studies Department was not to be taken lightly. To prepare myself, I acquired some heavy-duty Doc Martens boots and a large number of warm socks, not to mention copious victuals. And as I possess a considerable Western intellect and a Finno-Ugric body, it was clear I had to purchase a big bottle of Napoleon brandy as well. I considered sleeping a little longer on the morning of the day of departure, but unfortunately my instincts were overwhelmed by an acute sense of duty. For this effort, I was promptly rewarded an hour and a half of nervous anticipation in the hotel lobby. When our bus arrived, I felt a bit ashamed about my slanderous thoughts. The People Transporter certainly deserved a better fate than to be the object of abuse of someone only half its age. Belching black smoke, off we went.

During our first roll call after leaving the clan monastery church in Lébény, speculations as to who would be the first victim on this adventure reached a premature climax when it was discovered that



Ryszard Grzesik had been left behind. It was decided that we would pay no regard to Darwin's law stating that only the fittest survive and Ryszard's life would be spared. I suppose he learned his lesson. Since the incident, he has not been caught taking pictures of historical monuments for too long, and prefers to hang out in seedy dives (*büfés*) with the rest of us.

Bitter cold (bitter, for Hungary) invited us to recall poor Napoleon Bonaparte and his plight on Russia's frozen fields. In his memory, we (two Hyperboreans and a Russian, whose names shall remain a secret) had some shots of his warm spirits and found salvation in the warmth of our stomachs. We were not going to allow the cold to overwhelm us. Later, rain began to fall as we gazed upon typical Sopron townhouses feeling our feet turn to ice. The reception that followed in the Sopron Town Archives will always have a special place in everyone's memory. There, we enjoyed warmth, and more importantly, wine and bread. By the way, if anyone does not know where the expression "hot dog" comes from, let this person try fast food in Sopron's town center.

Sopron is memorable for a host of other reasons as well. Roman relics (explained as signs of "continuity", and a Franciscan church in the town square first come to mind. The town square, by the way, looked better than usual, with Christmas decorations. Its appearance was especially enhanced by the presence of small versions of superior northern fir trees. Such a sight provides a satisfying experience for a Hyperborean.

A celebration of Jim Morrison's birthday, first in a restaurant opposite the synagogue and later in the only bar in town, is not likely ever to fade from memory. I cannot think of another occasion when northern voices sang Gypsy romances more beautifully, or loudly, for that matter. The morning after, it was evident that those who uttered the greeting "good Morrison" had celebrated until the early morning hours.

It was by no means too early to leave Sopron. The visit had given me the opportunity to rediscover an institution known as the coffeehouse. My visit also reconfirmed my suspicion that there is no limit to the poor quality of dumps they call hotels. Before long, we were substantially contributing to the level of air pollution in the Austrian Republic. The first stop after the border was Wiener Neustadt. I felt strangely at ease in the Maria Theresia Military Academy. I suspect that this had a lot to do with their way of doing everything promptly and correctly. This kind of punctuality would prove very helpful on

Medieval Studies excursions (or in any medievalist's business for that matter), to reduce unnecessary waiting. I must admit, however, that the *Wappenwand* was not so spectacular. The next stop was Vienna.

It is impossible to describe all the details of our stay in Vienna. No one really had the opportunity to fully enjoy the luxurious lodging professor Jaritz had found for us. Everybody just staggered to bed and passed out the moment we arrived after a truly exhausting man-hunt. The "Bermuda Triangle" of Vienna had swallowed Gennady Babankov. Most of us hoped never to see him again. But once again, wantonly abandoning the teachings of Darwin and disregarding democracy, Professor Klaniczay managed to save this extraordinary person for the sake of medieval research. To avoid any confusion, it must be told that Gennady did not get lost in the famous "Bermuda Triangle" of Vienna, where the mysterious disappearance of people (sometimes even for days) can be explained by the (unusual) density of pubs and restaurants. Gennady's personal "Bermuda Triangle" was formed by the *Volkstheater*, *Staatsoper* and *Volksooper* theaters, where he hoped in vain to find our bus. The town hall square near the university, (the place where everybody else met each other) was inexplicably missing in Gennady's version of Viennese topography.

The gaps in my personal knowledge of Vienna pertained more to the institutions of learning. I must admit with utter satisfaction that this is no longer the case. Now I can find my way around the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (better known as Wolfram's Institute), and a number of libraries and archives that are either *Hof-* or *Staats-*somethings. I also know what the Christmas *Glühwein* tastes like in Vienna and how big the strudels are in *Café Diglas*. I sacrificed the *Kapuzinergruft* to experience this delight. Falco Daim's lengthy lecture on the Avars (about whom historians know little) deserves mention for his clever avoidance of these gaps in history.

The last stop of our adventurous trip was Bratislava. By that time, I was so tired that I am not really sure whether we were there at all. The memorable waltz with Anna is one of the few things that surely occurred in Bratislava. The other thing of which I am sure is János Bak's ("this is your captain speaking") nearly passionate disregard for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century icons. "Modern rubbish," I read on his face.

The last remark I want to make is that I was surprised by the relaxed attitude of the border officials towards our very colorful gang of medievalists. I would have expected at least a couple of thorough searches.



SECOND EXCURSION: "GREAT MORAVIA", SOUTHERN
BOHEMIA AND PRAGUE, APRIL 16–24, 1994

APRIL 16, SATURDAY

Afternoon: Břeclav-Mikulčice, excavations; ground trip guided by
Vladimir Vavřínek – Mikulov

APRIL 17, SUNDAY

Morning: Znojmo – rotunda at the brewery, and the castle; Slavonice –
Renaissance façades, city

Afternoon: Telč – castle; Pelhřimov

APRIL 18, MONDAY

Morning: Kutná Hora – city, Renaissance buildings, exhibition

Afternoon: Časlav – Tábor – Český Krumlov

APRIL 19, TUESDAY

Morning: Český Krumlov – city, castle

Afternoon: Zlatá Koruna – monastery; Prachatice; Písek

APRIL 20, WEDNESDAY

Morning: Křivoklat – Gothic castle

Afternoon: Prague, lecture by Dušan Třeštík on Early Prague

APRIL 21–24

Prague: St. Agnes Monastery, St. Vit Cathedral, castle area, National
Gallery – guided by Hana Hlaváčková, Jewish quarter, Malá Strana,
Staro Město; a lecture given by Lubomir Konečný (Art History De-
partment) on Emblematics;



Karlštejn: Royal Castle and the Holy Cross Chapel – guided by Hana Hlaváčková

APRIL 24, SUNDAY

Prague – Kutná Hora: St. Barbara Cathedral; Budapest

SPRING EXCURSION: A GLORIOUS MEDIEVAL PILGRIMAGE

Péter Erdősi

Let it be known to everyone who might read this chronicle that on Kal. XVI Maii of this year learned knights and knightesses departed from Buda and abandoned the safety of that town for the uncertainty of a long road; but returned there with a miraculous rapidity within eight days. The author of this chronicle P[etrus] S[ilvanus] did participate in this said travel, but when he decided later to record things bygone, he seriously examined the mind of his travelling fellows in order to prevent the feebleness of his memory from representing the said things in a manner different from how they occurred in reality; and since only words are able to render past events clearly, he chose a language that no one should misunderstand, thus leaving French to the noblest connoisseurs of chivalry, and Latin to the wise clerics. In the English tongue his story now he recites.

You should know that their peregrination had this origin: during the night one of them heard, as in a dream, some strange words and when he rose in the morning he repeated them to the others and everybody was astonished because they all had heard the same verse at the same time in the night.

Quick is the dream, tells you
only one or two faint words,
up flies the chalice but
it tumbles to the earth.
Footsteps in the ears you have,
not visage in the eyes,
may later the whole thing
for your sight arise.



Yea these sentences were obscure, troubling and promising, so most of them decided without delay to go and not to stop until someone explained the sense of what the somniloquent voice had said. But alas! some of them were reminded of Alexander's example: Could he, of Prudence rather than Prudence follower, return from his long excursion, that is, in the land of the unfinished evil Tower if he died not? And are they not mere pagans and errants in the faith who believe in tenebrous images seen while in a sleep and other divinations, thus defying the Providence of God? They resolved to dissolve parliament and when they assembled again, everyone agreed to depart but with an accurate itinerary and a consummate science of perils of the road. They were turning the pages of books and comforted each other with adorned orations for many months and finally they were determined to go to Bohemia first. And in fact they chose this country because her territory was not infected by any heresy, the mountains that separated her from Hungaria were viable, and as she was not accessible across the Bohemian see, they did not have to go there by a ship of the sea, but by the tip of the toe, our learned knights and knightesses. They put on the usual apparel of pilgrims, bringing with themselves nothing but the sustenance most needful besides their scripts in order to hold discourses to encourage the fortitude of their souls to be fearless everywhere, in taberna, in [*curri*]bus or even at the mirabilia they knew from the descriptions of ancient voyagers already, but saw never before. When they bid farewell to Buda, Fortune exhilarated them with the appearance of Lady Reynolds, who was supposed to help them find their way in faraway towns. The joyous lark moved her pinions against the morning sun when they left the Garden with their own Unicorn pasturing therein.

Now they crossed the Moravian land. Howsoever diligent students they were, without the succour of Vavrinius doctor Pragensis, whom they had in Buda known, they could not perambulate the Churches of the place called Mikulčice and by Giants inhabited, who in those days were not there but out perhaps hunting and everything seemed peacefully still and quietly so. In Mikulov the nocturnal hospital kept a horned crocodile which luckily made them remember the unicorn, Znojmo had a rotund church with several old Kings inside depicted. People coloured their houses nicely in Slavonice and Telč had also a wonderful castle. They arrived to the Bohemian limits and had not met anyone yet to tell what their odd dream meant, but the name of the place where they first were lodged in Bohemia, Pilgram or Pehlřimov, was to their enterprise most favourable.



Just as the Moravians, the Bohemians were affable and hospitable souls. Their greatest man was King Charles IV, who was Roman Emperor as well. He built a stone bridge in Prague and therefore his faithful subjects call him Charlebridge sometimes. At the celestial tent of Saint Barbara in Kutná Hora one could hear well the chinking sound his minters' work made zealously in the neighbouring court. In the Bohemian town of Krumlov, they decided to stop and proceed not earlier than the next morning. They did so and the morrow a castle built on a rock beyond the river they saw.

No journey exists without saddening afflictions. Josephus, a man who went with them and gave them valorous counsel, brought a spade and, whenever he pointed it to the ground, the oldest things became visible from the age of our Adam and Eve. He suddenly had to return for he felt that a terrible flood down on Hungaria had come, so they hid their faces and began to cry because of his departure and the flood. But brother Marcellus, animator of so many things, and Blasius refreshed their waning composure so that they promptly evoked their vow, and raised the Banner in the right moment. Being consoled by the Cistercians of Zlatá Koruna, after Prachatice they arrived to Písek and then two wanderers stepped on the road: one older, the other younger, both bearing apostolic and angelic names. They began almost simultaneously speaking, "I am Gianmichele and I am Gabriel, walk the field with us to the royal chair. Your way was winding but it will straight go, you shall find the answer in your imbroglio." They reached the royal castle of Křivoklát but its Lord was not there. They had to march further towards Prague.

And now *incipit* the description of Prague. Prague is a beautiful city with many tiled roofs of red colour. People construct churches everywhere and the one situated in the high castle is the most admirable. Moreover, Prague has a river and a very wide street. Gianmichele and Gabriel revealed that there was an Order of learned knights and knightesses similar to the one they had, so they could pass some nights in their house and even visited their schools. Whosoever does not put credence into this fact must read this chronicle as the testimony it is. Those priors presented to them magnificent ensigns and draperies, objects of the finest quality.

The travellers were told that the King had left Prague to go to another of his many castles, Karlštejn, so they too went there. He had left Karlštejn a couple of hours before they arrived there, but they wanted to visit the Chapel of the Holy Rood, full of beauty, saintly relics and pictures, which was being built by Charles and no one



could see it; yet they could enter with a Lady's help, and her name was Hana Hlaváčková. Back in Prague, they noticed countless artificial likenesses of the King, hence it was an even more arduous task to find the real living Man. But then the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares who in St. Agnes's convent took care of royal bodies and other relics, Jewish Priests at their synagogues and Dominican Friars at their church, all narrated to them that they had seen Charles riding in the direction of his Palace. Therefore the pelerins kept on his track.

These things took place in the Palace. "Sint sie hoeflich enough?" the guard asked and a simple "yes" made them go indoors. Charles was a man with a gentle face, a not very long beard and an unconcealed glance; he was sitting on a throne and dictating some Latin words to his scrivener:

Et sic tarde venimus in castrum Pragense ad antiquam domum pergraviatus, ubi mansionem per aliquot annos feceramus, antequam palacium magnum fuerat edificatum. Et nocturno tempore deposuimus nos in lecto, et Busco de Wilharticz senior in altero ante nos. Et erat magnus ignis in camera, quia tempus hiemale erat, multeque candele ardebant in camera, ita quod lumen sufficiens erat, et ianue et fenestre omnes erant clause.

The moment came when he uttered this last, and they tried to ask him quickly, but with a courteous reverence, whether he could unravel the sense of their dream, but they could not get to the matter, being interrupted by the King after the welcoming formalities, habitual in such occasions, in this manner: "I know where you come from but let us not devote ourselves either to strenuous ideas or untroubled enjoyments until I have committed the story which emerged in my intellect fully to the parchment." Thus they looked away and started to cry, but soon they began to follow the King's words:

Et cum incepissemus dormire, tunc deambulabat nescio quid per cameram, ita quod ambo evigilavimus. Et fecimus dictum Busconem surgere, ut videret, quid esset. Ipse autem surgens circumivit per cameram querens et nichil vidit nec quidquam potuit invenire.

Lo! Footsteps in his ear, not visage in the eye!

Et nos induti pallio nostro sedebamus in lecto et audiebamus ambulantem, videre tamen neminem poteramus. Et sic respicientes cum predicto Buscone super ciffos et candelas vidimus ciffum proiectum; et idem ciffus proiciebatur, nescimus per quem, ultra lectum Busconis de uno angulo camere usque in alterum in parietem, qui sic reverberatus a pariete cecidit in medium camere. Videntes hec territi sumus nimium et semper ambulantem in camera audivimus, neminem autem vidimus. Post vero signati sancta cruce in Christi nomine usque in mane dormivimus.



Woe! Up flew the chalice, but it tumbled to the earth! The king had seen in his vision the same that they heard in their dream. Only one question remained unanswered: Who was the invisible walker, the thrower of the chalice in the King's vision? Did the walker come from above or below? Why the Chalice? The King said, "I do not know." Was their dream recounting the King's vision a diabolic trickery or an angelic guidance? Yes, maybe the King was disturbed by the devil, but did he not remain a most saintly man? Could a dream about a most saintly man's vision, however inconvenient, be promoted by the vile forces of the devil? They rather said no. Ignoring the final cause, they satisfied themselves with the strange coincidence and resigned themselves to the delightful hospitality of Charles. One thing is true: they made their journey with a courageous dignity and *beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege Domini* as the King said citing the Psalmist when they took leave, and Sir Alighier's verses upon Ulyxes traveller were not neglected by them at all, not just virtues and cognizances but those noble semblances were also contemplated all the way back on the road and here the chronicle finally ends. *Deo gratias.* Amen, amen.



ALUMNI OF THE DEPARTMENT 1993/1994

The list below gives information on our graduate students in the following order: name, country, undergraduate university, special field of study, title of M.A. thesis, thesis director (= TD), external examiner (= EE), thesis result, current affiliation

ALOIANE, ZOURABI (Russia)

Leningrad State University 1985–1993

History of Arab countries and Iranian philology

The Cultural Context of the Islamic Pandemonium

TD: Sándor Fodor, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

EE: Sabel-el Adly, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at the Department of Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

ANDRIĆ, STANKO (Croatia)

University of Zagreb 1987–1993

French, Latin and Romance philology

The Early Cult of Saint John of Capistrano

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: André Vauchez, Université de Paris X, Nanterre

accepted with distinction

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

ANGUSHEVA, ADELINA (Bulgaria)

University of Sofia 1983–1988

Bulgarian philology

Prognostical Books in the Byzantine, Latin and Old Slavic Tradition

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Vladimír Vavřínek, Slavonic Institute, Prague

accepted

Second year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

BABANKOV, GENNADY (Russia)

Moscow State University 1988–1993

Byzantine Art

The Feast Icons Cycle of Saint Sophia of Novgorod Cathedral

TD: Ernő Marosi, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Hana Hlaváčková, Institute of Art History, Prague

accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at the Department of History of Art,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore**BRIGLJEVIĆ, KSENIJA (Croatia)**

University of Zagreb 1981–1987

Art History and English

The Urban Topography of Zagreb's Kaptol in the Middle Ages

TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Susan Reynolds, Oxford University

accepted with distinction

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

BRZEZINSKI, WITOLD (Poland)

Nikolas Kopernikus University, Toruń 1988–1992

History

The Piasts' Marriages to the Árpáds and Přemyslids. Their Role and Importance in the Piasts' Relations with the Bohemian and Hungarian Rulers

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Paul W. Knoll, University of Southern California,

Los Angeles

accepted

**CARNE, SIMON (USA)**

St. Anne's College, Oxford 1989; University of Southern California 1992

Ancient and Modern History

Research student with tutorial work

DIMITROVA, MARGARET (Bulgaria)

University of Sofia 1983–1988

Bulgarian Philology

Greek and Latin Loan Words in the New York Missal

TD: Henrik Birnbaum, University of California, Los Angeles

EE: Anica Nazor, Old Church Slavonic Institute, Zagreb
accepted with distinction

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

ELBEL, MARTIN (Czech Republic)

University of Olomouc 1990–1993

History and Archival Studies

Saint John of Capistrano and the Franciscan Convent in Late Medieval Olomouc

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: František Šmahel, Institute of History, Prague
accepted

ERDŐSI, PÉTER (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest 1988–1993

History and Italian Language and Literature

Court and Town in Medieval Buda

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: András Kubinyi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at the Atelier Franco-Hongrois d'Histoire Sociale at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

FILIPOVA, SNEŽANA (Macedonia)

University of Skopje 1983–1987; University of Belgrade 1988–1992

Medieval Art History

Architectural Decorative Sculpture in Macedonia

TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Cvetan Grozdanov, University of Skopje
accepted

Assistant lecturer at the University of Skopje

GADZHIEVA, SOFIA (Russia)

Daghestan State University 1984–1989

Slavonic Languages

The Morphology of Verbal Present Stems: Evidence from Croatian and Church Slavonic

TD: Henrik Birnbaum, University of California, Los Angeles

EE: Anica Nazor, Old Church Slavonic Institute, Zagreb

accepted

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

GERASSINA, EKATERINA (Russia)

Moscow State University 1983–1988

Medieval History

Thesis not yet submitted

GRGIN, BORISLAV (Croatia)

University of Zagreb 1984–1989

Medieval History and Archaeology

The Frankepani Family and King Matthias Corvinus

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Leslie S. Domokos, Youngstown University

accepted with distinction

Assistant lecturer at University of Zagreb, Department of History

GRZESIK, RYSZARD (Poland)

University of Poznań 1983–1988

History

The Hungarian Roots of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: László Veszprémy, Military History Institute, Budapest

accepted with distinction

Research assistant at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poznań

GUTBERLET, BERND (Germany)

Freie Universität, Berlin 1985–1989

Medieval History

Die Bücher der Bettelorden

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Kaspar Elm, Freie Universität, Berlin

accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at Freie Universität, Berlin



- HRISTOVSKA, KATERINA** (Macedonia)
University of Skopje 1988–1993
Medieval Archaeology
Fourteenth-Century Venetian Coin-Finds from the Republic of Macedonia
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: D.M. Metcalf, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
accepted with distinction
- HYSA, YLBER** (Yugoslavia)
University of Prishtina 1985–1989
History
South Slavic and Albanian Historiography about Bogomilism and Dualistic Heresies in the Balkans
TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Sima Ćirković, University of Belgrade
accepted
Assistant researcher at the Institute of Albanology, Prishtina
- ITTU, CONSTANTIN** (Romania)
Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj 1971–1975
Ancient and Medieval History
Soziale Geschichte und Heraldik der rumänischen Länder in der Zeitspanne 14–16. Jahrhundert
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Szabolcs de Vajay, Vevey
accepted
Librarian at the Bruckenthal Museum, Sibiu, Romania
- KARBIĆ, DAMIR** (Croatia)
University of Zagreb 1982–1988
History and Archaeology
The Croatian Noble Kindred
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Pál Engel, Institute of History, Budapest
accepted with distinction
Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

KUZNETSOVA, ANNA (Russia)

Moscow State University 1987–1992

Slavic History

The Byzantine Mission to Moravia according to the Pannonian Legends

TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Dušan Třeštík, Institute of History, Prague

Henry Mayr-Harting, Oxford University

accepted with distinction

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

KREEM, JUHAN (Estonia)

University of Tartu 1989–1993

History

The Humanists' Image of Livonia: Ruling Motifs and Developments in General Literature from Aeneas Silvius to Sebastian Münster

TD: Endre Bojtár, CEU, Comparative Literature Project

EE: Marianna Birnbaum, University of California, Los Angeles

accepted

Research fellow at the Estonian Maritime Museum

LADIĆ, ZORAN (Croatia)

University of Zagreb 1982–1988

History

The Religious Life of the Citizens of Sopron According to Their Last Wills (1450–1500)

TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Katalin Szende, Sopron City Museum

accepted

Second year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

MANEA, CASTILIA (Romania)

University of Bucharest 1988–1993

History

Giacomo Badoer's Account Book (1436–1437). A Case Study of Venetian Trade Activity in the Region of the Black Sea and the Balkan Peninsula

TD: Balázs Nagy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

EE: David Abulafia, Cambridge University

accepted

**NIKITINA, SVETLANA (Russia)**

University of St. Petersburg 1981–1988

Spanish and English

Women's Retail Trade and Guilds in Late Medieval Buda. Correlation of Public and Private Space

TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Martin Rady, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London

accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London

NIKOLAEVA, IRINA (Russia)

Moscow State University 1980–1985

Linguistics and Hungarian Philology

Ph.D. at the Institute of Linguistics, 1988

Research student with tutorial work

Lecturer at the Berzsenyi Dániel College, Szombathely, Hungary

PARAMONOVA, MARINA (Russia)

Moscow State University 1980–1985

History and Slavonic Studies

Ph.D. in Medieval History, 1989

Some Political Connotations of the Tenth-Century Wenceslaus Legends

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Janet L. Nelson, King's College, London

accepted with distinction

Assistant researcher at Moscow State University

PETKOV, KIRIL (Bulgaria)

University of Veliko Tarnovo 1981–1985

History

East-Central European Attitudes Towards the Orthodox Balkans

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Paul W. Knoll, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Emil Niederhauser, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
accepted with distinction

Ph.D. scholarship at New York University, Department of History

**PETROVA, MAJA (Bulgaria)**

University of Sofia 1987–1992

History

Bdinski Zbornik: a Fourteenth-Century Collection of Women Saints' Legends

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Evelyne Patlagean, Université de Paris X, Nanterre

accepted with distinction

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

ROMHÁNYI, BEATRIX (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest 1985–1991

Medieval Archaeology and Latin

The Settling Features of the Religious Orders in Medieval Hungary

TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Kaspar Elm, Freie Universität, Berlin

accepted with distinction

Ph.D. scholarship at the Department of Medieval and Early

Modern Archaeology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

SIERPOWSKA, ANNA (Poland)

University of Poznań 1989–1991

History

Historical Anthropology and Aron I. Gurevich

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Susan Reynolds, Oxford University

accepted

SKURVÝDAITE, LORETA (Lithuania)

University of Vilnius 1986–1991

History

The Seals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania during Vytautas's Reign: A Political Analysis

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Aleksander Gieysztor, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

accepted

Assistant lecturer at the University of Vilnius, Department of

History

**SOMELAR, ERIK (Estonia)**

University of Tartu 1987–1992

Medieval History

Willkür und Gnade. Urfehdedewesen in Krems und Stein (1347–1527)

TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Barbara Hanawalt, University of Minnesota

accepted

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

STEFOSKA, IRENA (Macedonia)

University of Skopje 1985–1992

Classical Philology

The Face of Macedonia: Western Views (Late Eleventh to the Mid-Fifteenth Century)

TD: István Perczel, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

István Kapitánffy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

EE: James Ross Sweeney, Pennsylvania State University

accepted

Assistant at the Institute of National History, Skopje

STEJSKAL, JAN (Czech Republic)

University of Olomouc 1989–1994

History

Jerome of Prague. The End of an Old World

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: František Šmahel, Institute of History, Prague

accepted with distinction

SULOWSKI, WOJCIECH (Poland)

Jagiellonian University, Cracow 1988–1993

History

The Hospital Orders in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century

TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Neithard Bulst, University of Bielefeld

accepted

**TÓTH, GÁBOR (Hungary)**

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest 1986–1992

Latin Philology and Medieval History

Thesis not yet submitted

Ph.D. scholarship at the Atelier Franco-Hongrois d'Histoire Sociale, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

UDRENAS, NERIJUS (Lithuania)

University of Vilnius 1989–1993

History and Philology

The Profiles of Political Solidarity and Cultural Awareness in the Late Medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Endre Bojtár, CEU, Comparative Literature Project
accepted

Ph.D. scholarship at the Department of Comparative History, Brandeis University, Boston

VESEL, MATJAZ (Slovenia)

University of Ljubljana 1985–1990

Philosophy

Being, Essence and Esse in the Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas

TD: György Geréby, Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest

EE: Simo Knuutila, University of Helsinki
accepted

Second-year scholarship at CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

YUDIN, VIKTOR (Ukraine)

Moscow State University 1988–1992

Medieval Philosophy

The Doctrine of Divine Illumination of Saint Augustine. Its Sources and its Content

TD: István Perczel, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies

EE: Robert Markus, Professor Emeritus, University of Nottingham

accepted

M.Phil. scholarship at the Religious Studies Department, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne,



ALUMNI OF THE PREPARATORY YEAR 1992/1993

ADAMCZYK, JACEK (Poland)

University of Warsaw

History

Slavonian Coins (1250s–1350s)

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
accepted

Researcher at the Institute of History, Warsaw

FIJAŁKOWSKI, ADAM (Poland)

University of Warsaw 1988–1992

History

*Royal Ceremonies: Coronations and Funerals according to Polish and
Hungarian Narrative Sources in the Late Middle Ages*

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
accepted

KLUGLOVÁ, MARTINA (Czech Republic)

University of Olomouc 1989–1994

History

*The Social Background of Members of the Town Council in the City of
Pardubice (1605–1700)*

TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
accepted



KRAS, PAWEL (Poland)

The Catholic University of Lublin 1988–1992

History

Heretics in Christian Society. A Study of the Concept of Heresy and the Image of the Heretic in Late Medieval Poland

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
accepted

Research coordinator at the Institute of East-Central Europe,
Lublin

D. Phil scholarship at New College, Oxford University

NAJBAR, MAGDALENA (Poland)

Jagiellonian University, Cracow 1989–1992

Medieval History

The Legal Status of Muslims in Lithuania, Poland and Hungary in the Middle Ages

TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
accepted



Coming back from the FIDEM Congress in Spoleto
A Stopover in Perugia, April 1993



Spring Excursion, April 1994 – Zlatá Koruna



Academic Board Meeting, March 1994 – Budapest



Commencement, September 1994 – Budapest




Part III

Selected Seminar Papers and M.A. Thesis Chapters



THE MAKING OF A SAINT. JOHN OF CAPISTRANO'S DEATH AND FUNERAL

Stanko Andrić 

*Ad locum nostrum Uylach, quem beatus pater
elegit sibi ad quiescendum.*

Stephen Varsányi (April 5, 1461)

On the evening of “the most glorious day of his life”, July 22, 1456, Capistrano addressed a short account of the victory of Belgrade to Pope Callistus III.¹ He wrote a more detailed letter the following day in Slankamen (Szalánkemény), a Syrmian *oppidum* on the banks of the Danube,² and entrusted it to Jerome of Padua, together with a “noble boy from Bosnia”, a prisoner of war said to have been born in Turkey and educated at the Sultan’s court. The boy, “good by nature and rather intelligent”, was to be presented to the Pope as a living testimony to the victory.³ He had already been baptized by Capistrano

¹ The letter was dated *ex Nanderalba* [= Belgrade], *in festo S. Mariae Magdalenae, ipso die gloriosissimae victoriae*; cf. Michael Bihl, ed., “*Duae epistolae S. Iohannis a Capistrano, altera ad Ladislaum regem, altera de victoria Belgradensi (an. 1453 et 1456)*”, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 19 (1926), 64-65. For the complete text of the letter see AASS Octobris X (Paris – Rome, 1869), 382 = L. Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 3rd ed. (Quaracchi – Rome, 1931-34), 12: 429-30.

² *Ex Salenchemen, anno MCCCCLVI-o, die XXIII mensis iulii, post fugam magni Turchi, contra quem victoriam nobis altissimus condonavit die precedenti.* (Bihl, 75)

³ *Sed ecce, mitto egregium virum dominum Ieronimum Paduanum ad pedes S. V., qui in testimonium talis victoriae B. V. presentabit quendam nobilem puerum Bosenensem, qui in utero matris ad Turchiam delatus extitit et in aula regia educatus, bone indolis atque prudencioris ingenii, qui V. S. plurima referet de condicionibus Magni Turchi et de sua presenti ruina, quos, presentantem ac presentatum, B. V. facio commendatos.* (Bihl, 74)

and the Pope was to retain this exceptional guest, as we learn from the papal response on September 16, 1456.⁴

Capistrano spent the rest of July and the greater part of August in Slankamen and Zemun (Zimony), near Belgrade, on the Syrmian side of the Sava River. In Belgrade, an epidemic of dysentery (the generic term *pestis* is used to describe this epidemic) spread due to the masses of unburied bodies. The first signs of the disease appeared in Capistrano on August 6: a high fever and bad attacks of diarrhea.⁵ In Zemun, Capistrano found poor accommodations in a hut where he "lay in the company of mice, snakes and insects". When the victorious leader of the crusade, János Hunyadi, died on August 11, Capistrano was beside him.⁶ On Cardinal Carvajal's suggestion, Capistrano left Zemun and returned to Slankamen, where he stayed in the vicarage of the Church of the Holy Virgin. Capistrano did not want to stay there for a long time. His intention was to die in the friary of the Observant Franciscans in Ilok (Újlak). He had enough time to choose the manner in which he was to die. There is no doubt that he purposely chose Ilok as his last resting place.⁷

As we learn from the letters of Capistrano's closest friend, John of Tagliacozzo, his younger brethren declared their astonishment at such a choice. Capistrano clarified his decision in the following terms:

The city of Ilok is surrounded by schismatics and situated in the vicinity of the Turks. Therefore, it has been chosen against the will of the brethren. Indeed, I know, while I stay in this kingdom, while my bones rest here, the brethren will not leave this place and thus, residing here, they will be the light for the conversion of the people.

Tagliacozzo believed Capistrano's choice to remain in Ilok was an act of modesty:⁸

⁴ *Appulit ad nos dilectus filius [Ieronimus Paduanus] simul cum puerulo, quem ad nos misisti, reddidit nobis litteras (...) Cui etiam ducentos ducatos dedimus, puerulum nobis retinuius.* See Wadding, 433. It would be interesting to know more about the boy's destiny.

⁵ Johannes Hofer, *Giovanni da Capestrano. Una vita spesa nella lotta per la riforma della Chiesa*, trans. Giacomo di Fabio, (L'Aquila, 1955), 688. (The original edition: J. Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran. Ein Leben im Kampf um Reform der Kirche*, 2nd ed., rev. and augm. by O. Bonmann, vols. 1-2, Heidelberg, 1965.)

⁶ Hofer, 687.

⁷ *Non solum autem mihi, sed omnibus sibi assistentibus saepenumero repetebat, si moreretur, cadaver suum sepeliendum in loco de Vilak.* (Tagliacozzo *apud* Wadding, 449)

⁸ Wadding, 449.

As for me, I am inclined to think that the blessed man said so because, just as he scorned honors during his life as much as possible, he now wants to be buried among schismatics and heathens, to be thus deprived of almost any honor.

It is worth mentioning that a testimony, written on April 21, 1460 by the citizens of Ilok in the *proemium* of the collection of Capistrano's posthumous miracles, confirms the idea of posthumous corporal presence the saint wanted to attach to his death. The testimony reads as follows:

We consider the fact that the mentioned man of God wanted to rest forever in our city an evident deed of God's will. Namely, since this city is situated in the vicinity of the cruel Turks and completely surrounded by schismatics and Patarenes, God omnipotent deigned to put his servant here so that, just as he was a persecutor of heathens and a conquerer of Turks in his life, he might be their eternal prosecutor after his death. As for ourselves, we feel such piety and devout confidence towards him that, because of him, we do not fear anything from the heathens.⁹

Capistrano arrived in Slankamen escorted by twelve *confrères*, as was the custom of the order.¹⁰ He later decided to dismiss some of them. Four of them, who also fell ill (two priests, Jerome of Udine and Bernard of Modena, and two lay-brothers, Ambrose of Aquila and Victor of Vienna), were sent to the Franciscan monastery of the Holy Spirit in the town of Athya.¹¹ Several others (Konrad of Freyestadt, the deacon Epiphanius of Styria, and some Hungarian brethren) were sent to Ilok in advance as guards. Friars George of Passau and Lawrence of Transylvania, setting off to Buda, were entrusted with most of Capistrano's books. Finally, three brethren stayed beside the old man: Alexander of Dubrovnik, Francis of Hungary, and Tagliacozzo, the only Italian.¹² On August 17, Capistrano sent his third missive to

⁹ *Quod autem predictus vir domini apud nos quiescere voluit non nisi divinitus factum esse arbitramur. Nam cum hec civitas Turchorum feritati vicina existat, sitque scismaticis et paterenis undique vallata, dignatus est omnipotens deus illic servum suum constituere ac locare, ubi sicut vivens fuit infidelium persecutor et Turchorum debellator, ita eorundem mortuus sit perpetuus terror. Nos autem tantam in eum devotionem et devotam fiduciam habemus, ut propter eum nichil ab infidelibus timeamus.* Ivo Mažuran, ed., *Miracula Ioannis Capistrano. Ilok A.D. 1460. Fontes historiam Essekini et Slavoniae spectantes*, vol. 4 (Osijek, 1972) [henceforth: P], 24 (proemium).

¹⁰ Hofer, 331. Tagliacozzo writes: *Licet aliquando plures, aliquando pauciores haberet, tunc tamen duodecim socii sibi erant.* (Wadding, 448)

¹¹ Present day Šarengrad, on the Croatian side of the Danube, upstream from Ilok.

¹² Wadding, 448.



the Pope from Slankamen about the victory of Belgrade.¹³ He expressed his will to continue the fight. The moment had come to drive the Turks out of Europe and to reconquer the Holy Land. If the Pope agreed to finance an army of ten to twelve thousand horsemen as reinforcements for the crusaders, there would be enough resources on Turkish territory to continue the war for the next three years. One might agree with the Hungarian medievalist Erik Fügedi, who argued that such an unrealistic proposal did not lack a political *arrière-pensée*. According to Fügedi, Capistrano wanted the Christian rulers to realize that the Turks were non-invincible.¹⁴

Mobs of crusaders gathered in Vienna and Buda, waiting in vain for a commander who would lead them south.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the victorious Belgrade crusaders were left in complete disorder without a leader. Carvajal's herald Girolamo Barbarigo describes the suffering caused by disease and the lack of victuals:

The Christian army was in a huge disorder because of fevers and sicknesses and lack of victuals and uncommodity of lodging, and the venerable man Friar John of Capistrano, who himself was suffering from fevers, was only to control this army.¹⁶

Capistrano left Slankamen by the end of August accompanied by Cardinal Carvajal and others. The brethren were glad to see him travel without any sign of age, or illness. The people of Ilok waited for Capistrano and the others impatiently, fearing that the saint would pass by and overlook them. When the ship with Capistrano's belongings sailed up the Danube, the men of Ilok stopped it and ransacked it "with unsheathed swords". They were afraid of finding Capistrano, or Capistrano's corpse, hidden in the ship.¹⁷ The voivode Nicholas of

¹³ Wadding, 430-432.

¹⁴ E. Fügedi, "Lik i značaj Ivana Kapistranskog" [Personality and the Historical Role of John of Capistrano], translated into Croatian by K. Harmath, *Croatica Christiana periodica* 19 (1987), 138-9. Cf. J. Delumeau, "Croisade et Empire: des mythes moribonds", in *La Civilisation de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1991), 303-305.

¹⁵ According to the letter of Bernhard of Kraiburg, one of Belgrade's defenders sent from Vienna to Salzburg on August 26, 1456: Hofer, 689.

¹⁶ Lajos Thallóczy and Antal Áldásy, *A Magyarország és Szerbia közötti összeköttetések oklevéltára 1198-1526*. Monumenta Hungariae historica, vol. 33 (Budapest, 1907), 219. Barbarigo left Slankamen on August 18 and went to Rome; he sent two letters concerning the events in Belgrade in September, 1456, to the duke Sforza and to Foscari (cf. *ibid.*: 217-18).

¹⁷ *Nam cum adhuc aegrotaret beatus Pater in Salankemen, et ascenderent Fratres navigio versus Budam cum libris, et aliis rebus ad usum Fratrum pertinentibus, quamprimum navicula*



Ilok (Miklós Ujlaki, Nikola Iločki) repeatedly invited Capistrano to Ilok so that he might receive proper care. He was aware that Capistrano soon might die. Capistrano's modern biographer, Johannes Hofer, commented on Nicholas's motives:

If the Father comes to die in Ilok, the tomb of the glorious man will bring the greatest fame to Ujlaki's castle; with a strange mixture of devotion and brutality, Nicholas gave a secret order not to let Capistrano leave Ilok, alive or dead.¹⁸

Fortunately, these indelicate measures did not contradict Capistrano's intentions.¹⁹

After several days of travel, Capistrano's group arrived in Ilok on September 1. Ilok appeared to them like a city of promise compared to besieged Belgrade and its ravaged surroundings. Hofer does not neglect to depict the idyllic scenery of the last stage of Capistrano's "earthly pilgrimage"; he describes "a healthy and beautiful place situated on a hill above the flow of water, offering a magnificent view of the distant Hungarian plain".²⁰ We do not know whether the citizens of Ilok prepared Capistrano's last solemn welcome, with a mass of devotees singing songs and a ringing of the bells of the city's seven churches (Capistrano had already experienced such a welcome in Villach, Vienna, Leipzig, Cracow, Olomouc and Buda). He had accommodations in the Observant monastery of the Holy Virgin.²¹ Surrounded by his brethren, he spent his last weeks in glory indulging in the confirmation of his sanctity while preparing for eternity.

Although he was tortured by fever, abdominal pain and hemorrhoids, Capistrano descended regularly to the church to take communion. He sent letters and received numerous visits. King Ladislas

secus Vylak visa est, praemoniti cives jussu ipsius Domini (sc. Nicolai) ad illam armati concurrerunt, credentes, in illa corpus beati Patris mortui sive morituri deferri. Qui cum Fratribus non crederent, arreptis gladiis et ensibus evaginatis, omnia diligentissime revolverunt. (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 452)

¹⁸ Hofer, 689.

¹⁹ Tagliacozzo writes: *praecipue tamen ipse Dominus Nicolaus flagrabat desiderio, ut saltem ipse B. Pater, cui plurimum afficiebatur pro sua devotione et sanctitate, ad Vylak proficisceretur, ut ibi vel sanus evaderet, vel, Domino (sc. Deo) permittente, mortuus jaceret. Quod utique desiderium ipsius Beatissimi consentaneum erat. (Wadding, 450)*

²⁰ Hofer, 690.

²¹ *Legatus in domo Plebani, Pater autem in loco Fratrum de Observantia, quem ipse ante victoriam ceperat, cui beatae Virginis Mariae vocabulum est, diverterunt. (...)Cum autem Vir beatus ad locum desideratum, disponente divina clementia, pervenisset, maxima fuit consolatione repletus. (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 449-50)*

visited him twice with his entourage and put his personal physician at the saint's disposal,²² as did the vicar of the Hungarian Observant province, Stephen Varsányi, *vere ipsius Patris optimus filius*. At the end of August, a large group of citizens left Nürnberg and reached Ilok in the first half of October, welcomed by Capistrano "with enormous gladness". The women and men of Ilok served him food and sweets daily,²³ which, according to Hofer, provided "good times for his *confrères*, since the patient could only take a little part in it".

Capistrano was still able to practice some authority as the general commissioner to Austria, Styria, Hungary and Bohemia. A friar who had dared rebel against his superior "felt the weight of the Father's punishing hand".²⁴ He gave useful advice to the brethren concerning true mendicant life. Nevertheless, he was disconsolate since he was denied the grace of martyrdom. Instead, he suffered the bloodless martyrdom of illness which lasted seventy-eight days.

The last two types of miracles he performed *in vita* were healings and prophecies. He healed the friar Ambrose of Aquila who underwent an apoplectic stroke in the monastery of Athya.²⁵ He foretold the violent death of count Ulrich Cillei (Celjski),²⁶ as well as the abandonment of Pope Callistus' bull by the Observant Franciscans, the abandonment of the *Familia* by one of Capistrano's closest fellows Alexander of Dubrovnik, who later became the bishop of Skradin (Scardona), the important role played by the Catholic city of Ilok among schismatics and heathens, and the ill-fated future of the Hungarian kingdom: *saepius dicebat "Vae regno Hungariae"*.²⁷ Two days before his death, he told the provincial vicar Varsányi, who was just about to leave, "If you leave now, you will not see me again."²⁸ Tagliacozzo confessed that Capistrano was not expected to die so soon be-

²² *Rex autem non solum suum Medicum assistere jussit, verum etiam eidem, etsi totum regnum exponi deberet, affatim ministrari praecepit.* (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 453)

²³ *Crebrescente hujus infirmitatis fama, aut veniunt aut mittunt magnifici Barones nobilesque ad eum visitandum, ac etiam dignissimae ac devotissimae Dominae electuaria, confectiones ac cibaria pretiosa ad eum a longe pia devotione mittebant. Ipse beatus Pater aut missa renuebat, aut ea accepta aliis distribuebat, horum nihil penitus gustans.* (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 453)

²⁴ Hofer, 691.

²⁵ Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 454.

²⁶ *Praedixit Illustri Domino Comiti Ciliae, quod caveret sibi; quod non faciens fuit interfec-tus a Domino Ladislao, filio Illustris Domini Joannis de Hunyad in castro Nanderalbensi.* (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 461)

²⁷ Tagliacozzo, apud Wadding, 461.

²⁸ Tagliacozzo, apud Wadding, 453.



cause of his good appearance and clear voice. Nevertheless, the main reason why they believed the end was so near was precisely because Capistrano constantly predicted he would die.²⁹

Capistrano's supervision regarding the conditions of his death was almost complete. On October 18, five days before his death, he convoked the community of the convent in his cell, asked that they pardon his faults and recommended himself into their prayers. He spent the day reflecting on the seven decades of his life. The following day, he made his general confession to Tagliacozzo, his favourite among the junior brethren, for whom he had always expressed paternal concern (Tagliacozzo was his "beloved disciple", to broaden the elements of analogy in Capistrano's version of the *imitatio Christi*).³⁰ Capistrano made him the superior of the group of friars returning to the homeland, and entrusted him with the rest of his belongings along with his last letter written on October 21. He was particularly concerned about his books, most of which were already in Buda. Tagliacozzo was obliged to bring them to Vienna. The books were to be sent to Venice, and from here to the town of Capistrano, where a library was installed in the newly founded small convent of the Observant Franciscans.³¹ The Father recommended to the guardian of the Ilok convent, Michael of Saint-Dionysius, that his body be buried in the immediate vicinity, and that the convent be preserved. He wanted to be buried in the habit in which he had been victorious against the Turks, with the cross the Pope had sent him.

On a Saturday morning, October 23, Capistrano asked the guardian to convoke the community with the convent bell. At noon, he gave the sign to begin the prayer of the dying. A glass of *giulebbe*, the Neapolitan medicinal potion for which he had asked, could not be pre-

²⁹ *Nam haec solum tria mortem arguebant, videlicet ipsius de morte crebra praedictio, nulla cibi aut potus degustatio, et vehementissimi fluxus continuatio: cuncta autem alia ipsius argumenta non morituri, sed victuri hominis apparebant.* (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 458)

³⁰ For Tagliacozzo's feelings, see his letter of May 23, 1456: *Si me absentem vultis, facietis me martirem sine martirio (...) nedum ad preceptum aut correctionem tuae P. sed ad alapas tue benignissime manu. Tantummodo me habe in filium et amare me dignemini sive presentem sive absentem (...) Frater Ioannes de Talliacotio, venerandae Vestrae senectutis potius impedimentum, quam filius.* B. Pettkó, "Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal" [John of Capistrano in his Hungarian Correspondence], *Történelmi Társulat* 2 (1901), 208-9.

³¹ Another letter of accompaniment written by Cardinal Carvajal on October 27 threatens anybody who dares to harm the travelling brethren or "the relics, books and some other things", with *pena excommunicationis*. All those things which once belonged to the Father, *post eius obitum ad locum de Capistrano reportentur, ut est antiqua et honesta consuetudo ipsius ordinis semper servata.* (Pettkó, 219)

pared.³² His final agony began during vespers. He died at nine o'clock in the evening.³³ Jerome of Udine, Capistrano's personal nurse, and Tagliacozzo closed the eyes of the deceased. Tagliacozzo depicts the diverse comments made by the friars regarding this "irreparable loss" in a single sentence expressing the sorrowful clerical rhetoric:

Quo viso, omnes in luctum conversi fuimus: aliqui dicebant, O Solem obscuratum!, aliqui, Cecidit de coelo Ecclesiae stella magna, cecidit columna Religionis; aliqui, Cecidit corona capitis nostri etc, Jam infideles haeretici et schismatici laetantur, et similia.

("When seeing that, we all started to cry: some said 'O, the eclipsed sun!', and some 'The huge star of the Church has fallen from the sky, the column of the Faith has fallen'; some 'The crown has fallen from our heads', and so on, 'Now the infidel heretics and schismatics are delighted', and similar things.")³⁴

When the saint's body was undressed for the bath as was customary, the brethren saw "a few bones wrapped in skin". They hurriedly carried the thin corpse, *per occultam viam*, to the church in an open coffin. The townspeople, eager to see the deceased, threatened to break through the door.³⁵ They were afraid of losing the saint, for they suspected that the friars intended to take him away through a secret passage. In this moment of crisis, the attitudes of the townspeople towards the friars turned almost hostile. The voivode himself mistrusted the Observant Franciscans' intentions. For this reason, Nicholas of Ilok chose a trustworthy man to watch over the saint's body from the moment his final agony began.³⁶ He was out of Ilok by the time of the saint's death, and he was decisively against King

³² *Petebat tamen Julep propinari, quod inveniri non poterat, neque confici.* (Tagliacozzo *apud* Wadding, 462)

³³ Tagliacozzo (Wadding, 465): *transiit autem hic beatissimus Pater anno Domini MCCCCLVI, die autem XXIII Octobris, hora vigesima prima, die Sabbato.* P (proemium), 24: *obiit autem anno domini MCCCCLVI, die octobris XXIII, hora vero XXI diei sabati.* Also the short anonymous eulogy in the form of a letter; *migravit de hac vita, caduca mutans et eterna mercans, anno Domini 1456, die XXIII octobris, die sabbati in sero, hora XXIIa.* (Riccardo Pratesi, "I documenti per la canonizzazione di S. Giovanni da Capestrano contenuti nel ms. Marciano cl. XIV, n. CCXLVI", *Studi Francescani* 53 (1956), 371-2).

³⁴ Wadding, 464.

³⁵ *Sed interea commovetur civitas tota; tentant homines in locum irruere, ascendunt muros simul et tecta, tentant frangere portas.* (Tagliacozzo *apud* Wadding, 464)

³⁶ *Admonuit suum Vicarium, videlicet Dom. Laurentium, ut tam infirmo quam sano Patri necessaria ad libitum ministraret, vigilaretque attentissime, ne infirmum Patrem alio transferri pareretur, similiter si obiret.* (Tagliacozzo *apud* Wadding, 452)



Ladislás's idea that the saint should be buried in Vienna.³⁷ King Ladislás happened to be nearby in Futog (Futak) when news of the death arrived.

A strange crowd of lay people emerged from inside the convent at the moment of the saint's death: *nam illi, qui latebant in Conventu, irruunt volentes illud corpus de manibus Fratrum auferre, nec, ut moris est, lavari permittebant* ("namely those who were hidden in the convent emerged, intending to take the body away from the hands of the friars, and even obstructing its bath according to the custom").³⁸ Later, these intruders, let inside by Nicholas of Ilok's agent Lawrence, satisfied themselves with pieces of the saint's clothes:

cum autem lavabatur, si dici potest corpus, magis enim compaginatio fuit os-sium, aliqui cordam, aliqui tunicam, aliqui manutergia, sive nasotergia subtrahebant; nam frater Ambrosius cuidam currenti cum tunica abstulit eamdem e manibus.

("While it was washed, if one can say body, for it was more a mere wrap of bones, some snatched the cord away, some tunic, some handkerchief; and brother Ambrose seized the tunic from the hands of somebody who was running away.")³⁹

However, none of the seized relics would reappear in the miracle collections as agents of miraculous healing. The only case of a cure found to be mediated by a secondary relic is not related to the tumult in the convent. The relic is precisely described as a "handkerchief with which the saint's corpse was touched before its burial".⁴⁰ Tagliacozzo uses the expression *corpus... ut moris est, lavari* to describe the corpse's bath. What kind of custom (*mos*) does he allude to? The miracle collections themselves convey rather detailed pictures of the customs related to dying, death and burial,⁴¹ and give no mention of the bath. Was the bath of the deceased a specific practice observed by the clergy of the epoch? Or was this practice possibly a special treatment for saints? From this moment on, the saint's body was considered a relic, and the bath was the first act expressing concern for its physical state. The very same action provided a by-product: healing water.

³⁷ Hofer, 694.

³⁸ Wadding, 464.

³⁹ Wadding, 464.

⁴⁰ P #64: *unum sudarium, cum quo fuit tactum corpus beati patris antequam fuisset tumulatum.*

⁴¹ E. Fügedi, "Kapisztránói János csodái. A jegyzőkönyvek társadalomtörténeti tanulságai" [The Miracles of John of Capistrano: The Sociohistorical Evidence of the Protocols], *Századok* 111 (1977), 886-7.

Although evidence has not been found in this particular case, the bath was a well-known procedure of the cult of relics in earlier centuries. The relics were washed in water or wine, and thus a healing potion called *vinagium*⁴² was obtained. This important procedure which produced multiple relics usually constituted a particular feast.⁴³ The idea of producing a “representative relic” through contact with the saint’s body was not strange even to lay people of the period. Thus the handkerchief of a woman standing next to the bier was considered a relic.

The demands of popular devotion combined with the measures of promulgation undertaken by the Observant Franciscans prolonged a state of uncertainty. The burial was postponed from day to day, especially when it was remarked that the corpse gave no sign of decay, “remaining soft and flexible.”⁴⁴ The solemn funeral was celebrated for seven days.⁴⁵ For seven days, the saint’s corpse was exhibited for devotion before its burial. During that period, the first posthumous miraculous cure took place. This is usually considered an event of exceptional importance. Sigal characterizes it as the “*événement décisif*”.⁴⁶ The first miracle provokes an avalanche. What follows occurs by inertia, or by “*contagion miraculeuse*”. The first miracle is usually described in more detail in the collections. The earliest posthumous collections of Capistrano’s miracles, the Paris and the Sant’Isidoro 1 manuscripts also follow this “rule” to a certain extent.

The miracle which was given priority in both collections is narrated somewhat more extensively than an average miracle. The beneficiary of the miracle was an eleven-year-old girl from Ilok, Elizabeth,

⁴² The word originally meant “blessed wine with healing power”: A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi, praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, 2nd ed. (Turnhout, 1975), 959.

⁴³ Pierre-André Sigal, *L’Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale, XI-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1985), 50. Cf. the motif of healing bathwater in the parodical Greek *Tale of the Converted Robber*, analysed by John Wortley, “Three Not-So-Miraculous Miracles”, in *Health, Disease, and Healing in Medieval Culture*, eds. Sh. Campbell, B. Hall, D. Klausner, (Houndmills – London, 1992), 163-167.

⁴⁴ *Per dies aliquot insepultum permanens ita clarum, vividum et quasi aridens, tractabile et flexibile per artus singulos, ac si gaudens viveret*: this is what we read in a letter sent from Vienna to Cardinal Piccolomini by some “*socii et collaboratores olim fr. Ioannis*”, in January 1457 (see Wadding, 468). In Wadding’s retelling of this important detail (477), the characteristic element of saintly smell is added: *suavem mittebat odorem, flexile, molle, pulchrum, simile dormienti*.

⁴⁵ *Illo eodem sero incipiunt pulsare campanas, ac sic per septem dies continuos solennes exequiae solennesque caeremoniae celebratae fuerunt.* (Tagliacozzo apud Wadding, 464)

⁴⁶ Sigal, 166.

who had suffered from paralysis and blindness for three years. Her father, Balthazar (the Sant'Isidoro 1 MS also gives the Hungarian form *Bolthizar*, i.e. Boldizsár), a tanner by profession, took her to the saint's corpse "before it was buried".⁴⁷ She kissed the saint's hand and was immediately healed. There is no hint of an initiator or adviser who appears in some later accounts. Therefore, the following question is particularly interesting: how did Balthazar arrive at the idea of seeking help at the saint's bier?⁴⁸ Was he perhaps advised by a cleric? It seems that the actual explanation refutes such a hypothesis. The posthumous cult of John of Capistrano did not need particular acts of promotion as there was no break between the saintly fame during his lifetime and his posthumous cult. He did not fall into oblivion. On the contrary, his death and the period that closely preceded it was the culmination of his popularity.

Several examples in the collections show how smoothly the cult of the living saint was transformed into his posthumous cult. For example, a woman named Elena from the village of Symelchen in the county of Bács, who suffered from paralysis of the arms, took the vow to "visit the presence of the Father, alive at the time", and was immediately healed (*convalluit*), "so that she could perform her usual work". Afterwards, "because she could not visit the living Father, she came to his tomb after his death, where her cure was completed".⁴⁹ A girl named Katherina from *Pest ex opposito Huylak*, who suffered from epilepsy, was healed following her mother's vow to bring the daughter "in the presence of the holy Father, when he comes to our country". Eventually, the girl's parents came to the saint's grave and testified to the miracle.⁵⁰ Finally, Capistrano's Hungarian fellow friar, János Geszti, narrates the case of a paralytic woman who was healed in Szeged while lying in a wagon during the saint's sermon. She subsequently reported the cure to the saint. However, in May, 1461, *ex*

⁴⁷ P #1: *antequam fuisset tumultatum*. Sant'Isidoro MS (henceforth: I) #1: *antequam terre traditus extitisset*.

⁴⁸ Part of the answer may be related to the fact that in this case (as in other similar cases), we deal with family devotion to the saint: in I #2, and in P #9, Balthazar's wife appears as the beneficiary of a cure.

⁴⁹ P #104: *Que adhuc beato patre vivente fecit votum visitare ipsius presentiam et statim convalluit quod omnia opera sua poterat; et quia non potuit ipsum beatum patrem visitare viventem, post mortem visitavit ipsius sepulcrum, ubi plene et integre sanata est*.

⁵⁰ P #111: *Mater autem fiduciam habens in merita beati Johannis cum suspirio et anxietate vovit, quod ipso patre veniente ad partem ipsius immediate vellem ipsam filiam ad suam presentiam deportare et sue paternitatis presentie offerre (...) venientes postea ad sepulcrum hec consciencie retulerunt ad laudem dei et beati Johannis*.

devocione, she made a pilgrimage of gratitude to the tomb in Ilok.⁵¹ If a miracle is considered a sequence of practices and events in time, the quoted miracles obviously span the watershed between the miracles worked in life and after death.

Nevertheless, the friars did not fail to undertake some measures to arouse devotion towards the saint. Tagliacozzo writes that they abandoned the funeral procession through the city and explains: *timebatur enim ne, si sic fieret, ex nimia et inordinata Hungarorum devocione corpus illud penitus laceraretur, aut homines mutuo sese interficerent* ("they were afraid of it happening that, because of the immoderate and unusual devotion of the Hungarians, the body would be torn away and the people would kill each other").⁵² At the same time, he explicitly writes that the procession had been scheduled: *non fuit delatum per civitatem, ut fuerat statutum* ("it was not carried through the town, as was planned").⁵³ From the moment the saint died in the evening, the bells of the Observant Franciscan church rang to gather the faithful, and the funeral ceremony was repeated daily. Also, it is evident that access to the body was ensured, and that the friars consciously provided these conditions "*propices à l'intervention des miracles*".⁵⁴

This spontaneous cult was interrupted when the cardinal ordered that the deceased be immediately buried. The burial took place on Friday, October 29,⁵⁵ outside the church of the convent near its apse. On that very day, the voivode returned to Ilok. Tagliacozzo writes: *Quo die rediens dominus Nicolaus gaudet et tristatur, nam quod optaverat,*

⁵¹ John Geszti's collection (henceforth: G) #13: *Cum igitur adhuc vivens beatus pater predicaret Zegedini ad quem cum mulier predicta pro recuperande sanitatis spe accessisset, ut vel saltim tactu illius sanitatis beneficium optineret, venissetque ad predictum opidum iacendo in curru tanquam truncus inutilis, statim irruit spiritus domini in eam ad recipiendam fortitudinem sola absque aliquali adminiculo de curru sic prosiliit sana et incolumis ac si nulla fuisset coarctata infirmitate. Veniensque ante beatum patrem recitando premissa ac benedictione accepta ab eo cum gaudio ad domum suam properavit. Sed 1461 ex devocione venit ad sepulcrum viri Dei, facta ibidem reverencia.*

⁵² Wadding, 464.

⁵³ Wadding, 464.

⁵⁴ Sigal, 166.

⁵⁵ It has been mentioned that the Cardinal stayed in Futog on the day of Capistrano's burial. The following points support the theory of Juan de Carvajal's putative aversion towards Capistrano: (a) *motive* (the friar overshadowed the Cardinal's role in the Crusade); (b) *malicious adviser* (the Cardinal found accommodations in the house of the parson of Ilok, an ex-Franciscan who accused the Observants of *nimia* and (premature) *veneratio* given to the deceased, as well as of the usurpation of the exclusive merit for the Belgrade victory, *absque ullo aliorum participio*). (Wadding, 477; Hofer, 694)

habebat, et corpus, quod magnifice cupiebat sepelire, indebite sepultum videbat ("Returning on that very same day, the lord Nicholas was gladdened and sad, for what he wanted he had, and the body, which he wanted to bury magnificently, was not duly buried").⁵⁶ Nicholas ordered an immediate exhumation in response to the Cardinal's admonitions that many corrupt people in Italy were buried in churches, and that on his land, he would not tolerate that a man of such great merits be interred.⁵⁷ He preferred to bury the corpse *honorifice*.

