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Edited by
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Cover Illustration
Chinese imari porcelain fragment from the archaeological site of Teleki Palace,
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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori Salutem!

The CEU Medieval Studies Department is happy to share Volume 23 of its *Annual*. The contents cover activities and events of the academic year 2015–2016.

As usual, the first block presents articles based on successful MA theses completed by students in the one-year Medieval Studies program and in the joint two-year program of the Medieval Studies and History departments. Also as usual, the times and places addressed range widely – from the early medieval Carolingian Empire to late medieval Bosnia. The topics are equally varied, covering topics as diverse as burial practices for social deviants, networking through writing letters, and the role of religious customs in political behavior. These articles are more than description; each one undertakes to explain the reasons for behavior in a case study on the Middle Ages using information about the past from written documents, historic artifacts, or archaeological excavations.

The second group of articles is the result of a conference held jointly with ELTE (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) that reveal the perennial scholarly fascination with medieval Asia. The articles were authored by students from ELTE, CEU, Konstantin Golev, fellow at the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia (Bulgaria), and students visiting CEU from China, a welcome novelty in this group.

Continuing a practice started in 2015, we offer three prize-winning papers on medieval topics that were presented at a conference for undergraduates, "Faith and Power," held from August 4 to 7, 2016, organized jointly by the departments of Medieval Studies and History.

The last group of papers was authored by faculty and graduates of CEU's newly accredited two-year Cultural Heritage Studies Program, which is closely associated with the Medieval Studies Department. The article by József Laszlovszky and Karen Stark discusses the archaeological cultural heritage site of a medieval Cistercian monastery's glass production workshop. Three of the papers are based on the thesis research of these (now former) students; each of them exemplifies the diversity of the field. In addition, Zsombor Jékely provides the art-historical context of a new work by department member Béla Zsolt Szakács that is the first volume in a new publication series on Central European cultural heritage.

The *Annual* would not be complete without information on the academic activities of the department. A list of the recent publications of the members of the department is included. The Head's Report (by Daniel Ziemann) narrates the

story of the department in the academic year 2015/16. István Perczel provides a fascinating account of his work on manuscript material from the St. Thomas Christians of India. Their archives preserve many items that were unknown or known only by title, a true academic treasure. Of course we include abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations defended this year in the department.

In conclusion, we thank all of our contributors for their diligent work in preparing their articles in a timely manner. This publication would not be possible without the persistence and multi-tasking abilities of Kyra Lyublyanovics, editorial assistant, to whom we offer a multitude of thanks. Archaeolingua Press, with its skilled text and graphics' editors, once again came through brilliantly for us and we thank them most sincerely.

PART 1

Articles and Studies

A TALE OF TWO GRAVES: RETHINKING THE MEDIEVAL REUSE OF PREHISTORIC BURIAL MOUNDS IN MADARA

Petar Parvanov 📥

Introduction

Dealing with time is tricky business as literature and cinema, as well as the achievements of physics and philosophy, constantly remind us. Archaeological remains are a tangible connection to a past that is in a complex dialogue with the present. At the multi-period archaeological site of Madara in northeastern Bulgaria distinctive burial customs were used in different periods. A combination of wide-ranging archaeological data, historical sources, and theoretical concepts suggest how evidence for past mortuary behavior fits into a story of the site and the region.[1] Of particular interest here is an example of a so-called deviant burial, defined as a form of body disposal and (mal)treatment that is different from the normative *burial* ritual of a particular period, region and/or cemetery.

Set in Stone: A Monumental Site

It would be a fair statement that the site of Madara is the cradle of Bulgarian medieval archaeology, especially for the early medieval period. The area is dominated by the distinctive Madara plateau, with vertical cliffs up to 120 m above its surroundings, and with heritage from many periods. From prehistoric barrows, an Iron Age settlement, and ancient Nymphaeum to a Byzantine fortress on top, human activity shaped a truly historic landscape through many periods.

By far the most recognized feature is the so-called Madara Rider carved into the cliffs. In a highly ideological manner, this rock relief depicts a man on a horse, followed by a dog, hunting a lion. This hunting scene is accompanied by several historical inscriptions in Greek referring to major Bulgar victories, suggesting dates between the seventh and ninth century. The interpretations of the imagery tend to link it to the cult of Tangra and the royal power of the Bulgar khans.[2] The image is so influential that it was recognized as a World Heritage Site by

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[1] This article is based on Petar Parvanov, "Medieval Deviant Burials from Bulgaria," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

[2] For the most detailed and recent account on the complex, see Velina Dimitrova, "Zeugnisse der Kunst und Kultur der Protobulgaren aus der heidnischen Periode des

UNESCO and is reproduced on the reverse side of contemporary Bulgarian coins from 1 to 50 stotinki. The monument shows how the area has formed cultural understandings of landscapes for hundreds of years. There is no doubt that it was the visibility of the monument that led archaeologists to begin excavations here.

A monumental early medieval complex was unearthed, which is believed to have served as a state cult center. The main temple building has a rectangular plan with an inner rectangular hall and water reservoir. The architectural layout is similar to other known Bulgar temples, notably the ones at nearby Pliska.[3] After the residents converted to Christianity, a church was built on top of it. To the north lies another complex of four buildings adjusted to the rocks. Hall 2 is especially indicative of the cult character; it is a massive enclosure around a rock that served as a platform, modified with features to support stairs.[4] This, together with the geographic location of the site in the core territories of the First Bulgarian Tsardom close to the political centers Pliska and Preslav, suggests Madara's significant influence and importance.

Beyond the Rock: Mortuary Activity on the Periphery

In the 1930s, an area north of the site was registered and a necropolis of six tumuli was excavated.[5] The mounds, with undisturbed views towards the plateau, are around 4 m high and the largest has a maximum diameter of 22 m. A number of prehistoric burials has been discovered in crouched positions, often painted with red ochre. Grave goods suggest a likely dating to the Bronze Age. The general plan of the necropolis is unclear, but secondary burials in two of the mounds are particularly important because they show that even in medieval times the mounds were recognized as cultural landscape features.

Ersten Bulgarishen Reiches (7.–9. Jh.). Wesen. Ursprung. Parallelen," PhD dissertation (Freie Universität Berlin, 2007), 131–143, 178–204.

[3] [Rasho Rashev] Рашо Рашев, *Българската езическа култура VII–IX век* [Bulgar pagan culture from the seventh to ninth century] (Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2008), 135.

[4] Géza Fehér, *A bolgár-török műveltség emlékei és magyar őstörténeti vonatkozásaik* [Bulgar-Turkic monuments and their significance in early Hungarian history] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1931), 68; [Krastyo Miyatev] Кръстю Миятев, *Архитектурата в средновековна България* [Architecture in medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarski Akademija Nauka [BAN], 1965), 74.

[5] [Vasil Mikov] Василъ Миковъ, "Последни могилни находки" [Last tumula finds], *Мадара* 1 (1934): 429–438. Unless specified otherwise, the archaeological analysis here uses his descriptive account.

The Horseman...

Mound 3 was 20 m in diameter and 2 m high. Five graves date to the prehistoric period but the sixth one is an outstanding find in the complex in terms of its dating and inventory. The burial designated as Grave 5 was excavated in the northern half of the mound. A seemingly young male was interred in an extended supine position, oriented north-south. An articulated horse skeleton with the same orientation was placed on top of the human remains.

A gold buckle and a bone plaque were found on the east (right-hand) side of the skeleton. On the man's pelvis, ten golden appliqué elements from a belt lay in situ. The appliqués are round or ellipsoid in shape and are decorated with blue glass inlays. Lower on the body, four belt tips in the same style remain, probably from the hanging belt straps. A thin copper plaque was found in the center of the pelvis, perhaps replacing the belt buckle.[6] Further, a flint fire striker and an iron knife were attached to the belt. The horse harness was decorated with similar metal plaques, one of which was on the horse's forehead. A date of the mid-seventh century has been determined based on analogies with European steppe material with a similar decorative technique.[7]

The lavish funerary rite (seen in the deposition of a horse) and especially the belt find made of precious material led archaeologists to ascribe elite warrior status to the deceased. Judging by the grave layout and the kind of grave goods, there are a number of possible analogies. The best known is perhaps the middle-Avar period grave from Targsor, which contained skinned horse remains and a decorated belt.[8] A recent find near Kabiyuk from the early eighth century is another interesting parallel, a young adult male's grave containing horse remains and a variety of artifacts, including a belt and a saber. Unlike Targsor, Kabiyuk is just a few kilometers away from Madara and furthermore, the burial was beneath a mound.[9] This shows a structural similarity to commonly reused cultural landscape features.

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[6] [Rasho Rashev] Рашо Рашев, *Прабългарите през V–VII век* [Protobulgarians in the fifth to seventh centuries] (Sofia: Orbel, 2005), 176.

[7] Uwe Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1992), 522.

[8] G. Diaconu and P. Diaconu, "Tombe de cavalier du VIIe siècle découverte à Tîrgşor," *Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie* [*SCIV*] 13 (1962): 165–171.

[9] [Rasho Rashev, Stanislav Stanilov, and Stanimir Stoychev] Рашо Рашев, Станислав Станилов, Станимир Стойчев, *Кабиюк. Ранносредновековен могилен комплекс* [Kabiyuk: An early medieval mound complex] (Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2014).

The style of the belt from Grave 5, Mound 3 resembles the Malaya Pereshchepina artifact type, but it is the association with burial mounds that is the strongest link to funerary practices from the lands north of the Black Sea in the sixth and seventh centuries.[10] The secondary burial into an earlier, mostly Bronze Age, tumulus is the unifying feature for the monuments of the Sivashovka group.[11] Grave 5 from Mound 3 in Madara is usually seen as the material remains of the early Bulgar warrior elite on the Lower Danube and a link between the cultures of the Danubian Khanate and the Old Great Bulgaria of Kubrat. Going beyond marking archaeological cultures and tracing ethnic groups, burial in mounds is an important and widely accepted form of mortuary behavior. Furthermore, this particular practice was applied to recognizable mortuary landscape features, which doubtlessly took on spiritual and ideological meanings. This is not to say that the warrior grave and the hunting rock relief are directly related; rather, the coincidence between high-status funerary activity and venerated social space must be acknowledged.

…and the Headless

Another secondary burial was discovered in the tumular necropolis in Madara by Vassil Mikov during his excavations there. Mound 1 is the southernmost mound in the necropolis and at the time of the expedition it had the greatest preserved size with a diameter of 24 m and a height of 3.6 m. From the four burials in the mound, Grave 2 demonstrates deviant burial characteristics.

The burial is located in the southeastern section of the mound, not far from its center. It was found approximately 0.6 m under ground. No grave goods were recovered and the skeleton was identified as belonging to an adult individual. It is oriented east-west and the skull was placed on the right humerus, close to the clavicle, according to the most acceptable field drawing (the skull was oriented north-south). Typologically, this find belongs to a group of supine decapitations with the skull present but displaced. Additionally, the legs were probably tied as the tibiae and fibulae lay on top of each other. The position of the legs and the skull cannot be attributed to external disturbance and indicate intentional practice.

The skeleton from Grave 2 in Mound 1 illustrates some of the recurrent problems in the study of deviant burial customs. Scientific methods for absolute dating are critical because of the absence of grave goods. At the time of the excavations, however, such methods were not available and today they are often

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[10] Rashev, *Прабългарите*, 176–178.
[11] Ibid., 91.

too expensive for finds considered less significant. In the specific case of Madara, the current whereabouts of the skeleton itself are unknown.

Nonetheless, some argument about the relative dating of the burial can be offered based on other instances of decapitation. Deviant burials in communal burial grounds were likely to follow the normative orientation, especially after conversion to Christianity. A sample of thirty-two decapitations from twenty archaeological sites in Bulgaria seems to follow this pattern.[12] Therefore, the east-west orientation of the grave probably signifies that this burial took place after the conversion in the mid-ninth century. Another feature of the rite that can be used for dating is the placement of the skull. The two most similar examples date from the tenth to the twelfth century. The earlier one is Grave 55 from Batin-1.[13] There, in the apparently Christian grave of an adult male, the skull of another individual lay beneath the right clavicle. The later one is an infant grave from Kovachevo, in which the skull was placed in prone position, again on top of the right clavicle.[14] Available evidence suggests that dating the deviant burial at Madara to between the tenth and twelfth century is problematic but plausible.

Deviant burial rites, such as decapitation, can be understood as cultural practices diverging from the recognized standard which also applies to the interpretation of archaeological finds. Reinterpreting deviant burials in legal terms as the physical manifestation of judicial practice is well grounded.[15] Law enforcement does not exclude ritual from the burials of criminals and wrong-doers. In my understanding, ritualized behavior exercised by the authorities reflects their power, sometimes in a purely physical sense. In such a case, the symbolism will be more transparent and often applies reversed performative strategies focusing on maltreatment and exclusion. Prone position, decapitation, tied limbs, and dismemberment can be recognized as markers of deviant social behavior and a negative mode of death, probably execution.[16] Accepting the relative dating

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[12] Parvanov, "Medieval Deviant Burials from Bulgaria," 53–61.

[13] [Dimitar Stanchev] Димитър Станчев, "Прабългарски компоненти в погребалния обряд и инвентара на ранносредновековните некрополи в Русенско" [Protobulgarian features in the funerary ritual and inventory in the early medieval necropoleis in the area of Ruse Province], *Проблеми на прабългарската история и култура* 1 (1989): 243–248.

[14] [Peyo Gatev] Пейо Гатев, *Средновековно селище и некропол от 12 век при с. Ковачево, Пазарджишки окръг* [A medieval village and cemetery from the twelfth century near Kovachevo, Pazardzhik district] (Sofia: National Archaeological Museum, 1985).

[15] For a comparative perspective see the proceedings of the symposium held in Bordeaux on February 8–10, 2017: *(Re)lecture archéologique de la justice en Europe médiévale et moderne,* Scripta Medievalia (Bordeaux: Ausonius Editions, forthcoming).

[16] Parvanov, "Medieval Deviant Burials from Bulgaria," 96.

highlights the isolated character of the burial in Madara: there is an overall drop in the number of known deviant burials from the eleventh century,[17] most of which come from archaeologically known communal burial grounds. Therefore, the case of decapitation from Madara suggests law-enforcement activity.

Ancestors in Texts?

Perhaps the Madara area remained important in local memory and served as a space with elite association and a potential assembly site away from the urban or ecclesiastical centers of the time. Some hints in that direction can be found in the text of the apocryphal Anonymous Bulgarian Chronicle, dated to the eleventh century. The text describes the time of the legendary Tsar Slav who led the Bulgarian people to populate the lands abandoned by the Romans and Hellenes. The narrative specifically reflects the first imagined ruler's connection to mounds as landscape features: "and this tsar made a hundred mounds in the Bulgarian land. Then they gave him the name 'the hundred-mound tsar.' In those years there was an abundance of everything. And there were a hundred mounds in his tsardom."[18]

The written evidence reveals that by the eleventh century these monuments were believed to be an unbroken link to a period from the past inhabited by glorious leaders who performed heroic deeds. It is possible that precisely such an awareness facilitated the site selection for deviant burials. It is hard to claim identification with any particular historical or imagined individual on the local level, but the unifying figure of Tsar Slav may come from diverse oral histories.

For the pagan period between the seventh and mid-ninth century, the *Nominalia of Bulgarian Khans* underpins ideological interest in tracing genealogies.[19] In this historical account the individual rulers are listed according to their ancestral house or clan and time in power. Thus, after the members of the charismatic Dulo clan, the supreme power shifted among the competing houses of Ermi, Vokil, and Ugain. This is also connected to one of the inscriptions at Madara that

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[17] Ibid., 39–71.