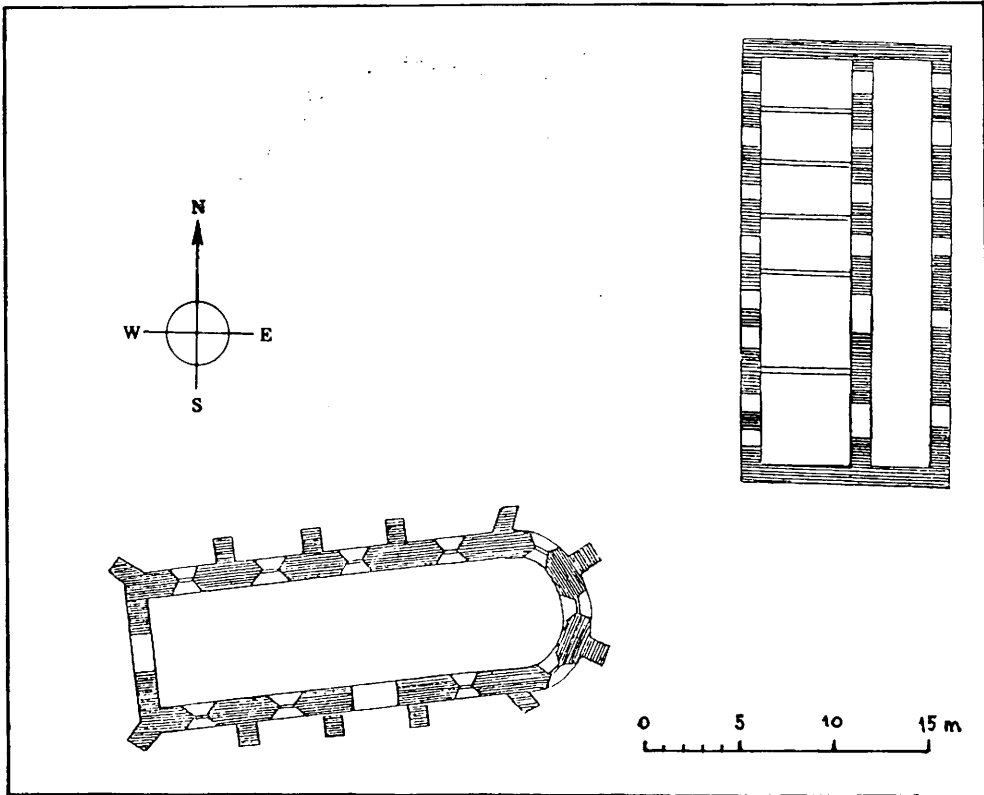


Fig. 1. Reconstructed mid-fifteenth-century ground-plan of the Franciscan Church and Convent in Ilok (according to M. Barbarić).

⁵⁶ Wadding, 465.

⁵⁷ Hofer, 694.

M. Barbarić notes the significance of Tagliacozzo's word *exhumari*.⁵⁸ Capistrano was indeed buried *outside* the church (not inside, as the present day *crypta S. Capistrani* in the choir on the Gospel side suggests). Barbarić's reconstruction is revealing because it points to the existence of a peculiar cult of an object related to the saint, the cult of the grave-place. According to Barbarić, the place itself remained unchanged, while its surroundings were transformed. Capistrano's tomb in the church that stands today is actually the place where the saint's body was temporarily interred. However, before 1468, when the church was extended eastward, it was *outside* the church:

This place was situated in the empty space between the old church and the convent, and when the church was extended in 1468, it was inside the apse, on the Gospel side. The place certainly remained well-known all the time, and it was honored after the exhumation. People did not forget it even when the church above it was extended because the friars used to bury their most prominent members in it, such as the provincials, Petar Pastirović († 1738), and before him, Gabrić.⁵⁹

The evidence that Capistrano's temporary grave was considered a holy place during later centuries is even more surprising if one takes into account the duration of Capistrano's transitory stay. According to Tagliacozzo, Capistrano spent a single day there: *fuit tumultatum illud pignus: quo die rediens Dom. Nicolaus... illico fecit illud exhumari*.⁶⁰

After the exhumation, devotees noticed "signs of perpetual incorruption" (*signa incorruptionis perpetuae*). The precious body was put into an "iron-mounted chest provided with seven locks, in the beautiful chapel of the church of the same place".⁶¹ In front of the tomb, candles burned day and night, illuminating the epitaph engraved in

⁵⁸ Barbarić, *Zadnji dani sv. Ivana Kapistrana* [The Last Days of St. John of Capistrano] (Belgrade, 1935), 20.

⁵⁹ Barbarić, 21.

⁶⁰ Wadding, 465.

⁶¹ Tagliacozzo *apud* Wadding, 465. The chapel in question, dedicated to Saint Catherine, was probably annexed to the church in 1454, during the restoration before the arrival of the Observants. Another, dated January 1, 1457 (cf. note 44), states that the sumptuous coffin was placed in the Church of the Holy Virgin, *ubi magnificus Baro Nicolaus Vayvoda ornatum parat sepulchrum in quadam circumclusa capella* (see Wadding, 468). It is important to note the present tense of the verb (*parat*): two months after the exhumation, the coffin was still waiting for the chapel to be adapted. It seems plausible that in all three phases [a] in the church before the burial; [b] after the exhumation and before adapting the chapel; [c] in the annexed chapel), the saint's body occupied some kind of *axial* position, so that devotees could circulate around it, a circuit (single or repeated) being one of the most expressive procedures of invoking miraculous help.



the tombstone. In the darkness of the church, solemn-sounding Latin phrases could be made out: *fidei defensor et auctor, Ecclesiae tutor, Christi tuba, doctrinae maximus iudex*.⁶² For those who were not able to

⁶² The gravestone with the epitaph has not been preserved. There are two traditions regarding the text, one of which seems to be complete. The first version, consisting of six verses and a short notice indicating the age of the deceased, was published for the first time by S. Massonio, *Della meravigliosa vita, gloriose attioni et felice passaggio al cielo del B. Giovanni da Capistrano* (Venice, 1627), 219; it was republished by Wadding, vol. XII, ad an. 1456, n. CXI; by the Bollandists, AA SS Oct. X: 432b; and by Josip Bösendorfer, cf. P (*Introduction*), 10. The complete text, eight verses, was first published by A. Masci, *Vita di S. Giovanni da Capestrano* (Naples, 1914), 187. The integral manuscript from which Masci made his transcription, and the earliest testimony concerning the epitaph, appeared in R. Pratesi's contribution "I documenti...", 364-377. The manuscript in question is an anonymous and rather rhetorical eulogy of the saint. It is probable that it reports the complete text of the *Versus super tumulum*, of which the author is unknown:

*Hic tumulus servat preclara laude Ioannem,
Gente Capistrana, fidei defensor et auctor,
Ecclesie tutor, Christi tuba, tum Ordinis ardens
Fautor, in orbe decus, tum veri cultor et equi
Et vite speculum, doctrinae maximus index.
Laudibus innumeris iam possidet astra beatus.
Obiit sacer iste caduca commutans eterna mercans,
Cruce signatus, crucifixo iam associatus.*

The manuscript edited by Pratesi reports another inscription consisting of four verses, called *Versus ante cellam* (sc. *in qua ipse beatus pater obiit*; cf. Pratesi, 371). This "verse in front of the cell" reads:

*Hic obiit ille sacer celsa virtute Ioannes,
Sede Capistrani, toto celeberrimus orbe,
Mille quadringentis et sexcentum medioque,
Lux dum octobris trina vigesima fulxit.*

The passage "*et sexcentum medioque*" is confusing. Regarding the epitaph, it has already been mentioned that some authors (Massonio, Wadding) include a short notice on the saint's age instead of the two last verses. The notice reads: *Vixit annos XXXCI m. III d. XXII*. The problem is that there is an additional year. Capistrano was born on June 24, 1386 (on the feast of St. John the Baptist); he died on October 23, 1456; he lived for seventy years and nearly four months (minus one day). The incorrect year of birth, 1385, appears for the first time in the *Chronicae Aquilanae* of Alessandro Ricci; it appears again in Eugen Jacob's *Johannes von Capistrano*, vols I-II (Breslau [Wrocław], 1903-11); Hofer has examined this erroneous logic (cf. Hofer, 56). The main evidence (not the only evidence, of course) was provided by the saint himself in his letter to the vicar general dated May 1, 1455: *In festo nativitatatis S. Joannis Baptistae intrabo septuagesimum annum* (cf. Wadding, 468; Hofer, 56). Does everything lead to the conclusion that the notice in the epitaph cannot be authentic? Not necessarily (cf. Wadding: *Atque hinc corrigendum est quod alias dixi-*



read, which was the case for the majority of devotees, these mysterious words magnified the significance of the place and the greatness of the man who lay beneath them.

It should be noted that the first account of Capistrano's death and his posthumous cult, in a letter written in Vienna on New Year's Day, 1457, by "his former fellows and collaborators" to Cardinal Piccolomini, does not mention the compulsory burial,⁶³ and therefore reinforces the minor importance attached to it. This letter resembles a letter written later by Tagliacozzo. This letter also mentions an "iron-mounted wooden chest". However, there is a different number of locks mentioned (five, not seven). The chest was put *supra terram*, and more importantly, *in Conventu nostro Observantiae*. This probably means the chest was placed in the convent itself, not in the church, unless *Conventum* is understood to include both buildings. The most interesting information in this early letter, however, is contained in the last sentence where it is mentioned that voivode Nicholas *ornatum parat sepulchrum in quadam circumclusa capella*. This shows that the saintly relics still did not have permanent placement even two months after the exhumation. It is quite probable that they were not kept in the church during that time in order not to annoy the unfriendly cardinal beyond measure. Thus, the two months following the exhumation might have been an actual *saison morte* of Capistrano's early posthumous cult. However, this assumption is disproved in the same letter where it is written:

Commota illico omnis est civitas: velut ad Apostolum ingenti cum devotione confluebant. Contestati sunt postea plurimi, variis languoribus languentes infirmos dono Dei, et sanitatum munera per merita ipsius aut voto, aut visitatione impetrasse.

("The whole town was stirred up: all came as to an Apostle, with great devotion. Many were attested later who had suffered from various diseases by God's will, and who obtained health thanks to his [the saint's] merits, either with a vow or a visit.")⁶⁴

It is evident from the accounts of the miracles that the shrine was accessible to everybody. Voivode Nicholas was the wise protector of the growing cult. The fact that the body of this great man of Christendom rested in Ilok was not to be underestimated. The candle was not to be

mus, natum anno MCCCLXXXV obiisse anno aetatis LXXI, mense quarto; etsi ita olim fuerit sepulchro incisum, uti mox dicemus).

⁶³ Wadding, 468.

⁶⁴ Wadding, 468.

put under a pot or under the table, but on a raised candlestick. Thus began the saint's earthly "afterlife" which proved to be nearly as eventful as his first life. This "afterlife" was dignified. He continued to be surrounded by human tumult. From time to time he was displaced. The most incredible activities were attributed to him, and he performed them without moving from his enclosed and sublime residence. One might be tempted to say that the temperature of his body was preserved to some degree by the proximity of the crowd of living people pushing their way around his grave, convinced of his marvelous favors.

A detail in Capistrano's case that attracts particular interest is the fact that his afterlife lasted exactly as long as his first life on earth. It lasted for seventy years, until 1526, when, on July 8, Ilok was invaded by the Turks and all traces of the saint's body were lost.⁶⁵ The year of his death, 1456, appears as the axis of symmetry between the date of the final disappearance and that distant summer of 1386 when the saint was born in a small town of the kingdom of Naples. The year

⁶⁵ When the meritorious bishop of Đakovo [Hungarian Diakovár], Josip Juraj Strossmayer († 1905) inspired new impetus for the quest for Capistrano's relics, a new series of researchers dedicated their studies to this fascinating question. Successive contributions read like the installments of a first-class detective novel: E. Fermeždin, "Gdje je tielo svetog Ivana Kapistrana", *Glasnik biskupije đakovačko-sriemske*, vol. 3 (1875), 7-8, 15-16, 30-32, 39-40, 53-54; M. Barbarić, "Relikvije svetog Ivana Kapistrana", *Vjesnik zemaljskog arhiva*, vol. 19 (1917), 35-47; Ö. Bölskey, *Capistranói Szent János élete és kora* [The Life and Times of St. John of Capistrano], 2: 430-435; G. Đerkeš, "Gdje su relikvije svetog Ivana Kapistrana?", *Obavijesti Hrvatske franjevačke provincije sv. Ćirila i Metoda*, 7 (1956), 69 ss; F. de Marchis, "Giovanni da Capestrano - il mistero delle sue reliquie", *Vita minorum* 57/6 (1986), 197-220; B. Cvetković, "Novosti o tijelu svetog Ivana Kapistrana", *Vjesnik biskupije đakovačke i srijemske*, 11, 12 (1988), 200-202, 218-221; 1 (1989), 15-17; S. Damian and F. de Marchis, "Giovanni da Capestrano, 1386-1456: il mistero delle sue reliquie. Contributo per una ricerca di storia francescana con le ultime acquisizioni documentali", *Vita Minorum* 3, 4 (1993), 226-241, 331-349. Experts in the matter (comprising the territories of today's Croatia, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Ukraine) include the Italian lawyer, Filippo de Marchis, Romanian professor, Stefan Damian, and Croatian friar, Bogdan Cvetković. According to the subtitle note of the most recent (Damian and de Marchis's) contribution, "se ancora non si può dire di aver dissipato l'enigma della sparizione del corpo di un così celebre personaggio, possiamo dire che si é molto vicini alla soluzione definitiva". For the opinions and dilemmas of the old historians and annalists, see Wadding, 478, paragraph "Quid actum est de corpore Capistrani". Wadding closed his short review quoting a certain *traditio Hungarorum: tunc scilicet universam Hungariam a Christianis recuperandam, cum Capistrani corpus apparuerit*. In other words, nothing vanishes completely, especially not saintly relics; both their presence and absence can bear meaning and represent a hagiographical fact.

1456 divides Capistrano's full lifespan halfway, separating a militant, temperamental, excessively active life, and a death that endures persistently, reinforcing the significance of the saint's salvation-giving presence in a land of "heathens and schismatics".

The earliest dated miracle accounts are those of June 29, 1457. On this day, three miraculous interventions (two cures and one resurrection) took place at Capistrano's shrine in Ilok.⁶⁶ This might be an indication of the shrine's culminating activity. A series of miracles usually starts in the spring, a season rich in liturgical events (Annunciation, Holy Week, Easter, Rogation Day, Ascension, Pentecost), and an ideal time for traveling.⁶⁷ In the case of the Ilok shrine, the feast of SS. Apostles Peter and Paul, on June 29, should be taken into account. This significant early summer feast commemorates the anniversary of the Ilok parish church, a memorable day for the area surrounding the town. Therefore, it is significant that the three earliest dated miracles occurred on this day. On the other hand, it was already late in autumn when Capistrano died and this time of the year was not a favorable time to promote a new place of pilgrimage. It seems reasonable to suppose that the beneficiaries of the shrine that winter, whose existence is proved in the above quoted letter, were almost exclusively citizens of Ilok. The earliest posthumous miracle collection, the Paris MS, generally does not respect the chronology of the cases, but it significantly mentions ten beneficiaries from Ilok in the beginning, including the first cure of Elizabeth (the place of origin does not give these cases priority; the remaining twenty-nine miracle beneficiaries originating from Ilok are scattered all over the collection).

⁶⁶ P #18: *Valentinus, Fabo dictus, de Uifalu... devovens ad tumulum beati patris et veniens ad istud cum ductore in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli 1457, illico illuminatus est...* ; P #92: *Lucas Zugra de Zatha... dixit quod eorum filius nomine Mathias 4 annorum fuit gravissimo morbo caduco vexatus... et sic taliter puerum oppressum deportaverunt in capisterio ad tumulum... quod miraculum tam stupendum fuit in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli 1457*; P #167: *anno domini MCCCCLVII in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli quedam mulier, nomine Elena, uxor Barnabe de Hozywbak, distante ab Huylak decem miliaribus Italicis, portavit quendam puellam filiam suam ad sepulcrum beati patris hora missarum, que mortua fuerat in vigilia scilicet die precedenti... Dictis vesperis, ecce jam filia calefit et incipit moveri.*

⁶⁷ In his extensive collection of material, Pierre-André Sigal has detected 16 series of miracles; 13 started in spring or early summer (5 in April, 3 in May, 1 in June, 2 in July, 2 "in the springtime" – without precision); of the 3 remaining series, they begin in February, late August, and early September, respectively. (Sigal, 189)



Thus we are able to trace the approximate earliest development of Capistrano's posthumous cult. During the winter following his death, burial and exhumation in 1456–57, Capistrano's cult was of a strictly local character. During that same period, the permanent shrine was adapted in a chapel annexed to the Observant church. The permanent installation of the relics probably took place before the spring of 1457,⁶⁸ when the cult started to spread gradually over the region. The extant fame of the saint was in the state of being redefined. His fame was finally fixed to Ilok, and concentrated around the shrine where Capistrano's relics were kept, which became a place of pilgrimage.

⁶⁸ The first evidence that the relics are located in the chapel is P #167 (see note 65): *pre maxima hominum pressura non posset intrare capellam sepulcri.*



CHAPTER OF THE M. A. THESIS

THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY AND THE MEDIEVAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF ZAGREB

Ksenija Brigljević 

Medieval Zagreb consisted of two urban cores: Gradée, a free royal city chartered by King Béla IV in 1242, and Zagreb, the episcopal see and the seat of the cathedral chapter from 1093-1094. By the time Zagreb began to assume the role of the capital of Croatia at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the term *Zagreb* had come to designate the entire urban agglomeration. For the purpose of this paper, the term Zagreb will be used in the restricted medieval sense of the bishop's and chapter's town. The term *Gradée* will refer to the medieval free royal town.

The polycentric urban shape of medieval Zagreb was due to several ecclesiastical institutions having acted as settlement foci. While the assumption of such a role by the episcopal see, the cathedral chapter or the mendicant houses was a common practice in church-dominated towns, the appearance of a Cistercian abbey in urban surroundings, and its subsequent role as an urban nucleus, is a peculiarity without parallel either elsewhere in Croatia or in Hungary.

However, an explanation for this unusual Cistercian position can be offered in terms of the ecclesiastical and economic history of the wider Zagreb area in the Middle Ages, as well as in the light of recent research on the Cistercians. The latter has made it possible to regard the economic activities of this order beyond the limited scope of its agricultural involvement.

In the Middle Ages, the Cistercian order had two monasteries in the Zagreb area. The earlier one, the monastery of the Virgin Mary, or of St. James,¹ was situated near Zagreb on an island of the river Sava. Between 1307 and 1315, the monastery was moved to Zagreb. Reasons for the transfer are not evident in surviving documents. The floods of the river Sava might have been one of the reasons;² however, ecclesiastical and economic factors are most likely to have drawn the Cistercians to this peculiar location.

The bishopric of Zagreb with its cathedral chapter was the center of a large diocese, covering the region of medieval Slavonia. Its network of church institutions not only played an important role in the ecclesiastical organization of the region, but also helped incorporate it politically into the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom.

The foundation of the bishopric at the end of the eleventh century, and the consequent development of a network of archdeaconries and parishes was the first phase of a larger process in which church institutions acted in the ecclesiastical and political internal organization of Slavonia. In the twelfth century these secular church organizations were joined by monastic institutions, namely those of the military orders. However, only with the arrival of the Cistercians and new mendicant orders in the thirteenth century did a network of monastic institutions parallel to that of the diocese, archdeaconries and parishes appear. The spread of monasteries in the thirteenth century may be indicative of the later development of medieval Slavonia: as the Zagreb episcopal see and its secular church network had already secured its ecclesiastical and political background, the appearance of

¹ Both patrocina appear in documents. The monastery was known as: *de insula Sancti Jacobi, sancti Jacobi de insula Savi (Zava, Zawa, Zasca), Sancti Jacobi de insula Savi iuxta Zagrabiam, Sancta Maria de insula Aegidii (Egidii), Beata Maria in Aegidii insula*. See I. Ostojčić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* [Benedictines in Croatia] III (Split, 1966), 224; also as "claustrum Sancte Mariae Virginis iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi in insula Egidii", see F. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria*, Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 7 (Rome, 1984), 200.

² The River Sava has changed its bed many times over the centuries and caused flooding of the surrounding area until the 20th century when regulations were made. The topography of the pre-river area has changed as well. Islands mentioned in medieval documents, including the island with the Cistercian monastery, disappeared long ago. Therefore, the precise location of the earlier Cistercian monastery is not known. However, the toponym *Savska Opatovina*, in the western part of the present-day town (meaning "the abbey's lands or possessions", or "the abbot's lands or possessions"), suggests this is the possible site. The place has not yet been excavated.

monasteries might have had more to do with the region's economy and settlement development.

The importance of the bishop's see and capitular seat may explain the concentration of monastic institutions, and, specifically, the establishment of a Cistercian monastery first near Zagreb and later in the episcopal town itself. The Templars were already situated in the vicinity in the twelfth century. The Franciscans and Dominicans settled in the mid-thirteenth century (the former in the town, the latter in the *suburbium*),³ and the Cistercians eventually settled in the town at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

An economic explanation for the settlement of Cistercians in Zagreb also requires a consideration of the regional circumstances. The mother-church of the Zagreb monastery is not certain. However, several surviving lists of Cistercian abbeys attribute the Zagreb monastery to the Clairvaux line of descent. It is assumed that the Zagreb monastery descended from the royal foundation of Topusko (Toplica)⁴ settled by Clairvaux. The Clairvaux-Topusko line of descent of the Zagreb monastery seems plausible from an economic perspective. The abbey of Topusko was founded in 1205 by King Andrew II, and endowed with large estates extending over the entire county of Gora. The king declared it a royal abbey (*regale monasterium*), and granted it exemption. Moreover, the abbot obtained judicial rights and other rights previously exercised in the territory by either Slavonian dukes or *comites de Gora*. The abbey was also given the royal right of collecting taxes in the given territories and had its own official for that purpose, *comes curialis*. The abbey had its own soldiers (*castrenses*), keeps (*turres*) and fortified places (*castra, domos pro defensione*).⁵ It also had a number of granges. The abbey soon developed a strong economy. For example, during the papacy of John

³ The bishop might have initiated the settlement of the Dominicans in Zagreb. See I. Kampuš and I. Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb [Zagreb One Thousand Years Old]* (Zagreb, 1985), 25. The Franciscans, strangely enough, did not settle in the neighboring free royal town of Gradec, but in the church town of Zagreb which at that time had very few laymen to whom they could preach. However, the topographical position of their convent suggests they were oriented towards Gradec.

⁴ L. Jauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium I* (Vienna, 1877), 259: *Qui fratres unde misi fuerint certo non constat; sed cum monasterium S. Jacobi in paucis, in quibus commemoratur tabulis in linea Claravallensi appareat, id viciniae Toplicae filiam fuisse suspicamur*. Another opinion affiliates Zagreb's monastery to the Morimond line of descent. See F. Hervay, *op. cit.*, 200. Topusko is situated about 70 km southeast of Zagreb.

⁵ Cf. I. Ostojić, *op. cit.*, 210; see also T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae VIII* (Zagreb, 1910), 443 (further CD).

XXII (1316–1334), Topusko had to pay a considerable sum of 300 florins in papal taxes.⁶ Large revenues collected from the abbey's estates and its strong economic development propelled its entry into the market. The abbey of Topusko even extended its activities to coastal trade and obtained several houses in the north Adriatic port town of Senj⁷ for that purpose. Therefore, the Topusko abbey did not take part exclusively in agricultural economic activities (the traditional view of Cistercians), but in commercial dealings as well, thereby communicating with towns.⁸

It seems plausible that a such a magnate would be attracted by the developing markets of thirteenth-century Zagreb and Gradec,⁹ and would place its filiation nearby. The position of the first Zagreb monastery on the outskirts of both towns seems fitting as a market outpost of Topusko, but still preserved Cistercian seclusion on the river island.

Recent research on the Cistercians in Hungary also shows that they tended to settle close to commercial roads and market places, thereby taking a more diverse and active role in the country's development than was believed earlier.¹⁰ Cistercians in Hungary were also

⁶ Only one-fourth less than the bishop of Zagreb. Cf. I. Ostojić, *op. cit.*, 211.

⁷ In 1240, the Templars of Senj negotiated with the Cistercians of Topusko to receive some land to build a warehouse in exchange for a part of the market toll. CD IV (Zagreb, 1906), 109-110.

⁸ Recent discoveries in other countries on the order's industrial and trade involvements, altering the traditional view of Cistercian seclusion and agricultural activity, necessitate further research of the Cistercians in Croatia, as the Topusko abbey demonstrates. See W. Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter: Handel und Gewerbe", in: *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes 10. Ausst. Katalog (Aachen, 1980), 217-236; *idem*, "Der frühe zisterziensische Handel und die Stadthöfe der fränkischen Zisterzienserklöster", in *In Tal und Einsamkeit. 725 Jahre Kloster Fürstenfeld, Die Zisterzienser im alten Bayern. III. Kolloquium (Fürstenfeldbruck, 1990)*, 121-143; B. Romhányi, "Die Rolle der Zisterzienser im mittelalterlichen Ungarn" (in print).

⁹ Both jurisdictions held big daily fairs. The fair in Zagreb took place on St. Stephen the King's Day. The free royal town was, according to King Béla IV's charter of 1242, also granted the "bigger market" days on Mondays and Thursdays. See I.K. Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae civitatis Zagrabiae I* (Zagreb, 1889), LXXIX-LXXXI; 4, doc. 8; 433, doc. 9; 46, doc. 54; 15, doc. 18; 40, doc. 49. (henceforth: MCZ).

¹⁰ L. Koszta, "A ciszterci rend története Magyarországon kolostoraik alapítása idején" [The History of the Hungarian Cistercian Order in the Period of Establishing Their Monasteries 1142-1270], *Magyar egyháztörténeti vázlatok* vols. 1-2 (1993), 128: "Especially the geographic situation of domestic monasteries was not in compliance with the severe rules of the order. They had often been built next to commercial roads, settlements and market places. It seems that in Hungary, it was not the Cistercian Order itself that fur-

involved in trade and some abbeys, such as the ones in Pilis and Egres, were privileged in their commercial activities.¹¹

It seems that the settlement of the first monastery in Zagreb could be partly explained by the economic reasons discussed so far. Additional economic reasons might have also motivated the monastery's removal to the town.

Cistercians already had some property in western Zagreb when they were settled on a Sava island in the second half of the thirteenth century and at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This was to become their future town settlement. Before 1259, Peter, the archdeacon of Zagreb, gave them two mills at the rivulet, Medveščak, which divided the two towns.¹² In 1291, the Cistercians owned baths at the same rivulet, on their own land below the church of the Virgin Mary.¹³ Later documents show that in 1484, they owned a slaughterhouse by the rivulet.¹⁴ Some merchants lived in the Cistercian settlement in the same year,¹⁵ and witnessed, however indirectly, the Cistercian involvement in trade. Judicial, arbitrating and administrative duties were examined by the abbey as well.¹⁶ These dealings clearly have to do with the settlement, and not with the running of an iso-

thered the economic development in the vicinity of monasteries. The Cistercians were rather exploiting the possibilities of the economically developing places."

¹¹ B. Romhányi, op. cit., 2: "Noch interessanter ist der Zusammenhang zwischen den Niederlassungsorten des Ordens und dem Handel, wenn wir die Privilegien der Abteien untersuchen. Die Abtei von Pilis z.B., die in einer Zeit als die wichtigste und größte unter den ungarischen Klöstern galt, bekam vom König die Zolleinnahmen von zwei wichtigen Donaufurten, und die Hälfte einer dritten, wobei die andere Hälfte der größten ungarischen Benediktinerabtei, Martinsberg gehörte. In 1230 erwarb die Abtei von Egres ein beispielhaftes Privilegium für die siebenbürgische Salzlieferung, das drei Jahre später auch für andere, am Marosch gelegene Klöster als Vorbild diente, auch wenn das Einkommen dieser viel geringer war."

¹² Tkalčić, MCZ I, 29, doc. 37.

¹³ *ibid.*, 68, doc. 80.

¹⁴ In 1484, the cathedral chapter started to build its own slaughterhouse on the rivulet, Medveščak, as the butcher of the Cistercian slaughterhouse slaughtered diseased cattle. The abbot protected him and did not want to punish him. See L. Dobronić, *Biskupski i kaptolski Zagreb* [Episcopal and Capitular Zagreb] (Zagreb, 1991), 212.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 212-213: "Some citizens of his lordship the Abbot who live in Zagreb in his settlement (*in vico suo*) transport cattle, pigs and other animals, textiles, oil and other goods from Croatia, Italy, Germany and other countries to parts of Hungary and vice versa, from parts of Hungary and Slavonia to other foreign countries."

¹⁶ The abbot was *conservator iurium cathedralis ecclesiae* and as such acted at law suits, e.g. in 1434, cf. Tkalčić, MCZ II (Zagreb, 1894), 94, doc. 73; he also acted as an arbitrator in conflicts between the king and the free royal town of Gradec (e.g. in 1435), cf. *ibid.*, 105, doc. 81; the monastery was, at least in the 15th century, *locus credibilis*, cf. e.g. *ibid.*, 127, doc. 101; 174, doc. 126.



lated agricultural estate as would conform to the traditional view of the Cistercians. In Zagreb they obviously took an active role in the life of the town.

The most peculiar aspects concerning the Zagreb Cistercians are their ability to generate urbanism, and the location of their abbey in the topographical map of the town. Similarities can be observed with Hungarian monasteries insofar as commercial involvement or proximity to market places is concerned. However, no analogous example can be found concerning the settlement and roles of monasteries in the town.¹⁷ Not only did monks settle in Zagreb, but also a settlement of laymen developed around their church and monastery. In 1441, for example, the abbot writes about the change of ownership of a house "*in vico dicti monasterii nostri*".¹⁸ As has already been shown, some tradesmen lived in this Cistercian *vicus*¹⁹ too. Along the Medveščak, on the other hand, the Cistercians' serfs or servants lived in "little houses and huts covered by turf".²⁰ Their existence is documented because these huts were to be pulled down as they represented a danger to the new town walls if set afire during a possible siege.

The only surviving building of the Cistercian complex is the church of the Virgin Mary which has been rebuilt several times since the Middle Ages. Today it is mainly a baroque building without visible medieval traces. It must be stressed that the church and the surrounding area have not been excavated. The relevant archaeological layer may have been considerably damaged as the present-day building has a crypt while medieval Cistercian ones usually did not. Thus, although the archaeological remains in the church may not be spectacular, excavations are indispensable since it is the only method likely to provide further information on the medieval topography.

¹⁷ In Hungary, there are two examples of a Cistercian monastery located in a settlement: Pásztó and Szentgotthárd. However, neither settlement is comparable to Zagreb, which had considerable power and authority at the time. Moreover, in Pásztó, Cistercians inherited a Benedictine monastery while in Szentgotthárd the knowledge as to whether the monastery preceded the existence of the settlement (and vice versa) remains unknown. See I. Valter, "Das Zisterzienserkloster Pásztó", *Analecta cisterciensia* XXXVIII (1982), 129-139; idem, "Die archäologische Erschließung des ungarischen Zisterzienserklosters Szentgotthárd", *ibid.*, 139-153; In France, however, Cistercians took part in settlement development and a number of *bastides* arose from granges. See C. Higounet, "Cisterciens et bastides", *Le Moyen Age* LVI (1950), 69-84.

¹⁸ Cf. Tkalčić, MCZ II, 186, doc. 133.

¹⁹ Cf. above, note 15.

²⁰ Tkalčić, MCZ II, 370, doc. 31: *in vilibus domibus et tuguriis, cespitibus coopertis, certos domicellas seu jobagiones.*

The church of the Virgin Mary is depicted on the oldest preserved representation of Zagreb which dates from the first half of the sixteenth century.²¹ It is a single-aisle building curiously positioned with its western part protruding out of the town walls.²² The Cistercians were no longer in the town at the time when the picture was made. It seems that the fifteenth-century fortification used the church to strengthen the prominent ridge of the town plateau.

At the time of the picture, conventual buildings had already disappeared and the monastery's location remains unknown. It was clearly near the church, and probably even attached to it. Two possible locations have been proposed so far: a first location east of the church within the area later encompassed by the fortification, and a second west of the church, outside the later fortification.²³ Neither of the locations is proved in the written sources and neither site has been excavated. Interestingly enough, the sixteenth-century drawing does not depict any building resembling a monastery in the vicinity of the church of the Virgin Mary. The drawing is otherwise fairly accurate (as far as the fortifications, cathedral, bishop's palace and Franciscan friary are concerned). It could be that the monastery was west of the church near the rivulet (which would have been appropriate for Cistercians), below the ridge of the town plateau and the future fortification, as St. Ljubić has proposed.²⁴ Therefore, it would have been destroyed in the late fifteenth century because it was a threat to the walls in case of a siege.

The picture introduces yet another interesting feature. To the north of the church, there is an opening in the fortification and a discontinuous line marks the passage between the western gate of Zagreb and the eastern gate of Gradec. The western gate of Zagreb is not mentioned in documents until after the Middle Ages.²⁵ It may be that

²¹ The original is in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 8609.

²² Zagreb's town fortification dates from the late 15th century. Therefore, a town wall did not exist at the time of the arrival of the Cistercians nor during the century and a half that followed.

²³ For the eastern location see E. Laszowsky, "Plemićeva kuća i cistercitski samostan u Zagrebu" [The Plemić House and the Cistercian Monastery in Zagreb], *Hrvatski zmaj* (1917), 2-12 and 17-19; idem, *Stari i novi Zagreb* [Old and New Zagreb] (Zagreb, 1925), 26; for the western location see S. Ljubić, "Topusko (Ad Fines) i ostaci njegove gotičke crkve [Topusko (Ad Fines) and the Remnants of its Gothic Church], *Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva* II (1880), 37.

²⁴ S. Ljubić, op. cit., 37.

²⁵ See L. Dobronić, *Zagrebački Kaptol i Gornji grad nekad i danas* [Zagreb's Kaptol and Upper Town in Past and Present] (Zagreb, 1986), 118.


by the end of the fifteenth century this breach in the new walls served as a kind of a town quarter or neighborhood communication for what was in the span of the Cistercian complex. The drawing also shows a schematically depicted *insula* east of the church of the Virgin Mary. It may have been the Cistercians' *vicus*, though perhaps smaller about half a century earlier. A street leading from the cathedral to the western gate separates it from the *insula* of the laymen settled by the chapter in the fifteenth century. The street exists at approximately the same place today.²⁶

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Cistercian complex thus extended in the south-western part of the town from the rivulet bank up to the ridge of the town plateau. It included mills, baths and serfs' or servants' huts on the bank, the church, the monastery (if still existent at the time) probably somewhere by the walls, and the monastery's *vicus* within the walls. The fortification imposed a physical barrier between two parts of the Cistercian-generated town quarter. It is interesting to observe that the fortification in fact followed not only the topography of the land, but also the earlier established social topography. The Abbot's *vicus* where the tradesmen lived, was situated within the walls, while the serfs' or servants' huts, if they had not been pulled down, would have remained outside the protecting wall.

Although information concerning the Cistercians in Zagreb is scattered, it can be said that they played an important urban and urbanistic role in medieval Zagreb. By the end of the fifteenth century, they had developed a quarter, or at least a street of the town. It may have been small and probably was not densely inhabited. Nevertheless, it housed a number of activities which contributed to Zagreb's urban status at the time.

²⁶ A conclusion concerning the urban pattern within the *insula* cannot be made since the whole area was demolished in the 1930s to make room for the new market place.

THE *VITA MARIAE AEGYPTIACAE* IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN BULGARIAN LITERATURE

Margaret Dimitrova 

The aim of this paper is to introduce some differences between the earliest *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* and Damaskinos Studitis's sixteenth-century Greek version, in order to explain their diffusion in medieval and early modern Bulgarian literature.

The cult of Mary of Egypt was widespread throughout the East and the West. The saint was mentioned for the first time in the *Vita Cyriaci anachoretæ*.¹ Although medieval literature attributes her earliest *Vita* to Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem,² several scholars argue that he is not the author of the composition, and assume that it was written earlier at the beginning of the sixth century.³ The *Vita* can be found in approximately 260 Greek copies in different versions.⁴ It

¹ A.M. Sauget, "Maria Egiziaca", *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* VIII (Rome, 1967), col. 981-991.

² Such notes can be found in some, but not all, Slavic copies as well: see for instance the title *Žitie i Žizn' prěpodobnye matere naše Marie s'pisanno Sofroniem' arxiepiškopom ierusalimskym*, attested in the copy written by Vladislav the Grammarian in the manuscript IIIa47, kept in the archives of the Croatian Academy of Science in Zagreb, or the sentence *Zatova az' sofronie ierusalimskiji patriarx razbrax*, attested in the introduction of the *Vita* in the *Svištov Damaskin*. (In these two quotations from the manuscripts, as well as henceforth, I solve abbreviations and ligatures in Slavic texts, and transliterate them with Latin letters.)

³ H. Usener, *Der heilige Tychon* (Leipzig – Berlin, 1907), 78-80; H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 435; K. Kunze, *Studien zur Legende der heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Berlin, 1969), 21. It shall be referred to henceforth as Sophronios's *Vita*.

⁴ F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* II (Brussels, 1957), 80; I. Špadijer, "Žitije Marije Egipćanke u ranovizantijskom književnom kontekstu", *Književna istorija* 24 no. 87 (1992), 178.



was translated into Latin, Armenian and Syrian.⁵ The Latin translation survives today in three versions.⁶

Most scholars are convinced that the *Vita* was translated into Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic),⁷ or into Middle Bulgarian from Greek.⁸ However, there is uncertainty among philologists as to when and where this translation was made, and by whom. I. Špadijer⁹ points out that the earliest copies of the Slavic translation dating from the fourteenth century are Serbian. She makes the distinction between two Slavic versions, both frequently copied in *Slavia Orthodoxa*. However, the author does not provide any information about the manuscripts containing these versions, such as when and where the texts were translated. E. Demina¹⁰ mentions the version in the manuscript N 75 in the archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Theology. Keipert¹¹ notes that the text contained in Makarij's *Četi minei* is close to the ver-

⁵ Sauget, "Maria Egiziaca"

⁶ Kunze, *Studien*, 173-181.

⁷ The term used for the language of the earliest extant medieval Slavic manuscripts is controversial in Slavic studies. In English, the term "Old Church Slavonic" is traditionally used. "Church Slavonic" refers to later linguistic redactions of different ethnic origin (Croatian, Russian, Serbian, etc.). In German, the term *Altkirchenslavisch* is often used, as well as *Altbulgarisch*. Russian scholars defend the appropriateness of the term *staroslavjanskij* (rarely *starocerkovnoslavjanskij*). The term *občeslavenski* is proposed in some Croatian inquiries; see S. Damjanović, "Općeslavenski književni jezik", *Jedanaest stoljeća nezaborava* (Zagreb, 1991), 31-35. In Bulgarian scholarly research, the only term employed is *starobălgarski* (i.e. Old Bulgarian). It is generally recognized that the literary language created by Constantine and Methodius was based on the Thessalonian dialect of Old Bulgarian, and that this language was promoted as the official state language and as the language of literacy in medieval Bulgaria. From the extensive literature illustrating the appropriateness of this term, I shall quote only some recent works, such as R. Cejtin, "O sodržanii termina staroslavjanskij jazyk", *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, no. 4 (1987), 43-58; E. Dogramadžieva and K. Kostova, "K problemej definicii drevnebolgarskogo jazyka na osnove opredelenij drugix drevnix slavjanskix jazykov", *Slavjanska filologija* XIX (Sofia, 1988), 19-28; K. Kočev, "Svetovni medievisti za starobălgarskija ezik", *Bălgarski ezik* 38 (1988), 3-18.

⁸ I. Dujčev, ed., *Bdinski Zbornik, Ghent Slavonic Ms 408, A.D. 1360*. Facsimile edition with a presentation by Ivan Dujčev (London, 1972); E. Voodeckers, "Introduction", J.L. Scharpé and F. Vyncke, eds., *Bdinski Zbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologium of Women Saints. - A.D. 1360* (Bruges, 1973); H. Keipert, "Zur parallelüberlieferung des "Bdinskij sbornik" (cod. Gand. 408)", *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975), 282.

⁹ Špadijer, "Žitije", 178. I am grateful to my colleague Irena Stefoska who drew my attention to Špadijer's article.

¹⁰ E. Demina, *Tixonravovskij damaskin. Bolgarskij pamjatnik XVII veka* (Sofia, 1968), 169.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 282.

sion in the *Bdinski Zbornik*,¹² and that the version included in the *Cracow Triodion* is the same as that in the *Bdinski Zbornik*. He considers that only further detailed investigations can determine whether these two texts represent two different textual redactions of an Old Bulgarian prototype, or if they are two different translations from Greek.

A comparison of the text in the *Bdinski Zbornik* with the text in Vladislav the Grammarian's codex from 1469¹³ shows that the two texts differ in many respects. The text in the *Bdinski Zbornik* is shorter. There are differences in syntax, word order, expressions, and morphology.¹⁴ For instance:

<i>Bdinski Zbornik</i>	Vladislav the Grammarian's codex
<i>i stax v' uglě v' prustě cr(')kovněm</i>	<i>i stax' v'' někoem rozě dvora crkov- nago</i>
<i>pokaži mi, vl(a)d(y)ko, molju te, pl'tskaago agg(e)la</i>	<i>pokaži mi, molju se, suštuju v'' pl'ti aggela</i>
<i>um'ršuju m(ě)s(e)ca aprilě</i>	<i>skončavšuju se m(ěse)ca farmufi po egip't'skomu ezyku. iže jes(t'') po gr'č'skomu aprilie</i>
<i>smokvi</i>	<i>paksimade</i>

¹² On the manuscript, see above, as well as K. Kuev, *Sădbata na starobălgarskata răkopisna kniga prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1986), 265-266.

¹³ On the manuscript see above.

¹⁴ Here I quote the second part of the two introductions, which reveal all kinds of differences:

Bdinski Zbornik
*Pověst' s(ve)tuju az' slišav' i nikaakože ne
 mogu taiti. i niktože mi ne nevěruj jaže slyšax
 pišema, ili mene gr'deštaa se ili dive se čjudeši
 velikomu. i ne udi mi mně l'gati na s(ve)tuju.
 ašte li sut' eteri č'tušte knigu siju i o visotě
 slovesi divešte se, ne xotešte věrovati, budi im'
 m(i)l(o)st' g(o)s(pod')nja. ty bo, nemošt'
 čl(o)v(ě)č(s'k)u pomyšljajušte, neprietnaa
 tvoret' nam' g(lago)ljemaa o čl(ově)čěx'.*

Zagreb Zbornik
*Pověst' s(ve)štenuju do mene doš'dšuju
 nikakože uml'čju. taže da niktože ne nevěruet'
 jaže slyšax i pišu, ili m(')ně čjuditi se eže pače
 v''sěx'' nepštuju. m(')ně bo ubo da ne budet
 b(o)ž(')stv(')naa l'gati, i kr'm(')č'stovovati
 slovo imže b(og)' pominaet se, i eže m'nšaa
 mudr'stovovati i nedos(t)oinaa v''pl'stennago
 b(og)a slova velič'stvo i nevěrovati iže tako
 g(lagol)jušt'im'', ne mnit mi se iměti
 bl(a)goslovoe. ašte li že něcii siceva pisanja
 polučajušte. i přěslavnomu vasn' slova čjudešte
 se i věrovati udob' nexotešte, i oněm'
 m(i)l(o)stiv' da budet g(ospod)', ponježe ubo i
 tii nemošt' čl(ově)č'skažo pomyšljajušte
 jest''stoa, neprietna nepštujuť jaže přěslavně
 někako o čl(ově)kox' gl(ago)ljemaa.*



It seems that these two texts represent two independent translations of two different Greek versions. However, this statement could be proven only after a precise comparison with the Greek copies, which are not available to me.

It can be assumed that the text in the codex in Zagreb resembles the Greek text published in *Acta Sanctorum*¹⁵ to a great extent. It is not certain which version of the *Vita* is included in the *Menologion* of April, a sixteenth-century manuscript of a Russian redaction kept in the former Synod library in Moscow,¹⁶ nor which version is found in the fifteenth-century *Tikveš Zbornik*.¹⁷ The *Vita* of Mary of Egypt is also included in the following Bulgarian manuscripts: the fifteenth-century miscellany, N 506, kept in the archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Theology;¹⁸ the sixteenth-century *Patericon* kept in the library of Rila monastery;¹⁹ and the *Triodion* from 1638 copied by Daniil of Etropole.²⁰ Both extensive and short *Vitae*, as well as an office devoted to the saint are included in the sixteenth-century *Triodion* in the Bulgarian National Library N 582.²¹ As a whole, the problem of medieval Slavic translations of compositions devoted to the saint, and their Greek counterparts, remains to be explored. A collation of various versions is necessary for the corroboration of Keipert's assumption that Sophronios's *Vita* was translated into Old Bulgarian in a comparatively early period of Old Bulgarian literature.

A new Greek *Vita* of Mary of Egypt was written by Damaskinos Studitis in the sixteenth century. The author included it in his book *Θησαυρός* printed in Venice in 1558.²² In the sixteenth century,

¹⁵ AA. SS. Aprilis 1 (1866), XI-XVIII.

¹⁶ I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja Slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka* (Saint Petersburg, 1893), 19.

¹⁷ My colleague Petko Petkov from Sofia assumes that these two manuscripts preserve a very early translation of the same type as the translations included in the *Codex Suprasliensis* dating from the eleventh century.

¹⁸ B. Xristova, D. Karadžova and A. Ikonomova, *Bălgarski răkopisi ot XI do XVIII vek, zapazeni v Bălgaria. Svođen katalog* (Sofia, 1982), 74, N 166.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 126, N 330.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 165, N 443, and cf. B. Rajkov, "Ieromonax Daniil i Etropolskijat knižoven centăr prez părvata polovina na XVII vek", *Starobălgarska literatura* (1) 1971, 277.

²¹ B. Xristova, D. Karadžova, A. Ikonomova, *Bălgarski*, 116, N 298.

²² This book is a collection of *vitae* and sermons. In general, they are written in the traditional language of Byzantine literacy. However, many vernacularisms concerning both grammar and vocabulary are included as well, in order to make the texts more comprehensible to the uneducated Greek public from the sixteenth century, who did not master the written language of medieval literature. Therefore, this book had many edi-

Grigorij Pelagonijskij, bishop of Prilep,²³ translated this book into the traditional archaic language of medieval Slavic literacy used both in Western Bulgarian monasteries and in Serbia in that century.²⁴ In the same century, a Western Bulgarian monastery made a new independent translation of the $\Theta\eta\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ into the same language. (Henceforth, it shall be referred to as the translation from Sredna Gora.)²⁵ A copy of the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt has not been found in the manuscripts containing the Sredna Gora translation of Damaskinos Studitis's book.²⁶ A controversial problem is whether such a translation of the *Vita* in question existed at all. If it did not exist, it is inexplicable why the entire book was translated and that the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt was neglected. Several assumptions can be made. One assumption is that the translator from Sredna Gora did not include a composition devoted to the saint in his translation of the Greek book. Rather, the translator or a later copyist or compiler included Sophronios's variant of the *Vita* taken from an Old Bulgarian or Middle Bulgarian manuscript. A second proposition is that the translator from Sredna Gora translated the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt written by Damaskinos Studitis, but later this text was lost and the Old Bulgarian translation of Sophronios's composition replaced it in manuscripts containing the translation of Damaskinos Studitis's book. Consequently, either the first translator or a later scribe had the Old Bulgarian translation of Sophronios's composition at his disposal and preferred it to Damaskinos's work. This assumption seems likely because of the existence of a manuscript such as the *Boboševo Damaskin* containing the translation of seven sermons of Damaskinos Studitis from the $\Theta\eta\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and

tions in the following centuries. See D. Petkanova-Toteva, *Damaskinite v bălgarskata literatura* (Sofia, 1965), 6-41.

²³ P. Iljevski, *Krninski damaskin* (Skopje, 1972).

²⁴ This language is known as Church Slavonic with some Serbian orthographic peculiarities, such as OY for the letter denoting nasal *o*, E for the letter denoting nasal *e* in early Cyrillic script. This definition provokes the critiques of several scholars. On the language of early translations of the $\Theta\eta\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Bulgaria, see B. Velčeva, "Norma i tradicija v bălgarskija knižoven ezik ot XVI-XVII vek", *Bălgarski ezik* 16 (1966), 110-112, V. Vasilev, "Po-važni pravopisni osobenosti na arxaičnite damaskini", *Slavjanska paleografija i diplomatika* (Sofia, 1980), 118-122.

²⁵ It is supposed to be Rila monastery or a monastery in Sredna Gora; cf. D. Petkanova, op. cit., 46-48; E. Demina, op. cit., 44-50. In Bulgarian scholarly tradition, the term "translation of Sredna Gora" became customary.

²⁶ Demina, *Tixonravovskij*, 169.



Sophronios's composition of Mary of Egypt.²⁷ The question as to why this replacement was made warrants further investigations from the standpoints of the textology and history of medieval literature. One probable explanation may be the fact that the compiler preferred the earlier composition because of its literary characteristics.

From the Sredna Gora translation of the Greek book *Θησαυρός*, a new translation into the vernacular (Modern Bulgarian) was produced in the seventeenth century.²⁸ The manuscripts containing it are called "modern Bulgarian *damaskins*".²⁹ In addition to Damaskinos Studitis' compositions, many other translations made from Middle Bulgarian and Greek manuscripts, and Russian printed Church Slavonic books, were included in this type of miscellany. Demina finds two versions of the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt in them.

The first version is a translation made into the vernacular from the Old Bulgarian translation of the *Vita* attributed to Sophronios.³⁰ It is not clear which medieval variant served as the original for this translation. Demina³¹ assumes that it was similar to the variant contained in the *Boboševo Damaskin*. However, it has not yet been shown which Slavic version of Sophronios's composition was preserved in this manuscript. It seems that the original version of the modern Bulgarian translation was different from both the version in the *Bdinski Zbornik* and the version in Vladislav the Grammarian's manuscript.

The second version is a vernacular translation of Damaskinos Studitis's composition.³² Petkanova³³ asserts that the translation was

²⁷ The manuscript is described by S. Kožuxarov, "Dve rākopisni knigi", *Izvestija na Instituta za bālgarska literatura* 16 (1965), 151-162.

²⁸ In fact, in the seventeenth century, Bulgarian literate people followed the example of Damaskinos to use a language closer to the vernacular in written texts; see Petkanova, *Damaskinite*, Velčeva, "Norma i tradicija", idem, "Kām ustanovjavaneto na vzaimootnošenijata i dialektната основа na novobālgarskite damaskini", *Bālgarski ezik* 11 (1961), 402-417; E. Demina, op. cit., 27-29.

²⁹ In Bulgarian scholarly tradition, the term *damaskin* was adopted from seventeenth-century Bulgarian literature. It is formed from the name of the Greek author and became a general term denoting any manuscript from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries containing *vitae* or sermons, or other compositions translated into the vernacular; cf. Petkanova, *Damaskinite*,

³⁰ E. Demina, op. cit., 169, finds it in the following manuscripts: the *Tixonravov Damaskin*, the *Drijanovo A and B Damaskins*, the *Trjavna Damaskin*, the *Kotel Damaskin*, the manuscripts N 1073 and N 1066 from the National Bulgarian Library "SS. Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia.

³¹ Demina, *Tixonravovskij*, 169.

³² Demina, *Tixonravovskij*, 169, finds it in the *Svištov Damaskin*, *Berlin Damaskin*, and the manuscript N 39 (79) from the collection of Grigorović in Moscow.

made directly from Greek, while Demina³⁴ admits that the original (of the modern Bulgarian translation) could be the supposed translation of this *Vita* from Sredna Gora. As far as the language and style are concerned, this text is not so different from other vernacular texts translated from the Sredna Gora variant. However, as mentioned, it is not clear whether the translator from Sredna Gora included Damaskinos Studitis's composition devoted to Mary of Egypt in his work at all.

Only precise statistical data could corroborate or challenge the hypothesis that copies of the former translation prevail over the latter in vernacular Bulgarian literature from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and could equally shed light on the question of literary preferences of that period. In general, the problem of modern Bulgarian translations of compositions devoted to Mary of Egypt still requires further exploration. Further work firstly requires a textological collation of different versions preserved both in medieval Slavic manuscripts and in Bulgarian miscellanies written in the vernacular, and second, an investigation of all kinds of compositions³⁵ devoted to the saint in medieval and early modern southern Slavic and Russian literature. The exploration should take into consideration spiritual movements and literary stereotypes of the periods when these compositions were translated, as well as the authors' purposes, the specificity of the books in which the texts in question were included, and

³³ Petkanova, *Damaskinite*, 79.

³⁴ Demina, *Tixonravovskij*, 170.

³⁵ It should be noted that besides traditional *vitae*, other genres were devoted to Mary of Egypt in medieval Byzantine and Latin literature, and not only in prose, but in verse as well. The following compositions are widely known: (1) in Greek (following F. Halkin, *op. cit.*, 81-82): a *Vita metrica* was written by Ioannis Commerciarios, two poems: one by Nicephoros Prosuchos and another by Maximos Cholobolos, an *oratio* by Manuel Palaeologos, an *encomion* by Euthimios Protasecretis, some *epigrammata*; (2) in Latin: a *Vita metrica* by Hildebert of Lavardin, a poem by Flodoard of Rheims; the story of *Maria Aegyptiaca* was included in the *Legenda Aurea*. Thus, the pre-existing textual material devoted to the saint was reshaped into various new compositions. Several scholars examined the new interpretations which the text attributed to Sophronios underwent in later tradition, in particular K. Kunze, *op. cit.*; P. Longo, *Bios και πολιτεία Μαρίας της Αιγυπτίας (κατά τοῦ βαϊκανον ἑλληνικοῦ κώδικα 2556)* (Athens, 1962); P.F. Dembowski, *La Vie de Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne: versions en ancien et en moyen français* (Geneva – Paris, 1977); D. Robertson, "Poem and Spirit. The Twelfth-Century French 'Life' of Saint Mary the Egyptian", *Medioevo Romanzo* 7 (1980), 305-327; A.M. Sargent, *The Penitent Prostitute: the Tradition and Evolution of the Life of Saint Mary the Egyptian* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1977). Unfortunately I do not have the investigations of Kunze, Sargent, Longo, and Dembowski at my disposal.

the cultural and educational level of their public. Further, an examination of the quality and principles of translations, as well as differences concerning language and stylistic peculiarities should be made. An inquiry into the reasons for including a text devoted to Mary of Egypt in the *Θησαυρός*, as well as for its diffusion in modern Bulgarian *damaskins*, also seems reasonable.³⁶

This paper focuses on the main motifs and references to the Bible in the *Vita* attributed to Sophronios,³⁷ and in the late post-Byzantine composition by Damaskinos Studitis,³⁸ as preparation for further work which will concentrate on the Greek and Bulgarian traditions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.³⁹

Sophronios's *Vita* is part of early Byzantine literature.⁴⁰ It is a pre-metaphrastian type,⁴¹ which had not yet been transformed into a conventional "bundle of *topoi*", or into a "simple icon of sanctity and *virtus*, constructed on the basis of a long row of hagiographic images".⁴²

³⁶ In contrast to the Greek *Θησαυρός*, Bulgarian *damaskins* consist of texts about saints, arranged as a rule according to the Christian calendar. Besides the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt, other texts for women are included in them, for instance the sermons for good women or for evil ones attributed to John Chrysostomos.

³⁷ I shall use the Greek and the Latin texts published in AA. SS. Aprilis 1 (1866), XI-XVIII, 68-84, and to a certain extent the versions in Vladislav the Grammarian's codex and in the *Bdinski Zbornik*. Quotations are taken from the Latin text in AA. SS.

³⁸ I shall use not only the text in the *Θησαυρός*, but its translation into modern Bulgarian, included in the *Svištov Damaskin*, edited by L. Miletič in *Bälgarski starini*, vol. 7 (Sofia, 1923).

³⁹ Several investigations of quotations from the Bible included in Old Bulgarian literacy have shown that such an examination can be helpful in determining the period (or school) when the translation of a certain composition was made, cf. I. Dobrev, "Apostolskite citati v Besedata na Prezviter Kozma i preslavskata redakcija na Kirilo-Metodievia prevod na Apostola", *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 1 (1984), 44-62.

⁴⁰ S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow, 1977).

⁴¹ "Pre-metaphrastian redaction of *vitae*" is a general term given to those *vitae* which do not show the peculiarities of the hagiographic pattern and conventions established in the time of Symeon Metaphrastis, that is at the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. On the problem see K. Ivanova, "Metafrastova žitijna redakcija" and D. Petkanova, *Starobälgarska literatura. Enciklopedičen rečnik* (Sofia, 1992), 267-268. On Symeon Metaphrastis himself see D. Ehrhard, "Symeon Metaphrastes und die griechische Hagiographie", *Römische Quartalschrift* 11 (1897), 531-553; L.A. Frejberg and T.V. Popova, *Vizantijskaja literatura epohi rascveta IX-XV vv* (Moscow, 1978), 68-72.

⁴² Here I use the definition from T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orleans 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990), 117, referring to later *vitae*. Nevertheless, the composition under discussion was based on the existent literary tradition in Byzantium. A.M. Sargent (I quote from Špadijer, "Žitije", 184-186) distinguishes three main traditions: (a) the ascetic one; (b) the tradition of the repentant prostitute; (c) the tradition of

A parallel narrative structure can be observed:⁴³ two people change their hearts and lives with the help of a holy personage – the Virgin Mary in the case of Mary of Egypt, and Mary herself in the case of Zosimas.⁴⁴ The autobiographical narration of Mary is incorporated into the story of Zosimas. Her life is narrated and interpreted by herself in an unadorned and direct way without rhetorical polish.⁴⁵ Neither autobiography nor retrospection are typical of the later meta-phrastian type of *vitae*, which contain strictly conventionalized elements.⁴⁶ Therefore, Špadijer⁴⁷ considers that the composition attributed to Sophronios resembles stories in *patericon* rather than typical Byzantine *vitae* of saints. However, these features of Sophronios's

the Virgin, especially of her miracles. On the other hand, this early *Vita* of Mary of Egypt influenced later Christian literature, cf. the impact on the tradition devoted to Mary Magdalene; see S. Averincev, "Marija Egipetskaja", *Mify narodov mira*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1982), 116-117, idem, "Marija Magdalena", *ibid.*, 117-118, M.M. Gauthier and C. Deremble, "Les saintes prostituées, légende et imagerie médiévales", *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago – London, 1989), 219-225.

⁴³ Špadijer, "Žitije", 187-190.

⁴⁴ Zosimas is an old monk who has been raised in a Palestinian monastery since his childhood and who has become perfect in ascetic disciplines. One day a miraculous voice directs him to go to a monastery by the Jordan river in order to find an answer to questions disturbing him. A Lenten exodus into the desert is a custom of that monastery. While Zosimas is looking in the wilderness for a hermit who can teach him, a shadow of a human form appears in front of him. He runs after it and it turns out to be a white-haired naked woman. She tells him her life. When she was 12 years old, she ran away from home and lived as a prostitute in Alexandria. One day she joined a ship full of pilgrims going to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. During the voyage, she seduced many men. In Jerusalem, she took up her trade again. However, on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross when she tried to come into the church, a magic force did not allow her. She realized that it was because of her sins. The Virgin helped her and then directed her to go into the desert. She crossed Jordan and spent forty-seven years in the wilderness. After finishing her story, the woman asks Zosimas to bring her Holy Communion on the evening of the Lord's Supper next year. At their next meeting, after she receives Holy Communion, she prays to be at last freed from this life. The following year, the monk finds her dead at the place where he originally met her. An inscription reveals her name and the date of her death. He manages to bury her with the help of a providential lion. Then he returns to the monastery to tell her story.