[18] "И този цар сътвори сто могили в земята българска. Тогава му дадоха име — стомогилен цар. В тези години имаше обилие от всичко. И имаше сто могили в неговото царство." Translation in [Donka Petkanova] Донка Петканова, *Стара българска литература. Апокрифи* [Old Bulgarian Literature. Apocrypha] (Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1982).

[19] Antoaneta Granberg, "Transferred in Translation: Making a State in Early Medieval Bulgarian Genealogies," *Slavica Helsengiensia* 35 (2008): 57.

refers to the Kuber lineage, the uncles of the khan living in nearby Thessaloniki.[20] Political life and social structure were probably kin-based at the time and required ancestral legitimization over land and power.

Still, the picture is not so straightforward. First, the historical sources differ in their textual style, purpose, and date. Additionally, they should not be automatically equated to the archaeological remains. They confirm, however, a purposeful interest in a previous historical age at a time when the Bronze Age tumuli in Madara were reused for funerary activity. Ancestor worship among the medieval Bulgar(ian)s and the conceptual/spatial differences between ancestral burial and veneration, remains understudied, but one can see an attempt to transplant the buried individuals into an imagined past.[21]

Transforming Landscapes

The cultural biography of the prehistoric site of Madara can be summarized in the following sequence. The six tumuli were raised and used for burials in the Bronze Age. They remained largely undisturbed during the Iron and Romano-Byzantine Ages when settlement and ritual activity intensified on the nearby plateau and its immediate vicinity. Then, in the mid-seventh century, one of the tumuli was reused as the burial place of an individual who seems to have been a nomad warrior. Later the mounds remained peripheral in a landscape surrounding a major pagan cult center. Sometime between the tenth and the twelfth century, Madara was once again selected for the disposal of a decapitated and probably bound body. The reintroduction of mortuary activity into the earthen monuments can be interpreted as framing the early medieval complex in Madara.

The early high-status burial immediately preceded the emergence and flourishing of the Madara complex. In contrast, the low-status deviant burial (decapitation) may come from the second Byzantine (Christian) period following the decline of Madara. It looks like an execution burial, thus having a *peri mortem* low status, which was not necessarily the case throughout the person's life. The human remains from two funerary events served as material references connecting

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[20] [Veselin Beshevliev] Веселин Бешевлиев, Прабългарски епиграфски паметници [Protobulgarian epigraphic monuments] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia front, 1981), 56–57.
[21] James Whitley, "Too Many Ancestors," *Antiquity* 76 (2002): 122–125; see also the collection of essays in Erica Hill and Jon B. Hageman, eds., *The Archaeology of Ancestors: Death, Memory, and Veneration* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016).

past, present, and future through social memory in a mortuary context.[22] These references were not inevitably intentional. Nonetheless, the juxtaposition of diverse non-normative burial practices from different ages signifies the continuing importance of the mounds in the collective memory of the space.

The contrast between the ancestral elite association of the mounds exemplified by the early Bulgar burial and the introduction of deviant burial practices to the site was not random. The tumuli of the necropolis remained visible markers of decreasing political importance in the landscape. In the late ninth or tenth century the cult center lost its pagan character and the political center shifted further away, to Preslav. Later, the region became peripheral for both the Bulgarian and Byzantine states. Perhaps these burial activities aimed at a purposeful transformation of the ascribed meaning.

Similar changing mortuary landscapes are known, for instance, from Anglo-Saxon archaeology; the most telling example is the well-known site of Sutton Hoo. This necropolis is recognized as a royal burial ground with rich funerary deposits from the sixth and seventh centuries. On Mound 5 and on the eastern periphery of the complex, two groups of inhumation burials are recorded. Group 1 has been cited as evidence for human sacrifice among the Anglo-Saxons, but the evidence is far from conclusive.[23] Group 2, associated with Mound 5, is clearly an execution cemetery, an observation further confirmed by the identification of gallows' postholes on the mound.[24] The beginnings of the two groups are dated approximately to the seventh century, but Group 2 continued until the tenth century as shown by radiocarbon dates.[25]

A rich grave adhering to the custom and tradition of newly arriving nomad groups marked the beginnings of Madara as a high-status pagan site. Much later, it was selected as an appropriate location for the disposal (and possibly execution) of an unwanted individual. The original burial monuments (the mounds) were constructed and used to memorialize social identity, power, and political authority. It was precisely this aspect of mounds as a long-term message that was used by later and different elites to reinforce their empowered position.

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[22] Howard Williams, "Viking Mortuary Citations," *European Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 3 (2016): 400–401.

[23] Andrew Reynolds, "Anglo-Saxon Human Sacrifice at Cuddlestone and Sutton Hoo?" *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 7 (1996): 24–28.

[24] Andrew Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 133.

[25] Ibid., 132–134.

The deviant burial played a double role. On one hand, continuity in terms of public space is evident; on the other hand, the strategy of power representation is different. To some extent, the outcasts of the present were used to reject the leaders of the past by creating a symbolic connection between them in the landscape. In this sense, the burials at Madara can be understood as physical markers of two long-term processes. The first one was the integration of Bulgarian lands into the Christian world. Arguably, the second one was the incorporation of the former Bulgarian core territory into Byzantine provincial governance following the military efforts of John I Tzimiskes (969–976) and Basil II (976–1025).

Conclusion

Madara is important for the archaeological understanding of the medieval period in Bulgaria. This is so, however, only because of choices made by people who lived long ago and continuously engaged with the space surrounding them. This fairly simple statement has complex implications. The prehistoric mortuary landscape shaped the physical realities and imagined pasts. The cultural biographies of these monuments support the conclusion that early medieval societies were involved with their heritage (and ours) in multiple ways. Two finds, two funerary events set centuries apart, seem to apply similar logic of mortuary behavior for very different ends. A deviant burial from a probable execution on one hand, and an elite warrior burial on the other, frame the early medieval landscape of Madara. The first evokes the rise of a new social system championed by the pagan Bulgars and the latter indicates its transformation and perhaps its disavowal.

MEASURING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
ENNODIUS OF PAVIA:
AN INITIAL SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

Daniel K. Knox

The sixth-century writer and bishop, Ennodius of Pavia (fl. c. 473-521), maintained an extensive social network throughout northern and central Italy in the early sixth century.[1] Ennodius was what Patrick Amory has labeled a "regional aristocrat."[2] Pavia was removed from the power centers of Ostrogothic Italy: Ravenna and Rome. While Ennodius had ties to the distinguished Annicii clan he was not a member of one of its senatorial branches. Ennodius sought social status through church office rather than the civil administration of the Ostrogothic kingdom. Despite his position on the periphery, this regional aristocrat maintained strong social ties with important members of the dominant senatorial families, in particular the exalted Fl. Anicius Probus Faustus iunior Niger. Faustus iunior Niger was a high-profile senator in Rome, an important civil servant in the Ostrogothic court, and a prominent supporter of Pope Symmachus in the contested papal election of 498.[3] Faustus, as his name suggests, was a member of the powerful and widespread Anicii clan; through this group he was loosely related to Ennodius. Among his contacts, Ennodius could count seven who had held a consulship between 493 and 510. The social world of Ennodius has been preserved in part by his surviving collection of 297 letters, which was circulated posthumously along with examples of his poetic and hagiographic works.[4] Because the letter collection was circulated after Ennodius's death by an unknown individual, it is difficult to ascribe any authorial intent behind the collection to Ennodius himself

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[1] Ennodius became bishop of Pavia in 514 having previously been a deacon in the churches of Pavia and Milan. This article is based on my MA thesis: Daniel K. Knox, "Trading Letters: A Network Analysis of Ennodius of Pavia's Letter Collection (A.D. 500–513)," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016). I would like to thank my supervisors, Marianne Sághy and Volker Menze, for their support and feedback. Thanks are also due to Ralph Mathisen for his critiques and suggestions and to Karen Stark for her assistance in editing.

[2] Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Xvi – xvii.

[3] J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 454–6 (henceforth PLRE 2).

[4] See Stefanie A. H. Kennell, "Ennodius and his Editors," *Classica et Mediaevelia* 51 (2000): 251–270.

beyond the decision to retain copies of these letters.[5] What can be inferred from the letters is the extent to which Ennodius was engaged in the elite social world of early sixth-century Rome and this in turn may provide some insight into why this group of letters was preserved. Certainly, the remaining 297 letters represent only a fraction of Ennodius's correspondence between 500 and 513, the period from which the collected letters date. Interestingly, all of the letters date to the period immediately prior to Ennodius becoming bishop of Pavia in 514. Stefanie A. H. Kennell has argued that the chronological order and haphazard placement of Ennodius's letters among his works in the manuscript editions could indicate that the extant collection was initially collated by Ennodius, but he did not edit it formally for circulation.[6]

This study is a network analysis of Ennodius's letters focusing on the concepts of "centrality" and "betweenness" in Ennodius's network. I will compare these measurements with an analysis of the volumes of correspondence that Ennodius sent to the actors in his collection. I wish to illustrate broad trends within the letter collection and to show the usefulness of network analysis in understanding Ennodius's social world. While the trends that I will illustrate might be inferred from a textual analysis, network analysis makes it possible to examine the structure of Ennodius's social network in greater detail and with greater precision. What I will show is that Ennodius's social network centered on a distinct cluster of sixth-century senators; chief amongst them was the important Faustus iunior Niger. Ennodius maintained his ties to these individuals along multiple paths, ensuring the success of his social interactions with this group. Ennodius's letters to elite individuals have been seen as possible justifications for his letter collection's existence.[7] However, Ennodius's position within this network is also worthy of consideration as a motivation behind the letters in the collection.

Methodology

Before plunging headfirst into the social world of Ennodius it will help to define what a social network is and the terms used to describe the data that social network analysis works with. According to Mark Newman: "A network is, in its simplest form, a collection of points joined together in pairs by lines. In the jargon of

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[5] Richard Bartlett, "The Dating of Ennodius' Writings," in *Atti Della Seconda Giornata Ennodiana*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo (Naples: Dipartimento di Filogia Classica dell Universita degli studi di Napoli Federico 2, 2003), 55–74.

[6] Kennell, "Ennodius and his Editors," 286–70.

[7] Ibid., 259.

the field the points are referred to as *vertices* or *nodes* and the lines are referred to as *edges*."[8] While vertices, nodes, and edges are suitable terms for describing the workings of a metro system or the internet they have a dehumanizing effect for networks of people. Sociologists use a separate set of terms than other network analysts due to the human nature of their subjects. In place of vertices and nodes sociologists refer to *actors*; the edges that link the actors of a network are referred to as *ties*.[9] As this work focuses on human subjects and draws on the methodology of sociology, from this point on I will refer exclusively to actors and ties. Social networks are networks of people. The actors of the network represent individuals or groups of people, while the ties represent social interactions or relationships between actors.[10] Two types of data may be gleaned from social situations: *attribute* and *relational* data. Attribute data pertain to the: "attitudes, opinions and behavior of agents [actors] so far as these are regarded as the properties, qualities or characteristics that belong to them as individuals or groups."[11] Relational data are the relationships, contacts, and interactions that bind actors together – represented by the ties of a network.[12] John Scott proposes that relational data is the kind most suited to the techniques of social network analysis, geared as it is to the study of social interactions.[13]

An "affiliation matrix" that records all of the actors and ties in Ennodius's network lies behind the graphs. A brief description of the matrix and its relationship to the graphs in this paper is warranted to clarify the methodology of this study and to situate it correctly in the context of network analysis.[14] The affiliation matrix that lies behind the graphs here is a "square" matrix. This means that each axis of the matrix contains the same set of variables – in this case the names of the individuals who received and are mentioned in the letters of Ennodius. This type of matrix is used to express the affiliations that individuals share – rather than "rectangular" matrices, which are used to measure qualities that characterize the individuals.[15] UCINET, a network analysis software program, has been used to analyze the data collected in my affiliation matrix and to produce

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[8] Mark E. J. Newman, *Networks: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 15.

[9] Newman, *Networks*, 36.

[10] Newman, *Networks*, 36.

[11] John Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), 3.

[12] Ibid., 3.

[13] Newman, *Networks*, 3–5.

[14] A more thorough discussion of the methodologies and theory of social network analysis can be found in Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 11–98.

[15] See Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 41–52.

the series of graphs that are presented here.[16] It is important to stress that what is important in these graphs are the patterns rather than the physical positions of the actors and the length of the lines that represent the ties between them. UCINET arranges the position of the actors and ties to present the information in a clear manner and therefore the physical distances depicted are of no consequence.[17]

In the following graphs the ties depicted between actors represent two intended acts of communication carried out by Ennodius: the epistolary action of sending a letter to an individual and the secondary act of mentioning a third party in a letter. Each type of action was tallied as they occurred in the letter collection and where an individual was the recipient of a letter from Ennodius the existence of a tie between the two was noted in the affiliation matrix. In the case of individuals mentioned by Ennodius to the recipient of a letter a tie was indicated between the third party mentioned and the recipient of the letter. I did not indicate ties between Ennodius and the mentioned individuals as in these cases it was unclear as to whether or not a relationship actually existed between them. The act of mentioning an individual in a letter was aimed at the recipients of Ennodius's letters, often for the purpose of establishing a relationship or invoking its existence. On reflection, this is one element of my methodology that will need to be refined in further studies. In this study I was primarily interested in the existence or absence of ties between actors. This is not the first time that Ennodius's network has been mapped; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller has produced a visualization of Ennodius's wider network as a part of the *Topographies of Entanglements* project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.[18] The model that I will present here differs from Preiser-Kapeller's as it is based solely on the evidence of Ennodius's letters. Individuals that are not mentioned in Ennodius's correspondence have not been mapped in this analysis and I have not inferred relationships from other sources.

Another key issue with reconstructing Ennodius's social network from his preserved letter collection is that the record of his correspondence is incomplete. This means that only an incomplete model of his social world can be constructed. While Ennodius's letter collection of 297 letters may only represent a small

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[16] Lin Borgatti, Martin Everett, and Steve Freeman, *UCINET 6 for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis* (Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies, 2002).

[17] Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 64–69.

[18] Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "Extended 'Ego-Network' of Magnus Felix Ennodius (473/475-521 CE), Bishop, of Pavia", online publication (2010): https://www.academia.edu/2764097/Extended_Ego-Network_of_Magnus_Felix_Ennodius_473_475-521_CE_Bishop_of_Pavia.
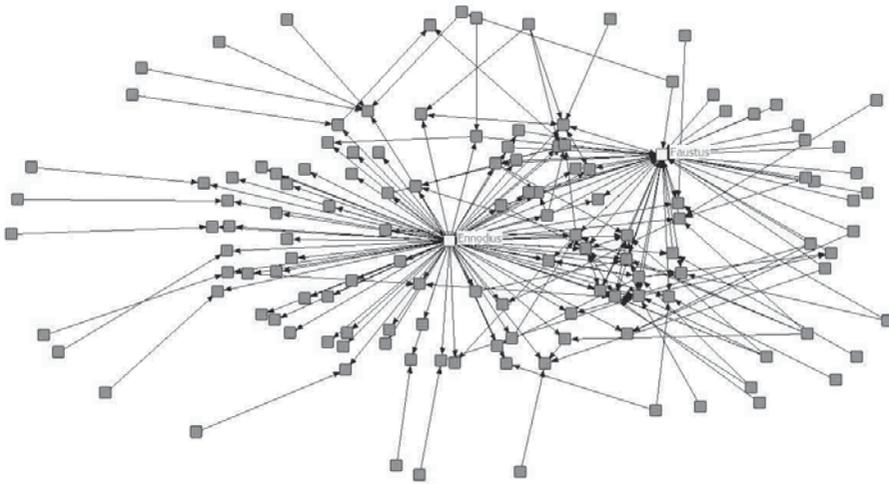
Fig. 1. Broad trends in Ennodius's network, with Ennodius at the center

portion of his correspondence this is still a significant enough sample size considering that for many letter writers only a handful of letters remain – such as the collections of Caesarius of Arles and Faustus of Riez. All models of ancient societies suffer from the problem of incomplete evidence. My goal here is to analyze a representative model of Ennodius's social network. Ennodius did not edit his letter collection for circulation as did other late-antique authors of letter collections such as Sidonius Apollinaris in Gaul or Cassiodorus in Italy (*Fig. 1*).[19]

General Trends in the Letter Collection

Fig. 1 is a graph of Ennodius's letter collection as represented by his ties to his correspondents and their ties to each other. Apart from Ennodius himself – centrally located in the graph – the actors depicted are the individual recipients of Ennodius's correspondence as well as individuals mentioned in the correspondence. The network can be divided into several parts. Starting at the periphery there is an outer ring of actors who are loosely connected to the rest of the network – mostly via a single connection each. These are individuals Ennodius mentioned in his letters, but they lack any further ties to the network. On each side of Ennodius there are two inner clusters. On the left side of the graph is a weaker cluster

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[19] Kennel, "Ennodius and his Editors," 268.

containing actors with between two and three ties to the rest of the network. On the right side of the graph is a stronger cluster containing several actors with many connections. Importantly, this cluster lies between the two centers of the graph: Ennodius and Faustus. This is a zone of high connectivity.