⁴⁵ The inclusion of an autobiographical narrative in the *Vita*, as well as its language, recall other early Christian compositions, for instance the *Passio sanctae Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, see T. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography. Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford – New York, 1988), 185-230.

⁴⁶ X. Loparev, "Vizantijskija Žitija Svjatyx VII-IX vekov", *Vizantijskij vremennik* 17 (1910), 15-36.

⁴⁷ Špadijer, "Žitije", 187. A corroboration of Špadijer's assumption can be the fact that this composition was included in one Slavic *patericon* mentioned above.



composition under discussion made it appropriate and preferable for the purposes of Damaskinos Studitis, and he did not substantially alter the main scheme of the earliest *Vita*. However, the author changed several details, nuances and emphases on account of his audience.

Although various factors should be considered in any analysis of medieval images of saints, such as the purpose of literary compositions, the time they were written, the relationship between the saint and the hagiographer, and the time the saint lived in, it is well known that medieval Christian literature commonly followed sacred models, predominantly from the Bible. Close adherence to the Bible is especially typical of early Christian literature.⁴⁸ R. Picchio uses the term “thematic clue” to refer to direct quotations from or comparisons with the Bible in the *vitae*, as well as indirect references and allusions to the Holy Scriptures which “help the reader reveal the hidden meaning of any earthly event” and “bridge the semantic gap between the literal and the spiritual sense”.⁴⁹

The initial sentence, a “marked place”⁵⁰ of the earliest *Vita* of Mary of Egypt is a quotation from the Old Testament:

Secretum Regis celare bonum est, opera autem dei praedicare gloriosum ita Angelus dixit Tobiae post mirabilem illam illuminationem, easque aerumnas, quas sustinuit, et a quibus ereptus est propter suam pietatem. (Tobias 12: 7)

Later, the parable of the talents from the New Testament (Matthew 25: 14–30, Luke 19: 12–26) is mentioned. Although in the following centuries, these references to the Bible become stereotypical formulae characteristic of many hagiographic compositions,⁵¹ in this early *Vita*, they cannot be regarded only as a literary convention.⁵² Their presence is more integral. The ideas expressed in them form one of the main motifs in Sophronios’s composition, namely the motif of hidden treasure. It is a stable constituent of the composition, which

⁴⁸ The early church believed that every saint was a new Christ who combined features of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Three main types of *vitae* (apostle, martyr and hermit) can be derived from the fundamental pattern of the gospels. On these problems, see for instance T. Heffernan, op. cit., or, concerning Slavic medieval tradition, K. Stančev, *Poetika na starobalgarskata literatura* (Sofia, 1982).

⁴⁹ R. Picchio, “The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of *Slavica Orthodoxa*”, *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 1 (1977), 5-6.

⁵⁰ R. Picchio, op. cit., 5-6.

⁵¹ Špadijer, “Žitije”, 187-188.

⁵² It should be pointed out that the references to the Bible have their specificity in different genres and times.

is repeated several times in different forms and expressed in other quotes from the Bible as well. The author of the *Vita*, as well as Zosimas and Mary herself, believe that God wishes to reveal her story to the people. It is not a coincidence that the life of the saint is revealed to Zosimas (later, the *Vita* is read annually to the believers)⁵³ in the period of Lent, when everybody has to think about his or her deeds, and to try to find salvation. Mary is ashamed of her previous life as a prostitute, but she knows that she should tell her story to Zosimas, because this is the will of God. Several times, Zosimas encourages her to continue her story and tell him everything. Expressing an idea similar to references to the Bible in the preface of the *Vita*, the monk quotes *Sapientia*: “The hidden wisdom and the unseen treasure, what is the benefit of them?”. Later in his prayer to God, Zosimas calls Mary a treasure because he regards her life as a real treasure which he should share with the people. Mary helps Zosimas to understand his delusion. His meeting with her plays the role of an *illuminatio* of his thoughts. Thus, he understands the necessity to tell this story as an *illuminatio* of the world.

Not only the monk but also the author of the *Vita* believes that the new saint’s representation will help people in their quest for salvation. Their position clearly expressed in the *Vita* is a manifestation of the medieval belief that while the Holy Scriptures are “the primary guide as to how to live a good life”, “lives of saints presented examples of how to put such divine wisdom into practice”.⁵⁴ In this respect, the image of the author of the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt and the image of Zosimas coalesce to a certain extent. Therefore, in the Slavic translation included in the *Bdinski Zbornik*,⁵⁵ the third-person narration changes to a first-person narration at culminating moments:

Togda že uzrě ju jako znameniem’ kr(‘)stnym’ přěkr(‘)sti Iordan’ přěsvětla bo běše nošt’ lunoju. abie znameniem’ poide, vr’xu vody xodešti i k’ mně idušti.

⁵³ The feast of Mary of Egypt is celebrated on April 1 in the Orthodox church and on April 2 in the Catholic church. The fifth week of Lent is also devoted to her.

⁵⁴ Head, *Hagiography*, 120.

⁵⁵ The third-person narration is used in Vladislav the Grammarian’s copy: *i xodešti vr’xu vody, k’ njemu ptiide. togo že xotešta s’tvoriti metanie. v’zbranjaaše gl(agol)je [...]* (505a) (As she was walking over the water, she came to him. When he wanted to bow, she forbade him.)

mně že xoteštu pokloniti se ei, i v'zbrani mi v'pijuštii [...] mně že poslušavšu [...] az' že k' nei otvėštax s' trepetoom'... ⁵⁶ (185v, 35: 15–27).

The preface of Damaskinos Studitis differs completely from that of Sophronios. As in the prefaces of other compositions in his book, he explains the main idea illustrated by the story of the saint in a directly didactic way. Whereas the ideas of the earliest *Vita* emerge from the coexistence and interplay of several images, symbols and allusions with early Christian culture, the later author discusses the moral of the story and emphasizes it in an explicit manner. In the later modification, the earlier text loses the impression of the transforming experience shared by Zosimas and his friends. It is changed into a cautionary tale which happened long ago, into an instructive, pious story for the use of believers. In the earlier composition, neither the author nor Zosimas intend to instruct their listeners didactically. Retelling his experience of the story, Zosimas justifies his wish to reveal this new saint not only because the narrative has the value of the edifying example of repentance, but also because of his own inner change. Thus, the earlier author describes not only the feelings of Mary, but his and Zosimas's feelings as well. Damaskinos Studitis views this story with the distance of time. He demonstrates that the only reason for telling it is his conviction that it is an excellent means for him to impress on his audience the idea that everybody can redeem his or her sins through repentance. Thus, although many original elements of the early composition are present in Damaskinos's modification, they do not constitute a whole entity, or a system of ideas as in Sophronios's work.

The preface of the later composition also reflects the different role and position of Zosimas.⁵⁷ Sophronios's composition emphasizes the contrast between the two main characters: the pride and self-confidence of the monk perfect in asceticism and belonging to a mo-

⁵⁶ Then *he* saw her making a sign of cross over the river Jordan, because the night was very bright. Immediately, with this sign she left, walking over the water and coming towards *me*. As *I* wanted to bow, she forbade *me* [...] As *I* obeyed her [...] *I* answered her with anxiety.

⁵⁷ The appearance of men as antagonists in *vitae* of female saints-sinners is a model established in the story of Avramios and his niece Mary, as well as in the *Vita* of Pelagia, and in the *Vita* of Thais. However, there is an important difference between these *vitae* and the *Vita* of Mary. Whereas in the former compositions the male characters convert the prostitutes, Zosimas has not such a function. He only finds Mary and listens to her story after she has already reformed her life.

nastic community,⁵⁸ and the humility and modesty of the repentant prostitute living alone in the wilderness for fortyseven-seven years.⁵⁹ The contrast between the two main characters recalls the parable of the publican and the Pharisee from the gospel (Luke 18: 9–14). The story of Zosimas is an illustration of the Christian idea that *verum inter homines nemo est qui perfectum se possit dicere*. God gives him a chance to understand that *multae sint aliae viae, quae ad salutem ducant*.⁶⁰

In later compositions devoted to Mary, scholars⁶¹ note a shift from “Zosimas-centered” versions into “Mary-centered” ones.⁶² Although Damaskinos Studitis describes Zosimas as an excellent monk and points to differences between him and Mary, the contrast between them is not emphasized as it is in Sophronios’s text. The depiction of Zosimas’s life is taken out of the context of early monasticism. He is not a complacent monk who believes he is one of the most excellent Christians. His meeting with Mary is not an illumination for him nor is it an answer to his own hesitations. Therefore, many details concerning his life in the monasteries, as well as his thoughts, doubts, and feelings described in Sophronios’s composition are missing in the text of the later author. In addition, these elements concerning his behavior, which Damaskinos Studitis preserves from the early composition, have a decorative function and do not constitute a motif. Zosimas is simply looking for a hermit who can teach him. In this sense, the later composition gives the impression that Zosimas is one of the members of the audience targeted by the *Vita*, who listens to the instructive and edifying story of the repentant prostitute.

As the autobiographical narration of Mary is the story of a penance completed, it became the center of Damaskinos Studitis’s composition. The life of the saint is an illustration of the biblical idea of the merciful, compassionate and grace-giving God, who awaits the

⁵⁸ The description of Zosimas’s life in the earliest version reflects the ascetic movement in the Mediterranean world in the period after the edict of Milan. The monk is depicted as: *orthodoxus, per omne exercitationis genus probatus, ad omnem virtutem congruenter institutus, volens carnem spiritui subiicere*.

⁵⁹ On this contrast, see Robertson, “Poem and Spirit”, 310-311.

⁶⁰ Quotations are taken from the Latin text of the *Vita*; see footnote 37.

⁶¹ Robertson, “Poem and Spirit”, 312.

⁶² The Old French poem discussed by Robertson, “Poem and Spirit”, is a good illustration of this shift. It is a third-person narration which begins with the childhood of Mary. There is no autobiographical element; Zosimas does not have his personal dilemma.



repentance of his people and saves everyone. Therefore, Špadijer⁶³ finds the “thematic clue” of Sophronios’ composition in the words of Mary:⁶⁴

Sed Deus, ut arbitrator, quaerebat poenitentiam meam: non enim vult mortem peccatoris, sed longanimiter sustinet, conversionem expectans.

Her words have a parallel in Ezekiel 18: 23,⁶⁵ and also in Ezekiel 18: 32, 33: 11, II Peter 3: 9, and I Timothy 2: 4.⁶⁶ It is interesting that they are missing in Damaskinos Studitis’s version. This is understandable, because in the preface and in the conclusion he interprets and frequently repeats this idea with different expressions. It is a characteristic of Damaskinos Studitis’s method that he tends to put his interpretations and instructions in prefaces and in conclusions, and presents events in the main parts of the *vitae*.

The story of Mary reveals the transformation of a woman from a seductress, a *diabolo vas electionis*, into a saint, an *ancilla Domini*, an *angelus incarnatus*. It is understandable why the idea that even the greatest sinner can be saved by God’s mercy is illustrated in the story with a prostitute as the main character. The features of seductive and deceptive women, in general,⁶⁷ is best represented by the image of the

⁶³ Špadijer, “Žitije”, 188.

⁶⁴ These words are expressed when the blessed woman explains to Zosimas why the sea did not take her although she was extremely sinful.

⁶⁵ “Do I take any pleasure in the death of the wicked? declares the Sovereign Lord. Rather, am I not pleased when they turn from their ways and live?”

⁶⁶ As a whole, the story echoes the parable of the lost son from the New Testament. It is a demonstration also of the biblical idea that “it is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners (Mark 2: 17) to repentance” (Luke 5: 31). In one of the Greek versions of the *Vita* there is a direct quotation: Οὐ χρεῖον ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλ’ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες... (Cod. Oxon. Bodl., Holkham 26 (olim), sixteenth-century manuscript).

⁶⁷ Church fathers regarded women as sinful in general because of the temptation they posed to man. Tertullian called woman “the devil’s gateway.” On different attitudes towards women in the Christian world in Late Antiquity see also E.A. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women’s Faith* (Lewiston – Queenston, 1986), 23-60 idem, *Women in the Early Church* (Wilmington, 1983); G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity. Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Oxford, 1994). Sexual promiscuity was considered more detestable in women than in men; see J. Brundage, “Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law”, *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago – Oxford, 1989), 88. Therefore, medieval canon law prescribed more severe punishments for women than for men see E. Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs 900–1700* (Cornell University Press, 1989).



prostitute.⁶⁸ There are no mitigating circumstances in the case of Mary and this fact is stressed in both compositions. She was not forced into prostitution by anybody.⁶⁹ On the contrary, she ran away from her noble family. In her narration she stresses that she did her trade not because of lack of money,⁷⁰ but because of uncontrollable and wild lust.⁷¹

Mary was converted thanks to the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Physically excluded from the liturgy on the day of Exaltation of the Holy Cross, she became aware of her sin. There is an indicative parallel. Mary covered the distance between Alexandria and Jerusalem paying with her body: she said to sailors: "*Corpus enim habeo hoc ipsius erit pro nauulo, pro viatico mihi.*" Later, in Jerusalem she was unable to walk the distance from the atrium to the altar because of her sinful flesh. When Mary prays in front of the icon of the Virgin, the contrast between the two Marys is underlined in both compositions.⁷² This

⁶⁸ The basic model of the story of Mary of Egypt is the story of the prostitute in the gospel of Luke (Luke 7: 37-47). She was said to wet the feet of Christ with her tears, to kiss them and pour myrrh on them, while he was reclining at a banquet. Jesus said: "Her many sins have been forgiven for she loved much." [This woman is considered by some to be Mary Magdalene; for instance Brundage, "Prostitution", 95, comments on Luke 7: 37 in the following way: "and the example of Saint Mary Magdalene demonstrated that the believing and the repentant harlot could achieve salvation." In fact, in the gospel Mary Magdalene is a woman who ministered Jesus and his disciples (Luke 8: 2-3). She is the first person to see the empty tomb and resurrected Christ (John 20: 1-2, Mark 16: 9-11). Following Tertullian and Gregory the Great, the Latin Church identified her with the repentant prostitute of Luke 7: 37-47 and with Mary of Bethany (John 11), freed by Jesus from demoniac possession by seven devils, and honoured them under the title of Saint Mary Magdalene (July 22), who became a symbol of the repentant prostitute in the Western tradition. Following Origen, the Orthodox churches honoured the three biblical women as individual saints; see J.E. Fallon, "Mary Magdalene", *New Catholic Encyclopedia* IX (New York, 1966), 387-388.] In addition, it was well known that Jesus said to the Pharisee that repentant tax collectors and prostitutes would take precedence over them in the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 21: 31-33). Rahab from the Old Testament (Joshua 2: 1-21, 6: 17-25) also became a symbol of the prostitute who could be saved.

⁶⁹ In medieval Christian canon law, a mitigating circumstance for prostitutes was if they had been forced into prostitution by their parents or somebody else; see Brundage, "Prostitution", 90.

⁷⁰ Some scholars mention that slighter punishments were imposed on prostitutes who plyed their trade because of poverty; see Levin, "*Sex and Society*". Others question this statement; see Brundage, "Prostitution", 90.

⁷¹ This emphasis in her words is significant, because canonists thought that the more pleasure a prostitute derived from her sexual encounters, the more serious was her offence; see Brundage, "Prostitution", 90.

⁷² On that contrast in Sophronios's composition see Robertson, "*Poem and Spirit*"



contrast is emphasized on a stylistic level in the entire narration of Mary in Sophronios's composition. Mary characterizes herself as *sordida* and *impura*, while she always calls the Virgin *semper virginis intemerata imago, anima incoinquinata mundissimaque*. In contrast to diverse attributes in Sophronios's text, in the later modification, the Virgin is described only with words widely used in spoken language, such as *πάρθενος, θεοτόκος, δέσποινα*.

Mary addressed the Virgin and hoped that she would not refuse *orationem peccatricis indignae*, because it was she who had given birth to Jesus Christ who *homo factus est, ut vocet peccatores ad poenitentiam*⁷³ and who, she believed, *proprium sanguinem dedit pro mea redemptione*. From this moment on, the Virgin Mary became for Mary of Egypt, as she herself defines, *salutis meae mediatrix, magistra salutis manuducens me per viam poenitentiae*.⁷⁴

Extreme sin demands extreme penance. In the depiction of the asceticism of Mary in the desert Sophronios follows the model of the *vitae* of hermits. In fact, it is one of the early demonstrations of this model.⁷⁵ In general, Damaskinos Studitis preserves the main characteristics of early composition, but at the same time, he brings it closer to the mentality and behavior of his audience, discarding the connotations with the tradition of early monasticism. The description of

⁷³ This phrase, preserved by Damaskinos Studitis in his text, is also a reference to the Bible. It has its analogy in Matthew 9: 13: "I desire mercy, not sacrifice. For I have not come to call the righteous, but the sinners." (Cf. also Mark 2: 17, Luke 5: 31.)

⁷⁴ The significant role of the Virgin in the story of the repentant prostitute is the reason for the close association of the cult of this saint with the cult of the Virgin. The *Vita* of Mary of Egypt, as well as an early *akathistos* and the legend of Theophilus, were the compositions which formed the main attributes of the Virgin accepted in later tradition; see Špadijer, "Žitije", 186. In the centuries that followed, Honorius Augustodunensis narrated the story of Mary of Egypt in his sermon *In Annuntione Sanctae Mariae*. The story with the prostitute appeared in Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Italian and Croatian collections of miracles of the Virgin Mary; see Robertson, "Poem and Spirit", 311-312; I. Petrović, "Bogorodičina čudesa u Ivančićevu zborniku, hrvatsko-glagoljskom spomeniku 14/15 stoljeća", *Radovi staroslovenskog instituta* 7 (1972), 123-210.

⁷⁵ Scholars (see for instance Špadijer, "Žitije", 184) find common elements between the *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* and the *Vita Sancti Antonii*. E. Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History", in S. Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge, 1983), 108, notes that although this model was rooted in Christ's withdrawal in the desert, as well as in the experience of John the Baptist as a hermit, it was established in the Christian literature in the epoch after the edict of Milan, which was an epoch of asceticism and early monasticism. On this period, see also P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), 64 sq.

Mary's experience in the desert contains the following typical constituents in both compositions under discussion.⁷⁶

First, Mary is completely separated from civilization. Her travel through space has a symbolic meaning. She lived as a prostitute in Alexandria, which symbolizes urban life. Later, she went to Jerusalem, which Toporov refers to as a "town-virgin",⁷⁷ a symbol of Christianity connected with the sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of human sins, as well as with the early tradition of hermits. It is in this town, where, with the help of the Virgin, Mary decided to reform herself. The real border for her was Jordan, also a symbolic toponym in Christian culture. After crossing it, she began her new life of total abstinence from civilization: she ate only herbs, she was completely naked, she had no shelter, and did not converse with people.⁷⁸

Second, she struggles with demons and bodily temptations. There are symbolic parallels. Mary lived as a prostitute for seventeen years, and she spent seventeen years in the desert struggling with her previous habits. Although Damaskinos Studitis follows the main scheme of Mary's asceticism described in Sophronios's composition, he does not include some typical features, such as the appearance of a divine light which enlightens Mary every time evil thoughts come to her mind, and which helps her to overcome temptations. The later author dismisses quotations from the Bible, namely Deuteronomy 8: 3, Matthew 4: 4, Luke 4: 4, Job 24: 78, and Hebrews 11: 38. However, he adds a large conclusion, which does not exist in the earlier text. In this conclusion he interprets a similar idea from the Bible, in particular Matthew 6: 25–34.

Finally, Mary has the ability to work miracles. A clear indication of her sanctity, miracles are present both in earlier and later compositions.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ I shall follow the model described by Patlagean, "Ancient", 101-122.

⁷⁷ V. Toporov, "Tekst Goroda-Devy i Goroda-Bludnicy v mifologičeskom aspekte", in T. Civ'jan, ed., *Issledovanija po strukture teksta* (Moscow, 1987). I am indebted to Adelina Angusheva, who drew my attention to this article.

⁷⁸ Mary crosses this border only once, and in a miraculous way recalling Christ's supernatural power. She crosses the river in order to take Holy Communion. The parallelism is indicative: the last Holy Communion which she took before her withdrawal into the desert was in a church on the opposite bank of the river.

⁷⁹ Some of Mary's miraculous actions are similar to miracles worked by Jesus: she walks on water, she foretells the future. Most of them have a parallel in the *vitae* of hermits: Mary knows the Bible by heart although she has never been taught to read, she receives her education miraculously, she levitates, and her burial with the help of a providential lion is also miraculous.



Through thorough repentance and extreme asceticism, Mary unites with God. A symbol of this union is the last scene in the *Vita*, when Zosimas covers her legs with tears. This scene brings to mind the scene from the gospel when Jesus's feet are covered with tears by the repentant prostitute. Whereas in her previous life, Mary is identified with the biblical whore, at the end of her life she is identified with Christ. Thus, her life becomes an explicit and impressive illustration of one of the main Christian ideas that everybody, even the greatest sinner, can be saved through complete and sincere repentance. That is why her figure became so popular in the Middle Ages and in early modern times.



PAPER PRESENTED IN THE SEMINAR
ON "CASTLE AND VILLAGE"

THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE OF BRIBIR

Damir Karbić 

GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF BRIBIR CASTLE

Bribir castle, the seat of the Subie kindred, one of the most important noble kindreds in medieval Croatia, is situated on the eastern side of the Ravni Kotari, a small plain extending from the coast to the northern hill region of Bukovica. The Krka river and a ravine are found to the east. Bribir can be found on the edge of a small fertile valley which to the west borders Ostrovica, another castle of the same kindred.

Bribir castle was built on a plateau on average 150 metres high (which reaches its peak at 300 metres), and approximately 70,000 square metres in area. This hill is a natural continuation of the Ostrovica massif. A gorge, Plani nik, separates the hills of Bribir and Ostrovica. This gorge, controlled on one side by Bribir castle, and on the other side by Ostrovica castle, serves as the main entrance to Ravni Kotari. A medieval road traversed this gorge, leading from Knin (Tininium), the capital of medieval Croatia to Zadar (Iadra), the most important city of medieval Dalmatia. The southern side of the valley on which Bribir is situated borders Zažvi ka Kosa, a low highland with a natural passage leading to Šibenik (Sebenicum). In the same valley, there is a rivulet, Bribir ica, which was very important throughout the Middle Ages for agricultural and military purposes in the region.¹

¹ Ton i Buri et al., *Bribir u srednjem vijeku* [Bribir in the Middle Ages] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika - Split, 1987), 9; Stjepan Gunjaca, "Strateško i histori-



PREHISTORY AND ANTIQUITY OF BRIBIR

Settlement on Bribir hill can be traced back to the Bronze Age. Archaeological finds of *impresso* ceramics dating to an older Smilčić culture indicate that the region was inhabited earlier. The larger settlement emerged only at the beginning of the Iron Age. Archaeological finds and architectural remains also indicate that the settlement was continually inhabited from the Bronze Age until approximately the end of the seventeenth century.

The first written record on the settlement of Bribir gives it the name *Varvaria*, one of the Liburnian *civitates* collected in the Liburnian confederation. The settlement on Bribir hill was the central area (*oppidum*) of the *civitas* with different rural settlements under its jurisdiction (*pagi, vici*). Archaeological finds, such as graves, pottery and parts of the foundation, remain from this period as well.

After the Roman occupation of Liburnia, Julius Caesar granted the *ius Italicum* to Varvaria, and it was organized as a *municipium* with all the characteristics of a municipal constitution (*ordo decurionum, quattuorviri* and later *duoviri*). The Roman period was very important for the settlement of Bribir. Megalithic walls were constructed under Hellenistic influence, which remained later as fortifications. There are many other archaeological remains from the Roman period, such as private and public buildings, *piscinae* and hypocausti, and remains of early Christian sculptures and *memoria* with *sarcophagi*.²

The defence system of ancient Varvaria was founded in the first century B.C., when more primitive walls were replaced by megalithic walls. There were few changes in the fortification until the end of the Venetian-Turkish wars in Dalmatia in the second half of the seventeenth century. These fortifications were built on all sides of the hill, except on the southern and south-western side with narrow cliffs that served as natural defense structures, and therefore did not require fortification. A very low auxiliary wall existed on these cliffs. The town in that period had two main gates, one on the eastern side and another on the western side (Vratnice), and two auxiliary gates on the northern and eastern sides. Access to the gates was ensured by ramparts which were traditional in the region, especially in Liburnia. In

jsko-arheološko značenje Bribira" [Strategical and historico-archaeological importance of Bribir], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III. ser. 10 (1968), 205-212.

² Burić et al., *Bribir*, 9-10; for more information, see Mate Suić, "Bribir (Varvaria) u antici" [Bribir (Varvaria) in antiquity], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III. ser. 10 (1968), 217-234.



antiquity, the walls were restored twice: first in the second century, and later in the third century during the Gothic wars. The walls were restored provisionally in as efficient a way as possible in order to protect Varvaria, radically changing their structure and appearance. The urban area was surrounded by walls and organized in rectangular *insulae*. The urban centre was on the southern periphery of the hill, where remnants of a pagan temple³ have been found.

“MEDIEVAL PREHISTORY” OF BRIBIR
(FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY)

The first written record of medieval Bribir dates from the tenth century in Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos's, *De administrando imperio*. There he refers to Bribir as η Βρεβερρα, which at the time was the seat of one of the counties (*županija*) of the Croatian state.⁴ The counts of Bribir (*iupani*) were often mentioned by Croatian rulers in eleventh-century charters⁵.

Unfortunately, few written sources of this period remain, so little can be said about early medieval Bribir. Valuable archaeological remains from this period indicate that the ancient walls were restored in late antiquity and remained in use during the Migration period and throughout the Middle Ages. Ceramic material and re-used objects from late antiquity testify to this continuity. In addition, the fact that ancient *civitas Varvarina* had the same borders as early medieval Bribir county⁶ also testifies to this continuity. All that is known from the written sources is that the site was continually settled.

The architecture of medieval Bribir has not been well researched. Only some parts of the plateau have been excavated. The most impor-

³ Burić, *Bribir*, 25.

⁴ *Constantini Porphyrogeniti de administrando imperio*, c. 30 (quoted from Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium VII (1877), 400).

⁵ *Ibid.* 10; Bribir, at that time, was the royal county. One of the most important counts (*iupanus*) was Streza, uncle of King Zvonimir. For more information, see Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [History of Croatia in the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976). It is worth mentioning that the memory of King Zvonimir was preserved as well in the other castle of the Šubić clan, Ostrovica, where a fourteenth-century inscription with his name was found during an excavation.

⁶ Burić, *Bribir*, 10-11; for a history of Bribir and surrounding counties in the Middle Ages, see also Branimir Gušić, “Starohrvatsko naseljenje Ravnih Kotara” [The Old Croatian Settlement of Ravni Kotari], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 18 (1971), 137-192.

tant early medieval dwelling complexes are to be found at Tjeme and Dol. It seems that these were again inhabited buildings from late antiquity. The use of pottery from both late antiquity and the early Slavic era in the same period points to the fact that new settlers mixed with old settlers. Pottery from late antiquity is predominant in the area.⁷

Vratnice was continually used as a burial place. Five graves from late antiquity have been excavated, although the majority of graves in the cemetery date from a much later period. Approximately 130 graves date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition, there were two cemeteries in the early Middle Ages: Novi Put with thirteen graves from the ninth to the eleventh century, and Groblje, which existed from the tenth to the fourteenth century around a pre-Romanesque church. It is important to note that this cemetery is only partly excavated on the periphery (59 graves have been excavated), as it is occupied by the village's local parish cemetery with the parish church upon the ruins of the pre-Romanesque church.⁸

Two of the restored churches date from the early Middle Ages. The first is the previously mentioned pre-Romanesque church at Groblje. It is a small polyconchoidal building (presumably with six apses), with pre-Romanesque stone furnishings. Other remains of stone church furniture point to the possible existence of another pre-Romanesque church or to the possible restoration of an earlier church with pre-Romanesque furnishings. The other early medieval church is not well known, but it is possibly an early Romanesque church from the eleventh century.⁹

Little is known of building activity in the written sources at the time of the Hungarian royal house of the Árpáds. When the kings of the Árpád dynasty became rulers of Croatia (in the early twelfth century), the counts of Bribir became hereditary counts, due to the development of royal administration in Croatia. The title of the count was passed from father to son, but other members of the Šubić kindred also held positions of authority in the county. Although this process of change is well documented, building activity remained the same as in the previous period. Knowledge of the castle's develop-

⁷ Ibid. 69-71.

⁸ For a more detailed description and further literature, see Burić, *Bribir*, 45-48, 50-59.

⁹ Ibid. 29, 32-33.

ment at the time of the Árpádians is supported mainly by archaeological data.

The main features of the castle structure did not change during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Only the use of enamel ceramics indicates a higher standard of living and an increase in the power of the counts of Bribir. During this period, the medieval walls appear on the south-western side of the hill,¹⁰ as does a small Romanesque church with round apses on Vratnice, on the western edge of the castle.¹¹ Unfortunately, the church has not been well preserved and remains of the sculptures have not been found. Therefore, it is difficult to give a precise date as to the construction of the church and the medieval wall. Another indication of the high standard of living in Bribir castle under the Árpáodian kings is the fact that King Béla IV visited Bribir in 1245 and stayed in the castle for several weeks.¹²

Although knowledge concerning the castle's urban development in this period is based mostly on archaeological finds, more data on the larger area of the county can be found in charters and chronicles. The borders were extended by the growing power of the Šubić counts who gained estates to the west of the castle. These estates were offered by means of treaties or donations given by the king. It should be stressed that this growth and power eventually dissolved in Ostrovia (Luka) once the main branch of the kindred moved to medieval Slavonia. Later, they became the counts of Zrinj/Zrinyi. With the settlement of Slavonia, the king's power in the region was restored in the first half of the fourteenth century (1322–1347).

Two main contributions are connected with the enlargement of the Šubić counts' personal possessions. In 1223, King Andrew donated the possessions of Count Domaldus to Count Gregory of Bribir. This donation included the region between the Krka river to the east and the district of Zadar to the west.¹³ A second contribution was a document confirming the rights of the Šubić clan as the counts of Bribir. In 1251, King Béla IV granted these rights to different members of the kindred. The king confirmed a donation apparently previously made by King Andrew (which may have never existed) to Count Stjepko, his brother James, and other relatives according to their

¹⁰ Ibid. 25.

¹¹ Ibid. 29.

¹² Gunjača, "Strateško", 209.

¹³ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku* [History of Croats in Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada liber, 1983), 284; Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae*, vol. III (Zagreb: JAZU, 1905), 230-231.

statements (the previous charter had apparently been lost). King Béla conferred on the Šubić clan *comitatum Breberiensem cum omnibus utilitatibus*, so that they could possess it *in perpetuum ... pleno iure*. This donation probably was the result of King Béla's general policy concerning the defence of the territory, and confirmed the division of power between the king and the noble kindred in Croatia.¹⁴

BRIBIR CASTLE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES (FROM THE LATE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

The last quarter of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth century is the culminating period of the oligarchic power of the Šubić kindred, at which time they dominated almost the entire Croatian kingdom. Therefore, this is the peak period of Bribir castle, from which time many buildings have been identified. Even the subsequent Šubić decline in power did not in any way influence the standard of living in Bribir. Bribir remained the seat of the Šubić kindred, and indeed the standard of living grew further, even during the civil war between King Sigismund and his opponents. The castle deteriorated only during the Ottoman occupation and later, with large-scale devastation during the Venetian-Turkish wars. Bribir castle was abandoned after the wars, and a new village emerged with the same name in the valley at the bottom of Bribir hill.

One of the first buildings identified is the small Gothic church of St. John at Tjeme. Although it was first mentioned in 1338, it was built at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The patronage of the church is confirmed by an eighteenth century Venetian map, which depicts the ruins of a church with the same name. The church had quadrangular apses and from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century was surrounded by a cemetery with graves in two or three layers.¹⁵ The church was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. This is documented in a contract from 1447 between the counts of Bribir and a master builder, Vidul Ivanov, from Zadar. Vidul worked on the restoration of the church of St. John and its sacristy. However, excavation has not

¹⁴ Smičiklas, *Codex*, vol. IV, 466-468; Klaić, *Povijest*, 285, 304-305. For a more detailed explanation of the changing policy of King Béla concerning lords after the Mongol invasion, see Erik Fügedi, "Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary (1000-1437)", *Studia historica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 187 (1986), 50-64.

¹⁵ Burić, *Bribir*, 29-31, 48-49, 63-65.

made it possible to distinguish between his building activity and previous building activity on the site.¹⁶

Some of the best excavations conducted in the castle include the Franciscan monastery at Dol, and the church of St. Mary, which dates from the fourteenth century. The monastery was founded by Ban Paul. Unfortunately, the foundation charter for this monastery has not been preserved.¹⁷ The *Breviarium Brebericense*, one of the most valuable sources of research regarding the cultural role of the kindred from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century, comes from this monastery. It is preserved in the Franciscan monastery in Šibenik, where it was transported from Bribir castle after the Ottoman occupation. The *Breviarium Brebericense* also contains the necrology of distinguished members of the family. One of the first inscriptions is that of Paul's wife, Ursa,¹⁸ which indicates that the monastery was founded as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The monastery is mentioned for the first time in 1327. Around 1340, it is mentioned again as part of the *custodia* of Split and Zadar in the Franciscan province of *Sclavonia* in the list of Franciscan provinces and monasteries by Paulinus of Venice. In 1393, it is mentioned as part of the *provincia Dalmatie sancti Hieronymi*. The monastery was the burial place of the family of Ban Paul and his kindred. This is documented in the testament of his son, Paul II of Ostrovica, in 1346, where he writes "I wish my body to be buried in Bribir, in the church of St. Mary, where my father and my sons rest."¹⁹

The Franciscan monastery at Dol is built upon foundations of the building complex of late antiquity. The church built with regular stone *briquettes* is longitudinal with one nave and quadrangular apses. The proportion between *naos* and *presbyterium* is typical of churches of mendicant orders of that period. The cloister is surrounded by different

¹⁶ Ibid. 30. For the activities of Master Vidul and his sons in Bribir, see Cvito Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori* [The Medieval Artisans of Zadar] (Split, 1959).

¹⁷ Ban Paul also founded the Franciscan monastery in *Skradin*, under the title of St. John. It is worth noting that this is the same name as the above-mentioned church at Tjeme. The foundational charter of the monastery in Skradin, issued on the April 7, 1299, is fortunately preserved (Gušić, "Starohrvatsko", 155).

¹⁸ Under 'October 3, 1303', we read: *Obiit domina Ursa inclita Croatorum banissa* (Stjepan Zlatović, "Bribirski nekrolog XIV. i XV. vijeka" [Necrology of Bribir from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries], *Starine JAZU XXI* (1889), 83-85).

¹⁹ Burić, *Bribir*, 31; Gunjača, "Strateško", 209. The testament of Paul II is also a valuable source concerning cultural history. He donated manuscripts and sacral objects to the monasteries of St. Mary in Bribir and St. Nicholas in Zadar, where his daughter was a nun.

rooms such as a refectory and a chapter, and both it and the garden are situated north of the church. South of the church, there are some other buildings, which are considered to be the economic complex of the monastery or of the castle. Many tools and other remains of various workplaces were found, such as tools typically used by a smith.²⁰

The church and the monastery were rebuilt several times in the fifteenth century. In 1415, Master Petar Radmilov from Šibenik constructed a new vault in the church. The main restoration in the church was done by the master builder Vidul from Zadar and his sons, hired by Count James, one of the most important figures of the Šubić kindred in the fifteenth century.²¹ The first preserved contract concerning this activity dates from 1440, and deals with the enlargement of the church. A more detailed contract from 1447 specifies different activities of Master Vidul and his sons, such as the building of a new chapel for the Šubić kindred. The last contract concerns a new roof to be built by Vidul's sons.²²

The church was decorated with high-quality Gothic sculpture and architectural ornamentation. There is also some architecture that is Romanesque. A part of a *transena* and a chaplet ornamented with heraldry emblems of the Šubić clan (a coat of arms with an eagle's wing) are especially interesting. It is worth mentioning that this chaplet is the only object attributed to the activity of Master Vidul and his sons.²³

The monastery was the burial place of the Šubić kindred. Archaeological excavations and objects found in the graves in the church and in the cemetery around the monastery prove this. These objects testify to the different social positions in Bribir at that time. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century 172 graves were found in the area. Some graves contain clothing and ornaments. One grave was covered by a monolithic stone decorated with the Šubić coat of arms.²⁴

²⁰ Burić, *Bribir*, 31-32, 103-104.

²¹ Count James seems to have been a true follower of King Sigismund, who granted him and some other members of the clan possessions and titles (Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, t. X/V (Budaë, 1842), 333-337). He was several times *vicebanus* (*banovac*) of Dalmatia and Croatia. For further information about the Šubić clan in the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Stjepan Antoljak, "Izumiranje i nestanak hrvatskog plemstva u okolici Zadra" [Extinction of the Croatian Nobility in the Surroundings of Zadar], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 9 (1962), 55-115.

²² Burić, *Bribir*, 32. See also footnote 16.

²³ *idem*, 33-35.

²⁴ *idem*, 49, 59-63.

Near the monastery, remainders of fifteenth-century military architecture were found. The ruins of a quadrangular tower which was built from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century were also preserved. It can be found on the inner side of the eastern wall near the monastic complex at Dol. Unfortunately, only the foundations stand today.²⁵

The high quality of life in the settlement is testified to by the large amount of luxury objects imported from Italy and from southern Spain,²⁶ such as pottery and glass. This flourishing period was followed by the decline of the oligarchic power of the Šubić kindred, when Bribir lost its importance as a central place in the region. Ostrovica became the new center of the county when it was taken over by the king's officials. The members of the kindred maintained the title of counts. However, sources do not indicate whether Bribir remained a separate county or whether it became a district within Ostrovica (Luka). Those members of the kindred who lived in Bribir and possessed estates in Luka became the wealthiest owners of the region, but did not have any exceptional rights of jurisdiction.²⁷

CONCLUSION

Bribir castle was the seat of one of the strongest and most influential noble kindred in medieval Croatia. It demonstrates the importance and role of the medieval castle as a center of medieval regional organization. For this reason, Bribir is one of the best excavated castles in medieval Croatia. However, it is crucial that further archaeological investigations be made as well as further research and documentation. Other parts of the plateau ought to be excavated in order to obtain more material concerning the development of settlement in the castle and its surroundings. Nevertheless, the importance of Bribir in the Middle Ages offers a good insight into Croatian medieval history.

²⁵ idem, 25.

²⁶ idem, 72-75, 82-89, 93-94. See Vedrana Delonga, "Nalazi hispano-maurske majolike na arheološkom lokalitetu Bribir" [Finds of Hispano-Maurian Ceramics on the Archaeological Site of Bribir], *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*, ser. III 16 (1987).

²⁷ For a description of the economic situation of the region at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, see Damir Karbić, "Agrarni odnosi na području Lučke županije krajem XIV. stoljeća" [Agrarian Relations in Luka at the End of the Fourteenth Century], *Historijski zbornik* XLIII/1 (1990), 17-24, and the work of Stjepan Antoljak.



PAPER PRESENTED IN THE SEMINAR
ON "HAGIOGRAPHY"

THE JÓKAI CODEX AS A HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE: THE QUESTION OF ITS ORIGIN

Irina Nikolaeva 

The Jókai Codex is the first manuscript book in Hungarian, discovered by A. Ehrenfeld in the middle of the nineteenth century in Nyitra (today Nitra, Slovakia). Since 1925, it has been kept in the manuscript collection of the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest. The codex has now 81 pages; 27 pages are known to be missing, so it may have originally contained 108 pages written by one hand.

The question of its origin and authorship remains unsolved. The names of its author and copyist are unknown, but it is generally believed that they were both Hungarian Franciscans. Two major hypotheses have been suggested concerning the origin of the codex. According to the first theory put forward by C. Horváth,¹ the codex was written for one of the convents of Poor Clares, presumably for that of Óbuda, as the codex contains some episodes from the life of St. Clare. The codex was kept in the Óbuda convent until the Ottoman invasion, when the nuns, escaping from the Turks, took all the manuscripts with them to the monastery of Pozsony (Bratislava). From Pozsony, it may have been taken to Nyitra. Therefore, in spite of palaeographical evidence which indicates that the codex (the copy we have at our disposal) was written around 1440, the original text could have been compiled earlier, about 1370–1390 (but not earlier than 1350, when the Óbuda nunnery was founded). This version was also accepted by J. Karácsonyi, E. Jakubovich, K. Timár, and D. Vargha,²

¹ Cirill Horváth, *A régi magyar irodalom története* [A History of Old Hungarian Literature], (Budapest, 1899), 85–89.

² János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The History of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary up to 1711], vols. I–II (Budapest, 1923–

and was most widely acknowledged on the grounds that translations of Latin legends into vernacular for the nuns of St. Clare are well known.

On the other hand, J. Pintér assumed the codex was a compilation of the spiritual biography of St. Francis written for friars. J. Horváth³ also acknowledged that the author of the codex could be found among the Franciscans who went to Bosnia in order to convert Bogomils and Patarens. In line with this assumption, J. Kastner⁴ put forward another version suggesting that the codex was translated from a compiled Italian source and was connected with the Observant branch of the Franciscan order. Therefore, the Jókai Codex may have appeared somewhere in the southern part of Hungary as a book of rules for the Bosnian Observants to follow in their opposition to the conventualists and the Bosnian dualist heresies. It should be regarded as an intermediate stage between monastic and lay literature. In this case, although the nuns of St. Clare could have obtained the codex later, originally it had nothing to do with nunneries, as St. Clare did not play a very important role in the text of the codex, but was mentioned only as a pupil and successor of St. Francis. Therefore, the codex may have been produced after 1372, when the Bosnian Observant order was founded. This idea was also supported by T. Kardos.⁵ The role of the Hungarian Franciscans in the fight against the dualistic heresies (perhaps their main mission) but without special regard to the Jókai Codex was also emphasized by Gy. Szabó, F. Brisits⁶ and

1924), 588-589; Emil Jakubovich, "Az Ehrenfeld-kódex a magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Kézirattárában" [The Ehrenfeld Codex in the Manuscript Department of the Hungarian National Museum], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 32 (1925), 192-193; Károly Timár, "Magyar kódexcsaládok" [Stemmas of Hungarian Codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 37-39 (1927-1929); Damián Vargha, "Szent Ferenc fiai a magyar kódexirodalomban" [The Sons of St. Francis in Medieval Hungarian Literature]; *Szent Ferenc nyomdokain* [In the Footsteps of St. Francis], ed. A. Buttykay (Budapest, 1926), 5-6.

³ János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* [The Making of Hungarian Literary Culture from St. Stephen to Mohács], (Budapest, 1931), 81-82.

⁴ Jenő Kastner, *A Jókai kódex és az observáns kódexirodalom* [The Jókai Codex and the Observant Literature], (Budapest, 1933), 11.

⁵ Tibor Kardos, *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet. A magyar irodalom keletkezése* [Medieval Culture, Medieval Poetry. The Making of Hungarian Literature], (Budapest, 1941); idem, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [The Age of Humanism in Hungary], (Budapest, 1955), 66-69.

⁶ György Szabó, *Ferencrendiek a magyar történelemben* [Franciscans in Hungarian History], (Budapest, 1921), 61-63; Ferenc Brisits, *Assisi Szent Ferenc* [St. Francis of Assisi], (Budapest, 1926), 71-72.

others. Gy. Balanyi⁷ also showed that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Franciscan spirituals did not play a significant role in Hungary. It was around 1380, that the Hungarian Franciscans became acquainted with the Bosnian Observants and the new Italian spiritualist movements.

After the works of J. Balázs, who attributed pages 153–154 of the codex to the translation of the *Liber Conformitatis* by Bartolomeo of Pisa (1385–1390), it became clear that the codex could not have been written earlier than 1390. According to linguistic evidence,⁸ the language of the codex reflects the old Palóc dialect. Therefore, in principle it could indeed have been written in the Nyitra area, where a Franciscan monastery had existed since the thirteenth century.⁹ Thus, the codex has been approximately localized in time and space, but the circumstances of its writing are still not clear enough.

Some scholars have also dealt with the different levels of literary and mythological influences on the text of the codex,¹⁰ but this research does not really solve the problem of the origin of the codex.

SOURCES

The codex is a more or less exact translation of Latin legends of the life of St. Francis of Assisi. The sources of the translation have been a point of discussion ever since scholars first gained access to the codex. Its first owner, A. Ehrenfeld, and its first publisher, Gy. Volf, considered it to be a translation of the *Speculum Perfectionis*, which appeared in a Venice edition in 1504, but of which earlier versions

⁷ György Balanyi, *A ferences mozgalom begyökerezése a magyar földön* [The Spread of the Franciscan Movement in Hungary], (Budapest, 1940), 48.

⁸ See József Vincze, *Szent Ferenc társainak legendája* [The Legend of St. Francis' Brethren], (Budapest, 1907); and others.

⁹ György Volf, ed., "Jókai kódex." *Nyelvemléktár VII* (Budapest, 1878); J. Karácsnyi, *Szent Ferenc*.

¹⁰ See Zsuzsanna Acél, "A Jókai kódex gondolati rendszeréről" [On the Thought Structure of the Jókai Codex], *Irodalomtörténet*, 13 (1981), on the presumed connection with the legend of St. Graal and Cistercian mysticism; János Balázs, *Hermész nyomában. A magyar nyelvölcselet alapkérdései* [In the Footsteps of Hermes. Fundamental Questions in the Hungarian Philosophy of Language], (Budapest, 1987), on the idea of ecstasy in the codex and the reminiscences of Hungarian shamanism; András Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik". *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* [Written Hungarian. Literary Culture in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest, 1984), on the deliberate "bookish" style of the codex and its connection with Hungarian scholarly tradition.



presumably existed; they also considered it to be a translation of the *Vita* by St. Bonaventura in some of its pages, but they confessed that its text differed considerably from the original. The publication of the *Speculum* and the *Actus Beati Francisci* by P. Sabatier¹¹ was of great importance for the solution of the question of the codex's sources. It allowed L. Katona¹² to show for the first time that the text was written as a systematic compilation of several Latin sources. Katona arranged them in another order, according to which the author of the Jókai Codex used three main sources: *Speculum Perfectionis*, *Actus Beati Francisci* and *Vita* by St. Bonaventura, with each chapter attributed to its appropriate source. The order of the chapters is very similar to that of the edition by P. Sabatier. As a result, the text of only six pages of the codex (namely 123–126, and 153–154) remained unattributed until the second half of the twentieth century, when J. Balázs¹³ discovered their origin: pages 123–126 coincide with page fourteen of the manuscript kept in the Budapest National Museum (L. Katona was already familiar with this manuscript but he did not recognize the source of these pages in it); pages 153–154 were translated from the *Liber conformitatis* by Bartolomeo of Pisa. As a result, the sources of translation are now known for the entire text of the codex. However, a Latin original which would place the events in this order has not been found, so it leaves open the possibility that the compilation was prepared by the Hungarian author himself.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTS

As the Jókai Codex is the translation of several texts, it is quite difficult to speak about its original general hagiographical concepts. The original features may be discovered by analysing the structure and the order of the chapters and episodes. On the other hand, se-

¹¹ Paul Sabatier, ed., *Collection de documents pour l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen Age*. vols. 1-2 (Paris, 1898–1902).

¹² Lajos Katona, "Az Ehrenfeld és Domonkos kódex forrásai" [The Sources of the Ehrenfeld and of the Dominic Codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 13 (1903), 59-78, 188-195.

¹³ János Balázs, "A Jókai kódex latin eredetijének eddig ismeretlen fejezete" [An Unknown Chapter of the Latin Original of the Jókai Codex], *Magyar nyelv* 52 (1956), 347-349; János Balázs, *Jókai kódex: a nyelvemlék betűhű olvasata és latin megfelelője* [The Jókai Codex. A Letter-Perfect Reading of the Codex and of Its Latin Counterpart], (Budapest, 1981).



mantic peculiarities of the translation exist. In D. Vargha's opinion, "Az Ehrenfeld-Jókai kódex csak fordításában, tehát nyelvében és átvett szellemi hatásában magyar, szövegében tehát latin mű." ("only in translation – i.e. in its language and spiritual value – is the Ehrenfeld-Jókai Codex Hungarian; textually it is a completely Latin work."¹⁴ As for the structure, even if the compilation was not written by the Hungarian author, the text of the codex still reflects a specific structure unknown from other sources, and, as such, deserves attention. It has been shown¹⁵ that the biographies of St. Francis can generally be analysed not only from the point of view of literary criticism or hagiography, but are related to the history of the order itself. Usually, authors of the legends were interested in interpreting the life of St. Francis and the beginning of the order in the light of their own views, and were prepared to change the points which did not fit in. Thus, when using Franciscan sources, one should always bear in mind their historical background, and the choice and sequence of the sources which have had much impact on the study of the codex.

As mentioned previously, the Jókai Codex had three main Latin sources. It contains at least three hagiographical concepts of the St. Francis legend. *Speculum Perfectionis* is a polemic text often attributed to Brother Leo. The date of its writing is a matter of controversy. Sabatier considered it to have been written by Brother Leo in 1227. However, it was later shown¹⁶ that the text dates from 1318, although it was connected with the authority of Brother Leo and with the text of the most reliable legend, *Legenda trium sociorum*. In principle, the text is not meant to be a biography of the saint in the strict sense of the word, as it does not actually describe his life, but rather relates the perfection of the brothers, the concept of the ideal friar, and the formation of the consciousness of the order. It demonstrates the strong influence of the spiritualist movement within the order, as it appeared in the period of fierce disputes between the spiritualists and the conventualists. The supporters of Brother Leo had been defeated by that time and the text aims to express their anxiety over the loss of the true Franciscan spirit in a rather subjective way.

¹⁴ Vargha, "Szent Ferenc fiai ...", 8.

¹⁵ E. Grau, *Franziskusbiographie. 800 Jahre von Assisi Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters*, Hrsg. J. Grundler (Vienna, 1982), 64-78.

¹⁶ See H. Tilemann, *Studien zur Individualität des Franziskus von Assisi* (Leipzig – Berlin, 1914), 7; and others.



Actus Beati Francisci, on the other hand, is a series of stories dealing with the words and actions of the brothers. Its origin is not quite clear, although it was presumably written between 1322 and 1328 by Brother Hugolin of Monte Giorgio, about whom very little is known. The *Actus* is an important source for early Franciscan traditions which could only have come from the monastery of Greccio.¹⁷ St. Francis is brought to life in a most vivid fashion, although the narrator supplies the saint with the stereotypical collection of miracles. The theme of St. Francis's conformity to Christ is given here its first fully elaborated expression. This text paints the life of St. Francis in a naive, charming and somewhat mystical way and is more like a legend than the previous work because of its constant interest in the miraculous and the supernatural.

Finally, the *Vita* of St. Bonaventura represents an absolutely different genre, the *vita* as a kind of official biography. It is known that, in 1260, St. Bonaventura, who did not know St. Francis personally, was charged with writing a new version of his biography. The intention was to eliminate any kind of St. Francis different from Bonaventura's moderate and officially sanctioned saint, to whom spirituals and other dissidents might turn. Bonaventura chose not to follow the chronological order of events, but to arrange his material so that the reader could behold the spirit of St. Francis, and at the same time he suppressed some controversial points of his biography and image. Using history rather than simply recording it, he produced a spiritual portrait rather than a merely historical picture of St. Francis. This is why in his text "action is de-emphasized",¹⁸ and ideas severed from their concrete situations are brought to the fore, transforming the St. Francis story into a new, less action-oriented radical message.

The *Liber Conformitatis* by Bartolomeo of Pisa is of less importance for the Jókai Codex, since it is a later scholarly compilation, the main idea being *imitatio Christi* illustrated in different ways. The Budapest manuscript, which represents one of the versions of *Speculum Perfectionis*, was written at the end of the fourteenth century, and is generally very close to the text of the Jókai Codex.

¹⁷ Cf. J. Joergensen, *Saint François d'Assise. Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1926).

¹⁸ A.M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own Country* (Chicago – London, 1992), 132.



GENRE CHARACTERIZATION

The Jókai Codex cannot be regarded a *vita* (or a biography) in the strict sense of the word. It does not present the events in chronological order (in fact, it describes very few events) and does not attempt to demonstrate the spiritual development of the saint. The codex represents a collection of episodes and ideas in a more or less arbitrary order as “illustrative material” (a sort of *exempla*) for the image of St. Francis and his companions. The text of the codex seems to be more or less uniform and the verification of background knowledge is equally important for all parts of the codex. The book, therefore, may have been intended for people who had general ideas about St. Francis’s life and activity, as a kind of justification or model, a “*Hungarian Fioretti*”.¹⁹ On the other hand, it is quite difficult to speak about the general stylistic and narrative concept of the text, as it preserves the peculiarities of the translated sources with their different narrative intonations and different combinations of epic, lyric and dramatic elements.

STRUCTURE

The beginning of the codex is preserved in its original form. The author intended to begin with the first chapters of the *Actus*, which differs from the *Speculum* in that it has a kind of “introductory” chapter. It allows us to follow the general plan of the author, who seems to have compiled his text in a deliberate way and to have selected from every source its most characteristic part. The key sentence for the whole book may be the following one: “...mikeppen aldot cristus ew predicacioyak kezditiben ven maganak tizenket apostalt mendent el hagyuan Ekeppen bodog sent fferench vallot tyzenket tarsot melseges zegen-seget valasztuan.” (“In the same way that blessed Christ chose twelve apostles at the beginning of his ministry, having abandoned everything, so St. Francis took twelve companions, after having chosen honorable poverty.” 1/7–10).²⁰ The main aspects of the image of St.

¹⁹ Marcel Böröcz, *Ferencesek a középkori magyar irodalomban* [Franciscans in Medieval Hungarian Literature], (Pécs, 1911), 132.

²⁰ I cite the text of the codex according to the edition of Gy. Volf, the first number meaning the page, the number after the slash, the lines. I preserve the orthography of Volf (which actually differs from that of the manuscript), but for technical reasons, I use the normal *s* letter instead of the “long” one.

Francis are here introduced for the first time: conformity to Christ, absolute poverty, preaching and the importance of the brothers (the pupils and companions of St. Francis). These points are successively developed in the following text.

The *Actus* chapters (pp. 1–78) present a series of scenes from the life of the brothers and the early traditions of the order, where St. Francis appears only incidentally and seems somewhat less important than the brothers. The introductory episode of the conversion of Brother Bernard is the logical beginning of the book, as it shows the way to acquire the true Franciscan spirit and join the Franciscan community: “*Ha akarz tekelletes leny menel sarwldel mendedett kyket vallz es agyad zegeneknec ... ky akar entannam yewnye vegye fel kynyat eskewesen engemmet.*” (“If you want to be perfect, go sell all you have and give it to the poor; who wishes to go after me, let him take up his cross and follow me.” 3/28–31). The motif of divine predestination and predetermination, rendered here as a kind of “fortune-telling” with the help of the New Testament, is also very important. In fact, in all situations, and before making any important decisions, St. Francis appealed to God, so this episode may intend to demonstrate the true Franciscan spirit, a deep and abiding sense of the presence of God, which underlies all St. Francis said and did.

The next chapters are also very important, as they outline the Franciscan virtues: *humilitas*, *sancta oboedientia*, and the doctrine of *perfecta laetitia*. These ideas play a considerable role; they practically substitute the motifs of poverty, contemplation, and simplicity (in some cases in the Hungarian translation, the Latin *simplicitas* was even rendered as *alázatosság*, “humility” 31/2). This part of the text reveals the virtues of the early Franciscan community, citing examples from the life of the Brothers Bernard, Masseo, Rufinus, Leo, Aegidius and the others, and also contains two St. Clare episodes.

The subject of mysticism is introduced in the chapters where St. Francis himself appears, mainly in the chapter on stigmatization, “*sent sebekrewl ualó czoda*” (pp. 66–70). This miracle was the culmination of the life of St. Francis as a perfect re-creation of the life of Jesus, as his life spread far and wide an adoring devotion of all the events of the life of Jesus, especially those connected with his Passion. It is put forward as the climactic point, although chronologically it was one of the last episodes of St. Francis’s life. The miracle of the stigmatization may be typologically important as an illustration of the new kind of sainthood, asserting that by God’s providence the saint would be

made like the crucified Christ, not by bodily martyrdom, but by conformity in mind and heart, which may be made visible in some way.

The next part (pp. 78–123) is translated from the *Speculum*, and the intonation of the text changes accordingly: the chapters include short precepts written in a much less sophisticated way, and small explicit *exempla* stories from St. Francis's life. They are usually of a very axiomatic and illustrative character, as can be seen from the titles of the chapters, which generally begin with the following words: *mykeppen, hogy, mykent, mikoron* (Latin: *quomodo, qualiter*); the titles of the chapters for the *Actus* part demonstrate rather a "narrative" tendency. Equally important is that the chapters in question presuppose much more contact with the reader than the previous chapters, as they usually end with a kind of moral maxim (*admonitio*). In the Hungarian translation, these are even more frequent; in at least two cases, they do not have Latin equivalents and are undoubtedly the creation of the Hungarian author: "*Azert penzt ne zeresetek mert czalard.*" ("Do not cherish money because it is a deceiving." 39/3) and "*Az ert legyen egyarant eteltek nem hogy egy zaya keduent egyek smasnak ne legyen mytt az ellenne enny.*" ("Let him be as if he were well-fed so that he should not eat just for the sake of his mouth, while another person has nothing to eat." 41/23–24).

From an ideological point of view, the main concept here is the concept of absolute poverty, understood in a wide sense.²¹ From the twelve parts of the original text of the *Speculum*, the compiler selected and translated the first one almost entirely, *De perfecta paupertate*. He omitted from it – evidently not by chance – only the short first eleven chapters which describe very concrete and practical aspects of the life of the order: the building of monasteries, clothes, and attitudes toward books. As a matter of fact, the same selection was also made by the author of the Budapest manuscript, which begins with the twelfth chapter of the *Speculum*. Therefore, it can be assumed that there were some connections here. As for the other large parts of the *Speculum* which contain biographical examples of St. Francis's love of creatures and nature, and his humiliation and charity,²² these are translated only very selectively. St. Francis is described as a preaching and teaching saint, who made his life a conscious example, a "public effort within society".²³ He was constantly looked upon as a model.

²¹ See K. Esser, "Die Armutsauffassung des Heiligen Franziskus", in *Poverty in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Flood (1975), 134–165.

²² See Sabatier, *Collections ...* (1902).

²³ Kleinberg, *Prophets ...*, 135.

This is why the role of the brothers is also important here, but they are treated rather as the passive audience from which literal and uncritical imitation was expected.

The mystical element is practically absent in this part of the text (with the exception of some episodes of St. Francis's intimate union with Christ), but it appears again in the following part (pp. 127–153), again translated from the *Actus*. Here the most famous episode is that of the conversion of the wolf (pp. 146–153), and in a surprising way, it is actually the only scene in the codex which is concerned with St. Francis's power over nature and his love for all creatures as "mirrors of God". These sides of Franciscan spirituality may have seemed less important for the Hungarian author, mysticism as such not being typical of Hungarian medieval literature.²⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that the text of the codex does not really contain any examples of typical Franciscan mysticism, except for the obligatory commonly known episodes of the legend.


As a matter of fact, the supernatural and the natural were so closely intertwined in the image of St. Francis that he did not really need to prove his divine power with the help of miracles. However, the final part of the codex (the final part of the copy at our disposal, pp. 155–162), translated from St. Bonaventura's *Vita*, describes a quite trivial array of miracles: eight healing miracles, which are given in a "business-like" style, as a kind of a list with the exact localization of the event at the beginning of every chapter.

As has been shown by L. Szörényi,²⁵ the structure of the codex is very compressed, logical and illustrative. It was designed on an individual basis, and thus, the intention of the author can be reconstructed from an analysis of it. Therefore, the Jókai Codex can be used not only as a source for the study of ecclesiastical history, but should also be regarded as the first original piece of Hungarian medieval literature.

²⁴ See Gábor Otokocsi Nagy, *A misztika kódexirodalmunkban* [Mysticism in Medieval Hungarian Literature], (Debrecen, 1937); idem, "A magyar irodalmi gótika problematikájához" [To the Problem of Gothic Style in Hungarian Literature], in *Pap Károly-Emlékkönyv* (Debrecen, 1939), 296–303; Károly Alexa, "A misztika stíluselemei a régi magyar költői nyelvben" [Elements of Mystical Style in Old Hungarian Poetic Language], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74 (1970), 285–304, where it has been shown that "literary mysticism" in Hungary was expressed not in descriptions of the supernatural, but rather in the creation of a new sentimental poetic language and style.

²⁵ László Szörényi, *La problematica del codice Jókai alla luce degli studi recenti nelle leggende di San Francesco* (manuscript).

POLITICS IN ACTION: FROM REBELS AGAINST THE CROWN TO *FIDELI NOSTRI BULGARI*

Kiril Petkov 

The religious aspect of the image of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs was one of the main features that determined the attitude of the East-Central Europeans towards them. A second aspect which contributed to its creation was the sphere of political relations. Political *topoi*, attached to the image of a particular nation, are a well-known means of perception, even in modern times. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, they were even more persistent, and played an important role in forming an image of the Balkan Slavs.

Political realities, however, differed significantly from religious perceptions. The nature of the relationship made them more relevant as an image-creating factor in those countries with territorial borders where tensions had already developed in areas along them. Further, political visions are generally subject to profound modification in surprisingly short periods of time. In comparison with religious perceptions, the speed of political change is considerably greater, depending sometimes on a momentous change in the official policy of a given country. It does not mean, however, that the transformations occurred simultaneously at all levels of perception. Nevertheless, once accepted as a policy on the highest level, they slowly affected the general attitude of a whole society.

These observations may seem truistic. However, they must be mentioned in order to emphasize the particular milieu in which the political image of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs developed among East-Central Europeans. Among these countries, only Hungary had an extensive political border on the Balkans. Only Hungarians had had constant political tensions with the Orthodox Balkan Slavs, and had political ambitions *vis-à-vis* the Balkan Slavs in the fourteenth century.



For other East-Central European nations, the political realities of the early Middle Ages had long been forgotten by the second half of the fourteenth century.

Thus, one might expect a denser political record (and a political image of the Balkan Slavs derived from it) in Hungarian documents. For the rest of East-Central Europe, due to infrequent political contacts, this image was less perceptible. Most of their characteristics depended on previous assumptions transmitted by means of former historical oral and written traditions. No less important in this matter was the role of Hungary as an intermediary, spreading its experience to other recipients. However, the fearful shadow of the Ottomans falling on the region created a political opinion more willing to switch its attitude, once the necessary new information was provided. Yet these developments were hardly discernible by the second half of the fourteenth century. By that time, the political image of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs was largely determined by the way Hungarians perceived them.

"...ANTIQUAM CORONE HUNGARIAE POSSESSIONEM"

The political image of the Balkan Orthodox Slavs among the Hungarians had a long history by the middle of the fourteenth century due to political negotiations and temporary political conquests. Hungarian rulers claimed political supremacy over the Slavic Balkan states. These developments took place in the second half of the thirteenth century. The claim for overlordship over Bulgaria was recorded for the first time in the 1260s, and the claim over Serbia came some decades later. The extreme expression of this attitude was the appearance of the title "King of Bulgaria" or "King of Serbia" incorporated into the title of Hungarian rulers. Thus, the Bulgarians as well as the Serbs were considered political subjects of the "Holy Crown of Saint Stephen". The presence of a south Slavic Orthodox population within the Hungarian borders strengthened this ambition on the Hungarian side.¹

¹ See for example *Documenta Walachorum* L. Gáldi – A. Fekete-Nagy – L. Makkai eds, *Documenta historiae Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum* (Budapest, 1941), 137–138, mentioning the Bulgarians in the county of Krassó in 1358; the population surely moved there after the successful Hungarian expeditions in Bulgaria, perhaps already in the previous century.

Naturally these political implications were hardly accepted by the Orthodox Balkan rulers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They continued to follow an independent policy insofar as they were able to do so. Thus, the Hungarian kings who had ambitions concerning the Balkans labelled these rulers "rebels against the crown".

Louis the Great, who was especially consistent in his active foreign policy regarding the Balkans in the early fourteenth century, was among the rulers who employed wide political propaganda. Moreover, this negative image of the Orthodox Slavs was employed to justify his aggressive plans in the eyes of all his potential allies throughout Europe. Describing his plans, Louis used a specific set of notions and phrases borrowed from the thesaurus of feudal language of the time, which was well understood by his noble correspondents.

Thus, even before the expedition leading to the occupation of Vidin in the spring of 1365, the royal chancery actively emphasized the idea that the Bulgarians had turned away from Hungarian rule.² According to the terms of feudal language, they were designated as unfaithful vassals and rebels.³ The Hungarian acquisition of the Tsardom of Vidin was presented as a legitimate design of traditional political overlordship.⁴ In these times when conceptions of political loyalty were rigid, the act supposedly performed by the Bulgarians must have been considered a serious offence.

A similar attitude can be found in some documents of the time of Louis's successor, Sigismund, in 1389 and 1390. After the death of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanovič in 1389, the Hungarians considered it their right to interfere in Serbian affairs, basing their view on old conceptions of the previous age. In the usual fashion, the Serbs were declared "unfaithful rebels".⁵

² L. Thallóczy, "Oklevelek a magyar-bulgár összeköttetések történetéhez" [Diplomata ad historiam coniunctionum Hungarorum et Bulgarorum], *Történelmi Társulat* (Budapest, 1898), 362 "de regno nostro Bulgariae quod olim a regimine et iurisdictione sancte regni Hungariae corone cui rationaliter subdebatur per callidas nonnullorum infidelium Bulgarorum versutias habebatur malitiose alienatur."

³ *ibid.*, 359: "Per infidelium et rebellium astutiam a iurisdictione regimis ipsius sauche corone dudum habebatur alienatur."

⁴ Hazai Okmánytár. *Codex Diplomaticus patrius*, ed. I. Nagy et al., vols. I-VIII, (Győr – Budapest, 1865–1891), I, 248: "Regni Bulgariae iure geniture nobis debiti."

⁵ See *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvár város történetéhez* [Urkunden zur Geschichte des Komitats Temesch und der Stadt Temeschwar]. Kópiert und gesammelt von F. Pesty. Im Auftrag der Historischen Kommission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zur Drucklegung vorbereitet von T. Ortway. Bd. I, 1183–1430. *Temesvármegye*

Employing the *topoi* of the common political and feudal language of the time,⁶ the political machinery of Louis the Great designated the Serbs and Bulgarians in notions easily understandable for an international audience, making an immediate impact on perceptions of them. The image traced in the documents cited previously was mainly for domestic use. Nevertheless, one can hardly doubt that when it spread outside Hungary, it did not vary significantly.

By the end of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, new political developments contributed further to the Hungarian idea that the south Slavic kingdoms were an "old possession of the Hungarian crown". This idea originating in the thirteenth century was revived by the expeditions of Louis the Great. The conquest of Vidin by Louis the Great in the 1360s became the leitmotif of almost all fifteenth-century Hungarian accounts dealing with his era. It was considered a duty of writers of all genres to put aside a considerable amount of space to explain the vassal obligations of Tsar Srazimir.

Later, with the fall of both Bulgarian Tsardoms – Tarnovo in 1393 and Vidin in 1397 – the Hungarian kings considered themselves the only legitimate rulers of the population there.⁷ On two recorded oc-

és Temesvár város története [Geschichte Komitats Temesch und der Stadt Temeschwar], IV (Pozsony, 1896), 182.

⁶ The same type of language was used for a particular Bulgarian official performing services for Louis in the conquered Vidin. Although this time the attitude was favourable, it implies the same disposition of a feudal lord towards his servant or vassal; see Thallóczy, "Oklevelek", 361-362: "*Georgio dicto Primichur, fideli nostro Bulgaro.*" However, this political image, even combined with more grave religious implications, did not work as smoothly as expected on the level of international politics. The case is illustrated by Louis' request for ships from Venice in 1366; see S. Steiner, "Die Beziehungen Ludwigs I von Ungarn zu Karl IV" (1358-1373), *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 11 (1888), 568, note 3.

⁷ This attitude is well illustrated by the fact that Sigismund who normally used the title "King of Bulgaria" randomly, intensified its use immediately after the fall of Tarnovo; see for instance *Documenta Valachorum*, 469. Sigismund was consistent in this policy until his death; see a later charter of July 16, 1435, in L. Thallóczy and A. Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára. A Magyarország és Szerbia közötti összeköttetések oklevéltára, 1198-1526* (Budapest, 1907), 98-99: "*et una nobiscum personaliter progrediende addictorum Turcorum et Bajazit eorundem sevitiarum comprimendam et elidendam ad climata dicti regni nostri Bulgariae ubi ipsorum Bayzath imperator et Turcorum ceterumque scismaticorum grandis cetus pullulabat castra metati fuissimus, et Bidino civitate fortissima necnon Strachimerio eusdem imperatoris nostre ditioni votive subiugatus in campo dicti castris maioris Nicapolis agrediendo et in area ipsius certaminis cum pretaxata fideli nostri comitiva ferventer bellando et stragem inter ipsos schismaticos perpetrando...*" Later sources inform us that Sigismund was eager to insist on having Bulgaria as his patrimonium even in the Turkish court of Bajazid; see Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, E. Mályusz - Gy. Kristó

casions, King Sigismund asked the Turks to return Bulgaria to him. In 1394 he claimed the whole northern part of the recently conquered Tarnovo Tsardom. In 1433 his request was more modest – only the territories of the former Tsardom of Vidin. By that time, the idea of the Bulgarian lands as lawful Hungarian possessions had firmly gained ground at the level of international politics. In 1430, a messenger of the Duke of Milan had a meeting with unspecified Bulgarian leaders and discussed possible opportunities to remove the Ottoman yoke. The only option he saw was to return to the Hungarian crown.⁸

This idea of Bulgarian lands as Hungarian possessions was recorded in all kinds of written sources and spread for over a century. This included such documents as Louis's own charters, official histories, the Hungarian Chronicle of Thuróczy and of Bonfinis, and accounts such as that of Balázs Szalkai.⁹

Political actions taken by the young Polish–Hungarian King Wladislas I Jagiello from 1440 to 1444 confirm the conception of the south Slavic kingdoms as Hungarian possessions. Equally important is the fact that the position officially supported by Wladislas implies some Polish involvement. Thus, in 1444 when preparing his Varna crusade, the king promised the Kingdom of Bulgaria to János Hunyadi.¹⁰ Some scholars have questioned this statement of Długosz (in

eds, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum* (Budapest, 1985), II, 213, cap. 203. It is worth noting that even the pretender for the Hungarian crown Ladislas of Naples claimed the title of “*Dei Gratiae Hungariae, Hierusalem et Sicilie, Dalmatie, Croatie, Rome, Servie, Salicie, Lodomerie, Comanie, Bulgariaeque rex...*”; see Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike* (Zagreb, 1878), VI, 167. Serbia and Bulgaria were constantly mentioned in the Hungarian royal title until the end of the Hungarian kingdom after the Battle of Mohács.

⁸ For episodes described by Bertrandon de la Brocquière see B. Cvetkova, *Pametna bitka na narodite* [A Historical Battle of Nations], (Varna, 1979), 77.

⁹ For the time of Louis the Great, see notes 92-4, further in Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, 2, X, 449-450; Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, 180, Cap. 164: Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius, “*Cronica minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae*”, 231-35; *Chronica Hungarorum*; half of the rubric *De exercitu in Bulgariam* deals with the obligations of Srazimir as Hungarian vassal. It must be noted, however, that the Hungarian historical tradition in the 15th century followed and accumulated the concepts of the previous ages, thus combining different approaches. For these problems see generally C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians* (Cambridge, 1954), passim.

¹⁰ This information appears for the first time in Długosz; see Jana Długosza Kanonika Krakowskiego, *Dzieła wszystkie*, A. Przeździecki ed., *Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego, Dzieła wszystkie* (Kraków, 1869), 663-664. From him it was taken by Callimach: S. Kwiatkowski ed., *Philippi Callimachi Experiens, Historia Rerum Gestarum in Hun-*

the Hungarian account, Bonfini also incorporated it into his history, perhaps after Callimachus). However strong his anti-Hungarian sentiments might have been, Długosz could be entirely correct here. From what is known about the initial hesitation of Hunyadi to join the second crusade of Wladislas I, the king's proposal must have influenced his final acceptance. Moreover, Wladislas's proposal was consistent with the general Hungarian – and then also Polish – approach to the political condition of the south Slavic countries described previously.¹¹

A similar attitude was shown towards the Serbs after the Treaty of Tata and especially after the death of Stephen Lazarevič in 1427.¹² A very instructive case is the official speech of János Vitéz in the Frankfurt diet in October 1454. Making a splendid effort to describe the miserable status of the south Slavic nations subjugated by the Ottoman Turks, Vitéz did not omit to mention Serbia as *antiquam corone Hungariae possessionem*.¹³

THE OTTOMAN CONFEDERATES

Along with the conceptions of “Hungarian subjects” and “rebels”, another feature of the political image of the Orthodox Slavs was the

garia et contra Turcos per Vladislaum Poloniae et Hungariae Regem (Kraków, 1893), 140. “*Cui sententiae nec despotis quidem aut Hunyadinus tandem fortiter obsistebant ille invitatis facilitate quae in debelando apparebat, hic regia sponsione pellectus, cum Vladislaus promississet ei Bulgariae regnum post victoriam, et litteras quibus id continebatur, etiam quorundam procerum subscriptione firmatas in fidem dedisset.*”

¹¹ This conclusion does not contradict the supposed requirement of Wladislas to the Turks to return their Serbian and Bulgarian possessions to their legitimate rulers, compare Phillipi Callimachi Experientis, *Historia Rerum Gestarum*, 130: “*Disceptatio maior in condicionibus approbandis agente Turco de reservanda sibi Bulgaria fodinisque argenti cum plerisque oppidis in Serbia, Vladislao vero, legitimis dominis restitui singula volente. tandem in id conventum est quod Bulgaria tantummodo in ditione Turci remaneret...*” Wladislas might have considered himself the legitimate supreme ruler of both countries, as his attitude towards George Brankovič in 1440 showed; see below.

¹² The consequences of the Serbian-Hungarian treaties for Belgrade were felt already in 1411, when in a charter of July 15, despot Stephen was called *Illustri principi domino despoto Rasciae*; see Thallóczy and Áldásy, *Magyarország*, 52. The expression *Regni nostri Rasciae* became very common after 1427, *ibid.*, 73. For the political treaties, see J. Radonic, *Sporazum u Tati 1426 i srpsko-ugarski odnosi od XIII do XVI veka* (Belgrade, 1941) [= Glass. Odeljenje društvenih nauka Srpske Akad. nauk. i umetnosti, 187], 117-232.

¹³ Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna, *Operae quae supersunt*, ed. Iván Boronkai (Budapest, 1980), 255, III, 6:11.



designation "Turkish allies". As might be expected, it was also invented in Hungary. Whereas the former were chiefly for domestic use, the latter was mainly designed for international politics. Thus, the impact of its spread among East-Central and Western European nations was more strongly felt.

Among the earliest recorded references to this image of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs is information from the court of Amadeus VI, the Green Count of Savoy. In the summer of 1365 he discussed with his honourable guest, the emperor of the Holy Roman empire Charles IV, opportunities to free Western and Central Europe of predatory mercenary companies. Interestingly enough, the proposal emerged to send them to Hungary, where they were needed for the wars of King Louis the Great against the Turks and Bulgarians. Both participants in these debates are important as testimonies of how the propaganda of King Louis worked at that time. Charles IV was affected by it, not so much as ruler of the Holy Empire, but as king of Bohemia. The Green Count, on his part a year later, showed the impact this preparatory work had had on him, turning his crusade against the Bulgarians instead of against the Ottoman Turks.¹⁴

In the 1360s and 1370s the Hungarians' perception that the Orthodox Bulgarians were Turkish allies was not far from the truth. For some decades after 1389, the same held true for the Serbs as well. Sandwiched between Hungary and the Ottomans, the Balkan Orthodox rulers at first tried to play them off against each other, a very short-sighted and dangerous policy in the long run. However, the choice was not theirs.

As early as the beginning of the 1370s, there is a reference revealing that the accusations of Louis the Great were not empty words. In a letter written in 1372, the voivode of Wallachia, Ladislas, informed King Louis of the war against the Bulgarian emperor of Tarnovo, who had allied himself with the Turks.¹⁵ During King Louis's dangerous expedition in Wallachia in 1375 against Radu, Ottoman and Bulgarian

¹⁴ For this episode, see Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1967), 197-8, note 54, where M. Pron, *Étude sur les relations politiques du pape Urban V avec les rois de France Jean II et Charles V* (Paris, 1888), 52, is mentioned. I was not able to check the reference in Pron's work.

¹⁵ G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, Buda, 1829-1844: IX/4: 477: "contra Turcos infidelis et imperatorem de Tyrna in Bulgaria."

auxiliaries fought on the Wallachian side.¹⁶ However, this view of the Bulgarians was short-lived. The advance of the Turks in the last quarter of the fourteenth century brought an end to the Bulgarian states. Although some of their leaders preserved local autonomy in the framework of the provincial Ottoman administration, the Bulgarians were no longer considered allies of the Turks.

The situation with the Serbs was somewhat different. Their long struggle for independence necessarily involved numerous alliances with the Ottomans. As early as the beginning of the 1390s, Serbian troops were often met in the south of Hungary together with the Turks. Until the end of the fourteenth century, when the independent Serbian state fell, they provided sound reasons for calling the Serbs "Turkish allies".

The policy of the Serbian despot Stephen Lazarevič in the last decade of the fourteenth century was of particular importance. In 1396 Sigismund, with Western forces gathered from almost all over Europe, undertook the disastrous crusade of Nicopolis. Before arriving there, they were received favourably by the Bulgarian Tsar of Vidin, who, despite being an Ottoman vassal, opened the gates of his fortress, one of the strongest in the country. This shows a striking difference between him and Stephen Lazarevič. When arriving under the walls of Nicopolis, the crusaders met the Serbian forces of Stephen Lazarevič fighting as Ottoman allies. The Serbian contribution to the failure of the crusade must have long been remembered in Europe. In Hungary itself, a similar image of the Serbs had already been prepared and witnessed even earlier.

This attitude is reflected for the first time in a series of charters of King Sigismund from 1389–1396, where this appellative was constantly applied to them.¹⁷ Later, the Hungarian royal chancery con-

¹⁶ For the campaign and its international repercussions, see L. B. Kumorovitz, "I. Lajos királyunk 1375. évi havasalföldi hadjárata és török háborúja" [King Louis I's Expedition to Wallachia and His Turkish War in 1375], *Századok* 117 (1983): 919–981.

¹⁷ Thallóczy and Áldásy, *Magyarország*, 29, 33: "in regno Servia contra Turcos and Rascienses;" *Documenta Valachorum*, 396–397: "idem magister Ladizlaus sicuti assecla sidis bona bonis accumulare satagendo et incolas regni nostri in Machouiensi, Sirimiensi, Crassouiensi et Temesiensi antefato districtibus ac comitatibus incolatum habentes per turmas pestiferas et hosticos grande insultu pravorum scismaticorum Rasciensium et Turcorum ex subdolo astu confederatorum, quorum inhumani rigoris austeritatis utpote locuste immense pluralitatis ex abissi puteo ad nocendum nobis et ipsis regnicolis nostris vicibus sedule replicatus erumpentes, nos et regnum nostrum nequiter offendere maluit et feriere non modicum in personis et rebus suis molibus et immobilibus afflictos, derobatos, exhaustos et exustos de faucibus et potestatis iugo anxietateque valida dictorum scismaticorum in Christianorum necem et sanguinis effusionem absque temporis

tinued this policy with the same vigor.¹⁸ In the times of Kings Albert, Wladislas I Jagiello, and Ladislas V, the Serbian despot George Branković, just as Stephen Lazarevič had done before him, tried to postpone the imminent disaster by vacillating between the Ottomans and the Hungarians. His political behavior, although understandable in East-Central Europe, added further nuances to the image of the Serbs as Turkish allies.¹⁹ As late as 1458, during the last days of the medieval Serbian state, after the heroic defence of Belgrade in 1456 and the death of the old despot, Hungary continued to spread the idea of the Serbs as Turkish allies.²⁰

However, these were indeed the last occasions when the Serbs were thus labelled. Losing their independence, they lost those qualities which led to their label as “unfaithful vassals” and “Turkish allies”. Needless to say, the fall of their buffer-state did not prevent the employment of Serbs in the Ottoman armies campaigning in Hungary. However, by that time, there was a large number of Serbian and Bulgarian immigrants in Hungary who sided with the Catholics against the Turks. Their presence and activity helped replace the old notion with another quite different one. The beginnings of this dis-

intervallo inmaniter sevientium demere et cetum crudelem ipsorum Rasciensium et Turcorum...”; as well as Ortway, *Oklevelek*, I, 316-317.

¹⁸ See the above-mentioned charter given to the count of Cilli in 1435 in Thallóczy and Áldásy, *Magyarország*, 98-99.

¹⁹ See for instance the ambiguous approach of Wladislas I in August 1440 when he took the town of Perlek from the despot because of his involvement in the succession affair: “...quod idem despotus, predationum regni huius per sevissimos Turcos, in quorum medio et nunc duo eius filii existunt facturum conscius et conscensius fuisse et esse suspicatur, proco eciam quod ipso despotus nobis pridem hoc regnum iure elleccionis nostre ingredientibus, se de ipso regno a nostri facie mella rationabili causa motus obsertans et ad alienas terras conferens rebellionis pocius quam obediencie et fidelitatis observande de se iudicium prebuit...”, in *Codex Zichy*, IX, 17.

²⁰ Such a message can be found in the report of the Franciscan friar Peter Thomas from Hungary to the Venetian Doge Pascuale Malipietro (March 20, 1458), stressing that the new despot Lazar helped the Turks cross the Danube: “E seguide che in questi di passati per el mezo dei dispoti Lazaro de Servia sono passati el Danubio tanti turchi che per certo ha fatto gran choraria e menado via piu di XI milla persone cum oltre assai grande crudeltade”, Thallóczy and Áldásy, *Magyarország*, 230. This information came from Hungary; subsequent evidence for the same event proves this. Two weeks later, similar information on the event was sent by the lord of Varese to Francesco Sforza, including additional details about the mutual hatred between Serbians and Hungarians: “Soa signoria me disse havere queste novelle di verso Ungaria che ne mando la copia che la crede lo regame de Servia pigliara accordo con Turchi perche molto son odiosi verso Ungari. Sono circondati da Turchi e crede quel legato sia levato di quel paese piu per suspeto de la persona soa che altramente.” The source for information from Italy was again Venice.

cernible transformation dated from earlier, but this did not replace the former opinions immediately. There was a period during which old assumptions too heated to be forgotten at once slowly faded away. In Hungary, this transition was complicated. As for the other East-Central European countries at this time, they were mainly recipients of the Hungarian point of view. Their general indifference towards the Orthodox Balkans precluded the formation of an independent opinion on the matter. Their time was to come only when the Ottoman danger became their own affair.

TIMES OF INDIFFERENCE

These observations hold true mostly for the Bulgarians. A reference to previous sources shows that the Serbs were better known in East-Central Europe. This longer tradition in the face of Ottoman aggression gave some continuity, however controversial, to their view of the Serbs. On the other hand, the early fall of the Bulgarian state, already extinct by the first quarter of the fifteenth century, contributed to a temporary oblivion of the memory of the Bulgarians.²¹ Of course, this was not complete. The Bulgarians had left many traces in West and East-Central Europe throughout previous centuries which were still alive. During the fifteenth century, occasional events revived them. However, from the middle of the century onwards, the Europeans as a whole tended to ignore Bulgarians as a political entity.

The appearance of designations that are more geographical than political is the first sign of this process. Whereas in the 1390s after the disaster of Nicopolis, Philippe de Mézières still referred to the "Empire of Bulgaria", papal messengers sent to the previous *regna* in

²¹ There are recent attempts on the part of Bulgarian scholars to postpone the final date of the extinction of the medieval Bulgarian state tradition and to prove its continuity up to the middle of the 15th century. However, their assumptions are based on only a part of Hungarian sources, and a mixture of the ethnical, geographical and political connotations of the time. This approach brought some misinterpretations, easily dismissable when one confronts the whole body of information in its proper milieu. Some remarks concerning this hypothesis will be made later. We cannot, for instance, take the references in some letters of King Matthias from 1476 pointing to the *regno Bulgariae* as an indication of a still-existing state tradition; see *Mátyás Király Levelei. Külügyi osztály 1458–1490*, I (Budapest, 1893), 355.

the 1420s were directed towards *partes Bulgariae, Rasciae* and *Bosnae*.²² In conjunction with the Hungarian assertion of overlordship over the Bulgarians in the same decade, we come across the notion that all Bulgarian lands outside the former Tsardom of Vidin were already considered to be *Turcia*, not *Bulgaria*.²³

The notion proved especially persistent in the political language of the second half of the fifteenth century, whereas in other treatises the more neutral term *Romania* was used. In Michael Beheim's poetry from 1460 the name *Bulgaria* was only applied to the Vidin region, after which came *Turcia*.²⁴ As noted previously, this information was obtained from a participant in the Varna Crusade. Thus it is even more instructive as Hans Mögest surely must have known the real nature of the lands he crossed. Nevertheless, either he, or Beheim himself, complied with the requirements of the time and called the northern Bulgarian lands *Turcia*. Moreover, mixing again the political and confessional currents, Beheim labelled the inhabitants "Greeks". This attitude contributed further to the removal of the Bulgarians as a political entity.²⁵

A similar attitude can be found in the *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum* of Pietro Ranzani, the bishop of Lucera, who was personally acquainted with Hungarian affairs during the reign of King

²² E. Fermendžin, ed., *Acta Bosniae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752* (Zagrabiae, 1892), 114-115: "*Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte vestri petitio continebat, quod cum infra regnum Hungariae prope metas eiusdem versus Bosnae, Rasciae, Bulgariae et Valahiae partes...*"

²³ See the letter from István Rozgonyi to Ursula, widow of Ladislas Tytews de Bakmonostra, from January 25, 1427: "*qui si poterint, Radol vaivodam captivare, captivumque detenere, et si aqua Danubii cungetata fuerit, regnum Turcie profundius concremando et desolando anichilare non cessent, usque portum Maris proficiscantur, et quidquid nocumenti nefandissimis Turcis et inicorum natis poterint, facere debeant*", about the expedition of Sigismund, the Wallachian voivode Dan and the Portuguese Prince Peter in *Codex Diplomaticus domus senioris Comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, ed. Ern. de Camerer, VIII (Budapest, 1895), 310, Nr. 197.

²⁴ *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, I, 328 ff.

²⁵ A similar attitude is shown by Jacopo Promontorio de Campis, who, although knowing very well the ethnic origin of the Balkan Slavs – he spent 25 years in the Balkans – calls them "Greeks"; see Franz Babinger, "Der Quellenwert der Berichte über den Entsatz von Belgrad am 21/22 Juli 1456", *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, II (Munich, 1962), 306. In Hungary, this attitude spread very early, as testified by a letter of Sigismund to the Burgundian Duke Philipp from April 16, 1404, where the king calls the Bulgarian lands "Greek provinces and other regions still possessed by the Turks"; see E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria Romanilor* (Bucharest, 1890), I/2, 429.

Matthias.²⁶ Długosz, who knew very well the proceedings of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan countries, when referring to the crusade of Nicopolis in 1396 describes the country as *Romania*.²⁷ Konstantin Michailovič of Ostroviza also considered *Bulgaria* as covering only the lands south of the Balkan mountain range. In 1444, during the second campaign of Wladislas I Jagiello, the crusaders crossed "the whole of Turkey up to Varna".²⁸

Another hint in this direction is provided by the geographical nomenclature in use. After the rediscovery of Claudius Ptolemaeus and Strabo in the last decade of the fifteenth century, a revival of the antique geographical tradition in scholarly treatises and maps followed. It led to an increased use of ancient names instead of medieval ones. Thus, one comes often across the geographical names Thrace, Mysia or Macedonia in former Bulgarian territory, but not *Bulgaria*.²⁹ The Western name for Byzantium, *Romania*, and the particular reference for the Bulgarian Tsardom in the second half of the fourteenth century, *Zagora*,³⁰ almost entirely replaced the name of *Bulgaria*. This trend can be also observed in probably the greatest historico-geographical enterprise of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the illustrated Chronicle of Hartman Schedel.³¹ In the first half of the fol-

²⁶ Petri Ranzani Siculi Episcopi Luzerni, apud Mattiam I olim Hung. regem per Triennium Legati, *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum*, in J. Schwandtner, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Veteres ac genuini* (Vindobonae 1766–1768), I, 341: "*Paret imperio Turcarum quod nostra memoria ea gens in suam redegit potestatem. Inde ad locum unde est Moesiae inferioris utpote regionis Bulgarorum principium, est oppidum Bdignum nomine.*"

²⁷ Jana Długosza, *Dziela wszystkie*, III, 481–483, and IV, 219. Some ambiguity is also typical of Callimachus, who follows Długosz.

²⁸ K. Mihajlovic, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, transl. B. Stolz (Ann Arbor, 1975), 98–99.

²⁹ Even before the middle of the 15th century, the revival of antique geographical notions brought about a distorted picture of the Balkans; see for instance a gloss to a letter composed by János Vitéz in 1448, made in 1451 and preserved in Cod. Lat. or. 431, from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: "*Macedonia includit Romaniam, Bulgariam, Albaniam, et partem Rascie sive Servie usque ad terminos Panonie.*"

³⁰ Especially persistent in the usage of the latter name were the Venetians, who continued to use it still in 1418, together with the designation "Empire of Zagora"; see the message from Modon to Venice from May 30, 1418 in Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1899), I, 278: "*e mercantigar in lo imperio de Tagoro*" [=Zagora].

³¹ A German copy of Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (Augsburg, 1496) can be seen in the Manuscript department of the Hungarian National Library, Budapest, Nr. 634. The region of the Balkans comprises *Walachey, Albania, Türkei, Tarcia* (Rascia?), *Macedonia*, all with fictitious pictures of their countryside. Although Schedel knew Bulgaria fairly well,

lowing century, the same attitude was shown in the maps of Don Huan de la Cosa (1500), a Portuguese portolan (1501–1504), Johan Ruis (1508), Johannes Stabius (1515) and Huan Bescipi (1523).³² Only on maps particularly connected with some military activities of the East-Central European states did Bulgaria still stand out.³³

This information implies that after the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and especially after the death of Emperor Sigismund, there was a trend in Europe to recognize somehow the Ottoman possession of Bulgaria. This was mainly manifested in Wladislas I's agreement, however temporarily, to leave the country to the Turks in 1444.³⁴ The political image of the Bulgarians as Turkish subjects easily gained ground.

However, this trend did not manage to prevail upon another notion, that of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs as allies of Catholic East-Central Europe against the Turks. It was recorded earlier, and in the long run proved stronger in adding new nuances to the perception of them during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

THE ALLIES

In spite of problems connected with the double vassalage of the Balkan Orthodox rulers between Hungary and the Ottomans, their role as allies of the Catholics was already appreciated at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Attempts by the Hungarians to regard them as Hungarian vassals had been clearly made. As such they were expected to act jointly with the Hungarians against the Turks. However, in the other East-Central European countries, and in Hungary after the middle of the fifteenth century when the desire to absorb the

there are some texts about the conversion of the Bulgarians which he did not consider necessary to include a picture of in the Chronicle.

³² All in A.-E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas of the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1970), XLII, XXXII, XLVII, XLIX, XXVII.

³³ As in the case of the Balkan military map, prepared probably by the time of Wladislas I's crusades; see I. Dimitriu Snegov, *Codex Militaris et machina bellicis* (Bucharest, 1979); or in the Polish edition of the Geography of Ptolemaius, prepared by Bernard Waposki in the first half of the 16th century with information derived previously from some participants in the same campaigns; see K. Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to 18th Centuries*, (Wroclaw, 1968), 30–41, maps Nrs 7/8.

³⁴ See the collection of documents and narrative sources for the peace negotiations after the Long Campaign in Joseph Schwarz, "Zur Geschichte des Friedensschlusses von Segedin 1444," *Ungarische Revue*, XIV (1894), 334–356.

south Slavic countries was less strong, they began to be regarded as possible allies against the common enemy.

The attempt to attract the Orthodox Slavs into an alliance with Hungary must have begun earlier in the 1380s. Evidence shows that such undertakings had occurred by 1388. By the end of the previous year, Jean II le Meingre, called Boucicaut, later Maréchal of France and governor of Genoa, accompanied by the knight Renaud de Roye, set off from Venice on a spying expedition to Murad's Balkan provinces. They spent the winter in Constantinople and in the spring left the Ottoman territories for Hungary. Murad had them escorted to the borders of the territory he possessed and, via Bulgaria and the Danube, they went to Buda.³⁵

This episode is very instructive, for later that year, a devastating expedition led by one of Murad's chief commanders, Ali Pasha, brought the Bulgarian Tsardom of Tarnovo into subjection. Later, Ottoman chroniclers blamed the Bulgarian rulers for conspiring secretly with the Hungarians. If this was really so – and it seems very likely – the journey of Boucicaut would have been the first attempt to establish a Bulgarian–Hungarian alliance against the Ottomans. Unfortunately, the Bulgarian political entities were too weak to keep such an alliance and to effectively oppose the Turks without foreign help. Some years later, between 1393 and 1395, the Hungarian alliance led to the final destruction of both Bulgarian principalities east of Vidin and to the execution of the last ruler of Tarnovo, Tsar John Šišman.

This event must have been significant for the other semi-independent powers on the peninsula, especially when being strengthened by the Serbian misfortune at Kosovo Polje in 1389. Stephen Lazarevič's political orientation towards the stronger suzerain in 1390s contributed further to the negative view of the Serbs held throughout Europe. For more than a decade – until the beginning of the fifteenth century – the Balkan Slavs were under strict Ottoman monitoring. Opportunities for changing sides emerged after the annihilation of the main Ottoman forces by Timurlenk near Angora in 1402. The Serbs, under the despot Stephen Lazarevič, and both sons of the last Bulgarian Tsars sought a Hungarian alliance. The soil had

³⁵ See A. Buchon, ed., *Le Livre du faits du bon messire Jean le Maingre dit Bouciquaut* (Paris, 1886), I, chap. XV. This episode is briefly described in J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV siècle, Expédition du maréchal Boucicault* (Paris, 1886), I/1, 163; but this mission of Boucicault has still not received scholarly attention.

been prepared for a new perception of the Orthodox Balkan Slavs as allies of Catholic Hungary against the Ottomans.

The first indication that the Hungarian attitude had changed is in a letter of King Sigismund to the Duke of Burgundy Philip, dated April 16, 1404. Describing the political situation of the Balkans, he reports that the noble lord of Rascia, Stephen, had decided to join him against his enemies. Moreover, Stephen had already fought against the Ottomans and had killed more than 10,000 of them. Two other rulers, Konstantin, noble lord of Bulgaria, and Mirtcho, the voivode of Wallachia, had also joined with Hungary, attacked Turkish provinces and won many victories.³⁶ Sigismund emphasized their powerful armies, which, with the help of some Hungarian forces, would be able to destroy the enemies of the cross.

This favourable picture of the Balkan peoples was further strengthened by their participation in the anti-Ottoman campaigns of the East-Central European forces. The immigrant sons of the last Bulgarian Tsars of Vidin and Tarnovo, Konstantin (the previously mentioned "noble lord of Bulgaria"), and Fružin, took part in some expeditions. They were not always as successful, however, as Sigismund had hoped. Thus, in September 1426, a joint raid of the Wallachian voivode Dan II, the governor of Transylvania Pipo Spano, and "el Signor de Zagora" suffered a serious setback by the Turks around Silistra, with heavy losses on the part of the allied forces.³⁷

This and the other expeditions into the Bulgarian lands are indicative of the attitude of the Orthodox leaders who still hoped to regain their political ancestry. The population of these regions very often suffered severely from the devastation of both Christian and Turkish armies. They did not hesitate, however, to join the Christian forces whenever there was a good chance of lasting success against the Ottomans.

Thus, the Serbs and Bulgarians alike offered their support in any way along the routes of the two campaigns of Wladislas I Jagiello. Their unofficial participation in the crusade – especially during the triumphant campaign of 1443–1444 – was recorded by many contemporary and later writers. Needless to say, without their help, the long

³⁶ See Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, 429.

³⁷ Jorga, *Notes*, I, 435, note 1: "il Signor de Valachia, Pipo, capitano d'Ungari con el Signor de' Zagora et altri" passed the Danube, occupied the town of Gravanni and laid a siege on Silistria, but were later driven back with many casualties, "siche la fu una gran rotta".

campaign may have been much less successful. It must have impressed all contemporary observers, who did not omit to mention it, adding to the positive image of the Orthodox Slavs as allies of the crusaders.³⁸

During the following years some of the successes of the Serbian ruler George Branković against the Ottomans, in spite of his ambiguous policy, earned him the admiration of the Europeans.³⁹ Contemporary observers of the siege of Belgrade in 1456 mention the help provided by the south Slavs, who deserted the Ottomans and joined the Christian forces.⁴⁰

Another indication of favourable changes in the opinions of East-Central Europeans concerning the south Slavs is the concern about their destruction by the Ottomans. One of the earliest pieces of evidence, a royal letter, is again connected with the campaigns of Wladislas I Jagiello. Although it was aimed at convincing his subjects to participate in the new crusade being prepared for 1444, it contains a reference to the devastation of Serbian and Bulgarian territories.⁴¹

³⁸ Such information can be found in the first known official evidence of the time of the crusades, a letter from Enea Silvio Piccolomini to Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, from December 13, 1444; see *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, XLI (Vienna, 1909), Nr. 167, 487-490; Michael Beheim repeats it several times in his poem of 1460, *Die Gedichte des Michael Beheim*, 328-356; later it is to be found in the extensive treatises of János Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, 251, who probably used a letter of János Hunyadi of May 11, 1445; in Antonius Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, I. Fogel – B. Iványi – L. Juhász eds, *Antonius de Bonfinis, Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (Lipsiae, 1886), III, V:374. As might be expected, Callimachus is the most prolific, see Phillipi Callimachi *De rebus Vladislai Liber I*, 490: "Post etiam victoriam pleraque Bulgarorum oppida simul odio Musormanocae impietatis, simul studio Christianae processionis pelecta, tum etiam linguae commercio et quod eadem cum Polonis primordia generis haberent; ejectis Turcorum praefidi is, ad regem de fecere." This Polish attitude was preserved in later writing even to the end of the 16th century, for example in Maciej Strykowski, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich; domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, zemojdzkiego i ruskiego, przedtym nigdy od zadnego ani kuszone, ani opisane, z natohnienia Bożego a uprzejmie pilnego doświadczenia*, ed. Julia Radzewska (Warsaw, 1978), 440-441.

³⁹ See for example the letter of Nicolaus of Cues to the archbishop of Basel Juan Alfons from December 29, 1454 in *Nicolaus de Cues. De pace fidei cum epistula ad Ioannem de Segobia*, eds. R. Klibansky and H. Bacour (London, 1956), 93-102, where Nicolaus describes the capture of thousands of Turks by the Serbians near Sofia, spreading the positive image of George Branković.

⁴⁰ Information in the above mentioned letter of Giovanni Tagliacozzo in Thallóczy and Áldásy, *Magyarország*, 380.

⁴¹ A. Sokolovski – J. Szujski eds., *Codex epistularis saeculi decimi quinti, 1384-1492* (Kraków, 1876), 145. ff: "Sed quum Turci praefati emologati in parte majori pace ipsa per dimissionem magnorum et notabilium castrorum reliquum quod restabat faciendum, non compleverunt,



Four years later, János Vitéz in a letter to Pope Nicholas V (written on behalf of János Hunyadi) suggests that the hopeless Orthodox must be defended by the Catholics.⁴²

Similar attitudes were recorded soon thereafter in Bohemia and Austria.⁴³ In Poland, if we can believe Callimachus, this idea was fixed by the last decade of the fifteenth century. According to official state policy in his time, the Balkan Orthodox Slavs were considered the most faithful allies of the Polish, and thus of all of East-Central Europe.⁴⁴

From that time on, numerous East-Central European observers who had visited the Balkans supplied additional information concerning this matter. They all confirm the willingness of the local population to support any campaign against the Turks which would bring their liberation.

puta in relaxatione filiorum despoti et certorum diorum castrorum suorum ymmo terras suas aliquas ignis incendio concremnarunt et concremare non desistunt, unde necesse nobis erat facere illud quod cum toto regno nostro conclusimus et iuravimus ire videlicet contra ipsos."

⁴² János Vitéz, *Opera*, I:37, 90-94: *Lustrum prope vicesimum (si opte meminimus) cirmagitur, quo Europe eras infesta Teucrorum arma, Deum hominesque violatura pervolarunt eaque past subactam plus quam brevi Greciam, Macedoniam, deinde ac Bulgariae regna preterea Albaniae item alias ut dictu ita et memoratu miserandas plurimasque terras aliis super alias cladibus completas superbo ludibrio ruina, funeribus, servitute, religionis denique iactura deformatas, in peregrinos ritus mores legesque ac infide lingue commercium inverterunt. Nihil incolunis inter sacra prophanaque, nihil, inquam, cui ferro, terrore cui flaunia ac ingo noceri potuit inviolati reliquendo: ut unaqueque gradu proxima erat ita ignomie objecte."* Vitéz repeated this at the session of the Frankfurt diet in September–October 1454.

⁴³ See George of Podiebrads's letter to Matthias Corvinus from July 27, 1466, in "Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter Georgs von Podiebrad, Urkundliche Belege zu Eschenloers Historia Wratislaviensis, Erste Abteilung 1459–1463", *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum* (Breslau, 1873), VIII:184. *"neque enim decet Christi vicarium despiciere animam pro qua Christus mori dignatus est, neque tantum lucri negligere quantum ex toti orbi christiano superimpendebat, potissime autem in plaga orientis contra Turcorum rabiem, qui bello-rum assiduitate quidem indefessa per Mesiam et Bosnam ad regna Liburnorum aditum sibi struxerunt, quorum ferociam Bohemica militia duce quondam genitore vestro, deinde vestro quoque ductu sepe contrivit. Vestram fidem appellavimus, frater carissime!"* In the Maria-Zell legend, recorded in 1480, we can find the Austrian reflections; see Kumorovitz, *Appendix*: *"postquam saevissima illa Turcorum gens ex Asia Traciaque per Elespontum traitiens Pannoniam Misiamque superiorem et inferiorem quas Walachias nunc vocamus... devastare, impug-nare, suaeque ditioni atque religioni subicere..."*

⁴⁴ Phillippi Callimachi *De rebus Vladislai Liber I*: *"prope est quodi ominary ominus borret ut Turci, patefacta sibi Hungaria, in vos inde bellum vastitamque conuertant. Dum pro Rascia et Bulgaria quae duo sepimenta regni nostri erant, lentius paulo quam expediret arma nuper induimus."*



In 1530, Benedict Curipeschitz reported that the Orthodox Christians in Bosnia and Serbia considered it a great sin to fight other Christians. In many places, he met people who recollected previous battles with the Turks. Benedict had been accused, as well as the embassy to which he belonged, of deserting the Balkan peoples and leaving them at the mercy of the Turks.⁴⁵ Cornelius Schepper met some peasants in the Bulgarian Nišava valley who encouraged him, as imperial emissary, to wage war on the Turks as soon as possible. They had all been keeping their weapons ready for this day. In Niš, a Serb assured him that if war began, each of them would kill at least ten Turks.⁴⁶

Such information was common in all reports dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, they gradually ceased to mention the Balkan Slavs as possible allies. Another dominant feature in travellers' accounts was the miserable status of the locals. It was no longer the political situation which concerned the foreign observers, but the social and ethic situation of the Balkans.

⁴⁵ See M. Jonov, *Deutsche und österreichische Reiseberichte über die Balkanländer, 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Sofia, 1979), 140, 143.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 163.



PAPER PRESENTED IN THE SEMINAR
ON "POPULAR RELIGION"

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY PLACES IN THE *BDINSKI ZBORNIK*

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The *Description of the Holy Places of Jerusalem* is the last chapter of the *Bdinski Zbornik*,¹ a fourteenth century Bulgarian manuscript that has been regarded as an important source for the political and cultural history of the Bulgarian break-away principality of Bdin² and generally for late medieval Bulgarian history and culture. However, what makes the miscellany extremely rare is its contents, since it is the only known Slavic example of a "female collection" - a book ordered by woman,³ and including predominantly the lives of highly venerated Orthodox women-saints. The only text in the *Zbornik* that clearly stands out among this anthology of women-saints, is its last chapter, the *Description of the Holy Places of Jerusalem*.

This particular text has attracted a great deal of interest for several reasons. First, the origin of the *Description* is unknown, and second, it is strikingly different from the other anthologies of women saints' *vitae*. Most of the references to the *Zbornik* are connected with this particular chapter, for it is the only text of Bulgarian origin that can be interpreted without any doubt as a medieval guide for pilgrims to Je-

¹ The manuscript, now stored in Ghent University Library in Belgium, has been edited twice: Ivan Duj ev, ed., *Bdinski Zbornik. Ghent Slavonic Ms 408, A.D. 1360*. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), facsimile edition; J. L. Schärpe and F. Vynke, eds., *Bdinski Zbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologiwn of Women Saints, A.D. 1360*. (Bruges, 1973), with an introduction by E. Voordeckers.

² The town of Bdin (nowadays Vidin), the place of origin of the *Zbornik*, is situated on the Danube's right bank in the north-west of present-day Bulgaria.

³ According to the original colophon that stands on the last preserved page (242r), the *Zbornik* was commissioned by the Bulgarian queen Anna, the wife of Sracimir of Bdin.

rusalem.⁴ The Russian Jesuit Ivan Martinov, who was the first to describe the manuscript, believed that it was the only original text in the *Bdinski Zbornik*, and edited it in Old Bulgarian⁵ and in French.⁶ Scholars have attempted to find its parallels in Latin, Slavic or Byzantine traditions of the *itineraria*, or respectively in the Slavic *hoždenija* and Greek προσκυνήτῳρια. Comparisons have been made with other representations of medieval guides.⁷ In all these critical analyses, however, this chapter is considered entirely independently of the other texts in the collection. The reason for this approach is rooted in thematic and genre differences between the *vitae* of women-saints and the *Description of the Holy Places in Jerusalem*. The *Bdinski Zbornik* was viewed as a representative of the long-lasting tradition of so-called composite anthologies. Miscellanies containing texts of different genres and themes are typical of Old Bulgarian literature.⁸ After the thirteenth century, they increased in number.

⁴ S. Gjurova and N. Danova, *Kniga za bālgarskite hadžii* [A Book on Bulgarian Pilgrims] (Sofia: BAN, 1985), 7-31; S. Gjurova, "Slovoto za svetite mesta v Bdinskija Zbornik. Textologičen analiz" [The *Description of the Holy Places* in *Bdinski Zbornik*. Textological Analysis] *Starobālgarska literatura* 22 (1990), 64-89; I. Dujčev, "Geografskite opisanija v srednovjekovnata bālgarska knižnina. Kām istorijata na bālgarskata nauka." [Geographic Descriptions in Old Bulgarian Literature. Towards the History of Bulgarian Science], in *Sbornik v čest na akademik Nikola Milev po slučaj osemdesetgodišninata mu* (Sofia: BAN, 1967), 157-171; B. Conev, "Pātepisni sāčinenija" [Travel Notes], in *Iz starata bālgarska, ruska i srābska literatura* (Sofia: BAN, 1976), 231-233.

⁵ I. Martinov, "Bdinski Zbornik 1360. Rukopis' Gentskoj Biblioteki." [Bdinski Zbornik 1360. A Manuscript of Ghent Library] *Pamjatniki drevnej pismenosti i iskusstva* XIV, 23 (1882): 8.

⁶ I. Martinov, "Récit sur les lieux saints de Jerusalem. Traduit d'un texte slave du XIVE siècle." *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 (1884), 389-393.

⁷ Gjurova, "Slovoto za svetite mesta."; Martinov, "Bdinski Zbornik."; idem, "Récit sur les lieux saints."; P. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii XIV v. I. Vremja i žizn patriarcha Evtimija Ternovskogo* [Towards the History of Book Correction in 14th-Century Bulgaria. The Epoch and the Life of Patriarch Euthimius of Tārnovo] (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), 447-448.

⁸ D. Petkanova, *Starobālgarska literatura* [Old Bulgarian Literature] II (Sofia, 1987), 223-235; A. Miltenova, "Sbornici sās smeseno sādāržanie" [Miscellanies with Composite Content], in *Starobālgarska literatura. Enciklopedičen rečnik* (Sofia, 1992), 401-403; A. Miltenova, "Kām istorijata i tipologijata na sbornicite sās smeseno sādāržanie" [Contribution to the History and Typology of the Miscellanies with Composite Content], *Starobālgarska literatura* (1980), 22-36; A. Miltenova, "Kām vāprosa za sbornicite sās smeseno sādāržanie v bālgarskata literatura XV-XVII v." [Contribution to the History and Typology of the Miscellanies with Composite Content in Bulgarian Literature from the 15th to the 17th century], in *Literatura, obštestvo, idej* (Sofia, 1986), 66-87.

However, it must be stressed that the *Bdinski Zbornik* shows a tendency to arrange the texts in a prescribed order.⁹ It is easy to presume that gathering them into a single manuscript, the copyist, or the editor of the volume, implicated a connection between the collection of women-saints' *vitae* and the last chapter. The aim of this analysis is to show that, in contrast to all previous theories, the last chapter, structurally and thematically, is relevant to the rest of the preceding texts. In our opinion, it has been included in the *Zbornik* because it represents places specially connected to holy and biblical women. Moreover, most of the peculiarities of the *Description* are dependent on the peculiarities of the collection.

The *Description of the Holy Places*, as found in the *Bdinski Zbornik*, is a compilation. This has recently been proven by the Bulgarian literary historian, Svetla Gjurova, through an exhaustive textological analysis. In her article, Gjurova examines some "inaccuracies, incongruities and even mistakes" in the topographical interpretation of the sites of interest in Jerusalem.¹⁰ According to her, some places are incorrectly identified (Jordan is confused with Jerusalem;¹¹ the Mount of Olives, the place of Christ's ascension, is wrongly believed to be the place where the protomartyr Stephen was stoned to death;¹² the "home of St. John and St. Peter"¹³ is most likely the result of confusing the home of Peter and Andrew with that of John the Baptist). In addition, some sacred objects or centers of the cult are mentioned twice and situated in different parts of the Holy City or its surroundings.¹⁴ The descriptions of certain places and sanctuaries are vague and unclear.

Following an extensive linguistic and comparative analysis, Gjurova explains the peculiarities of the text from two different perspectives. First, she proves that the chapter incorporates excerpts that can be traced back to either the Greek or Latin cultural and linguistic tradition. Through the examination of sights which made up the typical repertoire of pilgrims' guidebooks over centuries, she puts for-

⁹ S. Karageorgieva and A. Bojadžiev, "Carica Anna i Bdinskija Zbornik", forthcoming.

¹⁰ Gjurova, "Slovoto za svetite mesta."

¹¹ "Here is the place where Christ mounted a donkey and went to Jordan" (instead of "to Jerusalem"): "Description of the Holy Places", *Bdinski Zbornik*, 237v.

¹² *Ibid.*, 237v.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 241r.

¹⁴ One example of such a repetition is Jesus's cradle: "Christ's cradle, diapers, and baby-tub are in Solomon's yard," *ibid.*, 236v; "There is a mount near Tiberiad ... and at the foot are Christ's cradle and the home of St. John and St Peter," *ibid.*, 241r.

ward a hypothesis that the initial compilation was probably accomplished by the end of the twelfth century. According to Gjurova, the *Description* re-creates Palestinian sights of interest from the time of the Roman domination of the Holy Land. Motifs and themes characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are missing. Second, Gjurova believes that some of these mistakes can be attributed to "the interference of a certain later, more negligent editor". She explains that some passages or words marking the way to the next place of interest were simply omitted during the process of compilation. However, Gjurova relies strictly on the conclusions made by German and Belgian Slavists on some of the *vitae* in the *Zbornik* who have assumed that the *Bdinski Zbornik's* copyist did not in any way deviate from the original version. Thus Gjurova has arrived at the conclusion that the copyist only rewrote an already shortened version which included the mistakes of the earlier version.¹⁵

Unfortunately, since there are no preserved copies or protographs of the text, it is impossible to find those passages which have been added or omitted in the version included in the *Bdinski Zbornik*. However, analysing the *Description*, one can see that most of the places mentioned are directly related to holy and biblical women: eighteen different women are mentioned in the entire chapter of seven pages.¹⁶ Considering the fact that Jerusalem was venerated as the place of Christ's passion and death, and a centre of his cult, one should expect mainly references to sacred places connected with him. Thus, the great number of women mentioned may seem strange. More importantly, the presence of women in Jerusalem in this particular text is also emphasized by its structure. Thus, it can be assumed that the version of the *Description* included in the *Bdinski Zbornik* is an edited selection. It consists mainly of monuments in Jerusalem that must have been important to its editor or copyist because of their relation to women.

It is perfectly clear that the *Bdinski Zbornik's Description* is organized topographically. Following the established narrative tradition, it begins with the description of the places of interest in Jerusalem and then lists the important sights situated in its surroundings along the four pilgrim routes of the period (to Bethlehem, Hebron, the Sea of Gennesareth, and the Mediterranean Sea), directing the pilgrim from

¹⁵ Gjurova, "Slovoto za svetite mesta.", 80.

¹⁶ *Bdinski Zbornik*, 234r-241v.

one site to another.¹⁷ The text presents holy places in Jerusalem as well as in other biblical towns and routes, such as Bithynia and Bethlehem. In comparison with a later description attributed to the Russian merchant Triphan Korobeinikov, the holy places in the *Bdinski Zbornik* are not described, but rather listed. The importance of each site is only mentioned to refamiliarize the reader, such as "Here is the icon of the Virgin Mary, painted by itself, which appeared at sunrise."¹⁸ In contrast to the *vitae* of the saints, the text is not a narration based on a plot. The chapter is rich in various narratives of sacred history which the *Description* calls to mind, although they are not developed there as stories.

In nearly every described site, the compiler uses the same structure for the exposition. The compiler mentions first Old Testament events connected with the place (this part is frequently missing); second, New Testament events, especially those related to Christ's life, or a male saint; and third, events concerning the Virgin Mary or a holy woman. This construction emphasizes the important role of the Virgin Mary, woman-saints or, rarely, of biblical women for sacred history. An example of this construction shows that women are not isolated figures, but play a large role in these descriptions:

- (1) ...and here Cain killed Abel, his own brother,
- (2) and on the left side is the desert Hoziva, in which Joachim mourned his barrenness,
- (3) and here the angel announced to him the birth of the Virgin Mary. (239v)

For the purpose of this analysis, we will provide a brief survey of the women mentioned in the *Description*.

It is not surprising that among the sacred monuments and sites connected with women, the majority are related to the Virgin Mary.¹⁹ This statement might easily be explained by the fact that the Holy

¹⁷ Gjurova, "Slovoto za svetite mesta.", 64-65.

¹⁸ *Bdinski Zbornik*, 239r.

¹⁹ Although we agree with E. Patlagean that the Virgin Mary is not connected with female sanctity, and we are acquainted with André Vauchez's text published in *Histoire du christianisme*, vol. V, 862 nn., the most frequently used expression for her in the Middle Ages "blessed among women" (Luke, 1: 28) may lead to other interpretations. Cf. the Hungarian name for the Virgin Mary *Boldogasszony* – "Holy Lady". The influence of her stylistic and symbolic presentation can be seen in the texts of the *Bdinski Zbornik*, where St. Catherine is told to be "Blessed among women, because plenty of people will believe in Me through you".



Land was the place where she lived all her life. Every medieval itinerary has descriptions of churches dedicated to her and references to certain moments of her earthly life used to underline the importance of certain spots. Thus, the Garden of Gethsemane, the place of Christ's prayer, but also identified with the place of the Virgin's dormition, the Sheep Pool near which she was born, and her church rebuilt there by the crusaders as a huge basilica in the twelfth century²⁰ were obviously the main centres of her cult in Jerusalem. As opposed to other itineraries, in the *Zbornik's Description* we find quite an extended list of monuments dedicated to her. Her frequent appearance in this text might be connected to Virgin's extreme popularity in the Balkan region.²¹ Because of her human nature she was respected as a defender of the people and, because of her consanguinity with Christ, as the most successful intercessor for mortals. The belief that the Virgin can ransom the sinner from eternal punishment is witnessed in many different sources.²² However, this does not sufficiently explain the extreme interest in her in this particular narration.

According to the *Description*, many places connected with the Virgin Mary were shown to the pilgrims: the house where she was born; the spot where her birth was announced to Joachim; the site where she was fed by an angel; the locality in Nazareth, where the archangel Gabriel brought her the news of Christ's forthcoming birth; the cave where the Virgin gave birth to Christ; the place where she met St. Sabas²³ and where her shroud was found; where she mourned her crucified son; and the spot where she fell ill. As mentioned previously, her grave is described twice in two different parts of Jerusalem.

²⁰ The description of the Sheep Pool, the Church of the Virgin, and the sights related to them, is characteristic both of the Latin and of the Byzantine tradition from the 12th to the 14th centuries. For example, during the period of Latin domination over Jerusalem, stories about the Virgin Mary's church were retold by the Russian traveller Daniil and the Byzantine pilgrim John Phocas. Cf. S. Gjurova and N. Danova, *Kniga za bālgarskite hadžii*, 409, note 6.

²¹ Cv. Vranska, "Apokrifite za Bogorodica i bālgarskata narodna pesen" [Apocryphs about the Virgin Mary and Bulgarian Folk Song] *Sbornik na BAN* 34 (1940). G. Gechelli, *Mater Christi*, 1-4 (Rome, 1946-1954).