Fig. 1 shows several broad trends. There is a total of 133 actors in the network. Ennodius is the center of the network. He has visible ties radiating out to 87 actors in the network – these are level 1 ties representing letters sent by Ennodius. Ennodius is also tied to the remaining 46 actors in the network with ties that have been deliberately left out of this graph; I have not included ties from Ennodius to individuals that he mentions in the letters. Ennodius has a visible centrality of 0.65 within the network, which is a high score and is to be expected given Ennodius's status. If one considers the ties to individuals mentioned in his letters but not represented in the graph, Ennodius's centrality increases to 1 because he is tied to all of the individuals in the network. This figure makes Ennodius statistically irrelevant in his network – as the source of all the communication it is not important that he is tied to all of the individuals in the network. What is significant is that he is only tied directly to two-thirds of the actors, which shows that Ennodius's network was bigger than the sum of his letters.

Centrality

Centrality is the extent to which an individual actor is tied to the other actors in a network. An actor with many ties to other actors in a network has a high degree of centrality compared to actors who have few ties across the network. Here I will examine both undirected and directed centrality. Undirected centrality is the sum of all of an actor's ties relative to all of the possible ties in a network. Directed centrality takes two measurements into account: in-degree and out-degree, i.e., acts of communication that an actor is the recipient of versus acts of communication that extend out from the actor (such as being mentioned in a letter to another actor). These measures provide a means of comparing the relative importance of individuals within a network and identifying which actors are the most important for the functioning of the network. Centrality is calculated by identifying the number of other actors that an actor is tied to and comparing this as a ratio to the total number of actors within a network. I will not be considering Ennodius in this evaluation. As he is tied to all of the actors in the network he has a degree of centrality of 1.0 – this score is trivial because as the source of all of the acts of communication in the letter collection Ennodius must be connected to all of the other actors.

Using UCINET I have calculated the centrality scores for all of the actors in the network. The highest possible score is 1.0. *Fig. 2* presents a comparison of centrality of the top 12 actors in the network.[20]

Undirected and Directed Network Centrality			
Actor	Undirected	In-degree	Out-degree
Faustus	0.37	0.28	0.098
Eugenes	0.1	0.038	0.068
Liberius	0.1	0.038	0.068
Albinus	0.09	0.038	0.053
Agapitus	0.09	0.038	0.053
Senarius	0.7	0.03	0.053
Pope Symmachus	0.6	0.023	0.038
Florus	0.06	0.023	0.045
Avienus	0.06	0.045	0.015
Beatus	0.045	0.015	0.03
Parthenius	0.045	0.03	0.015
Euprepria	0.04	0.015	0.023

Fig. 2. Network centrality

From this table it is clear that Faustus has the highest degree of centrality in all of the three categories considered. Faustus's score in undirected centrality is particularly stark in comparison to the next highest scores – four times greater. It is also significant that the change in centrality between the most central actor and the twelfth most central actor is so great – dropping 0.33 degrees. This shows that the group of actors within the network who are significant in terms of network centrality is quite small – 12 out of 133. Furthermore, even within this group of the 12 most central actors there is a significant drop in centrality from the most central to the least. In comparison to Faustus's score of 0.37, any score under 0.04 is insignificant. What these scores indicate is that Faustus's network centered heavily on the actor Faustus – more than on any other actor. These scores back up the initial observation of *Fig. 1*, which shows clearly that Faustus was a focal point of the network. The in-degree of an actor is also often used as a measure of that actor's prestige in a network. Wasserman and Faust describe an actor as

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[20] Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 84–89.

prestigious who "is the object of extensive ties."[21] This description clearly fits Faustus, who is the object of an extensive number of ties compared to the other actors in the network.

Betweenness

The centrality of an actor in a network can also be examined in terms of his "betweenness." While an individual actor may have an insignificant degree of centrality – perhaps sharing ties with only two other actors – if those actors are themselves highly central to the network and otherwise unconnected to each other then the third party becomes far more significant by acting as a bridge between them. Betweenness describes the importance of actors that connect major parts of the network. This concept is built upon two considerations: local dependency and structural holes. An actor is dependent on another if: "the paths that connect it to others pass through this point."[22] Structural holes exist where two actors are connected via two ties linked to an intermediary actor but all other connections are via a long path of ties through the network.[23] This phenomenon has been characterized as the "strength of weak ties" since Granovetter's influential article on the subject in 1973.[24] I have calculated the betweenness of the actors in Ennodius's network using UCINET; *Fig. 4* lists the ten actors with the highest net degrees of betweenness.

Some similar trends are immediately apparent to what is seen in *Fig. 2*. Once again, Faustus has the highest score among those compared and there is a remarkable drop-off in the scores of the subsequent actors. Nine of twelve actors from *Fig. 2* are present in this table showing an overlap between the actors with the most connections within the network and those who are the most structurally important based on this measure (the betweenness scores are shown in *Fig. 3*). For the most part the actors with the highest betweenness scores belong to the highly connected central cluster of the network that lies between Ennodius and Faustus, with Hormisdas lying just outside of this group. This correlation between centrality and betweenness in Ennodius's network can be understood because the remainder of his network consists of actors that are not tied to each

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[21] Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 174.
[22] Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 87.
[23] Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 87.
[24] See M. S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* (1973): 1360–1380.

other to a significant degree, meaning that there are no further sub-networks for this group to be connected to. Because Ennodius's network is dominated by this single sub-group there is no need for bridges to act as links and thus no other actors have a high degree of betweenness.

Network 'Betweenness'	
Actor	**Degree of Betweenness**
Faustus	7.674
Beatus	1.238
Symmachus Papa	1.110
Eugenes	1.042
Liberius	0.912
Florus	0.815
Parthenius	0.734
Agapitus	0.574
Albinus	0.525
Hormisdas	0.379

Fig. 3. Betweenness

Letter Receptions and Mentions

While this subgroup of individuals may be the most significant structurally, were they the individuals with whom Ennodius conversed the most? This is an important question because in many cases the ties pictured in *Fig. 1* are representative of more than one epistolary action or mention. As the source material for this analysis is a letter collection, the measures of centrality and betweenness for the total number of epistolary acts each actor is the object of can be compared. A table of the actors with the highest totals of received letters is presented in *Fig. 4*.

This table includes the 13 actors with the highest tallies of letters received. As in *Figs. 2* and *4*, Faustus is again at the top of the list by a large margin – he received 52 out of 297 letters or 17.5% of the letter collection. From Faustus there is a steep decline in the total, with Avienus receiving 8% and Senarius 4% of the letters in the collection. After this dramatic drop, the number of letters each actor received becomes much more consistent. It is worth noting, however, that 29% of the actors in the network only received one letter each. Importantly, this shows the inclusion of some individuals who were not featured in the previous scores:

Avitus, Boethius, and Agnellus. Boethius was a distinguished administrator in the Ostrogothic kingdom and an intellectual powerhouse of the early sixth century; his exclusion from the previous scores is particularly interesting (discussed below). Yet beyond these three, the table largely resembles those already examined. Actors who have a large number of ties and who are structurally significant received a greater number of letters from Ennodius.

Actors - Received Letters	
Actor	**Number of Letters**
Faustus	52
Avienus	23
Senarius	11
Eugenes	9
Euprepria	8
Adeodatus Presbyterus	7
Avitus	7
Boethius	7
Florus	7
Hormisdas	7
Pope Symmachus	6
Agapitus	6
Agnellus	6

Fig. 4. Letters received

A smaller, but still important, measure is the number of times certain actors are mentioned in letters of which they are not the recipient. In such cases, Ennodius created a link between the recipient of the letter and the actor mentioned in it. The top nine mentioned individuals are listed in *Fig. 5*.

While the volume of mentions pales in comparison to the total numbers of letters sent, similar trends are apparent when compared to the previous examples. Once again, Faustus is the top-rated actor with a total of 16 mentions in the letter collection. The second most mentioned individual is Faustus's son, Avientus, and the third is Ennodius's nephew, Parthenius. All three actors featured highly in the network's scores of centrality and betweenness.

Actors with the Highest Number of Mentions	
Actors	**Mentions**
Faustus	16
Avienus	9
Parthenius	5
Cynegia	4
Sabinus	4
Atticus	3
Faustinus	3
Laurentius	3
Lupicinus	3

Fig. 5. Actors with highest mentions

Important Actors in Ennodius's Network

What these tables make abundantly clear is that Faustus was the major focus of the acts of communication within the letter collection of Ennodius. Faustus was the recipient of the most letters in the collection and he was mentioned more frequently compared to others. This model of Ennodius's social network illustrates that Faustus was a crucial actor that tied the network together. Faustus topped the scores of centrality and betweenness, and as the actor with the highest in-degree score he is the most prestigious actor in the network (*Fig. 6*). Of course, care must be taken when analyzing the importance of these figures – Ennodius's network has been reconstructed from a carefully curated literary source. That Faustus is the recipient of the most letters in the collection has surely influenced his ranking in the other scores analyzed. Given the prominence of Faustus in the measures examined here, a closer examination of Faustus's position in the network is warranted. *Fig. 6* is a selection of Ennodius's network focused on Faustus as an actor.[25] This graph illustrates Faustus's "neighborhood," that is, the actors who are tied to Faustus by a distance of 1. What is particularly significant about this graph is that it shows that Faustus shares ties with many of the actors who had the top measurements for centrality, betweenness, received letters, and mentions. For instance, the cluster includes: Senarius, Pope Symmachus, Albinus,

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[25] This is called an Egonet.
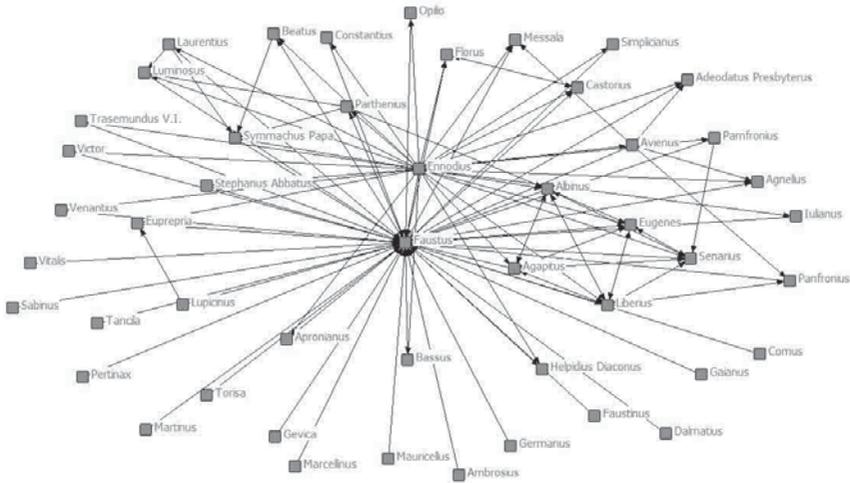
Fig. 6. Faustus's neighborhood

Eugenes, Agapitus, Parthenius, and Euprepria. Furthermore, within this cluster there is a high level of interconnectivity between the actors; they were not entirely reliant on their ties to Faustus and Ennodius for their connections to the wider network. Ennodius's correspondence provides a partial picture of the social world that he was involved in; even from this partial picture one can begin to identify social cliques. Of the individuals that Ennodius engaged with those with the highest structural importance to his network were primarily connected to Faustus and formed a clique around him.

Many of these individuals were of high social status – beyond that of the regional aristocracy that Ennodius belonged to. Seven among the fifteen consuls appointed between 493 and 510 feature in Ennodius's collection. These were Albinus (493), Asterius (494), Avienus (iunior) (501), Rufus Magnus Faustus Avienus (502), Ennodius Messala (506), Venantius (507), and Boethius (510).[26] In addition, two consuls from the period 510 to 521, Probus (513) and Agapitus (517), received letters.[27] The group of consuls from 501 to 510 were noted in

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[26] Albinus iunior 9: PLRE 2, 51–2; Asterius: PLRE 2, 171; Fl. Avienus iunior 3 PLRE 2, 193; Rufus Magnus Faustus Avienus iunior 2: PLRE 2, 192–193; Fl. Ennodius Messala 2: PLRE 2, 759–760; Venantius 2: PLRE 2, 1153; Anicius Malius Severinus Boethius 5: PLRE 2, 233–237; Moorhead, *Theodoric*, 147–154.

[27] Probus: Ennod. *Ep.* 7.27; Agapitus: Ennod. *Ep.* 1.13, 4.6, 4.16, 4.28, 5.26, 6.12.
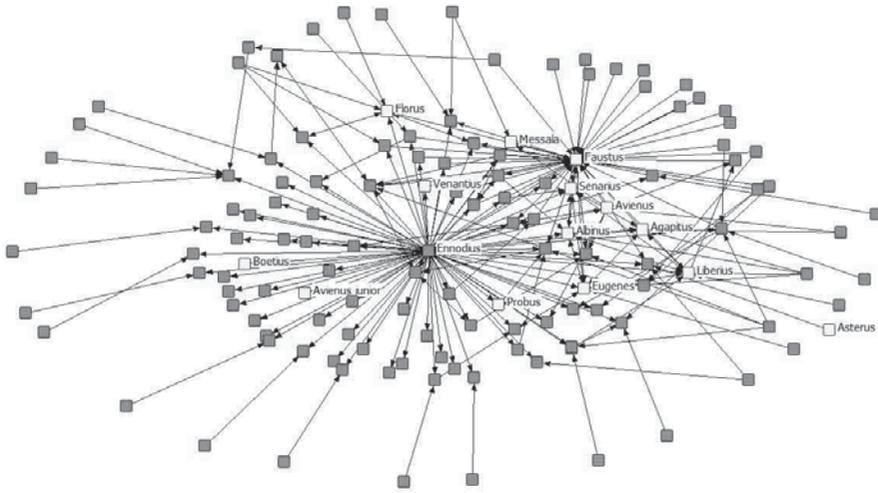
Fig. 7. Important office holders

particular for their immaculate pedigrees; they were mainly members of the Decii and Anicii clans, whose family members also held celebrated consulships. These family groups also feature heavily in Ennodius's network. In particular, the brothers Faustus Avenius and Ennodius Messala were both sons of Faustus Niger – the consul in 490 and Ennodius's primary correspondent.[28] Ennodius also sought out high-ranking senators beyond the consulship. Senarius, Florus, Eugenes, Liberius, and, of course, Faustus rank highly in Ennodius's network and correspondence.[29] Senarius served as a diplomat and advisor to Theodoric, Florus was an advocate at Ravenna, Eugenes held the position of *quaestor* directly after Faustus in 505, and Liberius was a praetorian prefect of both Italy (493–500) and Gaul (510–534). Ennodius was clearly in contact with some of the leading lights of Italian politics – and, as John Moorhead notes, he seems to have been "undiscriminating in badgering prospective patrons."[30]

Forging contacts with powerful senators was a sound social strategy for Ennodius; *Fig. 7* illustrates the structural importance of these individuals in Ennodius's networks. The graph shows clearly the actors located in the highly

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[28] Faustus Niger 5, see PLRE 2, 454–456.