²² Cf. Archbishop Germanus's oration: Migne, *Patrologia Græca* 98, col. 372-384. On the other hand, in the apocryphal "Virgin Mary's Descent to Hell" which was very popular in the Slavic world, she was able to reduce the punishment of the condemned sinners.

²³ All investigators of the text considered the appearance of this saint to be a mistake.

Apart from these holy places, the *Description* in the *Bdinski Zbornik* also gives some information about certain objects venerated as sacred because they were possessed by the Virgin Mary, or connected with her: her bath; her footprint and the bleeding place; her deathbed; the stone brought by an angel to her burial; the Virgin's ἀχειροποιήτος icon; and the Kalimon monastery dedicated to her.

References to holy women recalling passages of the Scriptures (the Old and the New Testament), and hagiographic pieces also frequently appear in the *Description*. In the sacred topography of Jerusalem revealed in this particular text, the places associated with various women (saints, blessed women and ordinary women) are equally emphasized. The list of the holy places includes pilgrims' sights, such as the graves of the blessed Pelagia, of Lazarus's sisters Mary and Martha, and those of Sarah, Rebecca and Anna; the church doors through which Mary of Egypt was not allowed to enter;²⁴ the place where Mary Magdalene saw the Lord after the resurrection; and where her home and grave were, as well as the spot from where St. Elizabeth entered into the mountain carrying the young John.

Besides the places dedicated to famous Old and New Testamental heroines, the *Description* often draws attention to spots and localities connected with women not known, or not called, by their names. In such cases there is a general tendency to identify them by their status or relationship to male figures. To cite only a few examples: the place where the True Cross was laid upon a dead virgin who rose immediately; where the wife of the sinless Lot was transformed into a pillar of salt; Capharnaum, where Christ resurrected the widow's son; the graves of St. Theodosius's and St. Sabas's mothers; and the house of Peter's mother-in-law.

Nevertheless, women's presence in the Holy Land according to the *Bdinski Zbornik's Description* is made visible not merely by the great number of women included in the story. It seems that the very composition of the text conveys the importance of women's presence in sacred topography. In some passages, the emphasis is clearly on women. They are introduced in the text with demonstrative terms like "here", "there", and "where" that draw attention to them; they are

²⁴ Mary of Egypt is the only woman-saint whose life is included in the collection and who is mentioned in the *Description*. However, the two texts are not identical – the angel who appears in the *Description* and prevented her from going into the church is not to be found in the *vita*.

the main figures in the work.²⁵ Monuments or well-known places mentioned before seem to be used for the sole purpose of better situating some of their actions or holy places.²⁶

Narrations on sites dedicated to Christ and to male saints are also present throughout the *Description*. But the number of the women in the *Bdinski Zbornik*, compared with that of men, is indeed remarkable. This peculiarity of the *Description* raises the question as to whether the structure of the text is typical of itineraries as a whole, or whether it might be considered a characteristic feature of this specific collection. A brief survey of several preserved examples of this genre with regard to the role of women in sacred topography shows that most of the previously mentioned monuments and localities connected with women are to be found throughout the texts of different descriptions. However, they are never quite as numerous in one and the same itinerary. Instead, they are dispersed among other sights of interest in much longer descriptions.²⁷

Thus, for example, the grave of the Virgin Mary is also mentioned in two other Old Bulgarian literary pieces regarded as itineraries: the description of Jerusalem by Arsenij from Thessaloniki (fourteenth

²⁵ "Here Mary Magdalene saw the Lord after His Resurrection", *Bdinski Zbornik*, 234v-235r, not "Here Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene". Cf. the same place in M.C. Seymour, ed., *Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 58, 13-15: "And there He appered first to Marie Magdaleyne whan He was rysen, and sche wendw that He had ben a gardener."

²⁶ "And from here is the True Cross. Here Mary Magdalene saw the Lord after the His Resurrection." (*Bdinski Zbornik*, 234v-235r); "To the east, close to the church of St. Kiriakos lies, where God's mother mourned the crucified God." (*ibid.*, 235v); "And from here is [the way to] the house of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, and eastwards are the footprint of the Virgin and the bleeding place." (*ibid.*, 235v); "And the other [church] is dedicated to St. Nicolas, where God appeared to his disciples and showed them the bread and fish on coals. Near there is Mary Magdalene's home, her grave is there too." (*ibid.*, 241v); "Close to here is the grave of the sinless Lot. There his wife stands as a pillar of salt." (*ibid.*, 239r).

²⁷ Another example might be Bertrandon de la Brocquière's travel book. Besides the churches of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Martha, the author mentions only that the rock miraculously opened, dividing in two halves, and afterwards closed when St. Elisabeth had hidden her son therein. Cf. *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, councillor and first esquire-carver to Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy, to Palestine, and his return from Jerusalem to France during the years 1432-1433*. Translated by Thomas Johnes (Hafod Press, 1808). Cf. also *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CLXXV. Itineraria et alia geographica*. (Turnholt: Brepols 1965); M. C. Seymour, ed., *Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); A.S. Norov, ed., *Palomnik Danila mniha. Skazanie o puti, iže est' k Jerusalimu, i o gradjah i o samom gradja Jerusalimja i o mestah čestnyh, iže okolo grada i o cerkvah svjatyh* (Saint Petersburg, 1864).

century) and in the "Journey to Palestine" by Constantine of Kosteneč (born in Bulgaria at the end of the fourteenth century). The "Journey to Palestine," found in the so-called *Lovčanski Zbornik* (sixteenth century), presents a list of sights of interest in Jerusalem and the distances between them. Constantine of Kosteneč draws attention to one interesting detail, namely that the grave of the Virgin was turned to face south according to old tradition, while Christ's grave was turned to face east. However, this is the only mention of the Virgin, and of a woman for that matter.²⁸

Arsenij's description, which is much more interesting because of its clear connection to folklore and popular beliefs, adds two more details of the Virgin Mary's cult in Jerusalem: the stories of the miracles about the milk from the Virgin's breast in the cave of Bethlehem, and of the grass growing in the form of the Virgin's hands. According to him, hand-shaped grass spread and milk steamed during every Nativity feast.²⁹ Besides the Virgin, only two other women are mentioned in Arsenij's work: Pelagia (the grave of the blessed Pelagia) and the Samaritan woman (the town of the Samaritan woman).³⁰

The following comparison of the *Description* with the text attributed to Triphan Korobeinikov³¹ shows that the compiler of the description in the *Bdinski Zbornik* mentioned women more frequently, even in cases where other types of this genre lack information about women:

²⁸ Cf. the original text published in Cv. Kristanov and I. Dujčev, *Estestvoznanieto v Srednovekovna Bălgaria. Sbornik ot istoričeski izvory* [Natural Science in Medieval Bulgaria. A Collection of Historical Sources] (Sofia: BAN, 1954), 257-258.

²⁹ The original texts of the three existing redactions of Arsenij's itinerary are published by V. P. Adrianova, "Hoždenie Arsenija Solunskogo," [The Itinerary of Arsenij of Thessalonike] *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkogo Jazika Akademii Nauk* 18 (1913), 195-224; V.P. Adrianova, "Putešestvija" [Travels], in *Istorija russkoj literatury* I (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1941), 365-371; Cf. the text published by Adrianova in "Hoždenie Arsenija Solunskogo" after MS Pogod, 1570 (17th century), 220, and MS Sof. Novg. 1464 (16th century), 217. The contemporary Bulgarian translation in S. Gjurova and N. Danova, *Kniga*, 339-341.

³⁰ On Arsenij's itinerary, see Adrianova, "Hoždenie."; Adrianova, "Putešestvija"; V. V. Danilov, "O žanrovyh osobnostjah drevnerusskih hoždenijah" [On the Peculiarities of the Genre of the Russian Itineraries] *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 18 (1962), 21-37.

³¹ The text quoted here is excerpted from the manuscript IX C 18 (17th-18th century), National Museum, Prague. For the possibility to work on this text, Adelina Angusheva is much obliged to the Academic Board of the Medieval Studies Department and to Professor V. Vavřinek.

In the middle of the small church
there is the navel of the earth
the whole is covered by stones
and it is similar to the human one
It is not made by human hand
but by the order of the God.
(139v IX C 18)

In the middle of this church
there is the navel of the earth

On the left side are the Gates
through which the angel did not permit
Mary of Egypt to enter. Here Mary
Magdelene saw the Lord after his
resurrection. (234r BdZ)

The passage from the *Bdinski Zbornik* is the first moment of the *Description* in which women-saints are mentioned. It clearly has a special function in the composition of the text: punishment for sins and the extreme mercy of God are combined. It is the only place in the description which corresponds to a text from the collection of the *vitae*.

Thus, it seems that the *Description of the Holy Places* in the *Bdinski Zbornik* presents compact information on sacred places connected to women in the Holy City.

This conclusion also corresponds quite well to the contents of the collection. Seen in this light, the *Description* becomes not an exception, but a genuine part of the whole. D. S. Liháčev proved that the content of every manuscript can be regarded as a macro-genre structure.³² With the exception of the *Description of the Holy Places*, the *Bdinski Zbornik* contains *vitae* of holy women arranged more or less in the order of the ecclesiastical calendar: the text of the miscellany dedicated to St. Abraham is followed by five *vitae* placed in calendar sequence (from September to July). These *vitae* are followed by the story of St. Thais, and it in turn is followed by the *Synaxarion* notes on six women-saints gathered under the title "Sermon on the Empress Theophano". The *Synaxarion* notes are supervised by five other women-saints' *vitae* also arranged in accordance with the Christian calendar. Thus, the structure of the collection shows two series of hagiographic narratives beginning with rhetorical texts presented in the liturgy³³

³² D. S. Liháčev, *Poetika Drevnerusskoj literatury* [The Poetics of Old Russian Literature] (Leningrad, 1967).

³³ E. Voordeckers in his Introduction, in *Bdinski Zbornik. An Old Slavonic Menologium of Women Saints*, points out that the text about Abraham is part of the saint's *vita*. In fact,

(Abraham and Thais). It is not by chance that the feast dates of these two saints are not marked in the titles of the texts.³⁴ They are supposed to be accepted as semantic clues, not as an integral part of the sequence of the *vitae*. The manuscript as a whole represents celebrations of the deeds of holy women during the course of one liturgical year. Therefore, one of the principles of organizing the material is the calendar order of the saints' feasts. The manuscript presents (as every *menologium* does) the idea of sacred time – time that the feats of the saints transformed from earthly vanity into divine eternity. In the context of the *vitae* presenting sacred time, the meaning of the *Description of the Holy Places* becomes clearer. It is included in the manuscript in order that sacred time should correspond to sacred space. It should be mentioned that this combination of sacred time and sacred space is also one of the guiding principles in the iconographic pro-

it represents this kind of medieval modification of the text in which one part of it is used in a new genre structure: the story about the disgrace of Abraham's niece and her repentance with his help is a didactic *sermo*. It changes the functional code from *vita* to rhetorical genre as used in the liturgy. The affiliation of the text to this type becomes obvious from the beginning of the text which contains the direct address to the audience, from rhetorical questions at the beginning of every passage connected with Abraham's deeds, as well as the *isocolonic* organization of some pieces in the text used for the expression of its main spiritual suggestions. The term "isocolonic structure" was introduced by R. Picchio for Old Slavic tradition in order to represent versification of prosaic text (R. Picchio, "Vārhu isokolnitate strukturi v srednovekovnata slavjanska proza" [On the Isocolonic Structure in Medieval Slavic Prose] *Literaturna misāl* 3 (1980): 77-103). Not only the rhetorical works but also some *vitae* and even chronicles contain the isocolonic structure. The story of Thais stands close to this genre. It also belongs to the group of texts written to be read during the liturgy and shows a transitory position between the short *vita* and didactic *sermo*. This is a special genre in Byzantine and Orthodox Slavic tradition which is intended for reading (or oral presentation) in the church during the liturgy. It contains the brief summary of the saint's *vita*. (See D. Lihačev, "Zaraždane i razvitie na žanrovet v staroruskata literatura" [Origin and Development of the Genres in Old Russian Literature], in *Golemijat svjat na ruskata literatura* (Sofia, 1976); K. Stančev, *Poetika na starobālgaskata literatura* [Poetics of Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia, 1982); K. Stančev, *Stilistika i žanrove na starobālgaskata literatura* [Stylistics and Genres in Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia, 1985). A. Bojadžiev also pointed out the similarities between these two texts and regarded them as openings of the two main parts of the miscellany, although he is misled about the genre of the texts (defining them as *vitae* and sermons). He took as evidence of their similarity the beginning of two texts which are quite stereotypical of this kind of prose and, therefore, not relevant to the conclusion (see Bojadžiev, "Carica Anna", 9). However, he is right in defining their main problem as "conversion of a women-sinner to piety" (ibid., 9).

³⁴ They both related to the October calendar's commemorations (which can also be used to support the hypothesis of a premeditated composition of the manuscript).

gram of the Orthodox Church. In the strict arrangement of Byzantine decoration, the symbolical time element is interlinked with the topographical symbolism of the building, and therefore closely connected with the spatial element.³⁵ In fact, even the visual representation of this unity is very similar. In the first row of images “the choir of saints”, the figures of apostles, martyrs, prophets, patriarchs and holy virgins, are distributed by their rank and function in the calendar sequence of their feasts. The second row harbours the monumental representation of the Christian festivals – namely the Jerusalem period of Christ’s life – and is thus considered a “magical counterpart of the Holy Land”.³⁶ Moreover, the saints included in the *Bdinski Zbornik* are among those who are most likely to be found depicted in the women’s section in a church.³⁷

The majority of texts narrate the deeds of holy virgins such as Thecla, Catherine, Marina and Euphrosyne. Jerusalem is not only a symbol of paradise. The semiotic analysis given by V. Toporov³⁸ shows that the image of Jerusalem also corresponds to the idea of the innocence and purity of the virgin and holy bride.³⁹ In this respect, the text of the holy places in the miscellany can be juxtaposed with the saints’ *vitae* as a symbolic representation of the image of female holiness.

This notion can be proved to some extent by the structure of the manuscript. The text on Empress Theophano differs from the main narrative group in the *Bdinski Zbornik* because it is a *Synaxarion* text which includes notes on six saints. It is placed in the middle of the miscellany. I. Dujčev has rightly established a connection between

³⁵ O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London/Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 16.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

³⁷ Klaus Wessel, ed., *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*. II (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1971), cols. 1082-1093; E. Bakalova, *Stenopisite na cārkvata pri selo Berende* [The Mural Paintings of the Church in the Village of Berende] (Sofia, 1976), 53-60, 116: footnote 53; L. Mavrodinova, *Zemenskata cārkoa* [The Church in Zemen] (Sofia: Bālgarski hudožnik, 1980), 187, 192; Cv. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis* [Studies on the Ohrid Paintings] (Skopije: Republikanski Zavod za zaštita na spomenicite na kulturata, 1990), 112.

³⁸ V. Toporov, “Zametki po rekonstrukcii teksta. IV. Tekst goroda-devy i goroda-bludnici v mifologičeskom aspekte” [The Text of the Town-Virgins and Town-Whores in Mythological Aspect], in *Issedovanija po strukture teksta* (Moscow, 1987), 130-135.

³⁹ This tradition originated from the interpretations of John’s Revelation, 21: 2: “I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of the heavens from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her husband.”



this text and the fate of the rejected Bulgarian Queen Theodora, mother of John Sracimir, ruler of Bdin.⁴⁰ Therefore, the text has a special place in the manuscript and should not be taken into consideration in an analysis of the whole structure of the manuscript.

Leaving aside the *Synaxarion*-texts, the sequence of the *vitae* in the miscellany combines the calendar principle with a thematic one. Three texts retell the story of women-prostitutes converted to holiness (Mary by Abraham, Thais by Paphnutios, and Mary of Egypt by divine providence). If we do not take into account the text from the *Synaxarion*, these three texts are followed by three *vitae* of saintly nuns (Theodora, Euphrosyne and Eupraxia). The story of Abraham and Mary is situated at the very beginning of the manuscript. The texts of two other whore-saints are preceded by *vitae* whose heroines (Marina and Juliana) meet the devil, and struggle with him. Only two saints in the manuscript are referred to as "great martyrs" (*Megalomarturoi*): Paraskeve and Catherine. Christian tradition, however, recognizes some other saints from the manuscript as great martyrs as well (such as St. Marina). The *vitae* of Paraskeve and Catherine are in the middle of each of the two main parts. Thus, the structure of the manuscript presents sequences of *vitae* which are parallel according to their thematic type. The *vitae* of the monastic saints Theodora and Eupraxia come after the stories of Abraham and Mary, and that of Mary of Egypt. Theodora's life is followed by the *vitae* of virgin-saints. The *Description of the Holy Places* is situated after the *vita* of St. Eupraxia, in a position similar to that of the *vitae* of the other virgin saints in the manuscript. This can be regarded as evidence supporting the idea that the image of Jerusalem in the manuscript corresponds to the idea of the virgin's holiness.

None of the legends includes posthumous miracles, although they were very typical of the cults of these saints. The earlier copies show that these *vitae* were initially translated into Old Bulgarian from versions containing posthumous miracles. For instance, the *vita* of St. Thecla in the manuscript is the same text as the narrative preserved in fragment from the eleventh century.⁴¹ The two texts present the same translation and differ only in some phonetical and lexical peculiarities, but the story dating from the eleventh century also presents the posthumous miracles of St. Thecla. The text in the *Bdinski Zbornik*

⁴⁰ Dujčev, Preface, vi-vii.

⁴¹ M. Speranskij, ed. *Pamjatniki drevnerusskogo pi'sma i jazyka* (Saint Petersburg, 1863), 170-171; I. H. Tóth, "Žitie Tekly" [Thecla's Vita] *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 22 (1976).

ends with the death of the heroine. There is some mention in the *vita* of St. Barbara of the places that could still be seen long after her death, but they were connected with miraculous deeds in her life on earth (e.g. the trace of her step in the bath, and the water from which one received healing virtues).⁴² Therefore, the lack of such episodes in the *vitae* probably represents a deliberate abridgement of the texts. Posthumous miracles in the *vitae* usually testify to the power of the saints, and represent the assumption of the saints into divine glory. It can also be said that the image of Jerusalem, recalling to a medieval audience paradise and the heavenly life of saints, symbolically replaces the posthumous miracles in the manuscript.

Thus, if these suppositions concerning the conscious emphasis of women's presence in this text are true, it can be said the text of the *Description*, as found in the *Bdinski Zbornik*, probably appeared in this form during the process of compiling the manuscript itself. Additional facts support this view.

First, in her conclusion, according to which the description of Jerusalem is most likely a copy of an already flawed version, S. Gjurova relies on the assertion that the *vitae* incorporated in the miscellany are also direct copies of some previous translations. However, their contents show that this is not certain. Some of the *vitae* are in any case abbreviated.⁴³ Others contain passages of which the protograph is still unknown.⁴⁴ Consequently, the conclusion of S. Gjurova cannot be considered to be final. It is evident that there is a close connection between the texts of the *Zbornik* and the main strategies of arrangement of the miscellany which determine certain changes in the texts. There are plenty of examples in the Old Slavic manuscript tradition which show that various texts gathered in a miscellany have different histories: some of them are directly copied from other books, some are compilations or even original creations. The hypothesis⁴⁵ that the

⁴² "And her step in the bath, in which the water flows till nowadays and made plenty of healings." (*Bdinski Zbornik*, 73r)

⁴³ The *Tale of the Blessed Abraham who Tore the Daughter of his Brother From the Paths of the Evil One* present only the second part of his *vita*; in Thecla's legend the catalogue of the miracles is missing. Cf. Voordeckers, Introduction, in *Bdinski Zbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologium*.

⁴⁴ Abraham's prayer, the second part of Eugenia's *synaxarium* text. Cf. Karageorgieva and Bojadžiev,; D. Hemmerdinger-Ἡλιόδου, "Étude comparative des versions grecque, latine et slave de la *vita Abrahamii* (BHG 5, 6 et 7)." *Études Balkaniques* 2-3 (1965), 301-308.

⁴⁵ Bojadžiev, "Carica Anna".

texts are copied from several manuscripts is supported by the structure of the sequence of the *vitae* in the manuscript as well as by the character of the texts themselves.⁴⁶ Therefore, the *Description of the Holy Places* cannot be regarded with certainty as a direct copy. Nevertheless, as the original source is unknown, it is not certain whether the changes, indicating its compilative character and the interference of a later editor, were made by the Bdin copyist or not.

Second, an analysis of the language of the miscellany shows that the *Bdinski Zbornik* is a compilation of texts created and probably translated into Slavic in different epochs. From these texts, only the last chapter (the *Description*) bears traces that are without a doubt connected with the development of the Bulgarian language from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century (e.g. the appearance of the superlative *nah*-form).⁴⁷

Finally, some mistakes in the text of the *Description*, which S. Gjurova explains as a result of the interference of a later, more negligent copyist or editor, directly precede the description of some places mentioned in connection with women.⁴⁸

Seen in such a way, the *Description of the Holy Places* is clearly connected with the contents of the *Bdinski Zbornik*. Its present text is thus most likely a result of modifications effected during the compilation of the manuscript itself.

This conclusion leads us to the question as to why this particular text was included in the collection. The easiest answer is, of course, that it served as a guide for people planning a journey to Palestine. However, there is no evidence that anybody from the court of Bdin, or from the Bulgarian royal family in general, ever made a pilgrimage to the holy places. In fact, the question of medieval Bulgarian pilgrimages to Jerusalem as such is disputable. Some scholars suppose that the ban of travelling to Jerusalem, explicitly mentioned in Old Russian literature, was also valid to Bulgarian society in the period

⁴⁶ The *vitae* in the second part of the miscellany are more elaborated from a literary point of view.

⁴⁷ V. Stepnjak-Minčeva, "Za njakoi balkanizmi v Bdinskija Zbornik – starobalgarski pametnik ot 14 vek", in *Vtori meždunaroden kongres po balgaristika. Dokladi. Tom II. Istorija na balgarskija ezik* (Sofia: BAN, 1987), 169-173.

⁴⁸ After describing some events of the sacred history that took place in Gethsemane: the site of Christ's prayer; the places where he was captured; and where he awoke his sleeping disciples, Gethsemane's name is repeated: "Here is the Holy Gethsemane and the grave of the Virgin."

before the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Besides the small number of preserved itineraries, the fact that none of their authors visited Palestine as a pilgrim may be used as further proof of this statement. The negative attitude towards pilgrimages is obvious in Presbyter Cosma's "Oration against the Bogomils" written in the tenth century. In the fourteenth century Arsenij confessed that he had lived in Jerusalem for seventeen years, and Constantine of Kostenec, at the end of the fourteenth century, pointed out that he had gone there in order to study. On the other hand, we should bear in mind that many medieval Bulgarian manuscripts were preserved in the monasteries of Sinai and Palestine.⁵⁰ N. Danova and S. Gjurova suggest that these books were probably brought there either by pilgrims, or monks who took refuge there during the Turkish invasion.⁵¹ A marginal note in a *triodion* for the period of the Lent, dating from the same year as the *Bdinski Zbornik*, informs that "Jacob, the archbishop of Seres, sent these books, namely a *triodion*, a prayer-book, a Psalter, Chrysostom's orations, etc, to Sinai to be put in the monastery of the purest virgin Catherine in the year 6868 [1360]."⁵²

Unfortunately, only new the discovery of new sources could provide a definite answer to the question as to whether the description of the Holy City in the *Bdinski Zbornik* was designed to serve some practical purposes, or whether its insertion aims only at a symbolic representation of holy women gathered in terms of sacred time and space. However, since the *Bdinski Zbornik* shows a clear preference towards eastern saints, we will try in the near future to establish, with the help of surviving itineraries contemporary to the *Bdinski Zbornik*, whether any converse relation between the *Description* and the particular *vitae* selected in the *Zbornik* exist, i.e. whether the main pilgrim routes of that time mark important places for the cults of the women-saints

⁴⁹ B. Conev, "Pătepisni", 157-158. Information on the ban on pilgrimages in medieval Russia and the sources concerning it is to be found in: V.P. Adrianova, "Putešestvija", 365.

⁵⁰ K. Kuev: Assemanius Gospel – 11th c. (109), Synai psalter – 11th c. (151), Synai prayer-book – 11th c. (154), Dobromir Gospel – 12th c. (156), fragments of a 14th-century *menologion* containing the offices of the Bulgarian saints Petka, John of Rila, Michael the Warrior, Cyril the Philosopher, and copies of some works of Methodius of Mount Athos (164). Most of these MSS are now stored in other libraries.

⁵¹ S. Gjurova and N. Danova, *Kniga*, 7-31.

⁵² P. Petrov and V. Gjuzelez, eds., *Hristomatija po istorija na Bălgaria. Šaštinsko Srednovekovie (krajať na 12-14 vek)* [Reader of Sources on Bulgarian History. Central Middle Ages, 12th-14th Century] (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1978), 423.

whose *vitae* are included in the anthology. Thus, for example, St. Mary of Egypt made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The church which St. Mary was not allowed to enter was shown to visitors to the town. The monasteries of St. Catherine in Sinai (for which the previously mentioned consignment of Bulgarian books was destined) and of St. Thecla in Seleukia⁵³ were important points on any pilgrim route.

Pilgrimages to holy places in Jerusalem made by women of imperial origin had a long tradition in medieval culture. Empress Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, is considered to be not only the first to visit Jerusalem with special interest in those places connected with early Christian history,⁵⁴ but also the one who set a trend for journeys to the holy places. A great number of pious and aristocratic women followed her example. In the fifth century the exiled Empress Eudokia, the wife of Theodosius II, who after her death also became a saint, settled permanently in Jerusalem. She endowed monasteries, founded hostels for pilgrims and the poor, and built some of the most impressive churches there (the church of the Virgin at Siloam and the basilica of St. Stephen).⁵⁵ The nun Euphrosyne, a member of the Russian ruling family, who travelled to Jerusalem in the twelfth century, prayed in the Great Temple and died in the Holy City. This was considered divine grace and proof of her holiness.⁵⁶ The cult of Constantine and Helen flourished in the milieu of fourteenth-century Bulgarian literature.⁵⁷ The appearance of the *Description of the Holy Places* in the collection allows us to detect the will of its commissioner, the Bulgarian Queen Anna, not only to express her piety in veneration of women-saints, but also to observe the tradition established by the empress St. Helen.

⁵³ A detailed description of this monastery is to be found in *Itinerarium Egeriae*. Cf. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CLXXV. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, 66, 1-30.

⁵⁴ F. Nau, "Les constructions Palestiniennes dues à Ste. Hélène", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* X (1905), 162-188.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Theodosii De situ Terrae sanctae*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CLXXV. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, 118, 19-21.

⁵⁶ N. Puškareva, *Žensčina v Drevnej Russi* [Woman in Medieval Russia] (Moscow, 1989), 36-42.

⁵⁷ Euthymios, the Patriarch of Tărnovo (14th century) wrote a sermon devoted to St. Constantine and St. Helen in which he, following Eusebios of Caesareia, included the deeds of Helen in Jerusalem (Cf. K. Ivanova, "Vizantijskite iztočnici na pohvalata za Konstantin i Elena ot Evtimij Tărnovski" [The Byzantine Sources of the *Encomium* for Constantine and Helen by Euthymios of Tărnovo] *Starobălgarska literatura* 10 (1981).



CHAPTER OF THE M. A. THESIS

THE ROLE OF THE CISTERCIANS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY: POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR INTERNAL COLONIZATION?

Beatrix Romhányi 

The Cistercian reform of the Benedictine order was not only a spiritual endeavor. It involved more down-to-earth matters as well. Traditional historiography emphasized that Cistercians introduced new methods in agriculture, and that their complex estate organization and granges served as models for the development of the manorial system in the region.

Recent research, however, has questioned these assumptions about the Cistercians. As far as economic life is concerned, several scholars¹ believe that the agricultural innovations of the Cistercians were overestimated in many respects. Their main secular activity was not always agriculture, at least not in the traditional sense as it has been presented. Cistercian monasteries possessing a great number of granges often used the already existing system in the region and introduced their own field system which was considered more developed only several decades later.²

¹ Kaspar Elm et al., eds., *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit* (Cologne, 1980); Winfried Schich, "Zur Rolle des Handels in der Wirtschaft der Zisterzienserklöster im nordöstlichen Mitteleuropa während der zweiten Hälfte des 12. und ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts", *Zisterzienser-Studien* 4 (Berlin, 1979); idem, "Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur Salzgewinnung in Mecklenburg und Vorpommern in der slawisch-deutschen Übergangsperiode", in *Germania slavica* II, ed. W.H. Fritze (Berlin, 1981).

² In the case of Scandinavian monasteries, one could prove that agricultural methods in their villages remained unchanged after the arrival of the Cistercians; their own field system was introduced decades later.



On the other hand, the Cistercian ideal of simplicity was also slightly misinterpreted by historians. It did not refer to a low standard of living or to extreme poverty. It is enough to take a glance at the buildings of the famous Cistercian abbeys of France, Germany, England or even Hungary to realize that these buildings were costly and of a very high standard.³ In this paper, I will examine the location, the economic basis and economic function of the Cistercian monasteries in Hungary in the light of recent research.

Before investigating the settlement features of the Hungarian Cistercian monasteries in detail, I will give a short overview of the abbeys indicating the time and the circumstances of their foundation.

My work embraces the territory of historical Hungary, which included present-day Hungary, Slovakia, western parts of Romania (former Transylvania and Partium), Vojvodina in Yugoslavia, a small part of Croatia (eastern Slavonia) and Burgenland in Austria. In medieval Hungary, there were 25 Cistercian monasteries; three nunneries (Brassó,⁴ Pozsony⁵ and Veszprémvölgy⁶); one hospital (Bács⁷); and two short-lived establishments (Vértesszentkereszt in Hungary and Königshof in Austria). Others were founded in Slavonia (today Western Slavonia in Croatia), which, although belonging to the countries of the Hungarian crown, had a more or less independent administrative system. These fall outside the interest of this paper, as do the "urban institutions" (the hospital and nunneries) of the order, thus I will not deal with them.⁸

³ Ernst Badstübner, *Kirchen der Mönche* (Berlin-East, 1980); George Duby, *Saint Bernard – L'art cistercien* (Paris, 1977).

⁴ Kronstadt, Braşov (Romania). Since different regions of historical Hungary belong today to different countries, and the towns and villages, as well as other geographical features, have several denominations, in the following I will use only the Hungarian names in the main text and I will give the present-day names in footnotes. For Cistercian nunneries, see Ottokár Székely, "A ciszterci apácák Magyarországon" [Cistercian Nuns in Hungary], in *A Ciszterci Rend Budapesti Szent Imre Gimnáziumának évkönyve*, (Budapest, 1942), 7-8.

⁵ Preßburg, Bratislava (Slovakia).

⁶ Veszprém (Hungary)

⁷ Bač (Yugoslavia). György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Árpadians], 3rd ed. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 1: 210-213.

⁸ The hospital in Bács was a special institution founded by the archbishop of Kalocsa, Ugrin of the Csák kindred, at the beginning of the 13th century. The hospital did not play any role in internal colonization or in other economic or political activities of the Order. It is interesting only because of the fact that Cistercians accepted to be involved so deeply in urban life. Cistercian nunneries sometimes received large estates as donations,

The first monastery, Cikádor, already existed during the life of St. Bernard in 1142.⁹ Surprisingly enough, other foundations followed considerably later. It was not until during the reign of King Béla III (1172–1196) that other abbeys were established or taken over. Between 1179 and 1196, the king himself founded five abbeys;¹⁰ the sixth came into being due to the generosity of one of his high-ranking officials.¹¹ The king's two sons, King Imre (1196–1205) and King Andrew II (1205–1235), continued to support the order. Before the death of Andrew, seven new monasteries were established,¹² but none of them were directly royal foundations.¹³ The abbeys of Ábrahám (1260–

but their tasks were completely different from those of the monks. Pozsony and Brassó were inside the town, and both were of minor importance (the nunnery of Pozsony overtaken by Cistercian nuns in 1237 from another order – perhaps the Benedictines – had to be given up at the end of the same century, when it became one of the first houses of the sisters of St. Clare); although Veszprémvölgy was in one of the suburbs of Veszprém, it was closely connected to the queen's town. The case of this abbey is interesting also because of the fact that it originated in the beginning of the 11th century; it was probably founded by St. Stephen and taken over by the Cistercians in the 1230s. There are some debates today about its original order; although according to tradition it belonged to Greek nuns. Some scholars doubt it. The question is beyond the subject of this paper, but I will deal with this problem in another part of my work. See: Gyula Moravcsik, "Görög nyelvű monostorok Szent István korában" [Greek Monasteries in the Time of St. Stephen], in *Szent István Emlékkönyv* I (Budapest, 1938). Recently, the archaeologist Endre Tóth expressed his doubts about the subject in a personal discussion.

⁹ Bátaszék (Hungary). For more detailed information concerning the abbeys, see the Catalogue. On the circumstances of the foundation of this first Cistercian abbey on Hungarian territory and the reasons for the above-mentioned gap, cf. László Koszta's article, "A ciszterci rend története Magyarországon a kolostoraik alapítása idején 1142–1270" [The History of the Hungarian Cistercian Order in the Period of Establishing their Monasteries 1142–1270], *Magyar egyháztörténeti vázlatok* 1993/1–2, 115–128. The Cikádor monastery has recently been investigated by Ilona Valter. I am grateful to her for the manuscript of her article "Die archäologische Erschließung des Zisterzienserklosters von Cikádor" that will be published in 1995 in the *Analecta Cistercensia*.

¹⁰ Egres (1179, Igrisa in Romania), Zirc (1182, Hungary), Szentgotthárd (1183, Hungary), Pilis (1184, Pilisszentkereszt in Hungary), Pásztó (1191, Hungary).

¹¹ Borsmonostor (Klostermarienberg, 1194).

¹² Bélakút (1232), Bél (1234), Esztergom (1200–1204), Kerc (1202), Pornó (1221), Savnik (1216–1222). Although the abbey of Ercsi was given the Order in 1208, the monks were only able to take it into possession after the Mongol invasion. In the same period, "urban institutions" of the Order emerged: a hospital in Bács mentioned for the first time in 1234, and three nunneries in Brassó, Pozsony and Veszprémvölgy.

¹³ Bélakút and Savnik were founded by two sons of King Andrew; Kerc was a daughter-abbey of Egres, but the foundation was supported by the king; the others can be considered "family monasteries".

1270),¹⁴ Hárskút (1240–1243)¹⁵ and Szentjános (1249)¹⁶ were established during the reign of Béla IV. The Benedictine abbey of Szenttrinitás (Baranya county) was the last to be taken over by the Cistercians in 1303. This means that the Cistercians acquired almost all their monasteries in less than 100 years. Most of them were founded for them; they took over only six from other orders, mainly from the Benedictines.¹⁷

The Social Status of the Founders

	King	Prince	Bishop	Clan	Total
–1172	1				1
1172–1196	5			1	6
1196–1235	2,5 ¹⁸	2 ¹⁹	1,5 ²⁰	3,5	9,5
1235–1270	0,5			3	3,5
1270–				1	1 ²¹
Total	9	2	1,5	8,5	21

¹⁴ Dombóvár (Hungary).

¹⁵ Lipovnik (Slovakia).

¹⁶ Sînion (Romania).

¹⁷ Abbeys taken over: Pásztó (St. Nicholas, 1191), Ercsi (St. Nicholas, 1207, or rather 1242), Vértesszentkereszt (Holy Cross, 1214), Pornó (St. Margaret of Antiochia, 1221), Szentjános (St. John the Baptist, 1249), Szenttrinitás (Holy Trinity, 1303). The last four were from the beginning so-called “clan” or “kindred” monasteries. It is remarkable that they were all short-lived attempts; only Pornó abbey survived in the following centuries. The reason for this can be that it had close links to Szentgotthárd abbey. In the case of Pilis, it is uncertain whether the earlier Benedictine abbey, at the moment of the arrival of the Cistercians, still existed or if it was already abandoned. During the excavations, only minor remains of the earlier building were discovered, so the question remains open. It is uncertain which order originally owned the abbey of Szentjános, but it probably belonged to the Benedictines as well.

¹⁸ The half-foundation refers to Ercsi, which was settled by the Order after 1241.

¹⁹ Although the abbey of Savnik was initiated by Dionysius, an official of the king, the foundation was finished by Duke Coloman, the younger son of King Andrew II; thus I cite the monastery here.

²⁰ Although the abbey of Bél was founded by the bishop of Eger, Cetus, he probably thought it to be the family abbey of his own “clan”. Nevertheless, the diocesan bishops supported it in later centuries, too.

²¹ Out of the five abbeys founded after the Mongol invasion, two disappeared quite soon (Szentjános, Szenttrinitás); Ercsi had problems already a century after it emerged; only Ábrahám and Hárskút survived until the 16th century, but these were the less important monasteries.

Having summarized the circumstances of the foundation of the different monasteries, I now intend to give a more detailed picture of where the Cistercians settled and what estates, belongings and incomes they were granted by the founders. The foundation charter, manorial records and paramutations (in the course of which the territory was measured) are almost all missing because of the stormy centuries of Hungarian history (the Mongol invasion, the Turkish occupation and the Second World War). Fortunately, we can identify the location of each abbey. The scarce surviving documents of one or another abbey help us to reconstruct the economic relations of other Cistercian monasteries as well.

Regarding the settlement locations, all monasteries – with the exception of three – were situated on main commercial routes, such as the most important waterways, the amber road used since ancient times,²² or the road leading from Poland to Buda and to Transylvania. Among the remote ones, the following can be found: Vértesszentkereszt in the Vértes mountains, which was abandoned after a short time; Zirc, which is situated in the Bakony mountains, in the vicinity of the royal town of Veszprém and on the site of a former royal forest centre, also called Bakony, on the Győr–Veszprém road; and the Szenttrinitás abbey, which was the last to be taken over, and which was about ten kilometers from the road leading from Pécs across the Dráva to Nekcse (a central market place in the region),²³ and at a similar distance from Siklós, another important market place in the county.

The relationship between the settlements of the order and commerce is even more remarkable if we consider the privileges of the individual abbeys. For example, the abbey of Pilis, which for a time was regarded as the greatest of the Hungarian abbeys, was granted one-third of the income of two important Danube tolls by the king. Another third of these tolls was owned by Hungary's most important Benedictine abbey, Pannonhalma.²⁴ In 1230, the abbey of Egres²⁵ re-

²² The name of this route did not survive in the Middle Ages, but according to archaeological data, the Roman road was used at least until the end of the 11th century, since coins of this period were found. However, its path remained in later centuries as well.

²³ Našice (Yugoslavia). On the relationship between Cistercian abbeys and roads, see also Koszta, "A ciszterci", 116, 121-122. Koszta writes about the participation of the monasteries in trade, especially in the wine trade, 123-124.

²⁴ F.L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Rome, 1984), 150.



ceived the privilege of salt trade from Transylvania.²⁶ A few years later, all the other abbeys on the Maros river were granted incomes from the salt trade as well. However, their incomes fixed in 1233 were considerably lower.²⁷ According to the royal charter, the Egres abbey was given a very high share of 30,000 cubes of salt with permission to sell it freely on the Szeged market. On the other hand, the king made a commitment to buy the amount over the afore-mentioned 30,000 cubes transported on the ships of the abbey for 26 marks per cube.²⁸ It must be mentioned that the average amount in the later charter ranged between 5,000 and 10,000 cubes, which means that, with this privilege, Egres gained obviously outstanding economic power. However, King Béla IV probably did not approve of this power, as in 1236, only one year after his father's death, he withdrew some of the estates granted to the monastery by his father, Andrew II. Zirc,²⁹ Cikádor,³⁰ and Bélakút³¹ also received toll incomes, and even the abbey of Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria was supported by the Hungarian kings.³² This may well have been the reason why, in 1203, the monks of this abbey intended to move their monastery to Hungary near the ancient amber road. The plan was not carried out and the

²⁵ Igrış (Romania).

²⁶ Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (Budapest, 1873), 11: 220. Salt played an important role in the economic life of the French, English, German, Austrian and Polish Cistercians, too; cf. W. Schich, "Zur Rolle"; L. Lékai O. Cist, *A ciszterciek. Eszmény és valóság* [The Cistercians. Ideal and Reality], (Budapest, 1991), 307. In the case of Egres, it is uncertain whether the abbey had some salines of its own as well, but it is certain that it was very interested in salt trade. For salt trade in Hungary, see A. Kubinyi, "Königliches Salzmonopol und die Städte des Königreichs Ungarn im Mittelalter", in *Stadt und Salz. Im Auftrag des österreichischen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz/Donau, 1988).

²⁷ *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, ed. F. Knauz (Strigonii, 1874), (Henceforth: MonStrig) 1: 294-295.

²⁸ MonStrig 1: 294. For the salt privileges of other Cistercian abbeys see Koszta (1993), 124.

²⁹ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 213.

³⁰ At the end of the 12th century, in 1197, the first Cistercian abbey of Hungary received a part of the toll of Eszék. It was probably not by chance if the last Cistercian foundation in Szenttrinitás occurred in close proximity to the road leading to that fair and market place.

³¹ Pétervárad, Petrovaradin (Yugoslavia). Miklós Takács, *A bélakúti/pétervárad ciszterci monostor* [The Monastery of Bélakút-Pétervárad], (Újvidék: Forum, 1989), 30.

³² Hervay, *Repertorium*, 104-108.



construction came to a halt. Nevertheless, the abbey remained interested in its estates in Hungary.³³

An analysis of the estate structure of the Cistercian monasteries shows that the majority of the belongings they were given were not in deserted and remote areas of the country, and that the individual estates were relatively small and far from each other. One of the exceptions is perhaps the abbey of Szentgotthárd, which was given larger self-contained regions on the western border of Hungary by Béla III.³⁴ However, even in this case, it can be considered only partly to be "colonization", since our data on the territory are rather late, and only a few settlements can be traced back to Cistercian granges.³⁵ It was Elek Kalász who collected data concerning the estates of Szentgotthárd abbey. Since this is the only publication on the Cistercian economy in Hungary, it is the standard work and is always cited when dealing with the Cistercians or agrarian reform of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although Kalász created an excellent overview of Cistercian economic ideas, he did not prove in a satisfactory manner that the described system existed in Szentgotthárd as well. Since the evidence concerning the abbey's economy is missing from the first period of its history, we can neither prove nor refute Kalász's view on this basis. Archaeological data known from the region nevertheless suggest that it cannot be considered to be pure colonization on the part of the abbey.³⁶

I would suggest that, in the case of Szentgotthárd, the remarkable feature is precisely that the region had been one of the foremost centers of metallurgy since the Bronze Age. In the eleventh century, iron

³³ During the Turkish wars, as the estates of the monastery were effectively jeopardized, it intensively defended its rights. According to written evidence, both granges were flourishing economic units. For the plan see Hermann Watzl, "Der Plan einer Verlegung der Cisterce Heiligenkreuz von Wienerwald nach Westungarn in den Jahren 1206 bis 1209", in *Jb. für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, Band 34 (1958/60), 106-119 and idem, "Über Beziehungen der Abtei Heiligenkreuz zu Altungarn", *Sancta Crux* 33 (1971), 9-17.

³⁴ The estates were larger compared to the other Cistercian monasteries; they were, however, considerably smaller than those of the great Benedictine abbeys. On the estates and the estate structure of Szentgotthárd, see Elek Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai és a ciszterci gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The Estates of Szentgotthárd Abbey. Cistercian Economy in the Middle Ages], (Budapest, 1932).

³⁵ Ilona Valter, "Ciszterci monostorok kutatása" [Excavating Cistercian Monasteries], *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985), 564; idem, "Die archäologische Erschließung des ungarischen Zisterzienserklosters Szentgotthárd", *Analecta Cisterciensia* 38 (1982), 141-142.

³⁶ For the history of the region, see Géza Érszegi, "Die Entstehung der Wart", in *Die Obere Wart* (Oberwart, 1977).

was the most prominent product;³⁷ the mines were active until the mid-thirteenth century when the production of the Styrian sites became more important.³⁸ About 40 kilometers east of Szentgotthárd on the Rába river lay Vasvár, i.e. the center that coordinated iron production in the region, and collected and delivered the products. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence of the participation of the monks in metal production or in trade, but I would not exclude this possibility. Archaeological investigation of the monastery area outside the central building itself could eventually help answer this question.³⁹

Another Cistercian monastery, which was probably chosen because of its mineral resources, was Pilis. In this case we have more evidence of the industrial activity of the monks. Mines were found in the vicinity, namely in the Holdvilág Valley, with traces of medieval cultivation,⁴⁰ and the outer courtyard of the monastery was covered with a meter thick slag layer. The archaeologist László Gerevich, who excavated the site, also proved the importance of the metal industry in the life of the monks. According to archaeological evidence, the monks restored and returned to the ovens of Pilis abbey after the first devastation of the monastery by the Turks in 1526, although the water system – similar to the water system of Fontenay – was already out of use.⁴¹ On the other hand, modern statistical investigation of pollen demonstrates the extent to which the monks were involved in agriculture. Whereas evidence of the production of cereals is completely ab-

³⁷ András Kubinyi, "Der Eisenhandel in den ungarischen Städten des Mittelalters", in *Stadt und Eisen*, ed. F. Oppl (Linz/Donau: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städte Mitteleuropas XI, 1992), 197-206.

³⁸ Heckenast, Nováki, Vastagh and Zoltai, *A magyarországi vaskohászat története a korai középkorban* [The History of Metallurgy in Early Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), 142-144.

³⁹ Mining played a large role in the Cistercian economy. Some abbeys were interested in stone, other in different metals (iron, lead, copper, silver), salt or even coal. See Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 306-307. Unfortunately there is little hope that the larger area of the monastery could be investigated, since it lies today in the middle of the town Szentgotthárd. This town, with an important market, had already emerged in the Middle Ages, when it belonged to the Cistercians.

⁴⁰ Heckenast, Nováki, Vastagh and Zoltay, *A magyarországi, 156; Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* [Archaeological Topography of Hungary], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), 7: 198-200

⁴¹ László Gerevich, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der ungarischen Zisterzienser-Abtei Pilis", *Acta Archaeologica* (1985), 148-149.

sent, the pollen material of various fruit trees, and especially nut trees, is highly represented in the data.⁴²

Unlike in Western Europe, where the Cistercians usually settled in “no-man’s-lands”⁴³, most of the Hungarian abbeys were located in already populated regions, close to the main trading routes. An exception may be Kerc,⁴⁴ whose location would suggest participation in internal colonization. Far away from other abbeys of the order, and apparently also from other settlements, it can be supposed that, in this case, the monks settled according to the expressed ideals of their order. However, the settlement history of the region does not confirm this supposition. The first settlers in this part of the country – in the southern part of Transylvania⁴⁵ – were Saxon *hospites* (“guests”) who were invited by King Géza II. About two decades later, the second important population group arrived, the *Blachi* (probably Romanians), who settled here as border guards.⁴⁶ When the Cistercian abbey was founded in 1202, the estates of the abbey had already been carved out from the “*terra blachorum*”. The Cistercian estates spread from the Olt river to the Alps of Fogaras, between the Árpás and the Kerc rivers; i.e., a relatively small and unfertile area. Even in later times, only two villages appeared there: Apáti beside the abbey itself, and Oláh-Kerc at a point not much higher in the mountains.⁴⁷ Both villages are mentioned in charters as late as after the Mongol Invasion. In the case of Oláh-Kerc, this must have been the time of its foundation as well. Later, the abbey received Földvár in the vicinity as a gift of the Saxons of Nagyszeben.⁴⁸ Contrary to this, other estates were not in the direct vicinity of the abbey, but scattered further afield. Other settlements that were in this area before the Mongol In-

⁴² B. Zólyomi and B.-I. Précsényi, “Pollenstatistische Analyse der Teichablagerungen des mittelalterlichen Klosters bei Pilisszentkereszt”, *ibid.*, 153-158.

⁴³ See Fountains and Rievaulx in England, or Le Thoronet in France.

⁴⁴ Kerz, Cirsá (Romania).

⁴⁵ The historical Transylvania, the western part of present-day Romania, was traditionally a multinational region. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards when the colonization of this region began, three ethnic groups, Germans (Saxons), Hungarians and Romanians, lived here together. This is the reason why the settlements and other geographical features have several names on this territory. On the history of Transylvania see Béla Köpeczi, ed., *Erdély története I-III* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988). English translation, abbreviated version: *The Short History of Transylvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).

⁴⁶ Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, 2: 448-449

⁴⁷ Streza Cirsîșoara (Romania)

⁴⁸ Hermannstadt, Sibiu (Romania)

vasion (1241) were settled either by the Saxons of the Nagyszeben district or by the *Blachi* border guards.

These villages, together with the abbey, were destroyed by the Mongols in 1241. The Saxon settlements disappeared forever, and the monastery was not restored until two decades after the disaster. The consequences of the catastrophe were felt for decades. A new peak of colonization did not occur until the end of the thirteenth century, but by then neither the Saxons nor the monks were involved in it. It is remarkable that the so called "old colonizers" did not play any role in this process. But this also means that the Cistercians of the Kerc Abbey *never* participated in the colonization of this region. Instead, in the 1270s Slav *locatores* or *kenéz* (settlers) brought Romanian peasants to the territory in increasing numbers. It is very likely that the village of Oláh-Kerc, located near to the ancient abbey, also emerged in this new wave of settlement. Considering these circumstances, we have to look elsewhere for the reasons for the abbey's foundation.

An important motive might have been that the region was covered with valuable forest.⁴⁹ However, the fact that Kerc lay on one of the major commercial routes leading from Transylvania to the Balkans and to Constantinople, and that three important market towns existed in close proximity to the abbey⁵⁰ – such as one of the two major towns of the Saxons, Nagyszeben – suggests once again that the Cistercians were eager to take part in long-distance trade. It is certainly not an accident that the abbey had excellent contacts with the Saxon population, whose interest lay in commerce. From its restoration in the 1260s, to its dissolution in 1474, the abbey is always mentioned in charters together with the Saxons of Nagyszeben. The inhabitants of the estates of the abbey shared the same rights as the Saxons. The Saxon community seems to have acquired the patronage of the abbey as well. We can make this assumption since the town was "automatically" given all the estates and belongings of the monastery after its dissolution by the king. The foundation charter of Kerc has not been preserved, nor do we have later evidence about the donation of tolls or other similar income sources, as in the case of other

⁴⁹ The role of forests in the Cistercian economy has hardly been investigated until now. In Hungary, almost all the monasteries were located on the border of the forest regions (this could be explained by Cistercian ideals); however, it is difficult to imagine that the monks did not use the woods around their abbeys.

⁵⁰ Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, Sibiu in Romania, 35 km), Talmács (Talmetsch, Talmaciu in Romania, 30 km) and Szombathely (20 km).

abbeys – such as Pilis or Zirc. However, the fact that the Saxons of Nagyszeben granted the abbey the market town of Földvár and other estates – which were always in close proximity to the main Saxon settlements,⁵¹ the major trading route and other market towns – testifies to some kind of contact, if not participation, in trade throughout the region.

In this context, the abbey of Savnik⁵² should be mentioned as well. Apart from Szentgotthárd, this is the only case among the Hungarian monasteries where we have evidence of colonizing activity, although, here too, the estates were composed both of already existing villages and unsettled areas.⁵³ The aim of the founder(s) was without doubt internal colonization. This is perhaps the reason why Savnik became a *filia* of the Polish abbey of Wachock and not one of the Hungarian abbeys. However, the location of the monastery allowed participation in North-South trade as well.⁵⁴ In this respect, we also have to take into account that the region was rich in mineral resources, and that the mother-abbey, Wachock, was one of the most influential monasteries in Poland with important mining rights, as well as salt incomes.⁵⁵

The foundation of Pásztó in the Mátra mountains of northern Hungary is interesting for several reasons. The abbey was located in a market town,⁵⁶ which had already existed at the time when Pásztó abbey belonged to the Benedictines. The patron saint, Nicholas, also testifies to the close connection between the monastery and commerce. The investigation of the relationship between commerce and the cult of Saint Nicholas goes beyond the scope of this paper. Nicholas's cult was common in towns, and on roads and ferries – in other words, in places where trade was present. Churches dedicated to Saint Nicholas were sometimes used as storage areas by merchants involved in long distance trade.⁵⁷ In Hungary,⁵⁸ churches of Saint

⁵¹ Cf. Catalogue at the end of this paper.

⁵² Schavnik, Stiavniky (Slovakia).

⁵³ Hervay, *Repertorium*. 178.

⁵⁴ Hervay, *Repertorium*. 179.

⁵⁵ Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 307.

⁵⁶ Szentgotthárd and Borsmonostor were also founded beside a market place; the first Cistercian abbey in Hungary, Cikádor, emerged close to a flourishing market town near the Benedictine abbey of Bába. Cf. Koszta "A ciszterci", 121-122, 116.

⁵⁷ K.-H. Blaschke, "Nikolaipatrozinien und städtische Frühgeschichte", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* 84 (1967).

⁵⁸ Lajos Palovics, "Szent Miklós patrocíniuma és a településtörténet" [The Patrocínium of St. Nicholas and Settlement History], in *Quibus expedit universis* (Budapest, 1972); Beatrix Romhányi, *Az eredeti esztergomi egyházmegye Árpád-kori titulussai* [Church

Nicholas are located either on market places (Esztergom and Nagyszombat⁵⁹) or at road and river tolls (Árva, Krakován and Püspöki).⁶⁰ Pásztó abbey lay in a region had become one of the most famous wine-producing areas by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This point should probably be taken into consideration in other cases as well. Since wine was one of the first market-oriented agricultural products, it may be used as an indicator of the trading activity of the Cistercians. Whether wine was already produced in the region in the early Middle Ages cannot be proven.⁶¹ But in other cases, such as those of Pilis and Bélakút, there is clear evidence of vineyards owned by the abbeys: Pilis abbey had vineyards in the regions of Buda, Pozsony⁶² and Dévény;⁶³ Bélakút abbey had some in Kelenföld near Buda, and in Szerém.⁶⁴

In France, research has shown that many Cistercian monasteries were strongly connected with mining, and even more with metal production;⁶⁵ in other cases, with the salt trade.⁶⁶ In Hungary, there is no clear evidence of similar activity. However, this possibility cannot be excluded, for instance in Szentgotthárd (iron), Kerc (stone),⁶⁷ Egres (possible participation in salt production), Borsmonostor and Pásztó⁶⁸

Dedications from the Árpádian Age in the Original Diocese of Esztergom], (M.A. thesis at ELTE University, Budapest, 1991). Manuscript.

⁵⁹ Tyrnau, Trnava (Slovakia).

⁶⁰ Orava, Krakovany, Biskupice (Slovakia).

⁶¹ Later, wine regions were situated beside Zirc, Borsmonostor, Savnik, Szenttrinitás, Bélakút and Bél. Pilis also owned vineyards, though the monastery itself did not lie in a such region.

⁶² Preßburg, Bratislava (Slovakia).

⁶³ Devín (Slovakia).

⁶⁴ Sirmien, Srim (Yugoslavia). Cf. Catalogue. Wine was the most important product of other Cistercian abbeys as well, such as Cîteaux (it had vineyards on the Côte d'Or in Burgundy) and Eberbach on the Rhine in Germany. Cf. Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 300-302.

⁶⁵ Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 306-307; Léon Pressouyre, ed., *L'espace cistercien*. (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994).

⁶⁶ Schich, "Zur Rolle".

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the question has not been investigated enough, but there is some evidence that stone was delivered from southern Transylvania for buildings on the Great Hungarian Plain. The trading route was the Olt River and later the Maros River. It would be useful to investigate whether the abbey of Kerc participated in this trade.

⁶⁸ In the case of Pásztó, contact with the iron mines of Gömör is uncertain, but the possibility cannot be excluded. The Benedictine monastery that preceeded the Cistercian monastery produced glass, one of the most exigent products of the time; it was situated on an important commercial route and it is not impossible that they participated in the trading of other goods also, such as metals. Trade was one of the main reasons why the Cistercians took over the abbey, probably inheriting its traditional contacts as well.

(perhaps iron). In order to answer this question, one should investigate the monasteries in the context of their archaeological and geological area, though this is not always possible. However, industrial equipment for the melting of precious metals was discovered in the abbey of Pilis. The waterpipe system of Pilis was similar to that of the Burgundian monasteries. Ovens were constructed in the thirteenth century and were in use as long as the monastery was inhabited.⁶⁹ If the Cistercians did not actively participate in metal production in later times, it was probably due to the fact that the mines lost their importance during the thirteenth century, because of the discovery of new mines in northern and eastern Hungary, and in Styria.⁷⁰ The mines of northern and eastern Hungary (in the region of Besztercebánya⁷¹ and Nagybánya⁷²) were under strict royal control.⁷³

Another monastery that contributed to the colonization process was Heiligenkreuz in Austria. The abbey received large land donations from the Hungarian kings east of Lake Fertő. This region was a deserted area until the end of the twelfth century. Cultivation of the marshland around the lake began only after the monks founded two granges there: Mönchshof and Königshof (today both in Austria). The size of the estate was considerably larger than other land donations given to the Cistercians, almost as extensive as the huge properties of the great Benedictine abbeys in Hungary.⁷⁴

In some cases, we can ask whether the monasteries played a role in the internal colonization of remote areas which they acquired at a

⁶⁹ L. Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Monastery of Pilis], (Szentendre, 1984), 105.

⁷⁰ The industrial activity of the Cistercians is nearly unknown even now. But it is probable that specialized craftsmen existed; so the required knowledge was not available for most of the monasteries. Proof of this can be the abandoned glasshouse in Pásztó. Although it is not known whether the Cistercians stopped production immediately after having overtaken the abbey or only somewhat later, it is sure that the glasshouse was no longer in use at the beginning of the 13th century.

⁷¹ Bistritz, Banská Bystrica (Slovakia).

⁷² Baia Mare (Romania).

⁷³ In England, Germany and even France, the Order developed the most when central power was relatively weaker. In Hungary, on the other hand, royal power was stable in this epoch with the exception of shorter periods. Perhaps it is in this context that we can explain the salt privilege of Egres too; the abbey was granted this exceptional donation by the king, who was weak compared to his predecessor as well as his successors (salt was always one of the most important royal monopolies). On the other hand, it is also remarkable that in 1236, Béla IV, who did not at all appreciate the estate politics of his father, withdrew some of the estates of Egres; the pope, of course, did not approve.

⁷⁴ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 104-108.



later time. But the fact that these new donations were already existing villages, and that the plan of Heiligenkreuz to move their monastery to the center of their new estates – probably in order to control them more effectively – does not support this hypothesis, even if this plan was not carried out. It is difficult to imagine a consciously planned settlement strategy of the Cistercian Order, if the estates of almost all the abbeys were so small and divided – with the exception of Heiligenkreuz, Szentgotthárd and Savník.

What, then, was the reason for the foundation of these monasteries? The connection between royal power and Cistercian settlements in Hungary is striking. A good illustration for this is that King Béla III, who had perhaps the farthest-reaching foreign contacts among the rulers of his time, called the Cistercians into the country. The Cistercian Order played an important role in the foreign policy and the diplomacy of the king, even until the mid-thirteenth century. Cistercian abbots, especially the abbot of Pilis, often functioned as envoys of the Hungarian king abroad, or legates of the pope and the Holy See in Hungary. The Order's internal organization allowed the Cistercians to fulfil such tasks. The Cistercian abbots were probably the best informed people at that time. The royal privileges granted to the Order in Hungary possibly served to establish good contacts with the monks and to insure their support in international policy.⁷⁵

Yet, the Order lost its original *élan* relatively quickly. After a dynamic beginning under the reign of Béla III, at the end of the twelfth century, the time of the great royal foundations quickly came to an end. Andrew II had his first wife, Queen Gertrudis of Meran, buried in Pilis abbey. His and his third wife Jolanta's tombs stood in Egres abbey – this was the abbey which had also received the salt privilege from him. However, the first signs of decline soon appeared. At the

⁷⁵ In this period, we can find a great number of highly qualified clerics in the royal court, who played an important role in political decisions as counselors of the king. Even if the foundations were made by the king himself, we have to take into account the influence of this circle from its background. A prominent member was the archbishop of Esztergom, Job, who was very involved in the new politics of Béla III. The members of this circle were above all clerics who studied at the Sorbonne and whose personal contacts reached as far as England. Cf. József Laszlovszky, *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok Szent Istvántól a XIII. század közepéig* [Anglo-Hungarian Relations from the Age of St. Stephen to the Middle Ages], (Ph.D. dissertation, Budapest, 1991). The English version of the 12th century part: idem, "Nicholaus clericus: A Hungarian student at Oxford University in the 12th century", *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988), 217-231. On the subject, see also idem, "Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. század második felében" [Anglo-Hungarian Relations in the Second Half of the 12th century], *Századok* 128 (1994), 223-253.



beginning of the thirteenth century the Order could not settle the abbey of Ercsi on the island of the Danube which it had acquired from the Benedictines. Thus King Béla IV withdrew the gift from them, and granted the buildings which were already in ruins to the Carthusians. It was only when the Carthusian monastery was destroyed by the Mongol invasion that the abbey was finally returned to the Cistercians and they settled there.

Meanwhile, the first Cistercian abbeys were emerging which had not been founded directly in connection with the king.⁷⁶ The founders of Savnik in northern Hungary and Bélakút in the south were two sons of the king. Other monasteries founded in the period either belonged to noble families and kindreds, or were founded by bishops (e.g., Gotó⁷⁷ and Bél⁷⁸). These monasteries were probably intended to play a role similar to the German *Eigenkirchen*.⁷⁹ In this development, we can certainly recognize the aim of the major kindreds to imitate the royal family. These abbeys were considerably smaller than the royal foundations. Their estates were less important and they were relatively dependent upon the patron family. The case of Pornó in Western Hungary is a good example. The Cistercians received an earlier Benedictine abbey in 1221 from one of the members of the Ják kindred who had entered the Order. The new abbey was subordinated to the abbey of Szentgotthárd by the general chapter of the Order. In the 1240s, the mother-abbey was granted the village of Pornó together with the right of patronage. Yet, at the end of the thirteenth century, Pornó fell into the hands of the Kopász family, descendants of the founders.⁸⁰ It is also significant that another branch of the same Ják kindred founded the new family monastery of Ják a few years after the Pornó abbey was taken over by the Cistercians. Since family monasteries played a very important role as burial places of the founders and their family, and the Cistercians did not allow anybody

⁷⁶ Although the abbey of Klostermarienbergr was founded by a high-ranking official of King Imre, it was supported by the king too. Even if some of the charters edited in the name of Imre are false, the size and quality of the estates indicate royal support.

⁷⁷ Kutjevo (Croatia)

⁷⁸ Béalapátfalva (Hungary)

⁷⁹ Erik Fügedi, "*Sepelirunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*. A nemzetségi monostor." [Clan Monasteries], *Századok* 125 (1991).

⁸⁰ It is remarkable that another branch of the same Ják family founded its new monastery in Ják immediately after Pornó was given to the Cistercians. Ják lay just 10 km to the east of Pornó. The reason for this quick reaction was probably the fact that the Cistercians did not allow anybody but kings and their family to be buried in their churches.

else but the king and his family to be buried in their churches, it is obvious that members of the Ják kindred were not very happy when they saw their former monastery given to the Cistercian newcomers, and they thus lost their right to be buried there.

The monastery of Bél is considered to be a transitional case, at least as far as its estate structure is concerned. Its founder was the bishop of Eger, Cletus. Cletus was a member of the Bél kindred. The abbey received large estates from the family goods as well as from the church. However, the bishop probably preferred the idea of founding a family monastery, since at the end of the fourteenth century the members of the Bél kindred explained in a charter that the patronage of the abbey was their heritage, and this was confirmed by the county as well. The privileges and the estates of the monastery were later supported by the bishops of Eger.⁸¹

After the Mongol invasion, there is an obvious threshold. An official of King Béla IV, the palatine Moys, founded a smaller abbey in Ábrahám; the abbey of Ercsi was finally settled, and two former Benedictine monasteries, in Szentjános and Szenttrinitás, were given to the order by the patron families, but both were short-lived attempts. In the same period, the patronage of Pásztó fell into the hands of a noble family.⁸² By the end of the fourteenth century, the king had given the patronage of practically all the other royal abbeys to various noble family.

The question remains as to why the Hungarian Cistercians were so uninterested – with some exceptions – in landowning and internal colonization. A possible explanation may be the different processes of internal colonization in Hungary.

The first wave of internal colonization came at the end of the tenth and during the eleventh century, in which the ecclesiastic institutions, the Benedictines among them, also played an important role. The example of the great abbeys – Pannonhalma, Pécsvárad and Garamszentbenedek – shows that they received immense and partly uninhabited estates from the founders, or later from other donators. Garamszentbenedek seems to have been particularly active in this respect. It received a huge donation of land north of the abbey itself. The abbey was built at the southern entrance of the basin, while an

⁸¹ I. Valter, "Die archäologische Erschliessung des Zisterzienserklosters vom Béalapátfalva" *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXXVIII (1982), 153-154

⁸² Cf. Catalog.

important market town of the abbey, Garamszentkereszt,⁸³ controlled the northern entrance.

The second wave from the mid-twelfth century was completely different. This time, only a few ecclesiastic institutions were granted land in unsettled border regions, and the Cistercians were not given donations. In the county of Szepes, for example, Saint Martin's collegiate church played an important role. Besides the *locatores*, the Transylvanian Saxons received their land as a community from King Géza II. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Order received the Barcaság (Burzenland)⁸⁴ as a donation, but this was a short-lived and unsuccessful attempt. Although there were already two Cistercian monasteries in the vicinity (Egres and Kerc), none of them gained territories in the wild region "on the other side of the forest" that later became the Székelyföld (Szeklerland).⁸⁵ This phenomenon can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt by the Hungarian kings to centralize royal power. In the border regions, they obviously preferred to have collectively privileged populations that were directly dependent upon the king. Also, the abbeys on the western border were not thought to be centers of internal colonization, but rather to be a means of ensuring the power of the Hungarian kings over this long-disputed territory. This border region was several times a *casus belli* between Hungary and its neighbors. The Cistercian monasteries that emerged due to the generous donations of the Hungarian rulers were to decide this question for Hungary.

Internal colonization once again became important after the Mongol invasion. The crisis affected the Cistercians in that they were no longer in the position to accept new foundations. Some of the earlier royal monasteries were granted to noble families with their patronage. This was also the time of the new orders: the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, increasingly that of the newly founded Hungarian order of the Hermits of Saint Paul. With regard to internal colonization, it was the populations privileged earlier, "contractors" and magnates, who played a

⁸³ Žiar nad Hronom (Slovakia).

⁸⁴ This is the region of Braşov in present-day Romania. The region was of strategic importance because of the Cumans who lived at that time south of the Carpathian mountains and whose troops entered Transylvania several times.

⁸⁵ The Székelyföld is the most eastern part of Transylvania, inhabited by Hungarian (Székely) border guards. These border guards were also privileged as a community, and they were able to preserve their immunity until 1764, when Queen Maria Theresia reorganized the army and the border guards became part of it.

decisive role. Perhaps the Cistercians were not uninterested in receiving new estates, but the political and economic situation in Hungary did not favor them. Contrary to the Benedictines and the Praemonstratensians, the internal structure of the Cistercian Order made it difficult, if not impossible, at least in Hungary, to include family monasteries in a larger number.⁸⁶ Despite royal support, owing to the given circumstances, the Hungarian Cistercians were ultimately rather unsuccessful.

Most of the abbeys can be found in places that seem to correspond to Cistercian ideals: in a valley, deep in a forest, sometimes even at a relatively great distance from the other settlements (Pilis, Borsmonostor, and Zirc). But this is only a superficial impression. In fact, the Cistercians had an economic structure completely different from this ideal. It was based on the market, where they participated mostly without their own production, and depended on toll incomes. The market-oriented economy of the Cistercians is known in other regions of Europe too.⁸⁷ The difference is that the Cistercians in Hungary were primarily active in the secondary economy, and less active in the organization of their own agricultural production. In the majority of cases, their life was based, from the moment of their foundation, on toll incomes and trade, since the size and structure of their estates did not allow for the intensive agricultural production that was traditionally Cistercian (Pilis, Pásztó, Borsmonostor, Béalakút, Egres or even Cikádor just to mention a few). In other cases, they had a sort of mixed economy (Szentgotthárd and Savnik). In these cases, although there was a large coherent estate, it was already at least partly settled, and there was the possibility of mining and trading the mineral resources of the region (mainly iron and salt).

⁸⁶ It is probably not by chance that Cistercian monasteries did not become *loci fide-digni*. Even if some charters were written in this or another Cistercian abbey, these cases were the exceptions; regular activity cannot be proven. I want to call the reader's attention once again to the fact that most of the short-lived abbeys (Vértesszentkereszt, Szentjános, Szenttrinitás) were family foundations.

⁸⁷ Winfried Schich, "Handel und Gewerbe", in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, ed. K. Elm et al., (Bonn, 1980), 217-236.; idem, "Der frühe zisterziensische Handel und die Stadthöfe der fränkischen Zisterzienserklöster", in *In Tal und Einsamkeit. 725 Jahre Kloster Fürstenfeld*, 3rd vol., ed. Klaus Wollenberg (Fürstenfeldbruck, 1990); idem, "Zur Rolle des Handels in der Wirtschaft der Zisterzienserklöster im nordöstlichen Mitteleuropa während der zweiten Hälfte des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts" (Eine erweiterte Fassung des Habilitationsvortrages, FU Berlin, 1979); Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 295-307.; *L'espace cistercien* (Paris, 1994).

There were obviously several reasons why royal families, bishops or noble families founded Cistercian monasteries. The spiritual reform of the Cistercians found support all over Europe. Devotion and fashion certainly played a role. But from the beginning it was the movement of the elite. In Hungary, the Cistercians could not fulfill demands that were made by the *loci fide digni*, or the family monasteries. On the other hand, in the time of Béla III and perhaps even under the reign of his two sons, political interests were much more important. Although none of the Cistercian abbeys had regular jurisdiction, their influence can be observed in the language of Hungarian charters.⁸⁸ The Hungarian abbots, with the exception of the abbot of Kerc, had to be present each year in the general chapter, which implies continual contact with the mother-abbeys, and with the abbots from nearly the whole continent and England.

Finally, I would like to mention an interesting personality of the Order, John of Limoges. This monk of French origin was sent by the Order to become the abbot of Zirc from 1208-1218.⁸⁹ After 1218, he went back to Clairvaux and he became prior of Zirc's mother-abbey. John of Limoges was one of the leading personalities of the Order at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He dealt with local politics and politics throughout Europe as well.⁹⁰ His arrival in Zirc is important for two reasons. First, the mother-abbey of Zirc, Clairvaux, had to provide the abbot for the daughter-house even decades after the foundation. Second, the person of John of Limoges insured the closest contacts with the heart of the Order and also to the most developed regions of Europe.

Internal colonization was not the main issue, probably because of the fact that Hungarian abbeys needed supplies from their mother-abbey even decades after their foundation (Egres⁹¹ and Zirc⁹²); they

⁸⁸ A. Kubinyi, "Isten bányáját ábrázoló törvénybeidézõ pecsét (billog)" [Legal Seals Representing the *Agnus Dei*], *Folia Archaeologica* 35 (1984).

⁸⁹ K. Horváth, *Johannes Lemovicensis. Opera Omnia* I-III, in *Zirci könyvek* 2-4 (Veszprém, 1932).

⁹⁰ On the political activity of John of Limoges, see also: J. Leclercq, F. Vandembroucke and L. Bouyer, *La spiritualité du Moyen Age (Histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne 2)* (Paris, 1961).

⁹¹ Coloman Juhász, *Die Stifte der Tschanader Diözese im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte und Kulturgeschichte des Banats* (Deutschum und Ausland 8-9) (Münster i.W., 1927), 220. We know that in Egres half of the members of the convent were still of French origin in the 1230s, i.e. about 60 years after its foundation.

⁹² The arrival of John of Limoges and other monks in 1208 proves it. Horváth, *Johannes Lemovicensis*, 1: 3*s.



did not have enough novices. Permission was granted by the general chapter of 1203 according to which the abbeys of the Hungarian province were allowed to employ servants because of the lack of converts. This also suggests that the Hungarian Cistercians had considerable difficulties as far as personnel was concerned.⁹³ This hypothesis is supported by archaeological data as well; the range of *conversi*⁹⁴ was not found in any of the excavated Cistercian monasteries.

Concerning the monks, the question is more complex. They were certainly not simply businessmen. Their activity cannot be interpreted purely as political play. Their aim was to spread their reform movement and a new type of religious life, and to develop a strong economy for this purpose. How they did it depended on the local circumstances. The last great abbot of Cluny, a contemporary of Saint Bernard, Peter the Venerable, wrote: "The Rule was written in the spirit of Love. Following the challenges of the time, it can be changed as well in the same spirit of Love." Though the Cistercians originally had the strict observance of the Rule in their mind, they took the phrase of the abbot of Cluny seriously. In Hungary, the secondary economy was obviously primary to them. The small number of converts, the estate structure and the privileges prove this. Internal colonization remained the task of other social groups.

CATALOG OF THE CISTERCIAN ABBEYS

1. *Ábrahám* (praedium ad Dombóvár, Hungary) Fundata erat anno 1263 ab officiali regis, Moys magistro tavernicorum, postea palatino, adiuvante Béla IV. non longe a prima fundatione ordinis Hungariae, Cikádor. Ordo accepit definitive anno 1270. Extitit usque ad annum 1543, quando Turci Quinqueecclesias et Simontornya occupaverunt. Possessiones erant in comitatu Tolnensi: in proximitate abbatiae sex possessiones, in regione de Kurd sex possessiones, in parte septemtrionali comitatus quatuor possessiones, necnon aliae in comitatu Simigiensi et Bodrogiensi. Erat filia et monachi venerunt de Pilis.

Bibliography: D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadis] (Budapest, 1890–1913) [Henceforth: Csánki] II, 658; Csánki, III, 413; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 47–52; Idem: "A ciszterci rend története Magyarországon", in Lékai, *A ciszterciek*, 477.

⁹³ On the social background of this feature cf. Koszta, "A ciszterci", 127.

⁹⁴ Gerevich, *A pilisi*; for Zirc see "Zirc", *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), 4: 266–267.



2. *Bélháromkút* (Bélapátfalva, Hungary) Fundatum erat c.1234 a Cleto episcopo Agriensi de gen. Bél. Erat filia de Pilis. Postea apparet monasterium in patronatu generis Bél, sed et episcopi Agrienses eum adiuvaverunt. Abbatia extitit usque ad saeculum 16, depopolata erat tardissime inter annos 1532 et 1552. Habuit possessiones singulas in regione abbatiae (cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, p.60). Erat in comitatu de Borsod.
Bibliography: Csánki, I, 169; Györffy, I, 755-758; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 53-62; Valter, "Die archäologische Erschließung".
3. *Bélakút* (Novi Sad, Yugoslavia) Fundatum erat anno 1232 a duce Béla (postea erat rex Béla IV.) prope ad priorem abbatiam Benedictinam de Pétervárad, et consequenter ad vadum Danubii in comitatu de Szerém. Monasterium erat opulentissima inter abbatias Hungariae, inter alias 25 villas in comitatu de Szerém cum vineis, possessiones supra Danubium in comitatu de Bács, necnon ecclesiam parochialem b.Gerhardi in Kelenföld cum decimas et vineis. Populavit monasterium de Acey aut Tribus Fontibus.
Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 133-140; Hervay "A ciszterci rend", 476; Vidor Pataki, "A péterváradai ciszterciek a középkori Kelenföldön", *A Ciszterci Rend Budapesti Szent Imre Gimnáziumának évkönyve*, 1942; Takács, *Pétervárad*.
4. *Borsmonostor* (Klostermarienberg, Austria) Fundatum erat anno 1194 a bano Dominico, sed finitum erat tantum a filio suo, Bors, qui et nomen illi dedit. Postea ius patronatus in manus familiae Kőszegi, deinde oppidi Kőszeg, postremum anno 1441 Simonis de Pálócz et Michaelis Országh de Gút devenit. Erat in comitatu de Sopron, aliquoties nominatum et de Kedhel. 1440-1445 erat probabiliter destructum et dislocatum annis 1450-1452, quia AD 1455 nominatum est "de sub monte Mariae". Depopulatio definitiva sub abbate Stephano Magno. Possessiones abbatiae erant in regione eius, fundatores dederunt tres villas et tres praedia, quae postea aucta per emptiones et donationes erant (cf. Hervay 1984, 74-75). Populaverunt monachi de S.Cruce.
Bibliography: *Historische Städte Österreichs I. Donauländer, Burgerland*, (Stuttgart, 1970), [Henceforth: HSÖ] I, 735-736; Valter, "Ciszterci", 158; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 47-52; Reg. Arp., 3791, 4113 and 4114, D. Fráneek, *A borsmonostori apátság az Árpádok korában* [The Abbey of Borsodmonostor in the Age of the Arpads] (Eger, 1910); H. Wagner, *Urkundenfaelschungen im Burgerland und in den angrenzenden westungarischen Gebieten bis zum Ende der Regierungszeit König Bélas IV*, (Eisenstadt, 1953).
5. *Cikádor* (Bátaszék, Hungary). Fundatum iam tempore S.Bernhardi de S.Cruce de Austria, erat monasterium primum Hungariae anno 1142. Fundator eius erat rex Geysa II. Est in comitatu de Tolna. Possessiones habuit inter aliis ultra Danubium in comitatu de Bodrog, in comitatu Tolnensi et in comitatu de Baranya. Possessiones eius non erant cohaerentes. Recepit anno 1196 (in litteris anni 1454) et duas partes tributi fori et portus fluvii Dravae de Eszék cum villa Kuni, ad quem illa pertinebant (cf. Hervay 1984, 86-87). Abbatia pro Cistercienses perita est c.1421, quando abbas Emericus OSB eam gubernavit, et etiam monasterium ordini s.Benedicti supeditavit.
Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 83-889; Hervay, "A ciszterci rend", 474; Valter, *Die archäologische Erschließung des Zisterzienserklosters von Cikádor* (in print).

6. *Egres* (Igris, Romania) Traditio ordinis refert eum anno 1179 fundatum esse de abbata Pontiniaca. Certe extitit iam anno 1191. Monachi erant incipiente saeculo 13. Franci et Hungari. Fundator erat rex Béla III, donationes divites recepit a filio eius, rege Andrea II. Anno 1233 regina Iolanta, duos annos postea ipse rex inibi sepulti erant. Habuit redditus salis ab anno 1230, possessiones eius erant parvae in vicinitate monasterii et aliae similiter non valde magnae Transilvaniae, ad fluvium Küküllő (Monora, Csanád, Sornsten, Küküllő). Tartari monasterium devastaverunt, sed satis celeriter repopulatum erat. Anno 1202 fundavit Kerc Transsilvaniae et 1266 abbatiam S.Crucis Galiciae. Olim erat in comitatu de Csanád.
Bibliography: Csánki, I, 695; Györffy, I, 855-856; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 90-97; Juhász, *Die Stifte*, 53-61; E. Bósz (Bartók), *Az egresi ciszterci apátság története* [The History of the Cistercian Abbey of Egres] (Budapest, 1911).
7. *Ercsi* (Hungary) Prima fundatio erat 1207-1208, quando Cistercienses abbatiam S.Nicolai ordinis S.Benedicti a rege Andrea II. receperunt. Tamen quia usque ad annum 1238 populare nequiverunt, Béla IV. dedit eum Carthusianis. Postremum Carthusia a Tartaris devastata ordo Cisterciensium locum recepit et populavit. A Cisterciensibus derelecta erat circa 1482, postea reapparet in manu OESA. Possessionum vestigia parva sunt. Est in comitatu de Fejér.
Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 98-100; Hervay, "A ciszterci rend", 477; G. Entz, "Az ercsi bencés monostor" [The Benedictine Monastery of Ercs], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 14 (1965), 241-246; *Pestmegye Múemlékei* [Monuments of Pest country] (Budapest, 1958), II, 148-151.
8. *Esztergom-Szentmáriamező* (Esztergom, Hungary) Fundatum erat inter 1200-1204 a genere Szente-Mágocs "in campo Beatae Mariae de Strigonio". Capitulum generale ordinis anno 1204 autorizavit monachis Cisterciensibus ad Strigonium commorantibus, ut iuxta capellam B.Virginis moverent. Ubi antea habitaverunt, nescio, sed forsitan habuit ordo domum aliquam in civitate, sed mentio huius nunquam fit. Possibile est populatio et de abbata de Pilis, quae similiter erat in proximitate. (Hoc dicit et Hervay 1984, 40). Probabiliter extiti haec domus usque ad annum 1291.
Bibliography: Györffy, II, 282; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 40.
9. *Gotó* (Kutjevo-Pozaga, Croatia) Fundatum erat anno 1232 ab archiepiscopo Colochensi, Ugrino de genere Chak, sed novam fundationem etiam rex Andreas II. adiuvavit. Anno 1460 ius patronatus erat viduae Ladislai de Gara, postea, ante 1494 Laurentii de Ujlak. Erat in comitatu de Pozsega. Nomen eius erat Honesta Vallis et erat filia de Zirc. Possessiones eius haud notae sunt. Extitit usque ad annum 1535, quando propter incursiones Turcas depopulatum est.
Bibliography: Csánki, II, 409; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 101-103; Hervay, "A ciszterci rend", 476; M. Turković, *Povijest Opatija Reda Cistercita u Hrvatskoj-Slavoniji i Dalmaciji*, (Susak, 1936.), 59-61.
10. *Hárskút* (Lipovnik, Slovakia) Fundatum erat inter 1240-1243 ab aliquo genere in comitatu de Torna. Slivka dicit eam domum Cruciferorum fuisse, quo dubito. Historia aius est tamen incerta. Depopulatum erat circa annum 1450.



Bibliography: Csánki, I, 238; M. Slivka, "Cisterciti na Slovensku" [Cistercians in Slovakia], *Archaeologia historica*, 1991, 101-117.

- ⑪ *Kerc* (Cirta, Romania) Fundatum erat Transsilvaniae in Fogaras anno 1202 de abbacia de Egres et roboratum a rege Emerico. Erat devastata a Tartaros. Repopulata erat tantum 1260-1270. Postea devenit forsitan ius patronatus in manus Saxonum de villa Hermannii, quoniam abbacia semper cum illis mentita est, postque suppressionem eius omnia ad eam pertinentia a rege Matthia communitati villae Hermannii data erant. Possessiones abbaciae erant semper in vicinitate Saxonum: in propinquitate Cibinii, iuxta fluvium Olt, in propinquitate de Segesvár.

Bibliography: G. Entz, "A kerci (cirtai) cisztercita építőműhely" [The Cistercian Construction Workshop of Kerc/Cirta]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 12 (1963), 121-147; Györffy, II, 451-452; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 112-119; A. Baumgartner, *A kerci apátság a középkorban* [The Abbey of Kerc in the Middle Ages] (Budapest, 1915.)

- ⑫ *Königshof* (Königshof, Austria) Fundatum erāt anno 1203 in comitatu de Moson. Erat prius grangia S.Crucis de Austria, quam de rege Hungariae acceperunt. 1203-1209 monachi S.Crucis hic movere voluerunt, etiam constructiones inceperunt, tamen remansit incompleta, et etiam postea tantum grangia erat.

Bibliography: HSÖ I, 737; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 104-109 (ad Heiligenkreuz).

- ⑬ *Pásztó* (Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1191, quando Cistercienses abbatiā S.Nicolai ordinis S.Benedicti a rege Béla III. acceperunt. Exeunte saeculo 13. recepit ius patronatus Stephanus filius Dominici, magister agazonum Stephani iunioris regis. Est in comitatu de Heves. Possessiones haud notae sunt, sed habet in villa Tar eiusdem comitatus, in Felvinc Transilvaniae, prope Zember et Tepke in comitatu de Nógrád, et aliae possessiones quarum locus est ignotus. Excavatum erat ab Ilona Valter.

Bibliography: R. Békefi, *A pásztói apátság története* [A History of Pásztó Abbey] I-III, Budapest 1898; Csánki I, 55; Györffy III, 121-123; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 127-132; Valter, "Das Zisterzienserkloster Pásztó" *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXXVIII (1982), 129-138.

- ⑭ *Pilis* (Pilisszentkereszt, Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1184, die 27. martii a rege Béla III. in comitatu de Pilis, iuxta antiquam viam Romanam, quae probabiliter et illo aevo in usu erat. In ecclesia abbaciae erat sepulta regina Gertrudis de Merano a bano Bánk occisa. Secundum historiographum ordinis de saeculo 18. erat hic olim abbacia ordinis S. Benedicti totaliter degenerata. Anno 1203 abbas iudex erat inter archiepiscopos Strigoniensem et Colochensem, 1204 erat visitor monasteriorum a domino papa delegatus. Anno 1207, abbacia de Topusko a rege Andrea novissime erecta recepit privilegia ad ea de Pilis similia. Tartari combustaverunt aedificia, tamen abbas iam 1244 erat a domino papa delegatus. Anno 1254 habuit abbacia vineas et domos in Dewen et Posonio (com. Poson.) et in Buda (com. Pilis), tertiam partem tributorum de Posonio, de Quintoforo (com. Poson.), de Veteri Castro (com. Moson) et de Iaurino. Posonii alteram partem habuit abbas de Sancto Martino, Iaurini abbas de Zirc. Ceterum possessiones monasterii erant relative parvae et in plurimis comitatibus dispersae (com. Pilis, Strig., Komárom, Poson; cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, p. 149-152). Abbacia anno 1526

a Turcis erat combusta, unus monachus erat occisus, alii in abbatiam S. Crucis de Austria fugiverunt. Villa autem, quae tempore Benedictinorum saeculo 11-12. hic extitit, erat post adventum Cisterciensium depopulata. Foundationes abbatae Benedictinae et aliae Cisterciensis a Ladislao Gerevich excavatae erant. Lis ortum erat saeculo 18. super ius possessionis inter Cistercienses & Paulinos. Monachi venerunt ex Acey.

Bibliography: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság története* [A History of Pilis Abbey] I, Pécs 1891; Csánki I, 14-15; Gerevich, *A pilisi*; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 141-153; Rég. Top. VII 19/1, 159-164; "A pilisi ciszterci apátság" [The Cistercian Abbey in Pilis] in *Pannonia Regia, Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, (Budapest 1994), 236-241.

15. *Pornó* (Pornóapáti, Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1221, quando Cistercienses abbatiam S. Margarethae virginis a Stefano de genere Jáke acceperunt. Nova abbatia erat sub abbatia S. Gotthardi. Tamquam Stefanus et possessionem Pornó cum iure patronatu abbatae S. Gotthardo dedit, tamen erat patronus anno 1325 familia Kopász de gen. Jáke. Anno 1455 in patronatu erat Bertholdus Elderbach, postremo in 1496 Thomas Bakócz tunc archiepiscopus Strigoniensis eum a rege recepit. Heredes eius erant membrae familiae Erdődy. Quinque villas possidebat in vicinitate monasterii, tres in regione, sed remotius (cf. Carta in Hervay, *Repertorium*, 169). Est in comitatu de Zala. Ordo originalis erat probabiliter Benedictina. Non est praetermittendum, quod abbatia ordinis S. Benedicti de Jáke eiusdem generis est in vicinitate, tantum pauca milia ad orientem.

Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 154-156; Hervay, "A ciszterci rend", 476; Kalász, *Szentgotthárd*; I. Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens*, (Eisenstadt, 1985), 214.

16. *Savnik* (Stiavniky, Slovakia) Fundatum erat inter 1216-1222 a magistro tavernicorum regis, Dyonisio filio Ampod, similiter et comite Scepusiensi in comitatu de Szepes non longe de via de Polonia versus meridiem ducentem, ad fluvium Hernád, inter Igló at Poprád. Foundationem dux Colomannus filius regis Andreae II. perfecit. Possessiones habuit in territorio coherenti, et ibi locavit certe quinque, forsitan septem villas, necnon et alias minores colonias. Erat filia abbatae de Wachock (Polonia).

Bibliography: Csánki, I, 266; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 172-180; Hervay, "A ciszterci rend", 476; Slivka, "Cisterciti", 101-117.

17. *Szentgotthárd* (Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1183 a rege Béla III. in comitatu de Zala. Iam Andreas II anno 1214 patronatui regali denunciavit, et ius patronatus tardissime exeunte saeculo 14. definitive in manus magnatum devenit, quando anno 1391 ex liberalitate regis Sigismundi patroni erant filii palatini Nicolai Séchi. Anno 1467 erat fortificatum contra Turcos. Possedit plurimas villas in regione abbatae in territorio coherenti, necnon alias in comitatu Castriferrei et Saladiensi aliquantulo remotiores (cf Hervay 1984, 166-169). Erat filia directa de Tribus Fontibus.

Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 159-171; HSÖ I, 733 and 747; Kalász, *Szentgotthárd*; Valter, *Romanische*, 19 and 249-250; Valter, "Die archäologische Erschließung des ungarischen Zisterzienserklosters Szentgotthárd", *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXXVIII (1982), 139-152.




18. *Szentjános* (Sîntion, Romania) Fundatum erat anno 1249, quando Cistercienses abbatiam S.Johannis Baptistae in comitatu de Bihar a genere Hontpázmány acceperunt. Ordo prior erat probabiliter S.Benedicti. Hervay dicit monasterium ad annum 1259 depopulatum esse. Certum est tamen, quod secundum acta capituli generalis haec abbatia "in personis et rebus multiplices defectus patiatur" (Statuta 1259: 36).
Bibliography: Györffy, I, 667-668; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 41.
19. *Szenttrinitás* (praedium prope Siklós, Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1303, quando Cistercienses abbatiam SS.Trinitatis ordinis S.Benedicti a familia Siklósi de genere Kán in comitatu de Baranya acceperunt. Secundum Hervay tamen remansit in possessione Benedictinorum, sic eius mentio fit annis 1414 et 1480.
Bibliography: Györffy, I, 391-392; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 42.
20. *Vértesszentkereszt* (Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1214, quando Cistercienses abbatiam S.Crucis ordinis S.Benedicti a genere Csák in comitatu de Fejér acceperunt. Fundatio erat tamen tantum temporalis, quia invenimus monasterium anno 1240 iterum in manu Benedictinorum, qui eum postea incesse tenebant. Causa foundationis erat probabiliter, quod secunda coniunx Nicolai de genere Csák venit de Francia.
Bibliography: Györffy, II, 415-416; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 120-124; Koszta, "A ciszterci", 119; Éva Kozák, "Vértesszentkereszt", *OMVH*, Budapest 1994.
21. *Zirc* (Hungary) Fundatum erat anno 1182 a rege Béla III. in comitatu de Veszprém, iuxta viam de Iaurino versus Veszprém ducentem. Secundum Chronicis extitit hic domus aestivalis regis, ubi anno 1060 rex Andreas I. post proelium cum fratre suo Bela pugnatum mortuus erat. Eodem tempore erat et locus comitatus silvae de Bocon (Bakony). Aliquoties erat et abbatia de Bakony nuncupata. Anno 1195 rex Emericus exemit abbatiam de iure episcopi Quinqueecclesiensis (!) deditque illi privilegia (Szentpétery 1923,51). Anno 1334 abbas Odo solvit ratione abbatae suae collectoribus 90 grossos. Possessiones eius erant: Zirc, Adásztevel, Olaszfalu, medietas possessionis Bodé, Berénd, Sóly, Szentkirály, Menyeke, Szöllös, Ság et Kőudvar. Habuit tertiam partem redditus telonei Jauriensis et molendinum supra rivulum Tapolca. Ius patronatus postea magnatibus datum erat. Incipiente saeculo 16. patronus erat familia Zápolya, postea, anno 1538 familia Podmaniczky de Podmanin. Incipiente decade 1540 erat devastatum a familia patrona, anno 1549 mentio fit abbatae iam ruinatae. Saeculo 18. erat de novo populatum et extitit usque ad annum 1786. Postea, anno 1802 de novo refundatum egit usque ad dissolutionem anni 1950.
Bibliography: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 208-216; K. Horváth, "A zirci apátság története" [A History of Zirc Abbey], *Zirci könyvek* 1, Veszprém, 1930; Rég. Top. 4 81/2, 266-267.

Aliae temptationes ad abbatias fundendas in hoc catalogo non sunt insertae, quia illae nec tamen ad primam populationem ab ordine venerunt. Ad eas cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 40-42.



PAPER PRESENTED IN THE SEMINAR
ON "IMAGES OF WOMEN AND FAMILY"

DOMESTIC AND NONDOMESTIC SPACE: WOMEN IN THE *URFEHDEN* OF KREMS AND STEIN (1372-1527)

Erik Somelar 

A good way to determine the standing of different groups in a society is by studying their conflicts. The efforts and actions of opposing parties which aim to turn a situation to their advantage clearly expose the limits of both parties. The objective of this article is to try to comprehend some of the limitations of women in medieval urban society. I chose to study two Lower Austrian towns, Krems and Stein.

An analysis of *Urfehden* in Krems and Stein illustrates the active participation of women in medieval society, however limited. The more frequently used sources, such as law codes and court protocols, which have been used until recently, do not entirely reflect the full range of social interaction in medieval communities. Law codes are only prescriptive and do not necessarily reflect the existing situation. Court protocols better reflect everyday life, but as the existence of *Urfehden* proves, they do not reflect cases which were settled out of court, which is the way a substantial part of conflicts occurring in medieval towns were resolved. *Urfehden* are free of constraints that might obscure the situation of women in Krems and Stein. Within the boundaries of the present article and the historical sources chosen, it is not possible to cover every aspect of the immense field of gender-related issues in medieval community life. Therefore, the central topic of the article will be women's position in the topography of domestic and non-domestic space.

The *Urfehden* are best described as "peace oaths" (*Verzicht auf Fehde*).¹ A prisoner swore the *Urfehde* upon release from confinement and

¹ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, xi, 3, c. 2409.

was obliged to agree not to breach the peace once the oath was sworn. Guilt or innocence was not an issue when making these oaths. The objective was rather to preserve order in the community. The term *Urfehde* refers to the process of swearing an oath, as well as to the social position the swearer was expected to occupy. This meaning of *Urfehde* should be distinguished from the term *Urfehde* which refers only to the legal document concerning the oath sworn.

A complete *Urfehde* contains the following information:

- Name, occupation, residence of the swearer
- Acknowledgement and reason for imprisonment
- Injured party or plaintiff
- Punishment
- Acknowledgement of release, expression of gratitude for mercy granted
- Intercessor(s)
- Oath swearing not to commit an act of vengeance, peace with the town, surrender of the right of further judicial pursuit of the issue, resolution of disputes only at certain (local) courts
- Self-condemnation for eventual relapse
- Announcement of the seal
- Date

The *Urfehden* from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century were written under circumstances that cannot be easily explained. The *Urfehden* in some cases reintegrated individuals in the community and in other cases excluded them. Their purpose was to ensure the loyalty of the town population. They were ultimately powerful tools in the hands of magistrates who wanted to circumvent rigid laws which did not suit the changing needs of the community. Although they were usually used to preserve peace in the town, the *Urfehden* were sometimes exploited by officials with the intention of serving their own purposes.

The decision as to who should be permitted to swear the *Urfehde* sometimes provoked controversy among different members of the community. One should also keep in mind that the production of a such document could by no means have been uncomplicated or inexpensive. There was disagreement as to how order should be maintained.

The *Urfehden* are valuable documents which reveal social interaction in late medieval communities. The motives of offenders, law enforcers, victims and intercessors can be deduced from the documents.



Nevertheless, they are limited as primary sources concerning criminal history for several reasons. First, they reflect almost exclusively individual cases in which the offender was incarcerated. Second, it was not necessary to indicate the purpose of the arrest in the *Urfehde* because once the oath was sworn, the reasons for imprisonment were no longer relevant. Finally, the number of cases involved was restricted as the swearer was required to be no longer in prison before the *Urfehde* could be sworn. Herta Mandl-Neumann found the total number of convicts in Krems and Stein between 1462 and 1467, and in 1470, 1475, 1476, and 1478 to be 563.² There was a total of 69 *Urfehden* in 32 years, nine of which did not involve crime and imprisonment, but rather inheritance disputes and conflicts within the community. Therefore, the *Urfehden* were quite rare in Krems and Stein. The intention of this particular analysis is to examine the role of women in Krems and Stein through a closer look at the *Urfehden*.

In order to paint a comprehensive picture of the situation of women in late medieval Krems and Stein according to the *Urfehden*, this analysis is not restricted to female delinquents. Attention will be paid to the active role of women as intercessors as well as to their victimization. Of the 57 *Urfehden* in the town archives of Krems,³ women are involved in fourteen of them, as well as in four additional documents. The first of the four supplementary documents is the pledge of the maiden Katharina and her guardian swearing to observe a ruling concerning an inheritance dispute against Heinrich the Dürrenhofer.⁴ The second is a letter containing the intercession of the *Bürgermeister*, judge and magistrate of Vienna, on behalf of a certain Paul Veyal. It appears that the authorities in Krems and Stein wanted to punish this man for exposing himself to women.⁵ The third document is written by King Ladislaus regarding a custom which allowed authorities to release some prisoners on a king's first visit to a town in his kingdom. He recommends that one Mertt Watsas, who was found guilty of abusing his wife, be set free.⁶ The last document is an instruction of King Ferdinand to the magistrates regarding the jailed

² H. Mandl-Neumann, *Aspekte des Rechtsalltags* (Vienna: Verband österreichischer Geschichtsvereine, 1985), 313.

³ Stadtarchiv Krems. Urkunden. Partly published in: Otto Brunner, ed., *Die Rechtsquellen der Städte Krems und Stein*. *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, *Fontes Iuris*. (Graz – Cologne, 1953).

⁴ Stadtarchiv Krems, August 3, 1372.

⁵ Stadtarchiv Krems, April 25, 1431.

⁶ Stadtarchiv Krems, June 25, 1457; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 114.

Anabaptists, ordering the release of pregnant women and nursing mothers.⁷

In the *Urfehden* of Krems and Stein, eight women are mentioned as swearers. Sixty-seven male swearers are mentioned. Women, in reality, constituted a slightly higher proportion than in the jail delivery rolls which were examined by Barbara Hanawalt, where the ratio was one to nine.⁸ However, one should keep in mind that this proportion of men to women may not be statistically significant as the numbers involved are too small.

The fact that only two of the eight women acted alone as independent *Urfehder* shows that women had less independence than men. One example of a woman swearing alone is Katrey, the wife of Michel Erdinger, a servant accused of sorcery. Apparently, she was caught red-handed: "*Von warer schuld und tat wegen, die ich mit zwbereit begangen hab, daran ich mit war tat begriffen worden pin.*"⁹ Normally, the crime to which she confessed should have been followed by physical punishment. The judge and magistrate, however, let her go in exchange for an *Urfehde*. The reason for that could have been the relative harmlessness of her act. There is no reference made to the powerful intercessors. The witchcraft in question was probably some kind of magic for domestic use. It is not likely that it was any kind of harmful witchcraft used in public space on the account of the minor sentence and the rapid exoneration.

Ursula the Pognerin, wife (*hausfraw*) of a certain Kulbinger, was detained as the prime suspect in the murder of Hanns the Brünner.¹⁰ In the *Urfehde*, the latter was characterised as her *inmann*. In the fifteenth century, this word was usually reserved for tenants. Frequently, however, the same word was used to denominate other kinds of subordinated people. The fact that Hanns the Brünner was Ursula's tenant indicates her somewhat elevated social position. Although the fact that someone let rooms does not necessarily mean it was a privilege reserved for the "superior" echelons of society, poorer town inhabitants often did not have a significant amount of spare rooms. Ursula was probably the widow of Pogner.¹¹ Kulbinger was

⁷ Stadtarchiv Krems, December 13, 1527; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 210.

⁸ Barbara Hanawalt, "The Female Felon in Fourteenth-Century England", (in Stuart, Susan Mosher (ed.), *Woman in Medieval Society*, (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1976), 126).

⁹ Stadtarchiv Krems, March 9, 1425; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 77.

¹⁰ Stadtarchiv Krems, May 19, 1432; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 83.

¹¹ The indication for that is the suffix "-in" in her name. If Pogner had been her father, she would have been called "Pognersche".

apparently her second husband. The house mentioned in the *Urfehde* could have been an estate of the late Pogner. This supposition is indirectly confirmed by a clause contained in the *Urfehde* which mentions that Ursula had to pay off debts on her house to the church in Krems. Obviously, the reason for these unsettled debts was Ursula's unwillingness to pay them. The impounding of her property was not even taken into consideration, as was the case with Paul Veyal, which will be discussed later.

The circumstances portray Ursula as a rich widow. Widows usually held a respectable position in society. According to the *Urfehde*, she had a bad reputation. However, this reputation did not have anything to do with her affluence or dignity. According to the judge and magistrate, one of the reasons for her arrest was "*ander hendl und nachred, so ich dann erbern burgern zu Krems unverschuldt nochgeredt und dar inn ungütlich getann hab*".¹² According to them, she had acted unfairly towards the honourable citizens of Krems. It was probably her bad behavior that led authorities to suspect her of murder. However, she was discharged on the orders of the judge and magistrate. The sources do not offer any evidence as to the reason. It is not stated whether the reason for release was clemency or Ursula's innocence. The phrase Ursula used to refer to herself, "*mit recht in die vollaist wer genomen warden*", may mean that she was guilty, although it should be noted that this sentence could also be interpreted as meaning that the town authorities had the right to arrest every suspected perpetrator. The promise to refrain from a breach of the peace was *de rigueur* for the *Urfehden*, and thus it does not indicate whether Ursula was guilty or innocent. Interestingly, her current husband does not figure in the evidence as to her guilt or innocence. Therefore, he was irrelevant in the consideration of her release.

The principal person who swore an oath mentioned in one of the four supplementary documents was Maiden Katharina. However, unlike the cases already mentioned, she did not act alone. To end an inheritance dispute that had even reached the ears of the *Landmarschall*, she pledged to be content with the decision of the judge and magistrate of the two cities, as well as with the decision of the *Burggraf* of Krems who was charged by the *Landmarschall* with settling the dispute.¹³ A citizen of Krems, Niklas the Reinberger, acted as her guardian. Her description as a *Jungfrau* (maiden), indicates her un-

¹² Stadtarchiv Krems, May 19, 1432; Brünner, *Rechtsquellen*, 83.

¹³ Stadtarchiv Krems, August 3, 1372.

married status, and her description as the daughter of Ortolf indicates her young age. She was, however, no longer a minor. Generally, only adults were permitted to challenge an inheritance settlement. As most German laws gave only “a year and a day” to lodge any complaints concerning inheritance settlements,¹⁴ Katharina must have just reached adulthood. It is well known that this expression was not taken literally. The time span for complaints could extend even to several years. Nevertheless, “a year and a day” was assumed not to extend further than a year and six weeks.¹⁵

The final decision, of which there is no detailed information, must have been a compromise. The imposition of a large fine on whoever breached the agreement also points in the same direction. There is no indication as to the reasons for the ruling. Therefore, there is no possibility of discovering if Katharina’s social status, as determined by her age, sex and marital status, either brought her advantages or handicapped her. On the one hand, Katharina did have an advantage over most of the other women in society, for she belonged to an eminent family. Her contender in the given dispute, Heinrich the Dürrenhofer, was a magistrate in Krems. It follows then that they must have been relatives since the dispute was about inheritance. Thus, there remains little doubt of Katharina’s eminent ancestry. This case confirms that at least young women belonging to the higher strata of society had the possibility of taking their eminent male relatives to court and getting some concessions out of them. However, it should be noted that, even for this, the help of a guardian was required.

Of the remaining six women, three swore *Urfehden* with their husbands. For example, Margret was arrested along with her husband Michael Tell from Aggsbach. After committing a theft together in Langenlois, both were brought to Krems and thrown in jail.¹⁶ Proven guilty of theft, they should have been executed. Instead, they received pardon on the request of “pious and honorable citizens” (*frum und erber lewt*).¹⁷ For reasons not elaborated in the *Urfehden*, in the formula renouncing the vengeance, the men of Langenlois received extra attention (*besunderlich aller maendleich*). The case of Anna and her husband Peter Peneshawer, a furrier, was similar. This couple had trans-

¹⁴ See for example Friedrich Georg von Bunge, ed., *Allivlands Rechtsbücher*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1879) article 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Stadtarchiv Krems, June 28, 1399; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 59.

¹⁷ This characteristic expression will be dealt with in detail further down.

gressed the laws of Krems and Stein as well as the law of the bench (*Schranne*) and should have been severely punished (*swerleich gepessert*). Intercession of "*frum und erber lewt*", as well as the will of the judge and magistrate, led to their release.¹⁸ In addition to the basic conditions present in any *Urfehde*, Peneshawer and his wife had to accept not to live in the *Burgfrieden* of Krems and Stein. They were, however, allowed to conduct business there.

In yet another example, Margred, the wife of Peter Pehaim of Brünn, was thrown in jail along with her husband because of a mischievous act (*etleicher inzicht wegen*).¹⁹ The *Urfehde* states simply that they were set free. Unfortunately, there is no information as to who the intercessors were or the reasons for the release.

Agnes, the wife of Hainzl Freynstain of Langenlois, and Elspet, her mother-in-law, swore *Urfehden* together with their respective husband and son.²⁰ All three were, however, on equal ground only in the first sentence of the document, where they all refer to themselves in the first person singular. In the rest of the document, the first person singular refers unmistakably to Hainzl alone. He had had a long-lasting feud with a certain Kristan the Devil (*der Teufel*) of Weinzierl. There had been previous attempts made by "*erber lewt*" to solve it. Hainzl, however, was not satisfied with the ruling. This, together with quarrels and intimidation (*veintschafft und dronuzz*), finally brought Hainzl to jail. However, the judge and magistrate had mercy on him and set him free. Both women in question act as participants involved in the *Urfehde* only because of their kinship.

Katrey, the wife of Männlein the White (*der Weizze*) of Stockerau was, unlike the women referred to in the previous section, the principal *Urfehder* in her case.²¹ The reason the authorities wanted Katrey to perform an *Urfehde* was because her husband's incarceration had been ordered by the law court of Krems. According to all the evidence, the family concerned appears to have been eminent. Moreover, the very fact of demanding the *Urfehde* points in this direction, for powerless families did not have any means to take action against the persons involved in jailing Männlein, so there would have been no point in demanding an *Urfehde* from them.

¹⁸ Stadtarchiv Krems, March 30, 1432; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 71.

¹⁹ Stadtarchiv Krems, November 9, 1400; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 62.

²⁰ Stadtarchiv Krems, January 27, 1414.

²¹ Stadtarchiv Krems, September 14, 1396; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 56.

The last of the four additional documents contains no *Urfehde* whatsoever. It could, however, have been a starting point for some of them. Regardless of its connection with the *Urfehden*, it is an interesting document which reveals attitudes towards women. It belongs to a series of five orders that King Ferdinand I issued to the authorities of Krems concerning the Anabaptists. He instructed the authorities to keep the imprisoned Anabaptists in jail until receiving new orders. The only exception was made for pregnant women and nursing mothers, who consented to return to their households.²² However, they must have shown an intention to recant their errors and they must have been able to arrange for bondsmen. The proximity of Christmas may have played a role in bringing about this amnesty offer. More importantly, however, was the notion of women as a weaker sex.

In the Middle Ages, various medical theories regarding women had negative connotations. The supposed "sickness" of women was the cornerstone of the well-known diagnosis²³ that women were generally considered to be weaker than men. Thus, they were entitled to special protection and care. This care, however, seems to have been extended only to women who accepted the role determined for them. In the case of the *Urfehden*, only women who agreed to assume a life of domesticity were eligible for clemency. Their share of labor most certainly did not include action in religious matters which was also restricted to the majority of men. The women who transgressed these boundaries were possibly punished even more severely than men who did the same. Unfortunately, the sources do not reveal if the Anabaptist women were jailed in Krems together with their husbands, or whether they were runaways. This information would provide an insight into the king's motives for offering clemency under such conditions, and would shed light on the role of women in medieval society.

Cases in which the *Urfehder* were victims of the authorities of Krems and Stein rather than criminals are not rare. A broad definition of "victim" is essential to answer one of the most central questions regarding the *Urfehden*. I take "victim" to mean anyone who suffered

²² Stadtarchiv Krems, December 13, 1527; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 210.

²³ Gundolf Keil, "Die Frau als Ärztin und Patientin in der medizinischen Fachprosa des deutschen Mittelalters." in: *Frau und spätmittelalterlicher Alltag* (Vienna: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 158.

damages as a result of the action of an outside party, be it a convicted criminal or the town authorities.

In four cases, women were the victims of criminal deeds. The oldest case is that of Henssl Schiedl of Passau, at the time the charcoal-burner's helper (*chnecht*), supposedly in Krems.²⁴ He made himself culpable by assaulting "honourable and pious" women in a "shameful way" on the streets and in their houses. Moreover, he did it also in the *freyung*, an area with a special legal status in the town. The expression "*schemige angreiffung*" is undoubtedly used to denote an assault of a sexual nature. However, the sources do not reveal if it did actually come to rape. The Viennese law bequested upon Krems and Stein in 1305 prescribed decapitation for the act of rape.²⁵ Similarly, the punitive measures foreseen for *Hausfriedensbruch*²⁶ were not minor.²⁷ According to the *Urfehde*, Henssl was indeed condemned to death by the presiding magistrate. Since the law does not say anything about sexual harassment, we must assume that Henssl did commit rape. The only fact which contradicts this conclusion is his pardoning; it seems unlikely that a pardon would have been possible, even with drunkenness as a mitigating circumstance, if the lowly coal-burner's helper had raped women in their houses. Neither the honor of the women and their husbands nor the necessity of giving the townspeople a feeling of confidence in their magistrate should have allowed it. Had the women involved been of slightly less prestigious families (which is highly unlikely if the wording of the *Urfehde* is anything to go by), a coal-burner's helper would still have had an even lower social status. Thus, we cannot speak of any privileges that the wrongdoer could have enjoyed. Evidently, while drunk, he assaulted women whom he encountered in the course of his work, probably intending rape. His exculpation leads to the conclusion that his intentions were not fully realized.

The circumstances behind the *Urfehde* of Michel Wetz are not any less nebulous. He had murdered (*verdeript*) his wife.²⁸ The wording gives actually no conclusive proof as to the question of whether it was seen as murder or manslaughter, the former considered a far graver deed. Regardless, Michel was sentenced to death. He swore in his

²⁴ Stadtarchiv Krems, August 5, 1399; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 60.

²⁵ Ibid, 25.

²⁶ Translates as "breaching the domestic peace".

²⁷ Ibid, 28-30.

²⁸ Stadtarchiv Krems, April 23, 1401; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 63.



Urfehde: “*Dar umb ich gefangen gelegen pin da selbigs auf den hals.*” The fact that it was a case of *parricidium* should have been, as was usual then, recognized as an aggravating circumstance. Yet Michel was pardoned. As a furrier, he belonged to a rich and influential clique, and his friends did not abandon him in his time of need. The furriers of Klosterneuburg and Krems, and particularly his kinsman (*frewnt*), Simon the Wysent, intervened on his behalf to the judge and magistrate, and were assisted, according to the wording of the *Urfehde*, by the judge and magistrate themselves. There are three possible explanations for the exculpation of Michel Wetz. The first supposition would be that the intercession of his friends, and his wealth and influence saved him, which is not entirely impossible. There is, however, another explanation that seems more realistic. The text of the *Urfehde* contains the following words relating to Michel’s exculpation:

Und ist auch daz geschehen mit willen ir swester und seines swagers also peschaidenleich daz ich vorgeanter Michel meinem Weib der Got genad ir sell und vofadern sell ze hilf und ze trost schol komen wan ich daz vermag angevar mit rombfahrt mit achfart und mit mesfrumen und mit anderen gwten sachen die zw der sell gehen.

Significantly, his wife’s sister, and herbrother-in-law (whose name was, oddly enough, also Michel), seem to have agreed to the pardoning of the murderer. Additionally, the pilgrimages and masses, according to the wording of the document, were meant to benefit the wife’s soul (and her ancestors’ souls), rather than her murderer’s soul. These facts advance the hypothesis that the death of Wetz’s wife was to a certain extent perceived as deserved, be it because of adultery or something even worse. There exists a third possibility, that the furrier killed his wife wantonly, perhaps in a state of diminished responsibility. In that case, the conditions of the *Urfehde* could have been the same. The conclusion follows that, under certain circumstances, the life of a wife was negotiable. However, this is true not only of women. The cases when the killing of a man was forgiven are considerably greater in number.

According to his *Urfehde*, Mertt Warsas had abused his wife seriously. For such abuse, he was due to face corporal punishment.²⁹ Probably to ensure that he did receive it, he was confined to the jail in Krems. Quite possibly, however, he did not receive this punishment. It seems that, at the same time, King Ladislas planned his first visit to

²⁹ Stadtarchiv Krems, June 21, 1457; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 114.



the town. Since it was an old and honored tradition (*von alter loblichen herkommen ist*), that, on an occasion of this kind, some felons were to be pardoned, King Ladislas expected this tradition to be observed on his behalf. He chose Mertt to be the person to be released. Whether this ever happened is by no means certain. The *Urfehde* that Mertt should have sworn (which was explicitly required by the king), is not found in the archives of Krems. However, neither the release of Mertt nor the existence of his *Urfehde* are the main concerns of this essay. It is more important to determine how these incidents were dealt with. Mertt's hypothetical release and his arrest must be considered. The latter shows that wives were not completely at the mercy of their husbands. The fact that Mertt was eligible for pardon does not, unfortunately, say anything conclusive about the gravity of his deed in the eyes of contemporaries. The source does not reveal the manner of dealing with domestic violence. Did the authorities react only to the complaints, or could they intervene also by the power of their office?

The transgression of Paul Veyal, a fisherman from Vienna, was very insignificant. In a public bath (apparently in Krems), he was overwhelmed by a group of unruly women who proceeded to pour cold water all over him. Apparently, the poor man was so dazed that he let his bunch of birch branches fall, exposing himself to the women.³⁰ This mishap was, in the opinion of the Krems judge, worth a fine of eight guilders. As the fisherman was not able to produce the required amount, his property was impounded. The *Bürgermeister* requested the exoneration of their resident. Had the Krems town judge agreed to pardon the poor fisherman, it would have been a case for an *Urfehde*. However, no such document is to be found in the Krems archive. Again, it is not the existence of an *Urfehde*, but the manner of action that is important for the assessment of the situation in Krems. Whether the mishap really did appear to the Krems judge Ludwig as a sexual offence is no longer determinable. It should have been rather evident (although there is no way to be sure), that Veyal was not a sexual offender. His mishap could have been understood as a public nuisance, but he was obviously sentenced in order to show the stranger from Vienna his place. Conceivably, the judge used the women's right to be protected as a justification of his sentence. In addition to this right, women apparently enjoyed other advantages compared to men and, especially, strangers. Instead of being disciplined for their unruliness, they saw the punishment of a man they

³⁰ Stadtarchiv Krems, April 25, 1430; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 80.

assaulted. Quite clearly, the Viennese authorities were irritated by the manner of action of the Krems judge and they did not hesitate to let their Krems counterparts know this, stating that this sentence “*uns gar unfreuntlich duncket*”.³¹

In determining the situational workings of the *Urfehden*, it is necessary to examine the intercessors. They were apparently crucial to the very existence of *Urfehden*. Not a single *Urfehde* came into being without intercession. The preceding statement is, however, only true given the broad definition of intercession adopted in this paper. This definition defines an intercessor as anybody who takes steps to relieve the position of a prisoner. According to this definition, the authorities are also to be defined as intercessors if they release a prisoner on their own initiative. A search for the factors that made an *Urfehde* possible is certainly more revealing if conducted with regard to the intercessors and their relationships to the swearers than if it only examines specific deeds.

The function of women as intercessors was, although not a very common occurrence, clearly of utmost importance. This is true for both the women involved and society in general. Maidens rescuing men from the death penalty by offering (ostensibly under the gallows) to marry them, are not uncommon occurrences in the sphere of German law. As late as the end of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the magistrate of Reval, a Livonian town (now known as Tallinn), which did not belong to the German nucleus, had to consider a petition of an honourable virgin who wanted to save a convicted felon's life by marrying him. The request was refused since the tradition was deemed too old.³² Its existence, however, shows that women traditionally had an important role to play in pardoning.

Among the *Urfehden* of Krems and Stein, there are only seven cases where intercessors are unmistakably women. This amounts to just fourteen percent of the *Urfehden*. The category of the intercessors labeled “*frum und erber lewt*” (honorable and pious people), almost always present in the *Urfehden*, may very well have referred to women as well, although there is no proof of this. Fourteen per cent is a considerable amount, given the otherwise very modest participation of women in the public sphere of life. Moreover, the fact that the wishes of these women were respected shows that they did demonstrate some active participation. Women who managed to participate

³¹ Stadtarchiv Krems, April 25, 1430; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 80.

³² Eugen von Nottbeck, *Die alte Criminalchronik Revals* (Reval, 1884), 83.

in the public sphere of life by interceding on somebody's behalf were treated equal to other intercessors, who were usually eminent people.

In four of the *Urfehden* where women figure as intercessors, they are characterized only as "honorable women". All four men saved by their appeal were guilty of theft. The servants, Jorig of Wagram³³ and Jorig Sliffenperger,³⁴ stole respectively three and a half and four *Ellen*³⁵ of cloth. The third case was that of Nikl im Haws of Waydhofen, who stole a "purse with a penny" from a "poor pious man".³⁶ Michel Volger of Weinzierl stole fish from "poor *peschaiden* Hainreich the Fisherman".³⁷ All these offenders would have been executed if it had not been for women's participation.

Significantly, women were not the sole intercessors in any of these cases. There were always priests and "other honorable persons" at their side. Cooperation with priests was by no means unusual if the women wanted to accomplish something outside domestic everyday life. Whether the priests in those specific cases were encouraged to participate by women or if they acted on their own initiative remains unclear. However, the priests of Krems and Stein were, judging from their rare appearances in *Urfehden*, were not very diligent in caring for the "poor sinners"³⁸ on their own. Out of only four priests mentioned in the *Urfehden* of Krems and Stein, one was the employer of a defendant and at the same time the plaintiff, while the rest were apparently encouraged to intervene by women. Under the circumstances, where even royal women and eminent prioresses frequently acted jointly with men, rather than independently, it must have been even more the case with middle-class women. The priests were very well suited for these purposes. They were the only male people whom women regularly met outside of their domestic routine. Furthermore, mercy was part of – or at least was supposed to be part of – the trade of priests.