[29] Senarius: PLRE 2, 988–989; Florus 4: PLRE 2; Eugenes, PLRE 414–416; Liberius 3: PLRE 2, 677–681.

[30] John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 155.

connected area lying between Ennodius and Faustus. Combined with the previous data, this illustrates that not only did Ennodius seek out influential individuals, but that they were integral actors within his network. By connecting himself to influential and well-connected individuals Ennodius ensured that his network was also influential and well connected.

As mentioned earlier, some actors, despite receiving a significant number of letters, do not figure highly in the structural scores of centrality and betweenness. Boethius is an excellent example; he received 7 letters from Ennodius and was an important member of the Ostrogothic administration. His lack of importance in the network seems to stem from the factional fighting surrounding the election of Pope Symmachus in 498. Ennodius was a firm supporter of Symmachus while Boethius supported his rival, Laurentius. During the early sixth century the two writers shared a tumultuous relationship, with Ennodius penning some particularly venomous verses that attacked Boethius's sexual appetite. Still, after the settlement of the schism Ennodius appears to have been keen to heal the rift; he seems to have been pleased when letters arrived from Boethius in Ep. 6.6: "Regarding the letters, for the first I admit that I owe a debt, for the other I proffer affection." Ennodius's pleasure in engaging with Boethius stemmed from his rising status in the Ostrogothic court. A particular group of letters, Ep. 8.1, 8.31, 8.36, and 8.37, date to the period of Boethius's consulship in 510 and deal with Ennodius's attempts to profit from Boethius's new appointment. Consuls celebrated their appointments with displays of largess and Ennodius hoped to receive the gift of one of Boethius's unused houses in Milan. Ennodius was unsuccessful in his attempt, but the episode shows that Ennodius was willing to put aside past differences if the possible returns were worth it. Still, despite these letters Boethius remains a contradiction within Ennodius's network. While he received a significant number of letters from Ennodius, structurally Boethius is a non-factor. He lacks the centrality and betweenness of other more prestigious actors such as Faustus, Avinius, and Senarius. Ennodius did not bind himself to Boethius through third parties – neither by mentioning them in his letters to him nor by mentioning him in letters to others. Ennodius does not invoke Boethius's relatives even though he contacts them elsewhere in the collection. Even though Boethius was willing to correspond with Ennodius, it seems the two inhabited separate social worlds.

Conclusions

This initial analysis has shown that Ennodius's social world was centered on his relationship with Faustus iunior Niger. While one might conclude this by simply

looking at a summary of the letters addressed to the senator, network analysis provides several means by which to view this trend. Faustus's centrality in the network is a result of his many ties to other actors, in particular other important actors in the network, which is reflected in his high level of betweenness. Many ties are directed at Faustus and in the modeling of Ennodius's network Faustus appears as a second center within the network. Faustus is also a source of ties, seen in the act of Ennodius mentioning him in letters to other actors. When combined with the volume of correspondence directed at Faustus, the measures of centrality and betweenness along with observations drawn from the graphing of the network show that Faustus was the primary target of communication in the letter collection. The most significant members of Ennodius's network were mainly connected to Faustus. They were the key actors in the highly connected clique at the center of Ennodius's network. These structurally important individuals also received high levels of correspondence. Still, receiving a significant number of letters did not guarantee an individual a place in the center of Ennodius's network – as the case of Boethius shows. The prominence of this group of highly connected individuals in Ennodius's letters suggests that Ennodius's relationship to them and his position in this network were possible justifications for the collation of the letters, either initially by Ennodius or by the circulator of the collection. To fully understand Ennodius' social network it is necessary to go beyond his letters as a source. I found network analysis to be a useful methodological framework; it allowed me to view the relationships apparent in Ennodius' letter collection as a collection of social actions. Further comparative work is needed that places Ennodius' letters in the context of other fifth- and sixth-century letter writers. Writers such as Cassiodorus inhabited the same social world as Ennodius and corresponded with many of the same individuals; they provide fertile grounds for further comparative studies. Due to the large bodies of evidence such studies would investigate, network analysis provides a useful methodology for future research into the letter collections of fifth- and sixth-century Gaul and Italy.

ROYAL PENANCE AS A QUASI-LEGAL ARGUMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL DISPUTES: REPRESENTATION STRATEGIES OF RITUAL IN OTTONIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (919–1024)

Iliana Kandzha 🔽

The Ottonian realm is often described in historiography as a polity "without a state;" neither a developed legal system nor a bureaucratic apparatus ever existed.[1] Political communication in the empire among the rulers, dukes, influential clerics, and communities was governed by unwritten sets of rules of symbolic behavior, traditionally called the *Spielregeln*.[2] Consequently, spheres of competence between what is now perceived as imperial and ecclesiastical powers were often mixed and interrelated.[3] The right to establish new dioceses and to elect bishops and archbishops was often a bone of contention between Ottonian rulers and Church authorities from both sides of the Alps. The resolution of these contests was rather situational, based more on the exchange of political, economic, and symbolic commodities than on stable sets of laws.[4]

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[1] Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhanmer, 2000). This article is based on Iliana Kandzha, "Royal Penance: Narrative Strategies of Ritual Representation in Ottonian Historiography," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

[2] Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997). Also see other works by Gerd Althoff and the "Münster School;" however, this theory of "rules of the game," though remaining one of the most significant in the field of ritual studies, has faced much criticism, e.g.: Philippe Buc, "Noch einmal 918-919: Of the Ritualized Demise of Kings and of Political Rituals in General," in *Zeichen – Rituale – Werte: Internationales Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496 an Der Wesfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Münster: Rhema, 2004), 151–78; Hanna Vollrath, "Haben Rituale Macht?: Anmerkungen zu dem Buch von Gerd Althoff: 'Die Macht der Rituale, Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter,'" *Historische Zeitschrift* 284 (2007): 385–400; Peter Dinzelbacher, *Warum weint der König? Eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2009).

[3] Carlrichard Brühl, Fodrum, gistum, servitium regis*: Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grund-lagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968); John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936 – 1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[4] Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Arnold, 1979).

For Ottonian rulers, founding churches and dioceses was not just a matter of politics and authority, but also considered an act of deepest piety, the promotion of missionary activities, and an investment in future *memoria*.[5] Thus, King and Emperor Otto I (936–973) fought the clerics for the right to establish an archbishopric in Magdeburg, an important center for his Eastern politics and his final resting place. In 1000, Otto III (996–1002) founded an archbishopric in Gniezno without the consent of the archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose authority this part of the empire belonged. Later, Henry II (1002–1024) continued the tradition started by his predecessors and after years of discord persuaded the Church council to grant the status of bishopric to his favorite endowment – Bamberg.[6]

Medieval historians who recounted these events were, in most cases, clerics or monks, and as such, they were not merely aloof observers of these conflicts between royal wish and clerical interests, especially if their community was involved in the disputes.[7] Writers of the Ottonian age had to situate themselves and their writings within these conflicts; they had to bring the events they recounted in line with the demands and expectations of their audience. For this purpose, they had to employ a specific mode of narration which would either legitimate royal interference into ecclesiastical affairs or deny it and its consequences. Medieval chroniclers managed to find a way to prove explicitly that the royal will counted more than canon law or the consent of clerics: they connected this royal wish

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[5] Helmut Beumann, "Laurentius und Mauritius: zu den missionspolitischen Folgen des Ungarnsieges Ottos des Großen," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1974), 238–75; Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung: Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen* (Munich: W. Fink, 1984); Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, eds., *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Munich: W. Fink, 1984).

[6] On the importance of these bishoprics for the ruling dynasty and missionary activities see David A. Warner, "The Cult of Saint Maurice: Ritual Politics and Political Symbolism in Ottonian Germany," PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1989); David A. Warner, "Saints and Politics in Ottonian Germany," in *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2000), 7–28.

[7] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Martina Giese, "Die Historiographie im Umfeld des ottonischen Hofes," in *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa: Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer, Jarosław Wenta, and Martina Giese (Toruń: Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2006), 19–37.

with divine providence through a ritual of royal penance which gave the ultimate authority to the ruler's decision.[8]

In this paper I am proposing one possible approach to the five famous cases of repentance by Ottonian kings and emperors which have individually attracted considerable attention from scholars. These rituals have never been analyzed together as part of the argumentation strategy medieval authors constructed for use in ecclesiastical disputes. I am approaching the descriptions of scenes of rulers' penance as a quasi-legal narrative tool applied by writers in specific literary circumstances.[9] I argue that a "narrated" royal penance was as powerful and prestigious as a "performed" one; hence, "rituals in texts" played a huge role in memory-creation and preservation for the individuals and communities addressed in medieval historiography.

The Divine Origins of Merseburg

The first example of such use of royal penance as a legal argument is connected with the bishopric of Merseburg. It was founded by Otto I in 968 together with several other bishoprics in the eastern part of the empire as part of the Magdeburg metropolitan center, sanctioned by the papal decree of 962 and confirmed at the synod in Ravenna.[10] The emperor's decision, however, was strongly opposed by both the nobility and ecclesiastical circles. The diocese was dissolved by his

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[8] On the historiography of penance: Rob Meens, "Penitential Questions: Sin, Satisfaction and Reconciliation in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14, no. 1 (2006): 1–6. Recent monographs in this field: Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001); Abigail Firey, *A New History of Penance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). For royal penance in the Ottonian age see Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003), 120–35.

[9] For more on this approach and examples of its application to medieval rituals see Philippe Buc, "Ritual and Interpretation: The Early Medieval Case," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 183–210; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Zbigniew Dalewski, "Patterns of Dynastic Identity in the Early Middle Ages," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 107 (2013): 5–43. Here I am using the term "quasi-legal" not in respect to its contemporary connotations of "soft law", but as a description of the nature of the scenes discussed, which were used as if providing almost "legal", in our modern terms, argumentation in the dispute.

[10] Odilo Engels, "Die Gründung der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg und die Ravennater 'Synode' von 968," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 7 (1975): 136–58.

son Otto II in 981 in favor of Gisilher, at the time bishop of Merseburg, who acceded to the archbishop's seat of Magdeburg as a result.[11] Otto III constantly attempted to reestablish Merseburg and tried to put Gisilher on trial for exceeding his authority, but only his heir, Henry II, managed to accomplish this in 1004. These struggles around the question of Merseburg's status as a bishopric made its situation rather precarious. This influenced Thietmar of Merseburg, the second bishop of Merseburg after its reestablishment in 1004, to propose a possible way of strengthening the status of Merseburg in both symbolic and legal ways.[12]

Thietmar had to ensure that the foundation of Merseburg itself had some legal grounds – he had to develop an argument that would be appropriate both for the clerics and for the ruler. This is why his *Chronicle* connects the foundation of Merseburg to the miraculous victory of Otto I against the Hungarians at Lechfeld on 10 August 955.[13]

The siege of Lechfeld was commemorated in most annals and chronicles of the century, some of which provided verbose descriptions of the events and the actions of King Otto and his army, to which none of the authors themselves were eyewitnesses although their audience probably was.[14] The writers of the accounts of this battle had to transmit the idea of Christian resistance to foreign invasion and describe the role of Otto I in this religious mission against the heathens. Thietmar clearly constructed his narration on a biblical historical scheme, drawing

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[11] An overview of the reasons for ecclesiastical conflicts discussed in this paper can be found in: Helmut Beumann, "Entschädigungen von Halberstadt und Mainz bei Gründung des Erzbistums Magdeburg," in *Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1991), 383–98; Gerd Althoff, "Magdeburg - Halberstadt - Merseburg: Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1998), 267–93.
[12] Recent research on Thietmar of Merseburg's Chronicle: Helmut Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg: Reichsbischof und Chronist* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973); David A. Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Kerstin Schulmeyer-Ahl, *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen: Konstitutionsbedingungen historiographischer Nachrichten in der Chronik Thietmars von Merseburg* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).
[13] About Hungarian invasions during the reign of Otto I and the importance of the Lechfeld battle see Charles R. Bowlus, *The Battle of Lechfeld and Its Aftermath, August 955: The End of the Age of Migrations in the Latin West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Matthias Becher, *Otto der Grosse: Kaiser und Reich: eine Biographie* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2012), 186–213.
[14] For the full list of narrative sources from the tenth and eleventh centuries commemorating the Battle of Lechfeld see Lorenz Weinrich, "Tradition und Individualität in den Quellen zur Lechfeldschlacht 955," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 27 (1971): 291–313.

his models from the book of Samuel, the book of Kings, and the Maccabee's story – the latter often known through *De bello Iudaico* by Josephus Flavius – which were all popular with Ottonian historiographers.[15] The Hungarian invasion is presented as punishment of the people for their sins and even the opening formula – *et ecce iterum Avares adversum nos arma commoverant* [and here again the Hungarians had moved with their arms against us] – alludes to the biblical style of narration.[16] Adhering to the order of events presented in his main source – Widukind of Corvey's *The Deeds of the Saxons* (descriptions of the army, the actions of the enemies, the king's role in the battle, and the victory celebration) – Thietmar introduces the penance performed by Otto I before the decisive battle on the feast of St. Lawrence.[17]

The presence of this penance was so important for the chronicler that he even prolonged the battle for two days in order to insert the penance narrative, while according to Widukind the whole clash happened in one day. The king repents openly for all his sins in front of God; Thietmar hints at two penitential gestures – prostration and tears: "The next day, that is on the feast of the martyr of Christ, Lawrence, the king alone prostrated himself before the others and confessed his sin to God..."[18] During this public penance Otto takes an oath to establish a Merseburg diocese in gratitude for God's help in bringing a victory. Widukind mentions that after celebrating the triumph Otto sent messengers to his mother, Queen Mathilda, and then returned to Saxony. From this evidence, Thietmar, in turn, develops a touching story of the meeting between Otto and his mother, when the king, full of tears, entrusts Mathilda with the sacred vow he made during the mass: to establish a bishopric in Merseburg. In this description Thietmar merged two significant events – the establishment of a bishopric and a great victory – into a single narrative about royal penance.

Most important, this story of royal penance gave Thietmar an opportunity to develop and codify the founding legend of his bishopric of Merseburg. The victory was thus granted by God through direct divine intercession on the feast day

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[15] Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 32–56.

[16] II. 9: Thietmar of Merseburg. "Chronicon," in *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. Robert Holzmann, MGH SS [Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores], rer. Germ. n.s. 9. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 48, hereafter Chron.

[17] Chron. II.9-10; 48-51. For more about the development of penance during military campaigns see David Steward Bachrach, *Warfare in Tenth-Century Germany* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 184–86.

[18] Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, 98; Chron. II. 10; 48.

of St. Lawrence, the future patron saint of Merseburg. All of this legitimized the establishment of Thietmar's diocese, giving it historical importance and credibility. Moreover, Otto II's dissolution of the bishopric in 981 was retrospectively transformed into the act of a vandal against the wishes of God himself. From this perspective, the battlefield can even be considered a framing narrative for the founding of the Merseburg bishopric, which initially is the main subject of Thietmar's work. Almost all the later troubles of the ruling family were entangled with the history of the diocese.[19] From that time onwards, the foundation of Merseburg was permanently linked to the ruler's divine victory and was seen as a direct consequence of God's intervention. This argument for the almost-divine origin of the bishopric, probably developed in the local memory, could hardly be countered by any worldly reasons or discords.

Forgotten and Remembered Rituals in Magdeburg and Gniezno

The reestablishment of the diocese in Merseburg was not beneficial and favorable for everyone; the archbishopric of Magdeburg lost some of its territory, sphere of influence, and power. After the diocese in Merseburg had been restored in 1004, Henry II made a series of donations to Magdeburg, providing the archbishopric with symbolic commodities as compensation for the loss of territory.

On 24 or 25 February 1004, Henry II donated lands and some of the relics of the martyr St. Maurice to the church of Magdeburg. This *translatio* of relics is certified by Henry's diploma, where the purpose of such a gift is clearly explained: to compensate the archbishopric of Magdeburg for the losses incurred when the bishopric of Merseburg was re-established.[20] Here the gift of relics and land is clearly a program of actions undertaken by the king to ensure *amicitia* relationships with one of the most influential seats of the empire.[21]

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[19] The importance of the Merseburg story for the whole narrative of the *Chronicon* has been discussed by many authors: Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg: Reichsbischof und Chronist*; Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, 1–66; Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c. 950-1150*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 95–188; Schulmeyer-Ahl, *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen*.

[20] "*Credimus instinctu reparare volentes sancte Mardeburgensis,*" Diploma of Henry II from February 24 or 25, 1004, Magdeburg (63): *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, ed. Theodor von Sickel, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum, vol. 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1900-1903), 76-78.

[21] The same formula was used in a charter to Halberstadt, see diploma 62: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, 76.

The circumstances of this *translatio* ceremony are described in the twelfth-century *The Deeds of the Archbishops of Madgeburg*.[22] According to this chronicle, it was quite a unique occasion: Henry II himself took part in the procession and performed a public act of penance, which included walking barefoot on the frozen ground.[23] This gesture enhanced the privilege of the relic donation to the church in Magdeburg, which became a liturgical feast in itself and was commemorated in local historiography.[24]

However, the contemporary chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg mentions neither the *translatio* of St. Maurice nor the royal penance performed on this occasion. Nevertheless, he recounts the restoration of Merseburg at the beginning of Book 6 of his *Chronicon* and was clearly engaged in all the politics surrounding the re-establishment of this seat.[25] He only notes a royal visit to Magdeburg to ask for the support of St. Maurice in the upcoming campaign against Arduin of Ivrea: "After leaving Merseburg, he asked at Magdeburg for the heavenly intercession of St Maurice and good luck for his journey."[26]

The Deeds of the Archbishops of Madgeburg recounts:

> The king himself in great devotion to the Lord took from his chapel a rather big part of relics of Saint Maurice. In spite of the severe cold, which happened because of a new onset of winter, and the ground covered by ice and snow, he took the relics from Saint John the Baptist-Mountain, where they used to be kept, to the city, barefoot, as it was said, but animated by the heat of his devotion, on the thirtieth day after the death of Archbishop Gisilher, he was received by everyone with festive ritual, as is proper. He brought them to the sacred altar with the mentioned offerings and, on the same day, he instituted the feast in honor of the mentioned martyr of the church, in which manner it is kept until now.[27]

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[22] The *Gesta* were composed in the mid-twelfth century and relied heavily on Thietmar's *Chronicle*; this work was probably written by several authors and was based on an earlier chronicle which has not survived.

[23] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, ed. G. Schum, MGH SS 14, 393.

[24] This event is also recounted in the *Annals of Magdeburg*, compiled at the end of the twelfth century in Berge near Magdeburg; this charter survived in the Magdeburg collection, which shows that it was important for the community.

[25] Chron. VI.1, 274.

[26] Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, 238; Chron. VI.3, 276-78.

[27] *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, 393.

The fact that Thietmar did not recount the translation of Maurice's relics to Magdeburg has attracted the attention of several historians, especially David Warner, who devoted an entire article to this issue.[28] Warner suggests that the author of the *Gesta* agreed with the explanation for the donation provided in this charter – as a compensation for losses. The royal penance, a gesture of humility, was also understood as a symbolic excuse for depriving Magdeburg of its possession. For Thietmar, however, recounting this scene meant that the possessions of Merseburg were illegitimate.[29]

Some parallels to Henry's act of piety and the way medieval historians manipulated such events can be found in the *orationis gratia* pilgrimage to Gniezno by Otto III in 1000, who headed to Poland as soon as he heard about the miracles of the great martyr Adalbert.[30] As Thietmar reports, something incredible and ineffable happened near Gniezno: the emperor entered the city barefoot and with tears in his eyes asked for Adalbert's intercession and participated in the consecration of the church. Thietmar claims that Otto himself placed the relics under the altar, which was followed by the establishment of the archbishopric in Gniezno. However, Otto founded the seat in Gniezno against the traditional procedure, namely, without the permission of the archbishop of Magdeburg, whose diocese was changed.[31] This pilgrimage and Otto's role in the consecration of the new diocese was accepted both by German chroniclers and the later Polish historiographical tradition.

To a certain extent, the mechanism of royal penance and the ruler's pious involvement in relic translation as a commemorated event was shared in both the examples of Otto III in Gniezno and Henry II at Magdeburg. These acts, the foundation of the diocese and the reception of the relics, were of the greatest significance to the community, but they could also raise much dissatisfaction from

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[28] David A. Warner, "Henry II at Magdeburg: Kingship, Ritual and the Cult of Saints," *Early Medieval Europe* 3, no. 2 (1994): 135–66. Against his interpretation see Klaus Schreiner, "'*Nudis pedibus*'. Barfüßigkeit als religiöses und politisches Ritual," in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2001), 53–124.

[29] Warner, "Henry II at Magdeburg," 162.

[30] Chron. IV.44, 182.

[31] Chron. IV.45, 182-84. For more detailed analysis of the events surrounding the archbishopric in Gniezno, relations between Otto III and Duke Boleslaw and the political role of this pilgrimage see Gerd Althoff, *Otto III* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry: Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum; Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen*, Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 30 (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2001); Schreiner, "'*Nudis Pedibus*.'"

other clerics whose communities did not receive any royal favors. Both these narratives of royal penance were used in the texts to legitimize the acts of the ruler on the ecclesiastical scene, to present his will as a solemn procession, so that the audience did not think of questioning its legitimacy. The omission of such a solemn ritual from a description in one of the sources speaks of the power of memory about royal penance in disputes of that time.

Henry II's Zeal for Bamberg

Another example of the royal piety, employed by authors who needed to legitimate a ruler's decisions, concerns Henry II, who wanted to establish a bishopric in Bamberg. To achieve this decision to change the ecclesiastical system of the realm was as hard for him as for his predecessors.[32] In 1007, a church synod gathered in Frankfurt to discuss the matter of Bamberg and to proceed with a final decision. At the beginning of this synod, Henry fell on his knees in front of clerics and confessed to them his desire to found the bishopric of Bamberg, referring to his inability to have an heir. He also argued that his desire was legitimate (*iustum desiderium*) and that it was Henry, bishop of Wurzburg, who hindered the decision.[33] Thietmar, the only witness to this event, recounts the words of Henry in direct speech and even describes the actions of the emperor:[34]

> Throughout this procedure, the king would humbly prostrate himself on the ground whenever he foresaw that a detrimental judgment was about to be read. Finally, Archbishop Willigis asked for a judgment as to what should be done in regard to this matter. Tagino, speaking first, declared that the law would allow for the immediate enactment of everything that the king had requested in his speech. After the entire assembly had agreed to and signed this judgment, the king conveyed the pastoral office to his then chancellor, Eberhard, who was consecrated by the archbishop on the same day.[35]

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[32] Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II., 1002-1024 : Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2000), 30–51.

[33] Chron. VI. 30–31, 310–13.

[34] The diploma from this synod has survived, which confirmed the founding of the bishopric in Bamberg and an exchange of property with Bishop Henry of Wurzburg, including also the privilege and signatures of all the participants: The diploma of Henry II from 1 November, 1007, Frankfurt (135), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, 169–72.

[35] Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, 259; Chron. VI.32, 312-24.

Henry II did not limit himself to the performance of one penitential gesture before his speech; his whole portrayal during this decisive council was that of a repentant. Thietmar clearly presents his own interpretation of such behavior: to win over the clerics and incline them to his point of view, even though it contradicted the established ecclesiastical regulations.[36] The most peculiar thing is that this behavior of the ruler is the only such example in Ottonian history.[37]

This episode should be viewed predominantly in the context of the conflict around Bamberg – most royal penance cases worked to resolve a conflict when royal authority challenged canon law. Through repeated royal penance, Bishop Thietmar may have given the reason why the highest clerics of the empire neglected the norms of the canon law and yielded to the emperor's will. In this case, the emperor's penance, which was presented at and for the council, worked as the highest royal grace, which should be paid back, so the clerics allowed the foundation of the bishopric in Bamberg. At the same time, the image of the repentant king in Ottonian tradition connected the ruler directly with God (as in the case of Otto I); hence, royal penance itself is a manifestation of divine grace and what follows after should be seen as divine providence.

Correctio in Halberstadt

Although a ruler's repentance as a way of *correctio* and *emandatio* of his sins was a common practice in Carolingian times, such a use of royal penance appears only once in Ottonian historiography.[38] It all started when Otto I promised to establish

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[36] David A. Warner, "Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship," *Viator* 26 (1995): 53–76. Warner assumed that Henry's repetitive prostrations might have been made up by Thietmar as an illustrative conclusion to the foundation history of Bamberg. This image of the king making a proskynesis was a wide-spread topos, which implied, in this case, an invocation of God's will in deciding upon the fate of Bamberg.

[37] Stefan Weinfurter, "Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action: The Case of Henry II," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19–37. Weinfurter argues that the story of Thietmar was based on an eye-witness account (if the bishop of Merseburg was also involved in this dispute) and, moreover, through this gesture Henry demonstrated his "new forms used to legitimize royal policy and action."

[38] About rulers' repentance in the Carolingian age: Rob Meens, "Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric," *Speculum* 82, no. 2 (2007): 277–300; Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

an archbishopric in Magdeburg after his triumph in the battle at Lechfeld in 955. However, this imperial wish ignited opposition from different Church magnates, with Bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt also joining this resistance.[39] As the *Deeds of Bishops of Halberstadt* relate, the conflict escalated to the extent that Emperor Otto I was excommunicated by Bernhard. To atone for his sins and to reconcile with the Church, Otto I undertook penance:

> After the emperor went a little further from the city, he, truly moved by divine inspiration, suddenly returned barefoot as a penitent, prostrated on the ground before the aforementioned bishop and asked for the favor of absolution, which he prizes humbly. Then, after the bishop himself beseeched, the emperor went far away from the city one more time; after he had put on royal regalia, he came back on a horse, and with all the delight, all rejoicing, he was taken back to the Church by harmonious solemnity. Then he, full of gladness, celebrated Easter in this community.[40]

The author of the *Deeds* stated that after this act of repentance, the conflict was resolved and Otto entered Halberstadt for the second time as a triumphant king and not as a repentant; afterwards the king and bishop lived in harmony.[41] The fact that this episode survived only in the Halberstadt local tradition, namely, in the chronicle which was written at least a century after the event it describes, has led to questions on the credibility of this narration.[42] Nevertheless, this narrative is valuable for identifying the local memory of the ecclesiastical community.

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[39] Beumann, "Entschädigungen von Halberstadt und Mainz bei Gründung des Erzbistums Magdeburg;" Althoff, "Magdeburg - Halberstadt - Merseburg: Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen," 268–75; Becher, *Otto der Grosse*, 235–37.

[40] *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS 23 (Hanover: Hahn, 1874), 83-84.

[41] This example of royal penance is mentioned in Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, 110–11. Althoff, however, views this act as humiliation before God and "heavenly powers" and a plea for atonement, even though the narrator underlines the role of the bishop in penance and the following reconciliation and friendly relationship between Otto and Bernhard.

[42] The *Gesta* was composed in Halberstadt at the beginning of the thirteenth century; however, accounts about the tenth century were compiled with the help of an older chronicle from the end of the tenth century. The author, recounting this early period of Ottonian rule, also relied heavily on Widukind of Corvey, the Annals of Quedlinburg and Thietmar of Merseburg.

In a sense, the Halberstadt community fought for its independence, especially in the light of the royal decision to establish the archbishopric in Magdeburg. From the perspective of Halberstadt, however, Otto I unjustly imprisoned Bishop Bernhard and was excommunicated for this misdeed. The only tool which could have reestablished the relationship between the secular and the sacred authority was church penance, which might have relied on the models of David or Theodosius or the Carolingian traditions of ecclesiastical-administered royal penance as prototypes.[43] The memory of the ritual performed in this specific form developed to show the sinfulness of the emperor and, probably, of his decisions, moreover, it served to emphasize the *amicitia* relations that were established after the conflict was resolved. From this point of view, Bernhard and the whole Halberstadt community triumphed over the imperial power both in moral and legal terms, at least on the pages of the *Gesta*.

Conclusion

Ottonian authors seem to bring up narratives of royal penance rather systematically in cases where royal decisions to establish a diocese contradicted the existing ecclesiastical procedure or raised much discontent among the clergy. In these texts, royal penance played the role of a quasi-legal argument in disputes between royal and church powers in the empire, especially when the status and prestige of the community to which the author belonged or was writing for were involved.

This specific interpretation of royal penance might not have been in the initial program of this ritual (if indeed it was ever performed on these occasions), but either witnesses or writers enhanced this powerful ritual with this meaning and function. Such examples of royal penance could be rhetorical literary constructs which enabled the authors to express not only the course of events on their own, but also to find an explanation of the past, or to create a "useful past" which corresponded with the contemporary needs of the individual or the whole community.[44]

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[43] Rudolf Schieffer, "Von Mailand nach Canossa: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Herrscherbuße von Theodosius dem Großen bis zu Heinrich IV.," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28 (1972): 333–70; Michail A. Bojcov, "Raskajanie gosudaria: Imperator i episkop" [Repentance of a prince: The emperor and the bishop], in *Vlast, Obshestvo i Individ v Srednevekovoy Evrope* (Moscow: Nauka, 2008), 211–42; de Jong, *The Penitential State*.

[44] The concept "useful past" was introduced and developed by Patrick Geary, see Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*

For some of the Ottonian historiographers, the narrative of royal penance was used as a symbolic "excuse" for going against the canon procedure: through repentance in prayer or pilgrimage, the ruler was given the divine grace to conduct his activities. If the establishment of a diocese or any favor expressed towards an ecclesiastical community happened in such circumstances, it was understood as God's will and no worldly disputes were allowed to deny it, as reflected in the local traditions of Merseburg, Gniezno, and Bamberg.

In cases when the community was against the royal decisions, the act of piety was not recounted at all or it was shaped in a way that the king was in the place of sinful Emperor Theodosius, while the cleric, orchestrating the repentance, enjoyed righteousness and authority over the royal power. In any of these two scenarios, royal penance was given the power of a legitimate divine argument, retrospectively shading over ecclesiastical disputes between kings and clerics in Ottonian historiography.

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). On similar manipulation of historiographic discourse by monks of Saint-Denis see Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 83–98.