In the case of a certain Heinrich Chornhauff, who had assaulted a citizen of Laufen and was sentenced to death, the women did not resort to enlisting the help of a male.³⁹ Instead, they turned to Duchess

³³ Stadtarchiv Krems, February 17, 1396; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 53.

³⁴ Stadtarchiv Krems, August 31, 1397; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 56.

³⁵ A measure deriving from the Latin *ulna*; the closest English measure is *ell*, approximately 45 inches.

³⁶ Stadtarchiv Krems, March 22, 1401; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 62.

³⁷ Stadtarchiv Krems, April 4, 1433; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 85.

³⁸ "Poor sinner" was a common term for the convicted felons who were to be executed.

³⁹ Stadtarchiv Krems, June 2, 1400; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 61.

Beatrix and persuaded her to intervene on behalf of the poor sinner. This was certainly the most reasonable course of action to take, since the ruling Duke Albrecht IV was the son of Beatrix. The existence of this *Urfehde* proves that the women who wanted to see Chornhauff released were successful. By no means, however, was this method available at all times and to all those who wanted it. Even so, it proves that there were possibilities for enterprising women to achieve their aims, and that women who were willing to take an active part in public life did exist.

The women who supplicated on behalf of Niklas Peutl of Eisenstadt (*Eysneyn stat*), did not need any mediation at all. Margarethe of Dachsberg and her daughter, Kunigunde of Pottendorf, asked Duke Albrecht V to pardon a man whose offence is not evident from the *Urfehde*.⁴⁰ The ladies were clearly of noble birth, for Ulrich of Dachsberg, husband of Margarethe and father of Kunigunde, was an affluent nobleman, burg-grave (*Burggraf*) and eminent citizen of Krems, and from 1399 to 1402, the Marshal of Austria. In 1419, Margarethe was probably already a respected widow. The interference of these ladies saved Peutl, whom the duke's men had arrested and given over to the town judge of Krems, from execution. Women of this rank did not apparently need any assistance and intermediation to become active in the case of a poor sinner. Evidently, they supplicated for Niklas Peutl only because of his connection with them. Eisenstadt was only twelve kilometres from Pottendorf.

Under certain circumstances, even the wife of an offender could be an intercessor. For example, Hanns Kcheser should have been executed (there is no information as to the nature of his deed), but the judge and magistrate let him go free because of an intercession of "*rum und erber lewt*", and for the sake of his wife.⁴¹ The influence of "*frum und erber lewt*", rather than the consideration of his wife's wishes, saved Kcheser's life. This undetermined but influential group of "pious and honorable people" functioned apparently as the conscience of the town. Considerations of these people are indeed interesting because they are the closest indication as to what a typical person at that time might have thought. Unfortunately, the true guilt or innocence of Kcheser remains unknown, but it was actually never an important factor in this *Urfehde*. Serious consideration should be

⁴⁰ Stadtarchiv Krems, December 19, 1419; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 73.

⁴¹ Stadtarchiv Krems, July 3, 1435; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 89.

given to the possibility that the reluctance to deprive the wife of the protection of her husband could have played a significant role in the intervention. This example, contrary to those described previously, certainly does not show that the woman concerned managed to break through social barriers. Rather, it appears that this time the decision-makers preferred to see an offender unpunished, rather than see a woman without male protection.

In conclusion, it can be said that the significance of women as intercessors should not be underestimated. However, this happened only sporadically, and mostly because these women were somehow socially involved with *Urfehder*. Unfortunately, considering the small numbers, it is difficult to evaluate the significance of the fact that, in Krems and Stein, women were found interceding on behalf of men, but not on the behalf of other women.

It appears that women, when engaged in a cause they considered important, were determined to make themselves heard. They showed inventiveness and acumen in finding the most direct and unfailing ways to reach their goal. The women encountered in the *Urfehden* by no means represent the average woman. Those who, for whatever reasons, interceded had more often than not enlisted the help of men, or influential women of high rank. In spite of the small number of cases, it can be said that women were more inclined to intervene on behalf of those whose offenses arose from material need. Naturally, in some cases it could have been the personal characteristics of the offenders that evoked compassion.

The rare appearance of women in the *Urfehden* can be explained by their private domestic occupation. The crimes of men were very often connected to their public occupations. The *Urfehden* of Krems and Stein reveal that this was also the case with women; if they were considered to have committed a crime, it usually occurred in the domestic home. The fact that a woman was defined in terms of her domestic role and her husband (such as Margred, the wife of Peter Pe-haim) does not demonstrate disrespect but rather points to her domestic occupation in the home. In the majority of cases, this was as a housewife (men, on the other hand, were defined by their public occupations, such as merchants and lawyers). Crimes for which women were prosecuted as the sole perpetrators were invariably tied to their domestic sphere. For example, Katrey engaged in witchcraft



apparently to help her (or somebody else's) household.⁴² Ursula the Pognerin had frictions with her tenant, to a certain extent also a member of the household.⁴³ Furthermore, the crimes that were committed against women took place predominantly in their domestic space. Being an intercessor for potential *Urfehder* seems to have been the only area where women left their domestic sphere. Often, the people on whose behalf they intervened were connected to them through ties of a domestic character. However, even there, they did not succeed completely.

⁴² Stadtarchiv Krems, March 9, 1425; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 77.

⁴³ Stadtarchiv Krems, May 19, 1432; Brunner, *Rechtsquellen*, 83.



Part IV

Research Activities





MEDIEVAL EASTERN EUROPE – AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

Edited by *János M. Bak, Paul Knoll and John Klassen*

The Medieval Studies Department is closely associated with this project, as Professor János M. Bak, the editor, transferred the editorial office to Budapest when he joined the program. While encyclopedias, in general, cannot claim to be major scholarly enterprises (with the exception of the *Encyclopédie* of the eighteenth century), this one can make this claim in many respects. As part of Garland Publishing's series of medieval encyclopedias, this one-volume (c. 800 pp.) reference work treats the political, social, cultural, artistic and intellectual history of the region "between the Baltic and the Adriatic Sea" in a comparative framework, thereby overcoming national and ethnic boundaries, similarly to CEU's program. Though attempts have been made to present the early medieval Slavic civilizations in the region in such a format, these efforts were not all-inclusive and rarely truly comparative.

In this encyclopedia, about one-quarter of the entries will be devoted to narrative treatment of the region's major countries, and another quarter dedicated to traditional topographical and biographical articles. At least half of the volume will contain essays organized according to topic, presenting the general development and its sub-regional variations for the whole of East-Central Europe. For example, the article on "nobility" will introduce a categorization of medieval elites in the region under review, comparing them with their Western European counterparts, and then proceed to discuss Polish *szlachta*, Czech knights, Hungarian noble kindreds, Croatian clans and so on, but always in reference to the differences and similarities among them. Similarly, the entry on "salt" will not discuss merely major producing centers, and the kings' and prelates' claims to taxes in particular countries, but rather will attempt to assess the impor-



tance of that monopoly on the regional development of the royal income, trade, mining and even diet.

Students and faculty members of the department are involved in formulating these entries, and in turn, many collaborators on the project, both in the region and beyond, have contributed to our widespread network.

Although no financial support has been granted so far to this project by the CEU, or the research funds connected to it, modest grants by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Kosciuszko Foundation of America enables the editors to refund the expenses of contributors. The publisher, however, will reward authors by generous presents of books from its list, a contribution that is especially valuable in our region, where American publications charge far above the budgets of scholars and even libraries.



WOMEN AND POWER IN MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Marianne Sághy

THE PROJECT

In summer, 1993, the department launched its first interdisciplinary and comparative research project – in cooperation with the Collegium Carolinum (Munich) and the International MAJESTAS Association – on the role and function of queens, princesses and aristocratic women in medieval East-Central Europe. The following topics have been selected for comparative study:

1. Political participation, legal position, special governmental functions. Queens as regents. Reginal itineraries. Household and court (officials, retainers, etc.) of female rulers and consorts.
2. Dynastic contacts, marriage strategies, choice of queens/princesses.
3. Cultural functions: impact of inter-national (inter-ethnic) marriages on cultural and linguistic exchange (bilingualism at court). Sponsorship of church, art, architecture, literature.
4. Holy queens and princesses in the service of dynastic propaganda: forms, roles, developments.
5. Iconography of queens and other women of the elite.
6. Negative images of women in power. Queens as scapegoats.
7. Properties and economic functions. Dowry, inheritance, reginal properties, and their administration.
8. Festive and symbolic occasions: wedding, coronation, childbirth, funeral.

Depending on the size and character of the proposed research topics, fellowships were announced for six to eighteen months

(beginning January, 1994). The fellowships did not imply residence obligation in Budapest and could be held in conjunction with other positions and scholarships. The fellows are expected to participate regularly in the workshops and conferences of the project, to submit a publishable manuscript of c. 40-60 typewritten pages, and to present their results, if so selected, at an international colloquium in summer, 1995.

The project director is Professor Ferdinand Seibt (Collegium Carolinum, Munich), and the coordinator is Marianne Sághy (Medieval Studies Department, CEU Budapest College).

WOMEN AND MEN, WOMEN AND POWER

In traditional historiography, women have at best been treated as a sub-topic of some romantic interest. This neglect of women in history was obviously not caused by the conscious decisions or the ill will of male historians, but reflects the androcentric bias of academic studies and general culture. As long as scholars considered the control, exercise, and transmission of political and military power as significant activities, women, who were outside the power structure, were of necessity outside the attention of historians, because their relation to power was at best peripheral and easily passed over as "influence". It was only with the rise of social history that historians began to concern themselves with groups lacking power, but even then women were seen mainly as members of families and seldom as persons in their own right.

A prevalent tendency of modern historical research is the revision of these inherited, and dated approaches. Medievalists have made successful efforts in past decades to alter the traditional image of a hopelessly dark and uncivilized "middle period" between classical Antiquity and the Renaissance. Innovative research methods, new topics and fresh approaches enriched and invigorated the field. Gender studies and women's history, by redressing the picture of a society which had previously seemed to have been built on a "one-sex model", gave the kiss of life to medieval studies. Today's *nouvelle histoire* attempts to recover how women lived, thought and worked in the past, and to analyse their roles and functions as inherent parts of a larger socio-historical context. In Nancy Partner's words,

The restoration of women to the scene, to every locale and activity, restores a human world where body and mind are intextricably united,

and where women and men struggle through their lives pursuing human wishes by human means, inevitably and always together (however unharmoniously), together in their emotions, thoughts and imaginations, even when separate in their outward circumstances (...) If feminism, in its quite specialized role in medieval scholarship, is the energy behind this effort, then it is not only doing justice to medieval women, it is restoring their full humanity to medieval men." ("Studying Medieval Women," *Speculum*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993), 2.

While in Western Europe and in the United States women's history has become a research field on its own and produced remarkable results, in East-Central Europe this change of attitude towards women as historical actors has not yet occurred. By launching this project, the department acknowledged that if writing about women was once an innovation, it is now an imperative. We sought to encourage young scholars in our region to study and to re-evaluate the position of women in medieval history.

SELECTION OF THE FELLOWS AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 'WOMEN AND POWER' WORKSHOP

By November 1, 1993, we had received twelve applications out of which ten were eligible for consideration. We asked the applicants to prepare and submit a ten-to-fifteen-page research proposal, to indicate the expected length of research and to make a rough estimate of the eventual research expenses (such as travel or xeroxing). The selection of the candidates and the distribution of fellowships was then decided in the framework of an international workshop held in March, 1994 (see program under "Conferences").

Besides the project director, Ferdinand Seibt, we invited nine experts in medieval women's history from abroad: Janet Nelson (London), Nancy Partner (Montreal), Gordon Kipling (Los Angeles), Dušan Třeštík (Prague – could not attend), Jennifer Cadero-Gillette (Harvard University), Constance Berman (Iowa), John C. Parsons (Toronto), John Klassen (Langley, B C) and Claire R. Sherman (Washington).



The ten proposals presented at the workshop were the following:

1. Nóra Berend, Columbia University, NY, USA: *Royal Women at the Court of Ladislaus the Cuman*
2. Joanna Chodor, Catholic University of Lublin, Poland: *The Paradigm of the Queen in Early Medieval Chronicles*
3. Adam Fijałkowski, Warsaw University, Poland: *The Coronation of Ferdinand I of Habsburg and His Wife in 1527*
4. Susan M. Johns, University of Wales, Cardiff, UK: *The Construct of the Female: Feudal Society and Gender in Twelfth-Century England and Normandy*
5. Elizabeth A. McCartney, University of Iowa, USA: *Habsburg Dynasticism and Sixteenth-Century Queenship*
6. Dimitrina N. Merdjanova, University of Sofia, Bulgaria: *The Religious Mission of Women in the Medieval World*
7. Ivica Prlender, University of Zagreb, Croatia: *Katarina Branković of Celje: Politics and Religion in Fifteenth-Century Croatia*
8. Tatiana Riabova, Ivanovo State University, Russia: *The Image of Women as Housekeepers in the Catholic and Orthodox Intellectual Tradition during the Middle Ages*
9. Zdenka Janeković-Römer, University of Zagreb, Croatia: *Aristocratic Women in Fifteenth-Century Ragusa*
10. Solvita Vība, University of Riga, Latvia: *Prosperous Women in Medieval Latvia*

1. NÓRA BEREND (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NY, USA)
ROYAL WOMEN AT THE COURT OF LADISLAUS THE CUMAN

Three royal women at the court of Ladislaus IV (1272-1290) – his mother, his sister and his wife – occupied the thoughts of their contemporaries and were seen as the decisive female figures in the political life of the period.

Elizabeth the Cuman, Ladislaus's mother, was the daughter of a Cuman prince. She converted to Christianity at the time of her marriage. As a widow, she became regent of the country. Her regency opened a period of conflicts between the two factions of Hungarian aristocracy. One faction supported her while the other opposed her and accused her of sexual licentiousness. Ladislaus's sister, Elizabeth, became a nun. However, she still managed to participate in politics, working as an adviser to her brother. Her unconventional behavior

excited the fury of the archbishop of Hungary. She eventually left the monastery to marry a Czech noble. Ladislaus's wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Charles of Sicily. The marriage was arranged for political reasons and Elizabeth failed to win Ladislaus's heart. His rejection of the queen aroused lay and ecclesiastical protest, and caused the Pope to intervene.

Though these three women may seem to embody stereotyped medieval roles (the queen-regent, the bad nun and the rejected royal wife), each follows a unique path in politics and society, testing the boundaries of acceptable female behavior in medieval society.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- (a) What possibilities were open to these women? How significant a role did they play in the politics of their time? What factors influenced their status in the court?
- (b) How were these women judged by their contemporaries? How did lay and ecclesiastical opinion concerning these women differ?
- (c) Did the fact that these women were foreigners affect their lives in Hungary?
- (d) What marriage strategies determined the choice of a spouse for these women and how successful were these strategies?

2. JOANNA RENATA CHODOR (CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN, POLAND) *THE PARADIGM OF THE QUEEN IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CHRONICLES*

This project will investigate four early medieval chronicles – *Thietmar of Merseburg*, *Cosmas of Prague*, *Nestor* and *The Gall Anonymus* – all of which contain valuable and ample information concerning aristocratic women in Central Europe. These sources guide the scholar towards a medieval definition of the female. This analysis intends to answer the following questions:

- (a) How does a chronicler describe a queen? To what extent does this description show the chronicler's expectations and prejudices concerning women?
- (b) What role does the queen play? What is she allowed to do and what activities are denied to her?
- (c) To what extent is the Virgin Mary a model for the paradigm of the queen in these chronicles?



3. ADAM FIJAŁKOWSKI (WARSAW UNIVERSITY, POLAND)
THE CORONATION OF FERDINAND I HABSBURG AND HIS WIFE IN 1527

The intention of this analysis is to make a philological comparison of Caspar Ursinus Velius's coronation sermon and the description of the coronation in *De bello Pannonico libri decem* (first edition: Antwerp, 1527).

4. SUSAN M. JOHNS (UNIVERSITY OF WALES, UK)
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FEMALE: FEUDAL SOCIETY AND GENDER IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLAND AND NORMANDY

This paper compares and contrasts the historiographical construction of medieval women (E. Power, D. Stenton and G. Duby) concerning the realistic role of women which is evident in the sources. Rather than focus strictly on the role of powerful noblewomen, the paper pays closer attention to the subtle interplay of family, gender and lordship. The author argues that lordship is gender specific. Only men had access to the right of seigneurial authority. Women did, however, assimilate and actively participate in lordship. Their activities were legitimized in the family, and by certain rights to land and by the institution of lordship itself. This paper intends to synthesize criticism of historical construction and results of the author's research.

As a CEU fellowship-holder, this scholar intends to develop research sources similar to the ones with which she is familiar concerning the history of women in East-Central Europe.

5. ELIZABETH A. MCCARTNEY (UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, USA)
HABSBURG DYNASTICISM AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY QUEENSHIP

This study intends to deal with the images and the political authority of two Habsburg queens, Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and Mary of Austria (1505-1559) in order to demonstrate that within the cult of the monarchies – both Valois and Habsburg – royal centralization did not prevent women from assuming the direction of government. Although these changes in early modern kingship, along with the reception of Roman law, clearly prevented women from reaching positions of public power, the dynastic nature of the monar-

chies protected the legal rights of royal women who were able to assume public authority at critical moments.

A particular concern of the work is to analyse the argumentation in two types of legal documents: the corpus of legists' writings, and those associated with Renaissance legal humanism.

Many humanists were committed to reformed religion, and were not necessarily supporters of female rule. One such humanist was the jurist François Hotman, whose various works included comments on the legal rights of women and his denunciation of the regency government in France. Using his knowledge of German history (and a timely residency in the lands of Frederick, Count of Palatine), Hotman developed arguments against female rule that were popular with his contemporaries, and influenced later studies on queenship. Many of his works were published in Germany, and encouraged renewed lamentations on the depravity of female rulers. Such polemical commentaries are frequently cited in studies dealing with the history of the Reformation as well as by scholars interested in the German legal scholarship and development of political theory in early modern Europe.

6. DIMITRINA N. MERDJANOVA (UNIVERSITY OF SOFIA, BULGARIA)
THE RELIGIOUS MISSION OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

This study will analyse the position and role of women in the spiritual development of medieval European society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. It proposes to examine the changes in the forms of female religious piety in connection with the historical and socio-cultural changes in this period. It strives to outline the contours of female piety in relation to the established spiritual and religious practices and worship in the essentially "male-minded" medieval atmosphere, and intends to investigate the different patterns of male and female piety.

The later Middle Ages witnessed an increase in opportunities for women to participate in specialized religious roles, and a great proliferation of the types of roles available. For the first time in Christian history, one can identify a "women's movement" (the Beguines), and one can speak of specifically female influences on the development of Christian piety.

In medieval hagiography, one can find a great diversity of types of pious women (nuns, canonesses, beguines, tertiaries, recluses and

pilgrims). One can differentiate the following pattern of male and female religiosity:

- (a) Female saints are models of suffering, while male saints are models of action
- (b) Female forms of religious life are less institutionalized than those of men.
- (c) Women are denied sacerdotal functions, but they are far more gifted with miracles. Women's reputation for holiness was more often based on supernatural charismatic authority.
- (d) Female devotional life is more marked by penitential ascetism.
- (e) Erotic nuptial themes that were first articulated by men, were most fully elaborated on in women's poetry.

7. IVICA PRLENDER (UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB, CROATIA)

KATARINA BRANKOVIĆ OF CELJE: A WOMAN AT THE CROSSROADS OF CULTURES

This paper intends to explore the life of Katarina, daughter of the Serbian despot Durad Branković, sister to the wife of Murad II, and wife of Ulrik II of Celje. What were Katarina's chances of maintaining power in Croatia after her husband's death? What religion did she profess: was she a Catholic or an Orthodox? To what extent does the Zagreb legend of the "Black Queen" reproduce certain aspects of her life and authority?

A confrontation of legend and historical fact may also illuminate the mentality, cultural background and perhaps even the emotional expectations of fifteenth-century Croats concerning women's rule.

8. TATIANA RIABOVA (IVANOVO STATE UNIVERSITY, RUSSIA)

THE IMAGE OF WOMAN AS HOUSEKEEPER IN THE CATHOLIC AND ORTHODOX INTELLECTUAL TRADITION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

The project attempts to compare images of noblewomen as housekeepers in medieval Catholic and Orthodox traditions using the following criteria:

- (a) Women and authority: the "ideal types" of women in early Renaissance thought confronted with the image of the "good ruler".

- (b) Women and household management: women's activities as housekeepers, their duties towards their husbands, children, kinsfolk and servants.
- (c) Comparison of male and female "ideal types" of the "good ruler".
- (d) Image and reality in the representation of women as housekeepers.

9. ZDENKA JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER (UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB, CROATIA)
ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY RAGUSA

This project aims to demonstrate the specificity of women's roles in Mediterranean urban communities as opposed to feudal society. It intends to deal with the following questions:

- (a) The possibilities of women to participate in political power and in the government of their families or estates; command of property (dowry); activities in economic life.
- (b) The working of the inheritance-system and its influence on the position of noblewomen.
- (c) Matrimonial strategies.
- (d) Women's position within the family; education.
- (e) The noblewoman's way of life in the Mediterranean city.

10. SOLVITA VIBA (UNIVERSITY OF RIGA, LATVIA)
PROSPEROUS WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL LATVIA

This study uses an archaeological and ethnographical approach in order to investigate the role and function of women belonging to different age groups in Latvian society. It will focus on customs, tribal traditions, wedlock and kinship.

Medieval history in Latvia is divided into two distinct periods: the eleventh to thirteenth centuries saw the emergence of feudalism within the still-pagan tribal society, whereas after the arrival of the German crusaders, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, two independent models of development prevailed. German settlers and townspeople acquired a decisive role in political and cultural life, joined by a part of the Latvian tribal aristocracy.

The remnants of tribal society – outside the city-walls and the realm of political decision-making – formed a prosperous "peasant aristocracy" in the countryside, and adhered to their venerated tradi-



tions from pagan times. This landowner aristocracy lived in a network of kinship. Kinship was registered on the mother's side, and maternal relatives were decisive in settling the children's future. The mechanisms of the dowry and of marriage-strategies also offer valuable information on the role of women.

This work will deal with female appearance and clothing in different age-groups; with symbols of femininity; with women's status in the family and in society; and with the role of women in the interaction of paganism and Christianity.

EVALUATION OF THE PROPOSALS

The quality of papers varied: some candidates showed a high level of scholarship, while others had problems in clearly formulating their precise research-subject, or asking the succinct questions with which they wanted to approach their topic. Accordingly, the jury, which consisted of the invited scholars, had to consider and differentiate between levels of quality as well as between the size and character of the proposed research as originally stated, when deciding the allotment of fellowships.

The intense discussions at the workshop proved most productive. Although, as expected, there was a considerable difference in approach and language between Eastern and Western – especially American – scholars, the questions asked on both sides resulted in a *rapprochement* of various views, and the candidates were able to become acquainted with new research methods in this field.

Five candidates (Joanna Chodor, Solvita Viba, Ivica Prlender, Zdenka Janeković-Römer and Tatiana Riabova) were granted full or partial fellowships. Their work will be supervised by the invited scholars.

Two candidates (Elizabeth McCartney and Susan M. Johns) were granted support for travel and other research expenses, and one was granted support for formulating a new research topic concerned with East-Central Europe (Susan M. Johns).



PARTICIPATION AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS IN LEEDS (UK), 1994

The “Women and Power” research project was introduced to a wide audience of scholars in July, 1994 at the First International Medieval Congress. Two panels were set up:

I. *Images of Queenship in Central Europe* (chair: János M. Bak, CEU)

1. *The Cinderella-Effect: The Changing Image of Holy Princesses from Central Europe to Italy* – Gábor Klaniczay, CEU
2. *Iconography of Holy Princesses (Elizabeth and Margaret of Hungary, and Blanche of Castille)* – Jennifer Cadero-Gillette, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., USA
3. *Ambivalent Images of Angevin Queens in Hungary and France* – Marianne Sághy, CEU

II. *Central European Women in Politics* (chair: Janet L. Nelson, King’s College London).

1. *A Woman Who Was Queen of Poland: Hedwig of Anjou* – Urszula Borkowska, Catholic University of Lublin, Poland
2. *The Tricky Queen and Her Clever Lady-in-Waiting: Stealing the Crown to Secure Succession, Visegrád 1440* – James R. Sweeney, Pennsylvania State University, USA
3. *Female Lordship in Medieval Bohemia* – John Klassen, Trinity Western University, Canada

The presentation of the “Women and Power” project met with considerable interest, and a very favourable reception. We were invited to organize two panels at the Medieval Congress in 1995. This would make it possible to hold the final meeting of the project there. It would be a good opportunity for the fellows to participate – many of them for the first time – in the work of a great international gathering, and to exchange ideas with a large number of medievalists. The work in progress that our fellows have sent us so far enables us to entertain high hopes as to the quality of their research, which is indeed worth presenting in front of an international audience.



GENDER WORKSHOP

Another plan, currently under organization, is to bring together a workshop on May 17-20, 1995 on gender studies in cooperation with CEU's project on "Gender and Culture" directed by Professor Nancy Leys Stepan. A lack of awareness concerning a new scholarly approach to women's history on the part of some of our fellows became evident at our first workshop in March, 1994. By way of intense reading and discussion, we would like to introduce our fellows to the recent literature on gender studies, so that they become acquainted with recent ideas, trends and commonly used scholarly language in this field. This would also be an opportunity for evaluating their nearly completed works.



VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE

Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács

The Visual Resources Project of the Medieval Studies Department aims to create a collection of visual resources concerning medieval East-Central Europe. While in Western Europe and the USA outstanding visual archives are available, such as the *Bildarchiv Photo* (Marburg), the *Iconothèque de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (Paris), the *Institut für Realienskunde und Materielle Kultur Mittelalters* (Krems), the *Index of Christian Art* (Princeton), and the *Visual Resources Collection* (Getty Center, Santa Monica), this kind of collection is still absent in East-Central Europe.

The establishment of a visual records collection is vital in this region both for research purposes and for the documentation of the past. These collections facilitate an understanding of the medieval period, and help visualize the lives and ideas of its people. Moreover, medieval monuments are in acute danger of being damaged in East-Central Europe, partly because there is never enough money for conservation, partly for ideological or nationalistic reasons, and finally because of the wars which currently ravage the area. The task of photo collections is twofold: they serve as tools for research and, at the same time, as tools of preservation. They document remnants of the past at a given moment in time and at a given level of material condition. Last but not least, these collections also make hidden treasures accessible and comparable for scholars.

The purpose of the collection is to offer a wealth of visual material that could be used as an important source for the history of civilization, and for cultural and social history. It also intends to contribute to the special methods of art history and archaeology in interpreting images as historical sources (iconography, the history of artefacts and

Realienkunde). Finally, it aims to make the collections of visual sources that are sporadically in existence in some East-Central European countries more widely accessible.

The Visual Resources Project collects digital images, accessible negatives and positives of all kinds of medieval East-Central European visual representations, and also intends to acquire material from other collections. The collection focuses on Christian iconography (painting, sculpture, architecture, book illumination and early prints), with special regard to local and national cults, hagiography, the interpretation of local and national history, and remnants of minor art, such as regalia and liturgical objects.

The collection will cover the geographical area of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, the Baltic states, Hungary, Romania and the South Slavic countries, but special attention will be paid to neighboring East German and Austrian territories, and to part of Northern Italy too.

Within the main chronological boundaries – 1000 to 1500 – special chronological units have been created: 1000-1300, 1300-1430, 1430-1500.

The CEU Medieval Studies Department is responsible for the project's management. Professor Ernő Marosi, head of the Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is the program director. Béla Zsolt Szakács coordinates the program and Tamás Sajó participates as a computer adviser.

BUILDING UP A VISUAL LABORATORY

PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

Our expanding collection, beginning with Hungarian, Slovak and Austrian material, is eventually intended to cover all of East-Central Europe. A basic collection at the *photothèque* of the Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences serves as a starting point for the program. Here, since September, 1994, selected color slides and negatives have been scanned to build up the basic collection on medieval Hungarian art under the direction of our Research Professor Ernő Marosi. This work can later be extended to include the most important museums of Budapest as well as parallel institutions



of other countries. As a result of our cooperation with the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Krems), its computerized photo collection concerning Austrian, Bohemian and Slovakian materials will be available in our archive. To fill the gaps in these collections, we started our own photographic activity and developed the first special database on ORBIS containing data and pictures of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

Naturally, a collection containing only East-Central European material can hardly satisfy the needs of scholars and students working with visual materials. To achieve its purpose, the collection has to offer comparative materials from Western collections too. This is why we have ordered the complete microfiche edition of the *Marburger Index*, containing 930,000 photographs of German art, the *Italian Index* (60,000 photos) and *Photographic Documentation of Art in France* (93,000 photos). Recently, we have purchased the videodisc edition of manuscripts of the Vatican Library, and we are in close connection with Jean-Claude Schmitt (*École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, Paris) who has offered to copy a large part of their photo archive containing important medieval manuscripts for our collection.

HARDWARE AND SOFTWARE

In cooperation with the computer department of the CEU, we have purchased equipment that currently allows us to work upon various aspects of the project.

- There is a visual laboratory in a separate room near the computer department, which is used by our research assistants and students. It is equipped with a Gateway 486DX/33 with 16Mb RAM, SCSI 670HD, and a Microtec Scanmaker II XE with Photostyler. A CD writer and a UMAX UC 1200 SE A4 scanner (plus slide scanner) are currently being purchased. The computer department has also offered several lower-capacity computers to equip this laboratory.
- We have also purchased two other 486 computers for the department classroom and the Medieval Library, respectively, with ORBIS and KLEIO databases, and CD-Rom editions.
- We are currently paying for the transportation (portable HD) and storage on CD-Rom diskettes (Sony Rewritable) of our own materials, which are being scanned in various Hungarian collections or are being acquired by exchange.

THE COMPUTER SYSTEM.

Our system is compatible with widely accepted classification norms in the systems of the Marburg Institute (MIDAS, ICONCLASS and KLEIO). The project uses recently-developed software, ORBIS, based on a catalog system widely diffused in Hungarian libraries and art collections. It is capable of processing, storing and searching alphabetical and numerical data, long free texts, good quality digital images, graphics, maps and sketches. Its system relates the text and visual data to each other, thus allowing very complex searches and statistics, and, additionally, has an accessible, user-friendly menu. The system is fully compatible with all known international database systems and even with some more obscure ones.

The software runs on high- and low- capacity PCs as well. A remarkable advantage is its accessibility (not only on the Institute's central hardware, but also on home PCs), which makes it very easy to enlarge the database. It runs under DOS as well as WINDOWS, with one user and with a local network, and it is also suitable for e-mail use.

The software's composition and data structure are very flexible and open to other systems. Its basic structure, however, assures comprehensive compatibility with the institutes in question. Some of ORBIS's processing and searching possibilities include:

Text data:

- Processing and storing unrestricted free texts; searching in these for individual words, word compositions and synonyms.
- Emulation and managing of known word processors.
- Easy and accessible searching conditions; the materials and the conditions of the search can be saved and later loaded.
- Multi-language managing with only a minimal necessity for preparatory translations.
- Stored texts and lexical data can be transferred in various combinations to word processors and desktop publishers, also as formatted texts, even if the text itself, stored in the database, was not formatted.
- The use of individual, hierarchical texts, image vocabularies and a thesaurus for processing and searching. These can be also used as autonomous encyclopaedias, individually enlarged and spread. (These could include a country's gazetteers or a lexicon of artists;

onomasticons or lexicons of historical figures; iconographical and motif lexicons with text and images; typologies of compositions with sketches; taxonomic lexicons; urbanization typologies; and synonym and professional dictionaries.) This material can be processed from existing lexicons or standard classifications as well as developed step by step, by means of individual collections.

- Hypertext searching (jumping from one text to another and back) in a system defined specifically by the user.
- Fractions of a database can be copied into other databases.
- Charts and statistical elaboration of processed data and their combinations.

Images and Image data:

- High-quality digital processing of photos, films, slides, projects, designs and video tapes (for publication if necessary). Negatives can be converted to positive images.
- Images can be processed from various sources (scanner, slide scanner, video camera, TV and other video sources, and computer graphics) and stored in well-known high-compression formats.
- Images are readily inducted from the user menu. They are linked to texts and to each other; an image can be attached to several texts and vice versa.
- Images can be zoomed, manipulated and printed directly from the system.
- Data in searched documents can be visualized on maps and other visualizing designs (genealogical trees, layouts and time diagrams), and can also be searched on the basis of points in the designs. Maps and drawings can be processed by scanner or video, or created by the user with computer graphics software.
- Data and images can be searched on the basis of processed photos and images similar to the visualizing designs.

Courses are organized to demonstrate the use of the software, and our assistant is available to help students build personal databases for their M.A. theses, while taking into account their special needs and aims.

Several independent databases can be developed in this system which can be linked to each other if necessary (e.g. authors' biographies or a thesaurus of art terminology to the database of the items in a collection). We have established our own database of old Hungarian place names containing their medieval and contemporary names in

Hungarian and in other languages of the region. As an iconographical thesaurus, we use ICONCLASS; we have bought its computer edition and we are in contact with its developers, working on connecting our software.

Our research project and the possibilities of the new ORBIS software were presented at the International Medieval Conference at Leeds (July 1994) The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* database presented there led to further editorial projects.

THE CD EDITION OF THE HUNGARIAN ANGEVIN LEGENDARY

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (*Vatican Pictorial Legendary*), which once included the pages now kept in several collections,¹ consists of illustrations of evangelical scenes and legends of the apostles and saints. The manuscript contains only illuminations and Latin inscriptions, not the full texts of the legends. Today 140 pages with 545 pictures of the codex are known. Each page is divided into four pictures. The illustrations are presumably based on the text of James of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. Pictures related to East-Central European saints are based on other local legends.

As this codex is regarded as an eminent source of medieval iconography, in February, 1994, the Department of Medieval Studies began to build a computer database of the pictures of the codex. This work was based on the Hungarian facsimile edition of the codex.² All pictures were photographed and processed from slides on photo-CD by Kodak. The database also contains a full-text English description of every picture, the original Latin inscriptions and their English translation, the names and bibliographies of the represented saints, the Latin legends which served as a basis for representations, and a brief interpretation of the divergence between the represented actions and the narrative. The iconography of the images is described and indexed with the keywords of the Dutch thesaurus ICONCLASS, known and used internationally. The database was made in ORBIS software – open database software used in Hungarian art collections –

¹ *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (*Vatican Pictorial Legendary*): Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. let 8541; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ML MS.360, 360a-d; St. Petersburg, Ermitage, Nr. 16930-16934; Berkeley, Bancroft Library of University of California, f. 2MS2A2M2 1300-37

² *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* (facsimile edition), ed. F. Levárdy, (Budapest, Magyar Helikon - Corvina), 1975.

which connects information in the form of hypertext cross-references. The structure of the database was designed by the art historian Tamás Sajó, and the data was processed by Béla Zsolt Szakács.

A sample database of the first 100 pictures of the codex was presented at the Leeds International Medieval Conference, July 4-7, 1994, with considerable success. The representative of the ICONCLASS project taking part in the presentation offered the organization's cooperation in the completion of the work, and a representative of an English publishing company also expressed interest in the CD-edition of the work.

At present, we are continuing to expand the database. It is scheduled to be completed by the summer of 1995, and we would like to publish it on CD in cooperation with the Brepols and Balassi publishing houses. This publication will be a tremendous undertaking in Hungarian humanities, and will command the interest of a large part of international scholarship.

Although the database is written in English, the published version could be translated with relatively little effort into French, German or Italian. For the moment, we do not plan to accompany the CD with a handbook or a descriptive manual; however, this can be undertaken if necessary.

COOPERATION BASED ON KLEIO SOFTWARE

Two experts already using this software for the analysis of images and records of material culture have become members of our department: Professor Gerhard Jaritz and Professor József Laszlovszky. Professor Jaritz gives courses to our students to teach them how to use this software, and serves as a mediator for exchange programs with Austrian and Slovenian academic institutions. Professor Laszlovszky has established an interesting joint project with IBM Hungary, which might enable us to loan a workstation from them for study purposes (in order to run KLEIO with images, one needs a workstation or a high-capacity PC, for which we currently lack resources). Professor Laszlovszky also helps link our project with programs run by Hungarian archaeologists who use KLEIO.



COOPERATION WITH THE INSTITUT FÜR REALIENKUNDE DES MITTELALTERS UND DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT (KREMS)

The Krems-based *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) has established a significant photographic collection of visual materials of medieval Central Europe. In 1994, the Institute continued its activity in Hungary. In cooperation with the CEU Medieval Studies Department and the Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, two trips were organized to document the most important medieval wallpaintings in Hungary. With the assistance of Béla Zsolt Szakács, research assistant of the CEU Visual Research Project, the Institute obtained the permission of the Catholic Church and the Reformed Church of Hungary to photograph these churches. The trips were organized by the CEU.

During the first trip, the following churches were photographed:

- March 14 – Csaroda and Nyírbéltek
- March 15 – Ófehértó
- March 16 – Rudabánya and Szalonna
- March 17 – Vizsoly
- March 18 – Szentsimon
- March 19 – Maconka and Mátraszöllős
- March 21 – Feldebrő and Gyöngyöspata
- March 22 – Tereske and Nógrádsáp
- March 23 – Kiszombor
- March 24 – Cserkút

During the second trip, the following churches were photographed:

- June 7 – Budapest, Parish Church of the City of Pest
- June 8 – Keszthely
- June 9 – Velemér
- June 10 – Ják and Somlósztőlős
- June 13 – Kőszeg and Hidegség
- June 14 – Hegyeshalom

The photographer of the Institute of Krems was accompanied on each journey by the research assistant of the CEU. The trips were successful; even the less accessible materials were documented. The photographic materials made in Hungary were identified by the Hungarian assistant in Krems from July 25-27, 1994. According to our agreement, these materials will also be available in the visual collection of the Medieval Studies Department, too.



A PILOT PROJECT: GUIDE TO THE VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Before concentrating our efforts on the creation and expansion of a visual archive, we realized that we had to prepare a checklist describing existing photo archives in order to get a general overview of relevant material, and to find points where photographic documentation remains incomplete. This checklist will be published under the title *Guide to Visual Resources of the Medieval History of East-Central Europe*.

These photo archives or particular collections usually belong to institutes for the conservation of historical monuments, research institutes, universities, museums, archives, church institutions, libraries or publishing houses. Collections are registered in the following way:

- Name and address of the collection (including earlier names, as they have changed several times because of the lack of continuity in the region).
- Accessibility of the collection (i.e. public collection, possibility to order copies, and copyright problems).
- Its purpose and main subjects, including research projects in medieval fields.
- Chronological data which characterizes the collection
- Its detailed history, including the main historical strata of the collection (mention of publications).
- Covered geographical areas (mention of missing or partially covered areas).
- Existence of catalogs and indexes of different photographic materials.
- References to major publications using the archives material (i.e. *Katalog zabytków sztuki* for Poland, *Dejiny Umeni České* for Bohemia, the volumes of Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Frescoes in Medieval Hungary] Budapest, 1954; idem, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel Paintings in Medieval Hungary] Budapest, 1955; idem, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* [Woodcarvings in Medieval Hungary] Budapest, 1967).
- Description of the quantity and quality of the items, with special regard to iconography, and to works of the minor arts; comments and research advice (advantages and disadvantages of the collection, and information on local traditions and difficulties).

Information of this kind has never been published in our region. Photo archives, like other archives, work independently and without any coordination of their projects. Even those who work in the same country find it hard to get information from other sources. Western scholars encounter great difficulties in planning their research work as the conditions and customs are so different in East-Central Europe. The example of fresco painting in medieval Transylvania shows why local knowledge is so important: more documentary material can be found in Hungary than in Romania. Rich collections of watercolors and photos documenting earlier and present states of these monuments have been collected in the archives of Budapest. Another problem is that each field is usually documented in more than one institute. For example, archaeological excavations are regularly documented in the Hungarian National Museum, but those organized by the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences are documented in the institute. Such information and personal connections are of primary importance, and are only available to a few initiated. Usually there are no usable indexes, and materials are kept in an illogical order. On the other hand, there are certain people with great knowledge and experience who can assist with practical advice, and sometimes there are unexpectedly rich materials. This guide intends to offer such information, and will be a great help in finding and using relevant collections.

We have spoken with experts from the region and organized research trips to collect information and to find local contributors. We have developed and tested our descriptive categories in the first stages of interviews with collectors of photos. The work began with descriptions of the archives of Budapest, and has already expanded to include the Czech Republic (Prague) and Poland (the archives of Warsaw, Poznan and Lublin, as different samples of documentation). In the spring of 1995, we will finish the interviews in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia and Romania. Texts written by local contributors are to be checked in Budapest by our assistants.

To verify descriptive data, we send the texts to the head of each archive, and ask them final permission to print the documents in the guide. The last phase is the preparation of the general introduction, and editing and printing, to be finished by December, 1995.



TIMETABLES FOR THE PILOT PROJECT OF THE GUIDE TO VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

The project started in September, 1993. According to our original plan, the project consists of the following steps:

1. Collecting information based on earlier personal contacts with art historians of the countries concerned: Gerhard Jaritz (Krems), Hana Hlaváčková (Prague) and Jerzy Pietruszinski (Warsaw).
The establishment of a preliminary list of the collections to be described in the guide was finished in September, 1993, and revised in the summer of 1994.
2. Preparatory visits to each country with the following aims:
 - (a) acquaintance with the various types and purposes of the institutes which own and use these collections, and developing them according to different aims and traditions;
 - (b) recruitment of collaborators who would contribute to the description of certain collections in their own countries; and
 - (c) testing whether the grid of our descriptive categories can accommodate the structural and regional differences of the collections, and eventually modify them according to specific new needs.

The first visits were organized in Prague and Poland (Warsaw, Poznań and Lublin, as three different types of documented materials). During these trips, we examined our descriptive categories (since the beginning of 1994 we have been using a new version) and recruited the following assistants:

Natalia Czekolska (Ph.D. candidate in art history, Poznań, Poland)

Dušan Burán (Ph.D. candidate in art history, Bratislava, Slovakia)

Ksenija Brigljević (student in the Medieval Studies Department, CEU, from Croatia)

Loreta Skurvýdaite (alumna of the Medieval Studies Department, CEU, from Lithuania)

Anca Gogaltan (student in the Medieval Studies Department, CEU, from Romania)

3. Preparation of the individual entries to the Guide by interviewing the curators of the various collections by our assistants (most im-

portant collections) and by local contributors (other collections). Some of the archives were described during the preparatory visits.

By December 1994, the following collections had been described:

- Budapest, Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – September, 1993
- Budapest, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation – September, 1993
- Poznań, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation – October, 1993
- Poznań, Art History Department of the University of Poznań – October, 1993
- Lublin, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation – October, 1993
- Warsaw, Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – February, 1994
- Warsaw, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation – February, 1994
- Warsaw, National Gallery – February, 1994
- Prague, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation – March, 1994
- Prague, Castle Archives – March, 1994
- Prague, Collection of the photographer Paul Prokop – March, 1994
- Prague, National Gallery – March, 1994
- Prague, Institute for Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences – April, 1994
- Prague, Manuscript Collection of the National Library – April, 1994
- Brno, Moravian Gallery – November, 1994
- Brno, Office for Monument Preservation in Brno – November, 1994
- Opava, Silesian Museum – November, 1994
- Ostrava, Office for Monument Preservation in Ostrava – November, 1994
- Wrocław, Center for Study & Preservation of Cultural Environment – November, 1994
- Wrocław, Architectural Museum – November, 1994
- Wrocław, Historical Museum – November, 1994
- Wrocław, State Inspectorate for Preserving Historical Monuments – November, 1994
- Wrocław, Polytechnics – November, 1994
- Wrocław, National Museum, Gallery of 12th-15th Century Art – November, 1994
- Wrocław, National Museum, Cabinet of Documents – November, 1994
- Wrocław, Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural Property (PKZ) – November, 1994
- Wrocław, University Library – November, 1994



- Zagreb, Institute for Art History (University of Zagreb) – December, 1994
- Zagreb, Institute for the Restoration of Works of Art – December, 1994
- Zagreb, Croatian Historical Museum – December, 1994
- Zagreb, Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – December, 1994
- Zagreb, Schneider's Photo Archives of Old Monuments of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – December, 1994
- Zagreb, Croatian State Inspectorate for the Preservation of Historical and Natural Monuments – December, 1994
- Bratislava, Institute for Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – December, 1994
- Bratislava, Archives of the Institute for Monument Protection – December, 1994

Future trips to:

to be finished by:

Hungary

June, 1995

Poland

Poznań (2nd part)

February, 1995

Torún

February, 1995

Gdansk

March, 1995

Szczecin

May, 1995

Cracow

Summer, 1995

Slovakia

Bratislava (2nd part)

February, 1995

other towns

April, 1995

Austria

March, 1995

Slovenia

February, 1995

Croatia

Zagreb (2nd part)

February, 1995

other towns

April, 1995

Romania

May, 1995

Texts written by local contributors are to be checked in Budapest by our assistants. This stage is to be finished by June, 1995.

4. Verifying the descriptive data by sending it to the head of each archive, requesting final permission to print the documents in the guide by October, 1995.
5. Preparation of the general introduction, editing and printing by December, 1995.



RARE BULGARIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN PRAGUE AND BUDAPEST

Adelina Angusheva and Margaret Dimitrova

RARE MANUSCRIPTS IN PRAGUE

There are many reasons why Prague is considered an attractive place. If you are a Slavist and appreciate rare manuscripts, however, there is a special reason. Although many medievalists are suspicious about the possibility of making a discovery in a manuscript that is already known, examinations of original texts often present new insights. One can find unexplored texts or passages even in well-known manuscripts.

I studied several Slavonic manuscripts from the National Museum in Prague. They contain apocryphal texts, prognostical books, narratives about Virgin Mary and a pilgrimage description. Excerpts from these manuscripts have already been analysed and published. While working on the manuscripts, I came across some very interesting materials. I found in the sixteenth century Cyrillic codex *IX H 21* (on ff. 99 r-v), kept in the National Museum in Prague, a special zodiac table with explanations of the meaning of the days governed by the *zodia*. This is the only table of this kind that I am aware of. Tables with the days of the months ruled by different signs of the zodiac usually precede a particular type of medieval "Thunderbook", but they contain no elucidation of the significance of the *zodia* for the divination. The table from the manuscript *IX H 21* helps to reveal the mechanisms of medieval fortune-telling. This table resembles a prediction concerning lucky and unlucky days, and shows the intertextual connection between the Thunderbook and the "Lunary" which makes

prognoses according to the position of the moon. The text was not published until recently.

A very rare text which helps travellers to plan a journey can be found in the sixteenth-seventeenth century Slavonic Cyrillic manuscript *IX H 12*. Only one or two copies of this type exist. According to this text every day of the twelve months is ruled by a sign of the zodiac. For instance: it will not be a good idea to start your journey on October 1, because you will encounter many prostitutes during your journey, as the day is governed by Scorpio. If you begin travelling on February 3 (a day ruled by Pisces), you will return home very poor.

The fifteenth century Slavonic Cyrillic manuscript *IX F 10* (probably of Serbian origin) represents one of the most complete collections of predictions, prognostical books and other natural treatises in Old Slavonic. Interestingly enough, the manuscript begins with an anathema for those who practise magic. Besides a very interesting and short symbolic interpretation of the Slavonic alphabet (on f.130 rv), there is a unique Slavonic text which contains divinations for the characters of men and women born in the different months of the year (ff.134r-145r.). At the beginning of the text for each month, the main Christian feast is mentioned. The copyist tried to establish a symbolical connection between pagan fortune-telling and an Orthodox Christian book of ecclesiastical commemorations (the so-called *Menologion*). A new edition of the text was prepared as V. Jagič had printed only a fragment of it in 1877 in *Starine*, a journal of Slavistics published in Zagreb. A text on f.145r from the same manuscript represents different parts of the human body ruled by the signs of the zodiac. There are thirteen *zodia* presented in this text rather than twelve. The copyist probably used two different Slavonic translations of the zodiac because in Old Slavonic manuscripts, there are two distinct names for Aquarius. In this text, the two names appear as different *zodia*. The first of them is loan translation of the Greek term. The sign is said to be sovereign over the urethra. However, the other one derives from the Slavonic root denoting a "dark and wet place", or "death". It is deliberately presented by the copyist of the manuscript as the ruler of the soul.

I should also mention a seventeenth century Russian manuscript *IX C 18*, with a rare apocryphal text about the origins of the heretic movement of *Paulicenes* (f.70rv). A further eighteenth-century Russian manuscript *IX C 17* contains a chronicle which narrates the use of icons of the Virgin Mary in battles against enemies. There is also a story of the pilgrimage of the little-known merchant Triphan Koro-beinicov to Jerusalem with descriptions of sacred places.

MANUSCRIPT DISCOVERY IN BUDAPEST

Apart from the diverse activities at the CEU, this year was also marked by a memorable event that brought great pleasure to Slavists. Our discovery of a new manuscript has proved most enlightening.

One rainy afternoon, while looking for the necessary Latin manuscripts for our palaeography papers, we found a manuscript patiently sitting in the library of the the *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. We had stumbled across a huge Cyrillic codex which was undated, unfoliated and unknown to Slavists until now. The MS. 10.403 was bought by the library in 1966. It turned out to be a *triodion*, an eastern liturgical book containing songs written on paper which does not date beyond the first half of the sixteenth century. It probably comes from the southern Slavic region. It shows some orthographic peculiarities typical of late Serbian redactions of the Old Bulgarian (Church Slavonic) language used both in western Bulgaria and in Serbia in this period. The codex has the following characteristics:

Size: 259.5 mm x 194 mm.

Margin sizes: outside 35 mm, inner 20 mm, upper 15 mm, lower 35 mm.

Folia: 297.

Lines on a page: 27.

Illumination: There is one illuminated panel on f.1r in the late Neo-Byzantine style of text-opening decoration. The colours include red, blue, green and yellow. Initials are used at the beginning of biblical passages. This is a common feature of illumination in the *Triodions*. It marks the hierarchy of the text structure. These initials are red with floral endings. Capital letters are used for other beginnings. They are predominantly red. Some are blue: f.16r and f.17r. Small red letters are used to mark passages in the text. In the margins, many varieties of fish appear, for instance f.11v, f.12r, f.12v, f.13r, f.53v, f.77v and f.78r; they are red, or a combination of red and black.

Orthographic norms are followed consistently. Deviations from the norm are rare. The manuscript seems to be written by a well educated scribe in an official style. There are several orthographic peculiarities:

- (a) there are no letters for nasal vowels, the manuscript belongs to the large group of manuscripts without *iuses* (*bezjusova redakcija*), OY

- is written regularly for etymological X , IO for nasal o (IX), and E for etymological nasal e (A);
- (b) both *jers* (b and b) are used but not in their etymological places. Small *jer* (b) prevails. In general, they are not “vocalized”. Back *jer* (b) can be found mainly in prefixes and prepositions, in particular Bb , Cb and sometimes at the end of words. The latter sign usually is taller than other letters and cuts the upper line;
 - (c) Pb and Ab are used for etymological sonantic r and l , r' and l' ;
 - (d) bl is regularly used;
 - (e) S is used;
 - (f) both jotized and non-jotized letters are found: (1) jotized e (IC) is regularly used following soft N and A , and sometimes at the beginning of a syllable (in initial word position and in intervocalic position); (2) jotized a (H) is sometimes used in initial position, in intervocalic position and after soft N and A . The combinations AA and IA are preferred to Alb and Ihb ; (3) the use of IO in its etymological place can be considered an orthographic norm;
 - (g) both H and I are used according to strict rules: I is used in front of letters denoting vowels (IH , IA , IE , IX , IO);
 - (h) O and Y can be seen in Greek loanwords;
 - (i) wide O , C , E (especially at the beginning of the words) are consistently used;
 - (j) three kinds of u are identified: Y , OY , Y , (rarely) can be seen;
 - (k) superscript signs: some without any phonetic meaning (as an imitation of Greek orthography) are largely used: *spiritus lenis*, signs for accent (*oksia* and *varia*), including doubled *varia*, as well as the old Slavic *paerčik* and *titla* (tilde) are regularly used in accordance with the rules already established in medieval Slavonic literacy; and
 - (l) the most frequent ligatures are Pb and TB . Ligatures AY , STPA , OP , Bb can be found as well.

The manuscript was written on paper. Several watermarks are attested. The most frequent one resembles the letter G . The tower (a towered castle) is frequent, as well as the moon (one), once with a crown. On one folio, a glove (or hand) is attested. Considering the watermarks, we can say that in all likelihood the paper is Italian and dates from the late fifteenth century.

Content: *Triodion* (a liturgical book used in the Eastern Church). It contains the variable portions of the services from the fourth Sunday before Lent till the Easter eve. It is so named because during this pe-

riod the canons sung in the Church contain three *odes* (songs) instead of the usual nine.

f.1r-284v: The *Triodion* begins with the Sunday of the publican and the Pharisee.

f.285r-297r: Seated singing of songs from the *Octoich*.

f.297v: *P'anija troična* for Lent.

Marginal notes: There are many marginal notes in the manuscript all dated from the later period:

f.O: On the inner part of the front cover : in late cursive script and blue ink there is a poem about Stephen, King of Serbia.

f.1r: In the place of the right upper corner of the folio there is a newer piece of paper with the notation that in 1858 bishop Ioanikij from Žiča began to serve to *knez* Miloš and his son Michail Obrenovič.

f.2v: This holy book belongs to Maxim, the son of the priest (*protopop*) Ioanne.

f.3v-4r: The wife (the name is hardly legible) of the late Gavrail Džordžević donated the book to the Apostles Peter and Paul Church of Žiča on August 15.

f.284v: The Cyrillic alphabet.

f.291v: The same as in f.2v, but with added mention that the year was dry.



DEPARTMENTAL DATABASES

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE CEU

Balázs Nagy

The *International Medieval Bibliography* is the most important bibliography of the Middle Ages (c. 450-1500). The IMB covers all scholarly journals that publish articles on the European Middle Ages. Apart from these journals, the bibliography also lists *Festschriften*, conference proceedings and essay collections. The IMB was first published in 1967 by the University of Leeds. Today, it is published biannually, and each issue contains 5000 entries. Approximately 3000 journals are scanned regularly. The IMB has contributors from 22 different countries. Beginning in 1995, the IMB will be published on CD-ROM as well. According to the intention of the editors and contributors, all articles dealing with medieval studies are included in the IMB.

Each entry contains:

- the name of the author(s);
- the title, (if the title is not in English, German, French, Italian or Spanish, an additional translation is provided);
- a periodical indication;
- a reference of maps, illustrations, graphs, texts and bibliography included in the study;
- a reference of summaries; and
- in some cases, a brief summary of an article.

All volumes contain an index of authors, and a general index listing personal names, placenames, subjects and manuscripts.

In 1993, Hungary was the only country in East-Central Europe which did not regularly provide information for the IMB. The IMB was not able to cover medieval Hungarian history, because it did not have a Hungarian contributor. The department of Medieval Studies of the CEU established contacts with the University of Leeds and with the IMB directly after the department's foundation in 1993, and thus became the main partner of IMB in Hungary. Professor János M. Bak is the Hungarian co-ordinator and Balázs Nagy is the contributor to the IMB. The entries from Hungarian periodicals will subsequently be published in the IMB. In 1994, 270 cards were submitted for the IMB. Every card covers one article which appeared in any field of medieval studies in Hungary in 1993-1994. During the preparation of this collection, 78 periodicals and 20 volumes of *Festschriften*, conference proceedings and collected essays were scanned. With the help of this project, we hope to establish a reliable bibliography of the latest Hungarian publications in the field of medieval history.

In the course of their work, editors and contributors are often confronted with a number of unexpected methodological and terminological problems, such as the regional division of Europe in the IMB. The IMB records Hungary as one of the countries of South Eastern Europe, even though Hungary had much more contacts with Austria, Bohemia and Poland than with South Eastern Europe proper (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia) in the Middle Ages. Historical Hungary included territories which, after the First World War, became parts of other countries: Croatia, Slovenia, Voivodina (Yugoslavia), Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) and Transylvania (Romania). Using the given regional division system of the IMB, three other regions are also of interest for us: Germany (including Austria), Russia (including Ukraine), and Eastern Europe (including Bohemia, Poland and Slovakia). The Hungarian contribution to the IMB offers a unique opportunity for Hungarian historians to present their publications to the broadest international community of medievalists.

LIST OF JOURNALS SCANNED FOR THE IMB

1. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Klasszika-Filológiai Közleményei
ISSN 0044-5975
Published occasionally.
2. *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ISSN 0001-5210
Published four times a year.
3. *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Közleményei
ISSN 0001-5628
Published four times a year.
4. *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ISSN 0001-5830
Published four times a year.
5. *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
Revue de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie
ISSN 0001-5849
Published four times a year.
6. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ISSN 0001-6446
Published three times a year.
7. *Acta Universitatis Debreceniensis de Ludovico Kossuth Nominatae, Series Historica*
ISSN 0418-4556
Published occasionally.
= Történeti tanulmányok
ISSN 1217 4602
8. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominata, Acta Historica*
ISSN 0324-6965
Published occasionally.
9. *Aetas*
Történettudományi folyóirat
ISSN 0237-7934
Published four times a year.
10. *Agrártörténeti Szemle*
Historia Rerum Rusticarum
A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia és a Mezőgazdasági és Élelmezési Minisztérium Agrártörténeti Bizottságának folyóirata
ISSN 0002-1105
Published four times a year.
11. *Agria*
Annales Musei Agriensis
ISSN 0236-9168
Published occasionally.
12. *Alba Regia*
Annales Musei Stephani Regis
Az István király Múzeum közleményei
ISSN 0324-542x
Published occasionally.
13. *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominata, Sectio Historica*
ISSN 0524-8981
Published occasionally.
14. *Antaeus*
Communicationes ex Instituto Archeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ISSN 0238-0218
Published occasionally.
15. *Antik Tanulmányok*
Studia Antiqua
ISSN 0003-567x
Published twice a year.
16. *Arany János Múzeum Közleményei*
Acta Musei de János Arany nominati
ISSN 0209-7184
Published occasionally.