FOR THE SALVATION OF ONE'S SOUL:
PIETY, STATUS AND MEMORY
IN THE DALMATIAN DUCHY (C. 812–850)

Marino Kumir 📥

The ideal of performed aristocratic piety in early medieval Dalmatia was a result of rapidly changing political and social circumstances in the first half of the ninth century.[1] From the late eighth century onwards, the Dalmatian duchy found itself under the influence of the Carolingian Empire: a new imperial power that was pervasively and persistently trying to push its interests eastward.[2] Local Slav elites of the Dalmatian hinterland at the time, not unlike the Slavic peoples of Central Europe, shared many common goals with the Carolingian rulers and their Friulian subordinates that proved fundamental for securing their mutual cooperation and benefit.[3] Charlemagne's wars with the Avars and his struggles with the Byzantines

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[1] This article is based on Marino Kumir "Memory and Authority in the Ninth-Century Dalmatian Duchy," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

[2] For some general overviews of this topic, see Neven Budak, "Identities in Early Medieval Dalmatia (7th–11th c.)," in *Franks, Northmen and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick Geary and Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 223–241; and "Croats between Franks and Byzantium," *Hortus artium medievalium* 3 (1997): 15–22; Mladen Ančić, "From Carolingian Official to Croatian Ruler: The Croats and the Carolingian Empire in the First Half of the Ninth Century," *Hortus artium medievalium* 3 (1997): 7–13; and idem, "U osvit novog doba: Karolinško carstvo i njegov jugoistočni obod" [At the dawn of a new era: The Carolingian Empire and its southeastern edge], in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 70–103; and idem, "Lombard and Frankish Influences in the Formation of the Croatian Dukedom," in *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Paolo Delogu (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005), 213–228; Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat: Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Ante Milošević, "Karolinški utjecaji u kneževini Hrvatskoj u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza" [Carolingian influences in the Duchy of Croatia in the light of archaeological finds], in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 106–139; Nikola Jakšić, "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije" [Stonemasonry in the service of evangelization], in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 204–213.

[3] Following the fall of the Avars, various Slavic groups filled in the power vacuum. And although they usually did so with the help and support of the Franks, gradually they started to distance themselves from the grip of the empire. Particularly illuminating are the Frankish-Moravian relations during the ninth century, especially the disputes over the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Salzburg. For some general overviews on

in the Adriatic Basin meant that the various Slavic peoples and groups of the region found themselves aligned with the Frankish cause. For the Slavs in the hinterland of Dalmatia the most obvious targets were the Byzantine-held cities scattered along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea and their vast agricultural territories. Warfare ensued between them in the ninth century which was ended in 812 by a peace treaty that preserved the dichotomy of Dalmatia.[4] The coastal cities were left to the Byzantines, but they suffered territorial losses to the benefit of the Slavs of the hinterland.[5] Slavs not only profited from new land acquisitions, but their support of the Carolingians resulted in the establishment of social and cultural connections between the elites of the Slavic hinterland and the Carolingian territories in Northern Italy. The elites of the continental parts of Dalmatia were quick to adopt Carolingian models of governance, piety, and expressions of social status that thoroughly changed their society.[6] The empire provided the slowly homogenizing periphery with the framework it needed for establishing a full Christian *regnum*, a process which was underway throughout

these issues, see Charles Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Herbert Schutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, Their History, Arts, and Architecture: A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750–900* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 62, 122–123; Maddalena Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858–882): Papal Power and Political Reality* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[4] The main source for the treaty between Byzantium and the Carolingian Empire are the Frankish Royal Annals. *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, Monumenta Germaniae Historica [MGH] Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895), 136.

[5] Ivan Josipović, "'Majstor koljanskog pluteja' u stilskom razvrstavanju predromaničke sculpture iz Galovca kod Zadra" [The Master of the Koljani Panel in the stylistic categorization of the Pre-Romanesque sculpture from Galovac near Zadar], *Radovi Insituta za povijest umjetnosti* 34 (2010): 7–18; and idem, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske između Zrmanje i Krke do kraja 9. stoljeća" [Pre-Romanesque reliefs in the territory of Sclavinia Croatia between Zrmanja and Krka before the end of the ninth century], PhD dissertation (University of Zagreb, 2013), 56–64, 195–197, and 260–261.

[6] See Ančić, "Lombard and Frankish Influences," 216–225; Vedrana Delonga, "Pismenost karolinškog doba i njeni hrvatski odjeci: latinska epigrafička baština u hrvatskim krajevima" [Literacy in the Carolingian period and its Croatian echoes: The inheritance of Latin epigraphy in the regions of Croatia], in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 238–249; Marino Kumir, "Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Bornih kaštela: Transformacija Dalmacije u kontaktu s Carstvom" [From Justinian's kastra to Borna's castella: The transformation of Dalmatia through contact with the empire], MA thesis (University of Split, 2014), 59–71.

much of the ninth century and perhaps beyond.[7] Despite these extensive contacts, however, the duchy was, for the most part, left on its own. This positioned it somewhere in-between: it was neither inside the framework of the empire nor completely outside of it.

There is no evidence to suggest that the elites of the duchy ever used formulaic expressions of Christian piety before the Treaty of Aachen in 812.[8] But while the available written evidence comes primarily from the dedicatory inscriptions put up in privately established churches in the post-Aachen period, there is evidence of continuity of some of the Late Antique churches scattered along *Via magna*—the road which cut through northern Dalmatia, connecting its hinterland to the coastal towns of Nin and Zadar.

Thus, the aristocratic expression of piety that appears in the written and material evidence of the period displays the full scope of this hybridity; its origin is undoubtedly external, but its application is a compromise between the imported models of Western expressions of piety and the local situation that maintained certain, currently not fully understood, ties with Late Antique Christianity that certainly thrived in Dalmatia in the fifth and sixth centuries.[9]

Thus, in order to investigate what constituted the ideal of aristocratic piety in ninth-century Dalmatia, I identify three ways through which piousness was expressed: the (re)establishment of private churches, "Christianized" burials inside churches, and written memorials of pious acts. Moreover, since the expression of aristocratic piety always appears in a context that carries meaning in itself, I analyze the role that piety played for aristocratic society and how it was related to concepts such as social status and the memory of the community.

An Example to Follow: The Ducal Dynasty and the First Churches

Epigraphic evidence found at numerous ninth-century sites throughout Dalmatia confirms the importance which the foundation of new churches

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[7] Here I refer to the theoretical framework addressed in Evangelos Chrysos, "The Empire, the *Gentes* and the *Regna*," in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 13.

[8] Vedrana Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Medieval Croatia,* Monumenta medii aevi Croatiae 1 (Split: *Muzej Hrvatskih Arheoloćskih Spomenika* [MHAS], 1996), 279–308; and idem, "Pismenost karolinškog doba," 237–247.

[9] Nikola Jakšić, "Il ruolo delle antiche chiese rurali nella formazione del ducato croato medievale," *Hortus artium medievalium* 14 (2008): 103–112; Delonga, "Pismenost karolinškog doba," 238–240.

had for elite identity.[10] Such efforts of financing and building provided the elite with previously unavailable opportunities to showcase their status within the hierarchically organized society, made possible through the adoption and performance of Christian ideals of piety and religiosity.

The identification of ninth-century stone-carving workshops which were active at ecclesiastical sites in the hinterland of Dalmatia has provided us with data necessary to develop a more precise dating framework. Among these workshops, the stone-carving workshop of the Master of the Koljani Panel, first identified by art historian Nikola Jakšić in the 1980s, has subsequently been shown to be the earliest among the workshops associated with the duchy of the hinterland. Currently, the activity of this particular workshop has been confirmed at five different sites: Bijaći-Stombrate, Biskupija-Crkvina, Koljane Gornje-Crkvina, Galovac-Crkvina, and Rupotine-Rižinice, all of which share some striking parallels that link them together besides the actual stone carvings.[11] For example, six Carolingian-type swords have been discovered, three each at Biskupija and Koljane Gornje, which account for as many as one third of all the currently known eighth-ninth-century swords found within the presumed borders of the Dalmatian duchy.[12] At this stage of research, the evidence suggests that the phase of eighth-ninth-century burials with swords in Dalmatia occurred before the establishment of newly built ninth-century churches. This would imply a linear

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[10] The corpus of early medieval epigraphic inscriptions found in the territory of the Dalmatian/Croatian dukedom/kingdom up to the year 1996 was collected and published in Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*.

[11] This workshop was first defined by Nikola Jakšić, "Majstor koljanskog pluteja" [The Master of the Koljani Panel], in *Cetinska Krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka*, ed. Božidar Čečuk, Ivan Marović and Željko Rapanić, Izdanja HAD-a, vol. 8 (Split: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo [HAD], 1984), 243–252. For the history of research, see Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi," 57–64. Some of the most important discussions on this topic are Ante Jurčević, "Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture s lokaliteta Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima i Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina" [Comparison of sculpture and architecture from the sites of Crkvina in Gornji Koljani and Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. 3, vol. 36 (2009): 55–84; Josipović, "'Majstor koljanskog pluteja,'" 7–18; and idem, "Predromanički reljefi," 79–83; Nikola Jakšić and Ivan Josipović, "Majstor koljanskog pluteja u kontekstu predromaničkih reljefa s lokaliteta Stombrate u Bijaćima" [Master of the Koljani Chancel Panel in the context of pre-Romanesque reliefs from the Stombrate archaeological site in Bijaći], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. 3, vol. 42 (2015): 145–164.

[12] Goran Bilogrivić, "Karolinški mačevi tipa K" [Type K Carolingian swords], *Opuscula archaeologica* 33 (2009 [2010]): 145–146; idem, "Carolingian Swords from Croatia: New Thoughts on an Old Topic," *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis: Series Historica* 10 (2013): 77–78; Kumir, "Memory and Authority," 39–41 and 47–51.

development in the aristocratic culture of the period, as the two trends should be seen as different stages of the same process. Even though more data is needed to prove or disprove such a hypothesis, the sheer number of swords found at Biskupija and Koljane clearly marks their importance.

Moreover, Galovac-Crkvina and Biskupija are the only two sites in Dalmatia where burials in sarcophagi were discovered in the walls of ninth-century churches.[13] Both the sarcophagus from the northern room of the narthex at Biskupija and the other discovered in the sacristy at Galovac were carved out of classical architraves. In connection with the attested presence of the Master of the Koljani Panel workshop at both sites, this suggests a chronological correlation between them and it shows that the two dignitaries buried in them shared access to the same luxury objects.[14] Since the burial in the sarcophagus at Biskupija is thought to be the burial of a duke, this poses questions as to whether Galovac, too, was somehow connected to the local ducal dynasty.[15]

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[13] Janko Belošević, "Dva kamena sarkofaga s Crkvine u Galovcu kod Zadra" [Two stone sarcophagi from Crkvina in Galovac near Zadar], *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 12 (1996): 127–141; Maja Petrinec and Ante Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology of the Site from the Late 8th to the 15th Century," *in Swords, Crowns, Censers and Books – Francia Media – Cradles of European Culture*, ed. Marina Vicelja Matijašić (Rijeka: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Rijeka, 2015), 347–350.

[14] Nikola Jakšić, "Vladarska zadužbina sv. Bartula u srednjovjekovnom selu Tršći" [The ruler's endowment of St. Bartholomew in the medieval village Tršci], *Radovi Zavoda povjesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 42 (2000): 45–46; Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi," 76–77. Future research of Rupotine-Rižinice, where a fragment of a ninth-century ciborium was discovered in secondary use under the base of the sarcophagus with a burial from the later Middle Ages, might eventually yield similar results.

[15] New arguments for dating the workshop of the Master of the Koljani Panel have narrowed down the time frame in which the man buried in the so-called sarcophagus with *hyppocampi* was interred. He was, most likely, Borna, Vladislav or Mislav. See Petrinec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija," 353–355; Ante Milošević, "Sarkofag kneza Branimira" [The sarcophagus of Duke Branimir], *Histria Antiqua* 18 (2009): 561–566; Kumir, "Memory and Authority," 26. Neven Budak interpreted the cult of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, to whom the church at Galovac was once dedicated (although the earliest evidence for this comes from 1289), as "a royal option in ninth-century Croatia." Budak claims that the cult came to the hinterland of Dalmatia via the Benedictines sometime after 839, but before 892, arguing that it "came to Croatia and Dalmatia around the middle of the ninth century." This assumption is now at odds with the recently proposed, more precise dating of the Master of Koljani Panel to the 820s and 830s, the period when the church at Galovac was refurnished (see footnote 11). This would mean that either the church at Galovac was not dedicated to Saint Bartholomew in the ninth century or that the cult predated the Benedictines. Moreover, as there is not enough evidence to date the tenth-century royal monastery of St. Bartholomew at Kapitul to the ninth century,

The other two sites, Bijaći-Stombrate and Rupotine-Rižinice, were both mentioned in the only two preserved ninth-century charters issued by the local dukes, Trpimir (c. 842–c. 864) and Muncimir (892–c. 910).[16] It is important to stress that these two sites are thus undoubtedly tied to the ducal dynasty. Bijaći, a known ducal possession, appears as the location where both charters were created, while the available archaeological evidence suggests that the Benedictine monastery, whose establishment by Duke Trpimir is narrated in his charter, was located at Rižinice.[17] Therefore, all of the five sites associated with the workshop of the Master of the Koljani Panel are directly or indirectly connected to the ducal dynasty.

Thus, the introduction of church building into the landscape and the aristocratic culture of the duchy seems to have been a consequence of efforts undertaken from the very top of the hierarchy. Since so few sites are associated

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Budak's proposal needs a reevaluation, see Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi," 60, and Neven Budak, "Was the Cult of Saint Bartholomew a Royal Option in Early Medieval Croatia?" in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 240–249; Jakšić, "Vladarska zadužbina sv. Bartula," 43–49.

[16] Critical editions of both charters have been published in *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, ed. Marko Kostrenčić, Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [JAZU], 1967), 3–8 and 22–25.

[17] The Charter of Duke Muncimir was, in fact, created in front of the church of St. Martha in Bijaći. Ibid., vol.1, 24: *Actum est in Biaci ante fores ecclesiae sanctae Martae martirae*. The earlier charter of Duke Trpimir from the mid-ninth century was also issued at the same site. Ibid., 5: *Actum in loco, qui dicitur Byaci*. For the site Bijaći-Stombrate, see Mladen Ančić, "Od vladarske *curtis* do gradskoga kotara: Bijaći i crkva Sv. Marte od početka 9. do početka 13. stoljeća" [From the regnal *curtis* to the town borough: Bijaći and St. Martha from the beginning of the ninth until the beginning of the thirteenth century], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. 3, vol. 26 (1999): 189–236. Much less is known about the monasterial complex at Rižinice, apart from the famous inscription "PRO DVCE TREPIME[ro...] ... [prece]S CHR(ist)O SV(b)MIT[tatis...] ... [...hab]ETE COLLA TREME[ntes...]." The inscription is thought to have been put up in memory of Trpimir's establishment of the monastery as narrated in his charter: "That is why I, Trpimir, by divine grace the duke of the Croats, although a sinner, and since I do not know when my last day and hour will come, greatly concerned for the salvation of my soul, I took council with all of my *župani* and I built a monastery and brought monks in it. Touched by their pleas and wanting that their prayers free me of sin, I started thinking how to acquire some utensils for the church of that monastery. And as there was not enough silver to complete the creation of the liturgical vessels, Peter, the archbishop of the church of Salona and our dear godfather, gave us eleven ounces of silver", in *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 1, 4–5. However, the site itself has not been sufficiently excavated yet. *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog* [Croats and Carolingians: Catalogue], ed. Ante Milošević (Split: MHAS, 2000), 329–330.

with this workshop, it seems that its activities were quite confined both temporally and spatially. In other words, the workshop seems to have been active for a short time-span in the 820s and 830s and at a small number of sites spread throughout the duchy but connected to the ruling dynasty. This workshop was soon afterwards succeeded by the so-called Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir, which is roughly datable to between the 840s and mid-860s. The corpus of the latter workshop is larger and it appears at sites that are much more heterogeneous, which suggests that by this time the trend of church building had already spread to a wider circle among the elite.[18]

A Dialogue with the Past: The Establishment of Churches

The progressive increase in the number of newly built churches in Dalmatia during the ninth century testifies to the changes at higher levels of local society. So while the workshop of the Master of the Koljani Panel worked at only five sites, the two workshops active in the last quarter of the ninth century are associated with over thirty-five localities.[19] These churches were sometimes built at sites that had some kind of sacral continuity, although this was not always the case.[20] One illustrative example is the archaeological site Begovača, situated at the very edge of Biljane Donje in northern Dalmatia, where a ninth-century church was built on top of an older Late Antique church.[21] Since burials from the late Middle

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[18] Nikola Jakšić identified the workshop in 1986 and it has been used as a concept ever since. Despite its name, the activity of the workshop is not exclusively tied with the reign of Trpimir, as it has been argued that the same workshop was active also at the time of his predecessor Duke Mislav. See Ivan Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje imena kneza Mislava na natpisu s Begovače" [A proposed reading of Duke Mislav's name in the inscription from Begovača], *Archaeologia Adriatica* 6 (2012): 138–147. Recently, Josipović counted fourteen sites at which fragments carved by this workshop had been found, in "Predromanički reljefi," 106–108.