17. *Archaeologiai Értesítő*
A Magyar Régészeti és
Művészettörténeti Társulat tu-
dományos folyóirata
ISSN 0003-8032
Published twice a year.
18. *Arrabona*
A Xántus János Múzeum és a
Győr-Moson-Sopron megyei
múzeumok évkönyve
ISSN 0571-1304
Published occasionally.
19. *Ars Hungarica*
Bulletin of the Institute of Art
History of the Hungarian Acad-
emy of Sciences
ISSN 0133-1531
Published twice a year.
20. *Baranya*
Történelmi és honismereti féléves
folyóirat
ISSN 0864-8220
Published twice a year.
21. *Budapest Főváros Levéltára*
Közleményei
ISSN 0139-4894
Published occasionally.
22. *Budapest Régiségei*
ISSN 0133-1892
Published occasionally.
23. *Budapest Review of Books*
A Critical Quarterly
ISSN 01215-735X
Published four times a year.
24. *Budapesti Könyvszemle BUKSZ*
Kritikai írások a társadalomtu-
dományok köréből
ISSN 0865-4247
Published four times a year.
25. *Castrum Bene*
Mátra Múzeum, Gyöngyös
ISSN 0866 112X
26. *Communicationes Archaeologicae*
Hungariae
ISSN 0231-133X
Published once a year.
27. *Cumania*
Bécs-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok
Évkönyve
ISSN 0133-6088
Published occasionally.
28. *Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve*
ISSN 0418-4513
Published occasionally.
29. *Dissertationes Archeologicae*
Ex Instituto Archeologico Uni-
versitatis de Rolando Eötvös
nominatae
ISSN 0521-4785
Published occasionally.
30. *Építés - Építészettudomány*
A Magyar Tudományos
Akadémia műszaki tudományok
osztályának közleményei
ISSN 0013-9661
Published four times a year.
31. *Esztergom Évlapjai*
Annales Strigonienses
ISSN 0230-0109
Published once a year.
32. *Ethnographia*
A Magyar Néprajzi Társaság
folyóirata
ISSN 0014-1798
Published four times a year.
33. *Fejér megyei Történeti Évkönyv*
A Fejér megyei Levéltár
évkönyve
ISSN 0301-7532
Published occasionally.
34. *Filológiai Közlöny*
A Magyar Tudományos
Akadémia Modern Filológiai Bi-
zottsága és a Modern Filológiai
Társaság világirodalmi folyóirata
ISSN 0015-1785
Published four times a year.
35. *Folia Archeologica*
*Annales Musei Nationalis Hun-
garici*
A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum
évkönyve
ISSN 0133-2023
Published occasionally.

36. *Fons*
 Forráskutatás és Történeti
 Segédtudományok
 ISSN 1217-8020
 Published three times a year.
37. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények*
 A Hadtörténeti Intézet és
 Múzeum folyóirata
 ISSN 0017-6540
 Published four times a year.
38. *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár
 Évkönyve*
 ISSN 01333-8528
 Published once a year.
39. *Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*
 Annales Musei Miskolciensis de
 Hermann Ottó Nominati
 ISSN 0544-4225.
 Published once a year.
40. *História*
 ISSN 0139-2409
 Published ten times a year.
41. *History and Society in Central
 Europe*
 ISSN 1215-5004
 Published occasionally.
42. *Irodalomtörténet*
 A Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Társaság és a tudományegyetemek
 irodalomtörténeti intézeteinek
 folyóirata
 ISSN 0324-5970
 Published four times a year
43. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*
 A Magyar Tudományos
 Akadémia Irodalomtudományi
 Intézetének folyóirata
 ISSN 0021-1486
 Published four times a year
44. *Iskolakultúra*
 Az Országos Közoktatási Intézet
 folyóirata
 ISSN 1215-5233
 Published fortnightly
45. *Janus Pannonius Múzeum
 Évkönyve*
*Annales Musei de Iano Pannonio
 Nominati*
 ISSN 0553-4429
 Published occasionally.
46. *Jogtörténeti Szemle*
 Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Magyar Állam- és
 Jogtörténeti Tanszékének
 Közleményei
 ISBN 963 419 9584 / ISSN 0237-
 7284
 Published occasionally.
47. *Komárom megyei múzeumok
 közleményei*
 ISSN 0237-9430
 Published occasionally.
48. *Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Népeség-
 ségtudományi Intézetének történeti
 demográfiai füzetei*
 ISSN 0237-3238
 Published occasionally.
49. *Levéltári Közlemények*
 A Magyar Országos Levéltár
 folyóirata
 ISSN 0015-542x
 Published twice a year.
50. *Levéltári Szemle*
 A Művelődési és Közoktatási
 Minisztérium Levéltári Osztályának
 negyedéves folyóirata
 ISSN 0457-6047
 Published four times a year.
51. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok*
 Essays in church history in Hungary
 ISSN 0865 5277
 Published occasionally.
52. *Magyar Könyvszemle*
 A Magyar Tudományos
 Akadémia Irodalomtudományi
 Intézetének könyv- és sajtótörté-
 neti folyóirata
 ISSN 0025-0171
 Published four times a year.

53. *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei*
 ISSN 0521-4238
 Published occasionally.
54. *Magyar Tudomány*
 ISSN 0025-0325
 Published twelve times a year.
55. *Miskolci Hermann Ottó Múzeum Közleményei*
 ISSN 054-3391
 Published occasionally.
56. *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve*
 ISSN 0563-0525
 Published occasionally.
57. *Műemlékvédelem*
 Műemlékvédelmi és építészettörténeti szemle
 ISSN 0541-2439
 Published four times a year.
58. *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*
 Az Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség Tájékoztatója
 ISSN 1215-6949
 Published twice a year.
59. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*
 ISSN 0027-5247
 Published four times a year.
60. *Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum évkönyve*
 Jahrbuch des Jósza András Museums von Nyíregyháza
 ISSN 0547-0196
 Published once a year.
61. *Orvostörténeti Közlemények*
 Communicationes de historia artis medicinae
 ISSN 0010-3551
 Published occasionally.
62. *Rubicon*
 Képes történelmi magazin
 ISSN 0865-6347
 Published ten times a year.
63. *Savaria*
 A Vas megyei múzeumok értesítője
 ISSN 0230-1954
 Published twice a year.
64. *Sic itur ad astra*
 Fiatal történészek folyóirata
 ISSN 0238-4779
 Published four times a year.
65. *Somogy megye múltjából*
 Levéltári évkönyv
 ISSN 0133-7467
 Published once a year.
66. *Soproni Szemle*
 Helytörténeti folyóirat
 ISSN 0133-0748
 Published four times a year.
67. *Specimina nova dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio Nominatae*
 (A Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem Történeti Tanszékének évkönyve)
68. *Századok*
 A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata
 ISSN 0029-8098
 Published six times a year.
69. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából*
 A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum évkönyve
 ISSN 0238-5597
 Published once a year.
70. *Technikatörténeti Szemle*
 ISSN 0497-056X
 Published once a year.
71. *Történelmi Szemle*
 A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetének Értesítője
 ISSN 0040-9634
 Published four times a year.
72. *Turul*
 A Magyar Történelmi Társulat, a Magyar Országos Levéltár és a Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság közlönye
 ISSN 1216-7258
 Published occasionally.

73. *Vas Megye Múltjából*
Levéltári Évkönyv
ISSN 0133-3194
Published occasionally.
(Utolsó kötet: 1986)
74. *Vasi Szemle*
Vas megye kultúrájáért Alapítvány tudományos és kulturális folyóirata
ISSN0505-0332
Published four times a year.
75. *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*
Publicationes Museorum Comitatus Vesprimiensis
ISSN 0506-8088
Published occasionally.
76. *Világtörténet*
Egyetemes történeti folyóirat
ISSN 0083-6265
Published twice a year.
77. *Zalai Múzeum*
Közlemények Zala megye múzeumaiból
ISSN 0238-5139
Published occasionally.
78. *Zounuk*
A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyei Levéltár évkönyve
ISSN 0237-5966
Published once a year.

THE BUDAPEST MEDIEVAL CATALOG

Emőke Horváth

Students in the CEU Medieval Studies Department may use the collections of all the libraries in Budapest. There are five major libraries: the National Széchényi Library (2,000,000 vols.), the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (950,000 vols.), the Library of the Hungarian Parliament (700,000 vols.), the Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Library (1,250,000 vols.) and the Municipal Szabó Ervin Library (1,000,000 vols.).

Several research libraries are also open to our students, such as the ELTE Historical Library (25,000 vols.), the art history holdings of the National Museum, the National Gallery, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Collegium Budapest Library, the National Foreign Language Library, the Medical History Library, and the Theological Seminary Library.

Apart from these collections, books of interest for the medievalist can be found in various departmental libraries of the ELTE, such as the Classical Philology Departments (Greek and Latin), or the departments of Archaeology, Art History, Ancient History, Literature,

Slavistics and Medieval Hungarian History. These 'seminar libraries' are typical of continental universities. They were established mainly by professors, in order to examine in detail the research conducted in different departments.

The CEU Medieval Studies Research Library is also a 'seminar library' of the Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem's Medieval History Department. This library has extensive holdings both in major source collections (Bouquet, Muratori, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Migne's Patrologiae, Rolls Series), reference books, and recent English, German, French, and East European publications. The collection is rapidly expanding. The library received major donations from the Historical Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Collegium Carolinum in Munich. Similar donations are expected from Poland and Austria. The library presently has 4,000 volumes of books. The library subscribes to all major periodicals dealing with the Middle Ages. The library also possesses important holdings in computer databases. KLEIO is a database of medieval material culture in Central Europe, compiled partly in Krems, and partly at the ELTE University. The CETEDOC CD ROM editions and databases of medieval theology are also available.

These libraries provide good research tools for medievalists. They are, however, scattered throughout the city, and no attempt has been made to establish a general catalog of all Budapest libraries for the specific demands of a given discipline. Recognizing this need, our department decided to build up an extensive computerized bibliography containing all the medieval holdings in Budapest. The project started in April, 1994, and is based on the research conducted by CEU students as well as librarians from throughout the city. Our intention is to provide a practical catalogue which will continue to expand in the future. The research is organized in the following manner:

Historical period: From the ninth to the fifteenth century

Geographical area:

Central Europe and its environs (Austria, Bohemia, Bulgaria, the Balkans, Byzantium, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, Poland, Romania and Serbia)

Major subjects:

- Source collections (forráskiadványok)
- Handbooks on European history (kézikönyvek)
- History (történelem)
- Social history (társadalomtörténet)
- Art history (művészettörténet)
- Economic history (gazdaságtörténet)
- Literary history (irodalomtörténet)
- Archaeology (régészet)
- History of religion (vallástörténet)
- Church history (egyház történet)
- Philosophy (filozófia)
- Ethnography (néprajz)
- General history of the region's different countries (ország történet)
- Music (zene)

CROATIAN DATABASE – MOLDL.XLS

Damir Karbić

This database, made by Damir Karbić and Zoran Ladić, contains documents concerning the history of medieval Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and southern parts of Hungary. The documents collected in the database are part of a collection of documents predating 1526 (*Diplomatikai Levéltár = DL, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény*) preserved in the State Archive of Hungary (*Magyar Országos Levéltár = MOL*).

The database includes only those documents which most probably have a connection with the previously mentioned regions. Selection for the database was based on archival inventories made by the staff of the State Archive. The database does not include charters issued by kings and some other high-ranking state officials (judge royal, count palatine etc.) which deal with general matters and not those specific to certain areas. The complete amount of registered documents in the database is 8410 items.

The main reason for constructing the database is that archival manuals do not contain all the relevant information about documents necessary for historical research. For instance, archival manuals do

not state the degree to which different documents have been published nor do they give exact bibliographical data on them. As a result, the database information includes bibliographical information on published documents (the abbreviation of the source collection, and the number of document and pages).

Another problem with archival manuals is that they are not arranged to the taste of historians. We have tried to alleviate these problems in the database. In the first place, the manual arranges documents according to subfunds (a collection of documents within the larger collection). The manual indicates which subfund of the archive contains signatures, or which subfunds cover one range of signatures (e.g. the subfund of the Frankapan family archive deals with signatures from 38471-38571 and documents with the signature 49000-50000 are divided in the following way: 49000-49219, the Bossányi family, 49220-49368, the Mérey family, 49369-49544, the Orsich family and 49545-50000, the Rummy family, etc.). On the other hand, the archival network computer catalogues charters according to the date of issue and by the issuer (e.g. king, ban, chapter etc.), but without any mention of their subfund.

The purpose for making this database was to collate all information on these documents and to present them in any easy and accessible fashion. The authors chose the Excel software for its ability to deal with such cataloging difficulties. Excel also enables the easy rearranging of data.

Terminology (except Latin titles) follow according to their usage by the archive's Hungarian staff (e. g. *káptalan* for *chapter*, *herceg* for *duke*, *ispán* for *count* etc.). The database consists of following fields: *institutio* (containing data about the institution or the position of the person who issued the charter), *locus* (indicating the place in which the institution was located or the jurisdiction of some official), *cognomen* (containing the surname of issuer), *nomen* (first name), *d.* (day), *m.* (month) and *a.* (year), *sp.* (type of document - original, vidimus, regist or copy), *a. c.* (year of creation of vidimus, regist or the copy), *sign.* (signature in MOL) and *n.* (indicating how many times that document appears in the database). These fields are based on computer listings made by the staff of the archive). The field *series* contains data on the collection which preserved the document previous to the archive, or the current place of preservation of the original (some of the originals are held in the State Archive of Croatia, as expressed by the abbreviation AH). The last column of the database



(*editio*) contains abbreviated data on editions of the document. The database can be searched by all these fields.

The database is located in the network of the CEU on the drive *o:* in the sub directory *medieval.94* and can be accessed by any student (second year students should use the directory *medieval.93*). The database is password protected and cannot be changed. If you discover some mistake in it or want to augment it, please notify the authors (members of the Ph.D. program) and changes will be made. A list of abbreviations or questions on content of the database would also be helpful and eagerly received.

The authors intend to continue amending the database. These amendments will also include older signatures extracted from the field *series* or added to the separate field, as well as additions of relevant charters of kings, queens and high-ranking officials concerning the history of the regions in question.

KLEIO AT THE CEU

Gerhard Jaritz

KLEIO is a complex database management system for historians which has been created and developed by Manfred Thaller at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen, Germany. It is used internationally by a large community of historians who apply computer methods to their research. It runs under DOS and on UNIX-based workstations. KLEIO has many advantages for historians who wish to preserve and analyze the original features of documentation, such as spelling. Its features include full-text analysis, creation of maps, export of data into statistical packages and digital image processing.

In the Medieval Studies Department, KLEIO has been used in teaching and research since 1993. Regular courses are provided, particularly for those students who work with large amounts of data in their historical research. The system has already been applied by a number of them in the course of preparation of their M.A. theses. The



databases which are created and developed by the students will remain available in the department for secondary analysis. In the research programs of the department, KLEIO is used to create databases of written and archeological source material, as well as databases of digitized images from medieval East-Central Europe. This is done in official cooperation with the Institut für Realienskunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit of the Austrian Academy of Arts and Sciences. The digital image database to be established is not only meant to be a research tool for medievalists, but is also supposed to play an important role in the documentation and preservation of the medieval cultural heritage of the area.



Part V

Conferences





PARTICIPATION AT THE FIDEM CONGRESS IN SPOLETO, APRIL 1993

The first international conference of the institutes for medieval studies in Europe organized by FIDEM (Fédération d'Instituts d'Études Médiévales) occurred for us at a very favorable moment, towards the end of our preparatory year. By then we already had half a dozen students, a few research projects about to get off the ground and an ambitious scholarly program to start our first year of education. So we decided to attend the conference with a sizeable group of eight graduate students, two research assistants and two professors. Driving down to Spoleto with a minibus was also a field-trip for us, where much of what we had been speaking about in connection with the late Middle Ages could be contemplated *in situ*. But the most important objective was to introduce our group of graduate students (several of whom were supported by generous FIDEM scholarships) to the scenery of international medieval studies gatherings, with their typical agendas, book-exhibitions, lectures and discussions. Spoleto was naturally one of the most prestigious places among these: the yearly *settimane di studio* represented a tradition going back over several decades (this might be the reason why FIDEM tried to build up links with its infrastructure).

The participation was certainly very rewarding for our group of students, who could find a well balanced evaluation of the state of things in each scholarly field. We also tried to attract attention to our program with a general presentation of its objectives by Gábor Klaniczay (reproduced below), and a reception where we invited the whole group of participants to drink the Hungarian wine we had brought directly from Budapest.

Some further episodes deserve to be mentioned: the nun's monastery where we were lodged (with a lot of kind hospitality, I must say), the fabulous late Roman and medieval monuments in Spoleto, and the excursions to Assisi, Perugia, Montefalco, Gubbio, Città di Castello, Arezzo and Bologna. It is unnecessary to stress, how important and touching the visits to these cities and their monuments were. Let me add, that this was the first time that I was able to see these monuments together with my students, and this also made a big difference.

ADDRESS BY GÁBOR KLANICZAY

En feuilletant le programme du colloque à Spolète, vous avez pu découvrir plus d'une dizaine de personnes du "*Medieval Studies Program, Central European University, Budapest*". Nous sommes venus avec quatre étudiants polonais, quatre hongrois, une tchèque et une russe pour ce premier congrès européen des médiévistes, tous participants de la première année préparatoire des cours de cette nouvelle université d'études supérieures (*graduate school*) en études médiévales. Dès septembre de cette année nous aurons quarante-cinq étudiants venant de tous les pays de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Europe de l'Est, mais aussi quelques étudiants des États Unis, de la France et de l'Allemagne pour étudier avec nous pendant une année et pour préparer leur thèse M.A. Notre but est de créer une communauté internationale des médiévistes d'Europe Centrale qui font leurs études et se préparent pour leur métier de professeur à notre université. Comme *lingua franca* nous avons choisi l'anglais, qui n'exclut pas le recours aux autres langues européennes ou de la région.

L'Université de l'Europe Centrale est une université privée de création récente, fondée en 1990 par George Soros, un millionnaire américain d'origine hongroise. Cette institution d'études supérieures pour la région a un collège à Prague et un autre à Budapest, qui regroupent pendant l'année académique 1992/93 plus de 200 étudiants de seize pays au niveau M.A., et dont le nombre va augmenter à 400 dès l'année académique prochaine. M. Soros est un des grands mécènes de la culture dans les pays de l'Est depuis le début des années soixante-dix. Avec les subventions et les bourses distribuées par son *Open Society Foundation*, il a beaucoup contribué au dégel, à l'intensification des rapports entre l'Occident et ces pays, et finalement à la désintégration des régimes socialistes. La fondation de cette

Université a répondu à une nouvelle situation où ce n'était plus les rapports entre l'Est et l'Ouest qui devaient être soutenus (cela se développe heureusement à un rythme impressionnant), mais les rapports entre les pays de l'Est, qui se sont détériorés hélas trop vite. En transplantant l'idée du Centre Universitaire Européen de Fiesole (la formation d'une partie d'un futur élite au sein de la même institution pour créer des liens internationaux d'entente et de collaboration professionnelle pour l'avenir), il cherche d'aller contre le courant nationaliste du renforcement des cloisonnements dans cette région. En même temps, il a l'objectif de faciliter la transition en offrant des cours d'études supérieures, surtout dans des domaines d'utilité immédiate, comme les sciences politiques, la droit constitutionnelle, l'économie de la privatisation et les études de l'environnement.

A ce point on pourrait demander, à juste titre, comment les études médiévales entrent dans cette perspective. Tout d'abord il faudrait mentionner qu'on cherche de développer une structure de disciplines qui soit plus ou moins conforme à la répartition traditionnelle des disciplines académiques: on a aussi l'histoire de l'art, l'histoire tout court et la sociologie. Mais on pourrait aussi faire référence à des belles paroles d'inauguration pour ce colloque par le professeur Ovidio Capitani, à cette recherche si efficacement menée par les médiévistes: "*cercare di recuperare una nuova identità per l'Europa*" – une identité qui retrouve son fondement au Moyen Âge. Cette identité européenne est aussi très recherchée en Europe de l'Est.

Heureusement les organisateurs de cette nouvelle université internationale d'Europe Centrale ont reconnu que non seulement les origines des conflits ethniques, nationaux et religieux qui la divisent aujourd'hui résident dans la période médiévale, mais aussi son identité européenne s'y enracine. Pour intégrer cette région à une Union Européenne moderne il vaut bien faire référence aux processus de sa première intégration à la Chrétienté médiévale, qui se déroulait au bas Moyen Âge. Pour chercher des formes de coexistence et d'entente entre les nations et les minorités ethniques diverses, les expériences médiévales, donc d'une époque qui précédait les hostilités acharnées des nations modernes, pourraient être d'une utilité très concrète.

Le rassemblement régionale des experts et des étudiants de ce Moyen Âge de l'Europe Centrale avait donc des finalités très génériques aussi. Mais n'oublions pas les aspects plus pratiques et plus liés à des intérêts particuliers de la médiévistique non plus. Trois problèmes rendaient l'établissement d'un centre internationale

d'études médiévales en Europe Centrale très actuelle: la condition défavorable des études médiévales pendant les quatre décennies des régimes socialistes, la nécessité du dialogue entre les historiographies nationales différentes, qui représentaient des positions très opposées, et finalement la nécessité d'une formation interdisciplinaire unissant tous les experts du Moyen Âge de la paléographie à la philosophie, de l'archéologie à la musicologie et de l'histoire de l'art à la linguistique historique.

Commençant à l'envers, sur le troisième point il me paraît inutile d'insister ici, où l'on vit cette interdisciplinarité – en faite c'est exactement ce modèle, représenté par les *Medieval Studies Centers* américains et occidentaux, comme celui de Leeds ou de Spolète, qui nous a inspiré dans notre entreprise, qui est le premier centre d'études médiévales de ce genre à l'Europe de l'Est.

En ce qui concerne les divergences des écoles historiographiques des nations diverses de l'Europe de l'Est (pour prendre un exemple, le débat des historiens roumains et hongrois sur la continuité dacoroumaine ou sur l'histoire ethnique de la Transylvanie médiévale), on sait que de telles controverses ne sont pas le privilège de notre région, comme Giles Constable vient de faire référence aux polémiques franco-allemands sur Charlemagne. Mais peut-être pourrait-on dire que ces controverses sont plus idéologiques, plus passionnés dans notre partie de l'Europe, et elles tendent à persister. Je suis convaincu que l'expérience d'enseigner et étudier l'histoire commune ensemble promet plus d'espoir de rapprocher ces interprétations divergentes.

Le troisième, en fait le premier problème disciplinaire qui nous a occupés pendant notre entreprise était la condition désavantageuse des médiévistes de notre région pendant les décennies passées. Ceux qui refusaient de prêter leur expertise à des fins idéologiques, ou pire, qui soutenaient certains courants d'opposition, étaient privés non seulement des bourses et des positions académiques qu'ils auraient méritées, mais aussi souvent des conditions de travailler comme médiévistes. Il y a des exemples célèbres: Bronislaw Geremek interné, František Šmahel conducteur de tramway. Mais ces conditions défavorables frappaient – même si de façon moins dramatique et moins spectaculaire – des centaines de chercheurs, qui pouvaient maintenir et continuer leurs travaux, mais dans des conditions très modestes et dans les cercles très restreints, même en ce qui concerne leurs propre pays, et restaient totalement inconnus au monde. Il n'avaient certainement pas les moyens de s'intégrer dans la communauté internationale des médiévistes, et il n'étaient pas en mesure de donner une formation adéquate à de nouvelles générations des médiévistes. On

peut voir à des conférences organisées dans la région que d'entières générations de chercheurs médiévistes manquent de ces disciplines, et que la majorité du travail est toujours fait par des experts qui avaient leur formation universitaire avant 1945. Sans faire référence aux manques également considérables que tout cela signifie sur le plan des éditions de sources, et des instruments bibliographiques et informatiques de travail, on peut facilement se mettre d'accord qu'un effort extraordinaire soit nécessaire aujourd'hui pour que les études médiévistes se redressent dans ces pays. Notre programme d'études supérieures veut contribuer à ce travail.

Jusqu'à ce point j'ai peint une image un peu noire de l'état du médiévisme dans ces pays, peut-être un peu trop noir. Or, maintenant j'aimerais contredire à ce que j'ai dit jusqu'ici, pour vous indiquer qu'il y a quand-même des traditions importants sur lesquelles la fondation d'un nouveau centre d'études médiévales pourrait s'appuyer.

Bien sûr, il y avait même dans ces conditions défavorables les productions individuelles et collectives de grande importance.

Certains d'entre eux trouvaient même les chemins au public international. Ici je dois mentionner que le centre de Spolète était parmi les organisations dont l'attention incluait toujours les chercheurs de l'Europe Centrale, parmi les participants des colloques on retrouve beaucoup des grands noms de nos médiévistes: Gieysztor, Macek, Györffy et Mezey. D'autres contacts pourraient être mentionnés aussi. Le *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis* en Allemagne, qui prenait les idées d'invitations de deux grands médiévistes émigrés, József Deér et František Graus. L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales a des contacts multiples avec les médiévistes polonais et hongrois, et l'*Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* de Krems est proche non seulement géographiquement aux pays de l'Est, mais aussi sur le plan de la collaboration académique.

Toutefois, permettez-moi de rappeler aussi, que ces contacts occasionnels ne pouvaient donner une connaissance adéquate de ce qui se passait dans ces pays, et qui restait, pour des raisons linguistiques et à cause des difficultés politiques de la collaboration, inaccessible au monde. Que sait-on, par exemple de l'oeuvre des centaines de titres du doyen des études médiévales en Hongrie, d'Elemér Mályusz, décédé il n'y a que quelques années, en 1988? Ou sur le plan des données quantitatives: vous chercheriez en vain la majorité des médiévistes hongrois même dans le répertoire des médiévistes publié en 1992, il n'y a qu'une douzaine de littéraires énumérés. Le prochain volume, sous presse maintenant, sera plus riche. Après que l'Association des Médiévistes Hongrois, fondée en 1990, est devenue

membre du FIDEM en 1992, le secrétaire József Laszlovszky a réussi à répertorier en Hongrie 480 médiévistes.

Parlant non seulement des individus mais des cercles et des écoles de recherches, permettez-moi de mentionner ici les recherches sur l'histoire ecclésiastique coordonnées par Jerzy Kłoczowski à Lublin (dont nous avons un jeune représentant parmi nos étudiants ici), ou les élèves de B. Geremek à Varsovie, ou les musicologues hongrois autour de László Dobszay, ou encore les philosophes et historiens d'art, qui fréquentaient jadis les cercles rebelles de Jan Patočka à Prague.

Il y a toute une historiographie à refaire pour les études médiévales en Europe de l'Est, et il faut rendre ces résultats accessibles en Occident. Je ne peux pas l'improviser ici, mais je peux promettre que notre programme va contribuer à ce travail. Par exemple, on vient de conclure un accord avec Simon Forde de préparer les titres hongrois pour la Bibliographie Internationale des Médiévistes, qui faisaient défaut jusque maintenant.

Nous avons initié trois programmes de recherche qui pourraient aussi être utiles de ce point de vue. Une entreprise commencée déjà plus tôt, *The Encyclopedia of Medieval East-Central Europe* (à publier par Garland Publishers), éditée par János M. Bak (professeur émérite de l'University of British Columbia, qui a maintenant rejoint notre programme), permettra enfin d'avoir une vision thématique et systématique sur l'état de nos connaissances sur toutes ces questions.

L'autre projet, dirigé par le professeur Ernő Marosi (aussi directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire d'Art des l'Académie Sciences Hongroise) vise à établir une base de données informatique sur les sources visuelles (peintures, miniatures, fresques et statues) en Europe Centrale au Moyen Âge. Ceci commencera par un inventaire des collections partielles déjà existantes, qui résultera dans une guide pour ces collections en anglais, en les rendant ainsi accessibles au public international. En même temps nous allons élaborer une stratégie pour notre propre collection: quelles sont les lacunes les plus évidentes? Ou commencer notre travail de documentation? Comment rendre notre collection compatible avec d'autres iconothèques (Marburg, Krems et Princeton). Nous espérons procéder aux éditions sur CD ROM dans quelques années.

Le troisième projet, dirigé par le professeur Ferdinand Seibt (Collegium Carolinum, Munich) vise à explorer le rôle des femmes dans l'Europe Centrale du Moyen Âge.

Nous voudrions stimuler la recherche du Moyen Âge avec des bourses de recherche, et nous espérons pouvoir organiser plusieurs colloques pour présenter nos résultats.



ETHNICITY – CONCEPTS AND CONFLICTS
IN MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE
APRIL 23–27, 1993

This conference closed the “pilot year” of the Medieval Studies program. Preceded by a graduate student workshop, the conference dealt with a crucial issue of East-Central European history. It examined the construction of ethnicity and its often paradoxical role in the development of national identities. This region, at the border of the vast German and Slav worlds, is a veritable melting pot of ethnic and national groups. The search for an identity has always proved to be a difficult venture here. It has involved not only a constant confrontation of oneself with “the other”, but also the mutual appropriation of various ethnic, national, historical, and religious characteristics. The conference was an attempt to disentangle the elements of these strangely interwoven histories and to analyze the use and abuse of the concept of ethnicity.

CONFERENCE

APRIL 23, FRIDAY

10 a.m. Lectures

Tamás Hofer (Budapest): Anthropology and Ethnography on Ethnicity
Martha Boháčevsky-Chomiak (Washington/Kiev): Ethnicity and Nationalism Seen through Women’s Studies



2–6 p.m. Research Papers

Gábor Tóth (Budapest): *Conflicting Concepts of Ethnicity: The Mályusz–Szekfű Debate and Beyond*

Discussant: *Rebecca Ann Haynes* (London)

Paul J. E. Kershaw (London): *Peacemaking and Identity in the Reign of King Alfred (871–899)*

Anna Somfai (Budapest): *Furor Teutonicus and flagellum Dei. Ethnic Stereotypes and Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century*

APRIL 24, SATURDAY

10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Workshop Seminar

(discussions moderated by *Evelyne Patlagean*)

Bernd Gutherlet (Berlin): *Jews and Christians in Medieval German Society*

Piroska Zombory-Nagy (Paris): *Medieval Images of Hungarians: A Conflict of Concepts*

Nóra Berend (New York): *The Role and Concepts of Ethnicity Regarding the Cumans in Thirteenth-Century Hungary*

Magdalena Najbar (Cracow): *The Legal Situation of the Tartar Population in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland*

2.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Workshop Seminar

(discussions moderated by *Gábor Klaniczay*)

Béla Zsolt Szakács (Budapest): *Per Crudelem Tyrannidem Saxonum Scelerissimorum: The Attack against Gyulafehérvár in 1277*

Damir Karbić (Zagreb): *Ethnicity among Croatian and Slavonian Nobility in the Middle Ages*

Pawel Kras (Lublin): *The Image of the Czech in Poland in the Period of the Hussite Revolution*

APRIL 26, MONDAY

Morning 9.30 a.m. to 12.00 Lectures

Ernest Gellner (Cambridge/Prague): *From Ethnicity to Nationalism*

Christian Lübke (Berlin): *Strangers in Medieval Eastern Europe*

János M. Bak (Budapest): *The Problems of Linguistic Pluralism in Medieval East-Central Europe*



Afternoon 2.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.

Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna/Krems): Interdisciplinary Research Methods on Medieval Multiculturalism

József Laszlovszky (Budapest): Problems in the Ethnic Interpretation of Material Culture (East-Central Europe, 10th-15th centuries)

Ernő Marosi (Budapest): Editing Images: The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (c. 1358)

Dušan Třeštík (Budapest): Slawische Ethnogenetische Legenden

APRIL 27, TUESDAY

Morning 10.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. (Faculty Club) Lectures

Evelyne Patlagean (Paris): Minorities in a Roman Christian Empire: Byzantium around the Twelfth Century

Ludwig Steindorff (Münster/Zagreb): Ethnicity and Other Concepts of Social Self-Identification (Examples from the Dalmatian Middle Ages)

Jan Piskorski (Poznań): Deutsche und Slawen Östlich der Elbe im Hochmittelalter

Afternoon 2.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.

Aleksander Gieysztor (Warsaw): Medieval Roots of Polish National Consciousness: Problems and Doubts

František Šmahel (Prague): The Premature Concept of Nation in Hussite Bohemia

Henrik Birnbaum (Los Angeles): On the Medieval Prehistory of the Present Conflict among the Southern Slavs



CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN LATIN AND ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES BYZANTINE STUDIES FEASIBILITY WORKSHOP

István Perczel

In its first academic year the Medieval Studies department, originally established for an interdisciplinary study of the Latin West, felt the need to explore the history and intellectual legacy of Byzantium, and of East-West encounters in the medieval period. The department draws a large part of its students from countries which possess a rich Byzantine heritage, or which experienced, directly or indirectly, a significant influence from Byzantium, such as Russia, Bulgaria, or Macedonia. The study of East-West relations in the Middle Ages is highly attractive to these students, who in turn will be able to contribute to the understanding of the Byzantine world; and to reintroduce research in this field both in Hungary and in their respective countries. The department would thus bring together Western and East-Central European scholars, and become a center in this region for all those interested in the problem of cultural exchange, mutual intellectual influences, and competing cultural heritages.

Moreover, Byzantine studies are experiencing a remarkable renaissance in many academic fields today, such as history, literature, arts, and linguistics. The department would like to introduce the latest results of this ongoing research in the West for discussion and debate in East-Central Europe in order to stimulate new research here.

In order to explore the possibilities of this project, the department organized a weekend Feasibility Workshop in Budapest.



INTRODUCING BYZANTINE STUDIES A FEASIBILITY WORKSHOP

FEBRUARY 4–5, 1994

(CEU-ELTE Seminar Library, Budapest)

Henrik Birnbaum (Los Angeles): Byzantine East and Latin West in Slavic Medieval Civilization

Peter Schreiner (Cologne): The Byzantine Missions: A Political Task. The Slavic Example

Vladimir Vavřínek (Prague): An Introduction to Slavonic Literature and Liturgy: A New Feature in the Development of Medieval Culture

István Kapitánffy (Budapest): Byzantinische Geschichte – Europäische Geschichte

The lectures were followed by roundtable discussions on the prospects of Byzantine Studies at the CEU. The colloquium was led by Gábor Klaniczay, the head of the Medieval Studies department. Participants included Professors Birnbaum, Schreiner, Vavřínek, and Kapitánffy, and János M. Bak, István Perczel, György Geréby, Marianne Sághy, and Szabolcs de Vajay from the department. Discussions centered around two main questions: what is the importance of teaching Byzantine history at the CEU? To what extent can the department contribute to a novel approach to Byzantine studies?



JACQUES LE GOFF'S VISIT TO THE DEPARTMENT

Marianne Sághy and László Kontler

The distinguished French historian Jacques Le Goff (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris), came to visit the Medieval Studies department in March, 1994. As a member of the department's Academic Board, he chaired discussions concerning the structure of our interdisciplinary program, and the direction and assessment of the work of our students, and helped to shape future academic projects. He met with the students, and gave a talk on his new book, a biography of Saint Louis.

On March 11, he held a public lecture on *Les périphéries de l'Occident médiéval* (The Peripheries of the Medieval West), followed by a debate with Gábor Klaniczay. Both presentations revealed another, hitherto unknown face of this well-known medievalist. They acquainted us with a Le Goff who is now trying to open up new avenues of research within the traditional historical fields of biography, and political and economic history. Le Goff followed Fernand Braudel as the director of EHESS (1972–1977), but, with a very different program. He had different historical interests and methodological assumptions. While Braudel analyzed the mechanisms of large structures in the *longue durée* of historical time – such as social, and especially economic structures and conjectures – and was mainly interested in the material incarnation of culture, and in the tangible presence of civilization, Le Goff inquired about the value systems of these civilizations, their *mentalités*, and the spiritual realities of their imagination. If Braudel's *oeuvre* pulled off the curtain of long-term tendencies that helped to shape and maintain the bygone world of early modern Europe, Le Goff went behind the *décor* to seek the intellectual and spiritual underpinnings which upheld the civilization of the medieval West. Le Goff, a member of the second generation of the

Annales, expressed and initiated new tendencies within that movement. His own books – *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (1957), *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (1964), *Pour un autre Moyen Âge* (1977), *La naissance du purgatoire* (1981), *La bourse et la vie* (1986), *Histoire et mentalité* (1988) – and his contributions to collective works, such as the series *Faire de l'histoire* (1975) and *Nouvelle histoire* (1978), were eloquent testimonies to the necessity and vitality of studying the intellectual constructions and spiritual structures of past societies. These writings, which in part dealt with the problems of rituals and images, symbols and representations, also showed the significance of adopting new, interdisciplinary methods and approaches in history, especially those of historical anthropology.

The two talks given in Budapest led the audience in familiar directions. But it is the task of a great historian to make the familiar look unfamiliar. Le Goff's *maîtrise* of the craft was fully revealed in his re-interpretation of biography, *histoire événementielle*, and political and economic history.

In the *Life of Saint Louis*, Le Goff depicted his royal hero against the background of the intellectual currents of the thirteenth century, and asked what made the emergence of the holy king possible in France. Reassessing the historical sources related to the reign, and particularly to Louis, he described how the political and spiritual expectations of the age were projected onto the person of the king – legislator and saint, crusader and martyr – and to what extent these assumptions influenced the contemporaries' perception of his personality. Reconstructing the elements of the life, Le Goff strived to identify and position the idea of the king within the central value system of medieval society.

The analysis of center and periphery in his talk on *Les périphéries de l'Occident médiéval* brought the historian to the problem of history unfolding in space.

The starting point of the discussion is a traditional object of study. Concepts of "center" and "periphery" have been commonly used, especially among political and economic historians of the early modern period, who dealt with questions of political centralization and with the contrast between "industrialized" and "underdeveloped" areas. The contributions of Wallerstein and Braudel to the conceptualization and understanding of these phenomena is well known. But Le Goff's medieval peripheries yet again turned accepted notions upside down.

The main problem of center-periphery models is that the periphery is always defined by the center. But what and where exactly is

this center? In the Middle Ages, this was indeed a rather ambiguous notion. In spite of the recurrent claim of "unity" in medieval Christianity, the traditions upon which the medieval world was built did not allow room for a single, always identical, and unquestionable "space", real or imaginary, to take precedence over other geographic or fictitious spaces. There was no medieval "center" comparable to the "Atlantic" or to the "royal capital" of early modern Europe. Imperial Roman and Christian traditions pointed towards two different *capita* of the world: Rome and Jerusalem. Even within Christianity, however, two "centers" emerged, and with them two "Europes": the Europe of Rome and the Europe of Byzantium.

The frontiers of these worlds were constantly under attack by barbarian raids, migrations, and conquests. No "center" ever had static frontiers; and some of the frontier areas in their turn developed into "centers" on their own. The limits of the medieval world were thus exceptionally fluid and changeable. The various "centers", although in reality incapable of assuming efficient leadership in large geographical areas, strove to trespass on the "frontiers" out of religious reasons. The missionary activity of Rome and Constantinople aimed to convert heathen tribes to Christianity. But Christ's body, the visible Church, was irreparably divided by the eleventh century. The frontier areas in early medieval Europe were precisely those living membranes of the Christian organism which immediately showed the most urgent concerns and *malaises* of that body.

The concepts of "center" and "periphery" changed from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The previous models were transformed by increasing prosperity and steady demographic growth in Western Europe which became the center of two simultaneous movements of expansion. The crusades, a unified effort by Christians to regain their "center", Jerusalem, made the participants realize the differences that existed between their world and the "new" world to conquer. The internal colonization of Europe revealed the transformation of its internal frontiers. By the twelfth century, the importance of towns surpassed that of fortresses, castles, forests and monasteries as centers of defense and of enterprise.

The diversity of peripheries expressed differences between the multiple realities of various zones: town and country, Europe and Islam, forest and arable land, Christianity and paganism. The frontiers were at once walls of defense and platforms of expansion. The eastward expansion of Western Christianity brought about yet other transformation of the "center-periphery" model. These changes had a

liberating effect: people looked at the world surrounding them with a fresh eye. "*Stadtluft macht frei*", said the peasants and tried to become townsmen. "*Ostluft macht frei*," thought knights, and *locatores* on their way to colonize territories on the Eastern frontier of Europe.

This search for freedom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries implied a spiritual and intellectual liberation as well. The emergence of universities was a sign of a new way of thinking. The royal foundation of universities in Southern and Central Europe, on the other hand, was also a means of "Europeanization".

On the level of the imaginary, the notion of "periphery" was wrapped in a strange mixture of admiration and fear. These regions were places of adventure and of experience for the medieval imagination. Peripheries, frontier areas, were fecund domains for dreams and nightmares. They were either imagined as countries of plenty, inexhaustible treasure-troves inhabited by interesting people, or as dark, cold places and wild deserts, home to savage races and destructive forces, who threatened Europe with destruction. A "climatic" distinction can also be detected in this imaginary between the icy, tenebrous north, and the mild, sensuous south.

Peripheries were places of predilection where pilgrimages were conducted. The great shrines of Western Christianity lay at its borders: in Jerusalem, in Compostela. The religious importance of these areas shed light on the role of peripheries as mirrors of the center.

Europe had an ambivalent attitude towards its peripheries. It was an attitude of acceptance and of rejection, of tolerance and of violence at the same time. A willingness to acculturate and a drive to discard coexisted in the movable "centers" of the continent concerning peripheries. Undeniably, a sustained dialogue linked together center and periphery; sometimes a careful listening; in other instances, a dialogue of the deaf. In the dynamic formation that Europe has always been, pluralistic models of "center and periphery" prevailed, which ultimately brought about a Europe in which all would like to participate. It is part of our medieval heritage to make Europe not an exclusive, but an accommodating place to live in.

Jacques Le Goff is general editor of the series *The Making of Europe*, whose volumes are published simultaneously by five European publishing houses – C.H. Beck (Munich), Basil Blackwell (Oxford), Crítica (Barcelona), Laterza (Bari – Rome), and Seuil (Paris) – and appear also in Hungarian translation at the Atlantisz publishing house. Atlantisz and the Collegium Budapest organized a conference on the series, and invited the representatives of these five publishers as well. Le

Goff noted that a series exploring the historic roots of European identity had never been more timely than now, at our *fin-de-siècle*. There is mounting tension between the high hopes of European integration and disillusionment. The very concept of Europe has changed. It no longer stands only for the channel tunnel and its like, but also for the constraints imposed by Maastricht which some feel burdensome, and for the nightmare of Sarajevo. It has become more important than ever that those who believe in the idea take a closer look at the currents that have determined the European cultural and intellectual heritage, currents which have been interpreted and reinterpreted over and over again, but which can still benefit from a fresh point of view. They are now being discussed in depth for the first time.

The first volume of the series to be published in Hungarian is Leonardo Benevolo's *The City in the History of Europe*. Other volumes include *Europe and the Sea* by Michel Mollat du Jourdin; *The Europe of the Enlightenment* by Ulrich Im Hof; *Europe and the Perfect Language* by Umberto Eco; *The Peasants of Europe* by Werner Rösener; Peter Brown's *Divided Christianity*; Joseph Fontana's *Europe in the Mirror*; Robert Delort's *Man and Nature in Europe*; Massimo Montanari's work on the cultural history of eating; the *History of Literacy* by Roger Chartier; and Aaron Gurevitch's *Birth of Individualism*.

The conference of publishers and historians was called partly to overcome a particular difficulty: the launching of a series, a brain-child of Western European publishers and authors, in Central Europe. Both the general editor and most publishers realize that the boundaries of Europe are not to be drawn either at the Leitha or at the Elbe, but the scales seem to unavoidably tip to one side. The Benevolo volume is a case in point: the Hungarian editor of this *tour-de-force* could not help noting that of the great many case studies in the book, East-Central Europe are represented by only three cities (Prague, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg) and only in passing; and even Benevolo's masterful description of urban development at the turn of the century fails to mention the city outpacing all others at the time in its rate of progress: bustling urban culture and luxuriant man-made environment, the city of Budapest.

The joint conference of publishers and historians was, perhaps, the first step towards remedying this situation. The Central European University's History Department and Medieval Studies Department secured the participation of historians from Budapest, Bucharest, Ljubjana, Oxford, Los Angeles and Paris. The scholars and the Hun-



garian publisher suggested a number of new topics for inclusion in the series. The Western European publishers and Jacques Le Goff showed keen interest in a single-volume study on the cultural history of persecution, tolerance, and intolerance in Europe under the title *The Europe of Minorities and Refugees*. They felt, however, that for practical reasons, discussing specifically East-Central European topics would be out of character in a series of essay-type volumes. It was agreed that a more or less informal consulting network be established to check the imbalances, and that East-Central European experts would also comment periodically on suggested works, and on synopses and manuscripts.



FIRST INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS, ENGLAND, JULY 4–7, 1994

The congress convened in order to mark the 25th anniversary of the Center for Medieval Studies of the University of Leeds. It was organized and administered by the Center and the International Medieval Bibliography Unit of the School of History, in close cooperation with the University of Leeds.

This congress was the first large-scale reunion of medievalists in Europe, with more than 1500 scholars, researchers, and graduate students attending. Thus far, such conventions had been organized only in the United States, notably at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. The organizers of the Leeds conference modelled this convention on the American example, and acknowledged the support and encouragement of their American colleagues. They also expressed their intention that Kalamazoo and Leeds collaborate closely and encourage further international and intercontinental scholarly exchange. The University of Leeds is one of the largest universities in the United Kingdom. Student numbers are at a record figure of 17,581 with a large number of postgraduate students, many from outside the country. The Faculty of Arts is the largest in the UK and the university's Brotherton Library offers some of the finest facilities in the country for research in the humanities. The university has departments in all disciplines and has schools of world-class research quality in English, Theology and Religious Studies, and areas of international excellence within other departments of the Faculty of Arts.

1322 sessions were organized on the following themes: Anglo-Saxon Studies, Art History, Biblical Theology and Learning, Celtic Studies, Crusades, Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean, Early History and Gregory of Tours, General Culture, Government and

Warfare, Hagiography, Language and Literature (British Isles; General; Germany and the Low Countries; Romance Languages), Norse and Viking Studies, Performance Art, Philosophy and Liturgy, Religious Life, Social and Economic History, Sources and Resources, and Women's Studies.

Participants were accommodated in university housing on campus: Boddington Hall, a huge sixties-style red-brick building complex; and the beautiful, freshly renovated, neo-Gothic Devonshire Hall. The conference took place in Boddington Hall and Weetwood Hall, a deluxe conference center based on a seventeenth-century Jacobean manor house. Half-day excursions were also organized to discover the beauty of historic Yorkshire and its magnificent medieval heritage: York Minster, Skipton Castle, Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys (Selby, Fountains, Bolton, Whitby, Rievaulx), and Ripon cathedral.

CEU PANELS

The Medieval Studies Department of the CEU actively participated in the congress. The "Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe" research project organized two sessions: for their detailed program see above pp. 235, in the chapter dealing with this project.

Other research projects of the department were also introduced to the international audience in one session:

RESEARCH PROJECTS AT THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST (chair: *Gábor Klaniczay*, CEU)

1. *Béla Zsolt Szakács* and *Tamás Sajó* (CEU): Visual Resources in East-Central Europe
2. *Paul Knoll* (University of Southern California): The Encyclopedia of Medieval Eastern Europe
3. *János M. Bak* (CEU): *Decreta Regni Medievalis Hungariae*: Progress and Problems of Edition

Two professors of the department presented their papers in two sessions organized by the *Medium Aevum Quotidianum Interna-*



tional Society for Research into the Material Culture of the Middle Ages, with which the department collaborates closely:

I. EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES: METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

(chair: *Gerhard Jaritz*, CEU and Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)

1. *Hans-Werner Goetz* (Hamburg): Methodological Problems of the History of Everyday Life in the Early Middle Ages
2. *Pjotr Suvalov* (Saint Petersburg): Die Rolle des Generationenwechsels in der Kultur und Gesellschaft des frühmittelalterlichen Südosteuropas
3. *Gerhard Jaritz*: Methodological Aspects of the History of Everyday Life in the Late Middle Ages

II. EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES: METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

(chair: *Gerhard Jaritz*)

1. *József Laszlovszky* (CEU): Medieval Daily Life and the Interregionalism of Medieval Culture
2. *Christian Kroetzi* (University of Tampere): Hagiographical Sources and Medieval Everyday Life
3. *Katharina Simon-Muscheid* (University of Basel): Court Records and Everyday Life

BOOK AND DATABASE EXHIBITION

At the congress book exhibition, the Medieval Studies Department represented Steiner Verlag (Frankfurt). In return, Steiner Verlag made a significant donation of books to the CEU Medieval Library. We also purchased and ordered books from various exhibitors at the congress for our library.



INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE SCHOOL

The congress was followed by the International Medieval Graduate School (July 4–8). A course entitled “How to Get Your Work Published” consisted of two-hour classes each morning and afternoon on word-processing software for the medievalist, exercises in writing abstracts and in proofreading, and using the latest computer software and CD-ROMs. A series of seminars and workshops covered topics such as stylesheets and electronic publishing. The school also offered the participants an opportunity to meet publishers and members of editorial boards of journals in medieval studies.

From our department, seven students participated at the graduate school: Gennady Babankov, Anna Kuznetsova, Marina Paramonova (all from Russia), Erik Somelar (Estonia), Jan Stejskal (Czech Republic), Matjaz Vesel (Slovenia), and Viktor Yudin (Ukraine). Participation was intense, and the students from fourteen different countries formed a lively group that intends to remain in contact.

COOPERATION WITH LEEDS

The introduction of the Medieval Studies Department was a success in Leeds: the Center for Medieval Studies was obviously interested in the academic program of its sister institution. Gábor Klaniczay invited the deputy director of CMS, Dr. Simon Forde, to visit our department at the end of September, and to participate in the M.A. thesis defenses. In the course of the visit, the two directors decided to work out a specific agenda concerning closer collaboration between Budapest and Leeds. Four main areas of possible collaboration were discussed:

1. EXTERNAL ADVICE FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The CMS possesses a long tradition of teaching and research experience that can be of assistance in procedures for teaching, structuring, and assessing the M.A. (and later Ph.D.) program.

2. STUDENT EXCHANGES

- a. From the CEU to Leeds for the congress and graduate school: the CMS would offer competitive scholarships for CEU students
- b. Visiting fellowships for CEU students at Ph.D. level at Leeds: non-stipendiary fellowships for up to 12 months, permitting full participation in life at the CMS, full access to library and computing facilities, and the possibility of attending courses at Leeds on a non-credit basis.
- c. From Leeds to the CEU for a three-week study visit for Leeds CMS students, involving some preparatory work on Hungary and Hungarian history, a general introduction to Budapest (the city and its academic resources), an introduction to the CEU (its mission, students and scholarship), and participation in the annual excursion with CEU students.

3. TEACHING EXCHANGES

- a. Hermeneutics and bibliography expertise from Leeds: the CMS could send one person for a one-week intensive introduction to bibliographical resources, including demonstrations of the International Medieval Bibliography (printed and CD-ROM versions), and introductions to computerized searching and the range of bibliographical resources accessible indirectly from Budapest. (The course might fall within Professor Jaritz's course on bibliographies and major source collections, or be treated within the introductory theoretical lectures.)
- b. A CEU course on Central and Eastern European Medieval Studies at the Leeds Graduate School in July, offered to students from around the world.



4. PROMOTION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES
IN THE WEST

- a. A dedicated strand on Central and Eastern European Medieval Studies at the Leeds congress, comprising nine or ten sessions of three speakers, and possibly one keynote speaker.
- b. Course(s) within the International Medieval Graduate School.

The aim of the Leeds-Budapest collaboration is to foster a pan-European approach to medieval studies, to develop opportunities for exchanges and meetings of students and scholars in medieval studies, and finally to assist each institution in enforcing the pre-eminence within their respective regions of the CEU and Leeds among international medieval centers.



STUDENT PARTICIPATION AT CONFERENCES IN POLAND

TIME AND SPACE IN THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES
POZNAŃ, OCTOBER, 1993

Béla Zsolt Szakács

During the 1993/94 academic year, the Medieval Studies Department established contact with several fine scholars in Poland. As a research assistant of the Visual Resources Project, I visited three university centers in Poland between October, 1993 and March, 1994.

In October, 1993, I was able to participate in a conference on Time and Space in the Culture of the Middle Ages (*Zeit und Raum in der Kultur des Mittelalters*) in Poznań organized by the Art History Department of Mickiewicz University. The seminar, held on October 14–15, was the fourteenth annual gathering of medievalists. Participants, most of whom were young scholars, represented several countries: Germany, France, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland. The panel topics included history, philosophy, literature, music and art history.

My paper, "Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes of Hungarian Conventual Churches", dealt with architectural history. Focusing on specific architectural solutions to church constructions, I tried to draw attention to the ambivalence of space which can be observed in the architecture of towers and tribunes on the western part of some Romanesque churches. These spaces, although usually connected to other parts of the church, at the same time preserve their independence. This kind of ambivalence can be explained by the patrons' will to monopolize rooms for their own use, which still, however, remain



within the sacral unit of the church. The materials of the conference were published in the Journal of the Poznań Association of Friends of the Sciences, under the title *Czas i przestrzeń w kulturze średniowiecza* (Poznań, 1994). Natalia Czekolska, a Ph.D. candidate in art history in Poznań, showed great interest in the research projects of our department, and we agreed to cooperate further with regard to the Visual Resources Project.

NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS SELF-IDENTIFICATION
AND THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS
MINORITIES IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE
LUBLIN, OCTOBER, 1993

Béla Zsolt Szakács

In Lublin the recently founded Institute of East-Central Europe organized a meeting on "National and Religious Self-Identification and the Problem of National and Religious Minorities in East-Central Europe". (October 19–21, 1993) The coordinator of the conference, Pawel Kras was one of the first students to graduate from the CEU Medieval Studies department. Participants came from all over East-Central Europe, from Vilnius to Bucharest, Moscow to Zagreb. While the presentations focused mainly on modern regional problems, medieval antecedents and paradigms were also considered. Pawel Kras described "The Image of the Czech in Late Medieval Poland", while I attempted to deconstruct a seemingly "ethnic" collision in thirteenth-century Hungary in my paper, "*Saxones contra Ungaros? A Conflict in Medieval Transylvania*". This region offers valuable instances of construed national identities. I analyzed a case in 1277, when some Saxon nobles and their followers attacked Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and set the cathedral aflame. This event, although of a purely juridical and ecclesiastical origin, was interpreted in the chronicles as an example of the inherent antagonism between the Hungarian and Saxon *nationes*, because by the second half of the thirteenth century the sense of ethnicity had become very popular in Hungarian political thought. The term *Ungarus*, which was used earlier for "*persona, qui de regno Ungariae originem duceret*", from this time on had an ethnic meaning.

These trips to Poland offered an opportunity to become acquainted with photo collections of western and eastern Poland as well. I interviewed the heads of the Inspectorates for Preserving Monuments, as well as the members of the Art History Department in Poznań in order to collect information for our Visual Resources Project, and to gain a sense of their work in establishing an iconographic collection.

This was the purpose of my next journey to Poland (March 2–4, 1994). This time, I visited the Institute of Art History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, where I was able to get a general overview of relevant Polish photo collections, and to use one of the best collections in the archives of the institute's Medieval Department. I was also able to visit the photothèques of the Central Inspectorate for Monument Preservation and the National Museum. All those I spoke to were extremely helpful, so I returned with a wealth of materials and information concerning photographic collections in Poland.

THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL SEMINAR
ORGANIZED BY THE POZNAŃ ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS
OF THE SCIENCES
WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN CULTURE
(OCTOBER 13–15, 1994)

*Adelina Angusheva, Margaret Dimitrova, Maja Petrova
and Stanko Andrić*

The medieval seminar held at the Adam Mickiewicz University was organized by Professor Alicja Karełowska-Kamzowa, an expert on medieval Polish art, and president of the Poznań Association of Friends of the Sciences.

Scholars from different countries, in particular from Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia and Rumania gathered to discuss multidisciplinary topics concerning women in medieval Europe. Lectures were given in Polish, English and German. Seven

students of the CEU's Medieval Studies Department presented papers.

The opening lectures were given by professor Jacek Wiesiołowski, who outlined various roles and the significance of women in the culture of medieval Poland, and Father Marek Starowieyski SJ, who distinguished between a negative attitude towards women attributed to classical and Old Testament tradition, and a positive one based on New Testament ideas. He pointed out that there was no differentiation between male and female sanctity in early Christianity, and that women often displayed characteristics which would be described as "male" in later periods.

The image and representation of the Virgin Mary in literature and iconography was the topic of three papers. Joanna Chodor examined the frequency of references to the Virgin Mary in the chronicles of Nestor, Thietmar, Cosmas and the Gall Anonymus, and also dealt with the cult of the Virgin attested in these sources – her feasts, the churches dedicated to her, and texts of prayers addressed to her. The visual representation of the Holy Virgin was analysed in the papers given by J. Butlewska "Botticelli's *Madonna del Magnificat* – an Iconographic Novelty or a Woman's Portrait in the Spirit of the Times?", and by Irmgard Siede's "Zum Typ der *Nahrenden Mutter im 12. Jahrhundert*", who presented the iconographic motif – *Maria lactans* – with the help of a great amount of comparative visual material, including classical parallels.

The cult of women saints in the Middle Ages was another important topic discussed in several panels. Izabella Skierska analysed the feasts of women saints in medieval Polish synodal legislation, and described the emergence of the cult of St. Hedwig. Problems of the literary tradition of women saints were discussed in three papers presented by CEU students: Adelina Angusheva interpreted the motif of Saint Thecla sitting at the window and listening to Saint Paul; Margaret Dimitrova examined alterations of the earliest *vita* of Mary of Egypt; Maja Petrova traced the appearance and development of a particular type of hagiographic collection, which included only women saints' *vitae*, and examined these lives in the light of the social and cultural changes which occurred in the position of women in late Byzantium. Two other CEU students also dealt with hagiography, but from a different point of view. Stanko Andrić discussed methodological questions concerning women's devotion to saints apparent in medieval collections of miracles. Zsombor Jékely interpreted the narrative cycles of the lives of St. Margaret and St. Catherine in the wall-

paintings of fourteenth-century Transylvanian village churches. Ewa Krawiecka described the way in which the image of Mary Magdalene became a symbol where the sacred and the profane joined together in medieval culture.

Several papers concentrated on problems related to royal and aristocratic women. Professor Wojciech Iwańczak examined the role and influence of Elizabeth Piaszt, daughter of Przemysł II, in the politics and culture of her times. Katarzyna Szyfer interpreted medieval notions of good and evil female rulers as reflected in Długosz's *Annales*. T. Jurek talked about marriages of wandering knights. Constantin Ittu, another CEU student, examined the destinies of three refugee princesses from Wallachia to Sibiu. Ryszard Grzesik, also from the CEU and a native of Poznań, explained that the image of the Polish princess Adelaide – allegedly a wife of the Hungarian duke Géza and mother of King Stephen – was probably an invention of the author of the Polish-Hungarian chronicle.

Papers dealing with the cultural role of women were interesting and provocative. Barbara Marczuk showed that Marguerite of Navarre's (1492–1549) religious poetry and especially her image of the Holy Virgin was strongly influenced by the mysticism and new piety of the age. Katarzyna Dybel explained the hidden meaning behind the stereotype of the "*dame cortoise*" ("a goddess or a slave") in French romance and court poetry. Barbara Kornacka examined the artistic circle inspired and cultivated by Anne of Brittany.

At the close of the seminar, the participants were invited to a thoroughly enjoyable excursion. We visited the medieval nunnery of Strzelno, where Romanesque pillars can be seen with the allegories of the Sins and Virtues; the cathedral and the historical museum of Gniezno, housing a remarkable manuscript collection – among others, a Latin Gospel from 800 AD. –, and the Cistercian monastery of Owieńska.

The next Poznań seminar will investigate the representation of Jerusalem in medieval literature and art.





The Department of Medieval Studies is an interdisciplinary center of post-graduate education and research located in the Budapest campus of the Central European University. It gathers students from all over Europe who are interested in studying the medieval past. This volume offers a glimpse into the life of the department in the 1993-94 academic year. The students' research essays demonstrate the work conducted under the supervision of an international faculty, while the conferences, public lectures and scholarly excursions illustrate the broad range of the department's activities.