[19] Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi," 154–155, 190–191, 198–199.

[20] See Jakšić, "Il ruolo delle antiche chiese," 103–110; Ante Milošević, "Karolinški utjecaji u kneževini Hrvatskoj u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza" [Carolingian influences in the Duchy of Croatia in the light of archaeological finds], in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 123–125.

[21] The results of the excavations of the cemetery were published by Dušan Jelovina and Dasen Vrsalović, "Srednjovjekovno groblje na 'Begovači' u selu Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra" [Medieval cemetery at 'Begovača' in the village Biljani Donji near Zadar], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. 3, vol. 11 (1981): 55–136. However, the key contribution to the interpretation of the site was provided by Nikola Jakšić, "Crkve na Begovači i problem starohrvatskih nekropola" [The churches at Begovača and the problem of Old Croat cemeteries], *Diadora* 11 (1989): 145–164. His conclusions have since been confirmed by

Ages destroyed most of the architectural remains of these two churches, it is rather difficult to understand what happened to the Late Antique church between the time it was built and the ninth century, when a local dignitary "renovated" it "for the well-being of his soul."[22] The inscribed term REN(ovavit) is difficult to decipher; perhaps it was meant to signify that the Late Antique church had been reconstructed or that a new church was built on top of the older one. This episode provides valuable insight into how imported innovations of the early ninth century – such as establishing privately funded churches and furnishing their interiors with decorations which often featured inscriptions – recalled the local past, which may or may not have been forgotten.

The revisited past at Begovača was strictly Christian but this was not necessarily the case at some of the other Dalmatian sites. For example, a very different kind of past was invoked by the man who financed the basilica at Biskupija-Crkvina, who, in the 830s or 840s, decided to have a church built on top of a row-grave cemetery that had presumably been in use by his family for at least half a century.[23] Shortly after the main building of the basilica at Biskupija was completed, the donor himself died and was laid to rest in a sarcophagus carved out of classical *spolia* which was then interred at the main entrance of the church.[24] Not long after, an antechamber to the basilica was constructed on top of this burial place, which physically and symbolically incorporated the burial into the main body of the church.[25] There are no tell-tale signs that would suggest whether the persons buried in the small eighth-ninth-century row-grave cemetery were Christian or not but the donor of the church certainly was, and through his actions he quite literally re-appropriated his own familial past by incorporating the older burials into the newly built sacred site. However, there is another side to this

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Vedrana Delonga, "Kameni spomenici s 'Begovače' u Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra [Stone monuments from 'Begovača' in Biljane Donje near Zadar], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. 3, vol. 20 (1992): 96, 100; Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje," 129–148.

[22] Vedrana Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 180–183, cat. no. 134. 135, 137, 139: "[+] DE DONIS D(e)I E[t...] ... [m]OISCLA[avus] ... [...vn]A CVM CO[nivge...] ... [...pr]O REMED(io) A(n)IME SVE REN(ovavit) HVNC TE[mplvm]."

[23] Milošević, "Karolinški utjecaji," 123–125. For a comparative situation in Rhineland, see Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 36–38.

[24] Frano Radić, "Grobna raka iz starohrvatske biskupske bazilike s. Marije u Biskupiji kod Knina i u njoj nađeni mrtvački ostanci" [Grave from the Old Croat bishopric basilica of Saint Mary in Biskupija near Knin and the remains of the deceased found within it], *SHP* 2 (1896): 71–73.

[25] Petrinec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija," 354.

strategy: through his actions the donor also "localized" Christianity to a certain degree by tying it to a physical and tangible location that carried social, political, and perhaps religious connotations which pre-dated the Christian site of worship.

The basilica at Biskupija predates the ninth-century renovation project of the church at Begovača, although not by much. The fragments of the altar relief from Begovača have been identified as products of the Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir.[26] Moreover, it has been convincingly argued that one of the preserved inscriptions bears the name of Duke Mislav (c. 829–c. 842), which would position the church at Begovača very close to the horizon of churches built by the efforts of the Master of the Koljani Panel.[27] The church at Begovača could then well be one of the first examples of privately funded churches put up by the members of the elite outside of the ducal family.

Out of the 602 graves discovered at Begovača, only four burials – Graves 165, 253, 258, and 263 – contain grave goods that can be reliably dated to the ninth century.[28] Graves 253 and 258 are located under the apse of the church, the latter being a double burial, presumably of a married couple. Since the inscription from one of the fragments of the architrave narrates that the church was (re) constructed by the efforts and finances of an anonymous donor and his wife, it might be possible to identify them with the couple buried in Grave 258.[29]

Thus, unlike the donor from Biskupija-Crkvina who built his ninth-century basilica on top of a small late eighth- or early ninth-century church that was in continual use by several generations of the donor's family, the anonymous married couple from Begovača wanted a link to a strictly Christian rather than a familial past. Therefore, they used a different approach relying on the continual Christian sanctity of the site they had chosen as their place of burial. The couple's main concern was the salvation of their own souls and perhaps of their offspring but not necessarily the souls of their ancestors.[30] Explicitly, this was conceptualized through an inscription displaying the same idea, which once stretched across the

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[26] Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje," 136–147.

[27] Ibid., 141–142.

[28] Dušan Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole* [Old Croat cemeteries] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1976), 17 and 32; Jelovina and Vrsalović, "Srednjovjekovno groblje na Begovači," 62.

[29] Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje," 144–145. Unfortunately, the part of the architrave bearing the name of the donor has not been found, but a reference to his wife is evident from one of the preserved fragments which reads: "CVM CO[nivge…]", in Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 182, cat. no. 137.

[30] After all, their inscription verbalizes this concern: "[…pr]O REMED(io) A(n)IME SVE REN(ovavit) HVNC TE[mplvm…]", in Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 183, cat. no. 139.

whole architrave of the altar screen and physically and metaphorically tied them together with the very stone fabric of the church they had funded.[31] In addition to constructing the church for the well-being of their souls and commissioning the inscription to commemorate it, their eternal salvation was further ensured by the careful choice of the location of their burial. Unsurprisingly, this happened to be at the holiest place inside the church, under the altar itself.

A Name to Remember: Prayer in the Function of Remembrance

The establishment of churches and burials within them were not the only way the elite of the duchy could express their Christian piety. The importance of the ideal of aristocratic piety is verifiable in another source: a Gospel book from Aquileia that was once thought to have contained the autograph of Saint Mark the Evangelist.[32] The Gospel book, which bears a large number of Slavic, Lombard, and Frankish names, once served as a sort of *Liber vitae* or *Liber memorialis* that was used to commemorate pilgrimages undertaken to a monastery in Aquileia, most likely located in the present-day village of San Canzian d'Isonzo, where the book was kept.[33] An entry in the book would have been followed by giving gifts to the monks in return for the prayers which were expected to be said on behalf of the pilgrims and those dear to them.[34] It was an envisaged exchange of material goods for prayers, exactly like the one in the Charter of Trpimir, where, for example, the duke expected the monks from the monastery he had established to pray for the salvation of his soul, while he procured for them liturgical vessels made out of silver and gave them gifts of land.[35]

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[31] For a proposed reconstruction of the original appearance of the altar rail, see Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje," 144–145, Figs 7a and 7b.

[32] C. L. Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," in *Neues Archiv*, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1876), 112–128; Uwe Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung: prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liber vitae von San Salvatore in Brescia und des Evangeliars von Cividale,* MGH, Studien und Texte, vol. 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1999).

[33] Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, 192; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162–172; Andrea Tilatti, "Un monastero altomedievale a San Canzian d'Isonzo?," in *Studi sancanzianesi in memoria di Mario Mirabella Roberti*, ed. Giuseppe Cuscito, Antichità Altoadriatiche 57 (Trieste: Editreg SRL, 2004), 277–283.

[34] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 167.

[35] *Codex diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 4–5.

Duke Trpimir's name appears in two separate lists in the manuscript.[36] In the first list, his name is entered together (yet subsequent to) that of Sebedra(g), who held the rank of *hostiarius*, presumably at Trpimir's ducal court.[37] Since a portion of the text is unreadable, it is unclear whether Sebedra(g) arrived at the monastery together with the duke or if he had the monks enter Trpimir's name into the book so that they would pray for the well-being of his sovereign's soul as well as his own.[38] Whatever the case may be, the purpose would have been the same: the entry would have been both a call for prayers and a call for remembrance.

In the second entry, Duke Trpimir appears second in a list featuring the names of several dignitaries entered in a single column of the manuscript in what appears to be the same hand.[39] Again, the identity of the visitor is uncertain but the fact that the entry was made is important enough. Moreover, the same list also contains the name of Peter, son of Trpimir, who is known from another entry in the same manuscript. In this other entry, Peter's name appears together with a certain Presila, who had signed his name on the pages of the codex in his own hand.[40] It is possible that this Presila is the same person who appears among the fifteen witnesses named in the Charter of Duke Trpimir, which would again

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[36] Trpimir's name actually appears three times, but the third time it is not a separate entry but an identifier for his son Peter (*Petrus filius domno Tripemero*).

[37] It is uncertain whether this Sebedra(g) is the same person who would later on, in the time of Duke Branimir, finance the replacement of the altar screen in a small church at Otres. The inscription reads: "+ IN N(omine) D(omi)NI TE(m)POR[e] DOMNO [Br] ANNI[mero] DVCI EGO C[ede]DRA[go] [ad ho]NORE(m) BEATI PETRI ET S(an) C(ta)E MARIE S(an)C(t)I GEORGII S(an)C(t)I STEFANI S(an)C(t)I MARTINI S(an) C(t)I GRISOGONI S(an)C(ta)E CRVCIS", in Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 228–229, cat. no. 182. Alternatively, Sebedra(g) may be identical to Sibidrago, the *iuppanus* of Klis, who was one of the witnesses listed at the end of the Charter of Duke Muncimir from 892: *Sibidrago, zuppano Clesae*, in *Codex diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 24. Trpimir Vedriš, "Nekoliko opažanja o začetcima štovanja sv. Krševana u Dalmaciji u ranome srednjem vijeku" [Notes on the beginnings of the cult of St. Chrysogonus in Dalmatia in the Early Middle Ages], in *Spalatumque dedit ortum*, ed. Ivan Basić and Marko Rimac (Split: Filozofski fakultet Split, 2014), 217–219.

[38] Unless the unreadable line between the two names is deciphered, the problem will remain unsolved.

[39] Whether Duke Trpimir ever visited the monastery personally is impossible to tell. His name does not appear first in either list, which might imply that the entries were made on his behalf through the intercession of members of his court, Sebedra(g) and Bribina.

[40] Mirjana Matijević Sokol argues that both Peter and Presila could have been literate, in "1150. obljetnica darovnice kneza Trpimira" [The 1150th anniversary of the Charter of Duke Trpimir], in *100 godina Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli: Nova istraživanja u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Darko Komšo, Izdanja HAD-a, vol. 25 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 2010), 15.

underpin the importance of the display of piety for the social and political life of the duchy in the first half of the ninth century and beyond.[41] For both Sebedra(g) and Presila it was important that their personal connections with the duke and his son be memorialized by having their names written down together. Hence, the manuscript should be understood as the medium through which piety could have been expressed, codified, and remembered. Like the establishment of churches, this is not to be understood in simplistic terms. Explicit expressions of Christian piety always came together with an implicit understanding of the intricate network of interactions and social connections shared among the members of the elite society of the Dalmatian duchy. In essence, Sebedra(g) and Presila were doing the same thing as the anonymous donor from Begovača, memorializing his pious church foundation by commissioning an inscription for the altar rail. The inscription carried not only the memory of his act, but also the memory that he had done it in the time of Duke Mislav.

Trpimir's son, Peter, might have had his name entered on the pages of the manuscript on a third occasion that has been, as far as I know, previously unnoticed in scholarship.[42] This time a person called Peter (Petrus) appears together with Mutimira, which seems to be the feminine equivalent of the male name Mutimir. As the entry is located on the same page where the two entries associated with Duke Trpimir and his entourage were recorded, it certainly opens up new questions about the genealogy of the ducal dynasty and the importance of *Codex Foroiuliensis* as a source for the Adriatic region in the ninth century.[43]

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[41] *Codex diplomaticus* vol.1, 6–7; Ferdo Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji" [Geneological notes on the Croatian ruling dynasty], *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 13 (1914): 6. In this document, a person with the title *iuppanus* appears second on the list under the name *Pretilia* or *Precilia*. Judging from this coincidence, it appears likely that the orthographical variations refer to the same high dignitary, who was close both to the duke and to his son.

[42] For unknown reasons, C. L. Bethman does not recognize these two names as a single entry in "Die Evangelien Handschrift," 121. This is why they remained unrecognized in Croatian scholarship, see Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb, 1877), 382–386; Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi," 5–7; Ferdo Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije,* vol. 1 [Handbook for the sources of Croatian history] (Zagreb, 1914), 125.

[43] *The Gospel of Cividale,* Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivi e Biblioteca, MS 137, fol. 5v. It is clear that the same hand wrote the names Mutimira and Petrus, one on top of the other, in the free space between the two pre-existing columns bearing names of other pilgrims. Even though there is no direct evidence that these two people are actually from Trpimir's duchy, the context in which they appear is certainly interesting.

Finally, Duke Branimir (879–c. 892), who came to rule the realm after murdering Trpimir's son and Byzantine protégée Zdeslav, also found his way to the monastery where the codex was kept, together with his wife Mariosa, which again affirms the importance of performed acts of piety for the aristocratic culture and society of the Dalmatian duchy.[44]

Conclusion

The available archaeological and written evidence shows that imported models of Christian piety clearly brought innovations to the ways the local Slav elites expressed themselves and their status. It is now clear that the new trend of establishing churches was introduced from the top, by the ducal dynasty themselves. However, as the case from Biljane Donje-Begovača shows, it did not take long for it to be accepted by the higher strata of society. The display of Christian piety, however, not only included funding new churches, but also the disappearance of swords and other weapons from burials, which from then on became associated with small rural churches. The donors of sites such as Galovac-Crkvina, Biskupija-Crkvina, and Biljane Donje-Begovača might have financed their churches so that they could one day be buried by or in them. The scarce, but revealing, evidence of pilgrimages that the elite of the region undertook to the monastery in Aquileia shows the importance of this "new way" in society.

The establishment of churches, "Christianized" burials associated with them, and the entries to the Gospel of Cividale had strong symbolic significance that went beyond the expression of aristocratic piety. They were, after all, options available primarily to a select few among the elite, both religious and secular, and as such it was a luxury that served a very down-to-earth function. The church as a building was an intervention in the physical space of the everyday life of a rural community. This intervention served as a statement of the social status, power, and authority of its donor over his territory. Moreover, in the cases when the donor and his family used these private churches for their own burials, the churches took on the symbolic role of tombstones, reminding the communities of those who had been buried there and of those who had the right and opportunity to be buried there in the future. In this regard, the display of aristocratic piety was never *only* about piety. Rather, it was a consequence of complex social relations, for which access to novelties introduced under the umbrella of Western Christianity became a catalyst for social competition.

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[44] Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift," 126; Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, 271.

ROYAL SELF-REPRESENTATION AND THE SYMBOLS OF POWER OF NICHOLAS OF ILOK AS KING OF BOSNIA[1]

Davor Salihović

After several months of preparations, on May 5, 1472, two kings met in Buda to arrange their mutual relations, future political support, and personal dependence through an adoption contract. The recently elected king of Bosnia, Nicholas of Ilok (Miklós Újlaki), thus became the adoptive son of Elizabeth (Erzsébet) Szilágyi, the *genetrix* of King Matthias Corvinus, to whom he promised unconditional support, free access to his estates, filial care and affection: he surely expected nothing less in return. On the occasion of his coronation, Nicholas corroborated everything stated in the contract with his seal, *sigillo nostro quo ut Rex Bozne utimur*, the medium of his royal authority and honor.[2]

In this way, Nicholas introduced a series of personal representational and identity-related alterations along with new mechanisms of semiotic (sign-based) communication based on a newly acquired title, the kingship of Bosnia, and its respective power and authority. The media for communicating his new *persona* included both visual and literary semiotics dispersed over a variety of materials and channels. Paper, parchment, metal, stone, wax, and textiles – diplomas, coins, tombstones, architecture, seals, heraldry, and fashion – were adapted to a system constructed out of the late medieval understanding of signs and popular cognition. It was but the *episteme* (essential understanding) of the world that was sought through medieval uses of signs. From Hildegard's herbology through exegesis to Thomistic and Ockham's interpretations of signs, medieval fascination with significance was nothing less than a quest for knowledge, pieces of information contained in revealed and unrevealed natural signs and, more

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[1] This article is an *addendum* to Davor Salihović, "An Interesting Episode: Nicholas of Ilok's Kingship in Bosnia 1471–1477" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2016).

[2] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, State Archives, The Diplomatic Collection] (henceforth MNL OL, DL), 17316. The document has been published twice in two lexically different transliterations, both of which contain significant differences compared to the original: Philipp Ernst Spies, *Aufklärungen in der Geschichte und Diplomatik* (Bayreuth: Zeitungsdruckerei, 1791), 274–275; József Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. 11 (Pest: Gusztáv Emich, 1855), 469–471, doc. 538. For the first complete paper on Nicholas's Bosnian kingship, see András Kubinyi, "Die Frage des bosnischen Königtums von Nikolaus Ujlaky," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4 (1958): 373–384.

importantly, conventional symbols.[3] The paradigm of resemblance and the semiotic epistemology developed within the learned culture of Western universities[4] as well as the imagery so important in the illiterate popular culture of the majority of the society both rested on a single common denominator: communication, the transfer of information. This is a mechanism of communication between a physically absent originator and receivers through media which embody its presence and suggest the message, inform of identity, and warn of ambitions.[5] Late medieval semiotic paradigms rested on a seemingly simple axiom of common reasoning, an interpretative mechanism which implied a simple formula: to signify is to *facere cognoscere*, to convey something for the intellect.[6]

Such a mechanism has been most aptly discussed theoretically in the semiotic theory of Charles Sanders Peirce, a theory of a triadic interplay between object, sign, and interpretant, or rather, in this case, the Peircean symbol and the interpretant.[7] Knowledge is sought through the interpretation of symbols, conventional signs whose content and determination relies purely on the interpretant's ability to interpret them based on a current social convention.[8] Thus, this approach to the communicative features of a symbol fits the modern scholar's efforts to interpret the importance and systems of communication through conventional symbols of the Middle Ages, especially conventions of a specific society and its standardized set of representative imagery. Heraldry, seals, texts, and more subtle means of communication were all based on social conventions sustained

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[3] On medieval semiotics see Umberto Eco and Constantino Marino, eds., *On the Medieval Theory of Signs* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989), especially Roberto Pellerey, "Thomas Aquinas: Natural Semiotics and the Epistemological Process," 81–105, and Andrea Tabarroni, "Mental Signs and the Theory of Representation in Ockham," 195–224. See also Stephan Meier-Oeser, "Medieval Semiotics," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/semiotics-medieval/ (accessed November, 2016); Winfried Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 17–18.

[4] See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2005), 19–33.

[5] See also Robert Kurelić, "Simboli statusa i moći: kneževski pečati Celjskih grofova" [Symbols of status and power: princely seals of the Counts of Cilli], in *Med srednjo Evropo in Sredozemljem. Vojetov zbornik*, ed. Sašo Jerše (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2006), 61; Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000-1301)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 15–34.

[6] Meier-Oeser, "Medieval Semiotics."

[7] Richard J. Parmentier, *Signs in Society: Studies in Semiotic Anthropology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 3–11.

[8] Ibid.

by repetition and ritual practice or inherited through tradition. The importance of Peirce's theoretical inventions for such means of medieval communication, in opposition to the Saussurean and Straussean approach, was not (re)discovered solely by Richard Parmentier, but also by medievalist Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, in her analyses of seals as a means of communication of non-physical presence, authority, and identity.[9]

The present study analyzes, in as much detail as the sources allow, the set of communication channels and representative mechanisms used by Nicholas of Ilok to promote his newly constructed personal identity and recently acquired authority. Since he used the conventions of the late medieval Hungarian society he belonged to, he could not escape the standards employed and interpreted daily by the members of the same society to promote personal status and confirm social relations and stratification.

The Word

Lupus Lukács sent a report to the duke of Milan in 1476, five years after the Ragusans informed the king of Naples of the same matter,[10] in which he emphasized that Matthias had made Nicholas king of Bosnia.[11] By this time, Nicholas had assumed fully his royal identity and pursued his political ambitions within a regal framework. This acquisition, however, had two adjacent and different levels which depended on one crucial condition: the formal bestowal of royal attributes upon Nicholas. Specifically, immediately after the election, Nicholas discarded or devalued all of his other intitulations to signify the new social role he was to play—that of a king. From December 1471, Nicholas consistently referred to himself as *Rex Bozne electus*.[12] His appointment was achieved through a

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[9] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1489–1533, reprinted in Susan Solway, ed., *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Idem, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). On her analysis of Peirce's semiotic theory see 62–71.

[10] Vičentije Makušev, *Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium vicinorumque populorum*, vol. 2, *Monumenta Ragusina* (Belgrade: Štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1882), 95–96, doc. 10.

[11] Iván Nagy and Albert Nyáry, *Monumenta Hungariae historica: Mátyás király korából 1458-1490* [The age of King Matthias 1458-1490] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [MTA], 1877), 316–318, doc. 219.

[12] MNL OL, DL 100821; 103733; 103734.

compromise between King Matthias and the nobility,[13] thus Nicholas initially and very carefully represented his *ego* with a conditional title whose legitimacy rested in the election itself and no other source, since he could count neither on familial connections nor political arrangements with the Kotromanić dynasty. However, a new source of unconditional royal authority was granted to Nicholas in May 1472, when, immediately after he became one of the Hungarian royal family, regal attributes were granted to him through coronation by the highest authority known to medieval politics: divine grace.[14]

Thereafter, Nicholas proudly promoted his indisputable status through the phrase *Dei gratia rex Bozne* (king of Bosnia by the grace of God)[15] and fully assumed it as his primary identity for the rest of his earthly days. Throughout medieval Europe, especially where it mattered, Nicholas presented himself as *rex Bozne*, and certainly made an effort to establish his new identity as the only important one, specifically to devalue his previous and persistent identification. He successfully promoted his royal attributes at the courts of the pope, King Matthias, the duke of Ferrara, as well as escritoires of Renaissance thinkers,[16] but

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[13] On the importance of corporations, especially nobility, in late medieval Hungarian royal politics and elections see János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 27–53; András Kubinyi, "Stände und Staat in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Bohemia* 31 (1990): 312–325; Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 158–159, 172–173.

[14] On the issue of Nicholas's coronation, whether, when, and where it happened see Salihović, "An Interesting Episode," 56–60. For different interpretations see: [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ђирковић, "Властела и краљеви у Босни после 1463. године" [Aristocracy and kings in Bosnia after 1463], *Istoriski glasnik* 3 (1954): 130; Kubinyi, "Die Frage," 377; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti: Sveta kruna ugarska i Sveta kruna bosanska 1387.-1463.* [The landslide of history: The holy crown of Hungary and the holy crown of Bosnia 1387-1463] (Zagreb: Synopsis, 2006), 380–381; Lajos Thallóczy, *Povijest (banovine, grada i varoši) Jajca 1450.-1527.* [The history of the banate, the castle, and the town of Jajce 1450–1527] (Zagreb: Kraljevska zemaljska tiskara, 1916), 108.

[15] MNL OL, DL 100822; MNL OL, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Photo Collection] (Henceforth: DF) 231650; MNL OL, DL 102593; 81741, and so on.

[16] Pope Sixtus IV recognized Nicholas as the king of Bosnia several times, see Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1860), 444, doc. 629; 447, doc. 632; King Matthias referred to Nicholas in the same manner: MNL OL, DL 24975; 18001; he was welcomed as *Re di Bossina* in Ferrara in 1475: Ugo Caleffini, *Croniche 1471-1494*, ed. Teresa Bachi, Maria Giovanna Galli, and Angela Ghinato (Ferrara: Deputazione provinciale ferrarese di storia patria, 2006), 102–103, 104; and the Servite order kept a wax figurine of the king of Bosnia in their Basilica della Santissima Annunziata in Florence, a figurine renewed by Fra Giovanni Montorsoli: Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più*

in medieval Hungary, Nicholas was still often recognized as the voivode long after his coronation.[17] Despite losing the honor of the voivodeship of Transylvania by 1464,[18] for most of his clique he remained *the* voivode, a man who held this office at the peak of his career, co-ruling with the departed John (János) Hunyadi.[19] However, a new and more prestigious opportunity emerged in 1471 and Nicholas saw to his promotion.

It is not surprising, then, that he represented himself as the king of Bosnia in texts circulated in medieval Hungary, where the title had no practical administrative applications but was certainly a powerful tool of symbolic communication and self-promotion. Even though legally acting as the ban of Slavonia, Nicholas never missed an opportunity to identify himself as king,[20] for it had a twofold basis; he was, indeed, *the* king of Bosnia, a title that had been unconditionally related to his person in the socio-political convention of his immediate social circles from 1471/1472 onwards. Furthermore, it was a powerful tool in competing for status within the territory and in the period where further promotion really mattered. Therefore, interpretants needed to be made aware of a connection between the conventional sign and the strictly defined object it represented, Nicholas and his complex royal identity. Semiotic theory recognizes that only consistency in signification guarantees the resilience and durability of this connection, and

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eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori [The lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors, and architects] (Florence, 1568), 611. In addition, his royal identity was certainly known at the court of Naples (see note 10) by the counts of Gorizia: MNL OL, DF 258155; Rudolfo Coronini, *Tentamen genealogico-chronologicum promovendae seriei Comitum et rerum Goritiae* (Vienna: 1759), 228, in Ragusa, with *Herzeg* [prince] Vlatko and Ivan Crnojević: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku [State Archives in Dubrovnik], *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, 21, fol. 277r and 279v, and in Venice: Janko Šafárik, *Acta archivi Veneti spectantia ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 1860), 543–545, doc. 514; [Ivan Božić] Иван Божић, Млечани према наследницима *херцега* Стефана [The Venetians towards the successors of Herzeg Stephen], *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 6 (1962): 122; Josip Florschütz, "Stridon i Zrin" [Stridon and Zrin], *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 6 (1902): 92.

[17] At the *verso* of the contract of adoption between Nicholas and Elizabeth, the inscription says: *obligamen Nicolai wayvod(ae) tempore coronationis sue*, MNL OL, DL 17316. Even Lukács emphasized in 1476 that *una parte della Bosna data per il Re mio a Nicolo suo Vajvoda*, see note 11.

[18] The sources designate Nicholas as the voivode of Transylvania for the last time in December 1464: MNL OL, DL 14630. He never held the same office again.

[19] On Nicholas's role in the unstable period preceding and during Hunyadi's regency, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 283–285, 288–294.

[20] For example: MNL OL, DL 103745.

neglecting it jeopardizes misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Even though he never enjoyed any practical rights *as* king of Bosnia in medieval Hungary, he was *the* king of Bosnia and for the sake of social capital and status, interpretants needed to be constantly reminded of who and what the title represented.

A testimony to Nicholas's level of success in promoting and establishing a new royal image is that his identification outlived the king himself. Long after his death in 1477, family members continued to employ the identification whenever it seemed suitable and were identified accordingly in local chanceries when the emphasis on royal origin seemed necessary. Thus, Lawrence (Lőrinc), Nicholas's son, actively promoted this identity for several years at the beginning of his independent career[21] and occasionally afterwards,[22] and others, connected to the family either by loyalty or familial connections, seem to have preferred such a designation especially in dispute with the Újlakis or over their estates. Members of the Ország family knew well that their grandmother was a daughter of Nicholas, *the* king of Bosnia, when they claimed her filial quarter from the Újlaki estates,[23] just as well Ferenc Balassa knew that his wife's mother was a daughter of the king when he felt it necessary to arrange inheritance issues with Lawrence.[24]

Despite lacking any palpable administrative applications, Nicholas's self-promoting activities relied on establishing a certain social status within medieval Hungary, a process which was not only allowed but facilitated by both Matthias's benevolence[25] and societal norms based on tradition. Thus, he had at his disposal a social circles accustomed to symbolic communication with a defined symbolic language, a group of "speakers" ready to be presented with the symbols of power not only through written syntagmata (sets of linguistic forms), but through a more powerful token of royal splendor and qualities: an image.

The Image

A showcase of Nicholas's self-representation and status acquired through the kingship and collaboration with Matthias is the role he played at the ultimate symbolic exposition of the period: the wedding of Matthias and Beatrix and the

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[21] MNL OL, DL 18067.

[22] MNL OL, DL 101175.

[23] MNL OL, DL 66049; MNL OL, DL 22222. See also Moriz Wertner, "Nikolaus von Ilok (Ujlak) 'König' von Bosnien und seine Familie," *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 8 (1906): 261–263.

[24] MNL OL, DL 66003.

[25] On the close collaboration of Matthias and Nicholas from the mid-1460s onwards, see Salihović, "An Interesting Episode," 27–48.

queen's coronation in 1476. The king of Bosnia arrived wearing a gold-plated cape decorated with hundreds of gems of an "estimated worth of sixty thousand golden Marks," he was presented as the scepter- and orb-bearer on Matthias's right, and crowned Queen Beatrix together with the bishop of Veszprém and the palatine.[26]

A year earlier, Nicholas had joined the pilgrims who visited Rome on the occasion of the jubilee,[27] a pilgrimage which not only granted him redemption but allowed him to travel throughout Italy, and further disseminate his new royal identity. In the evening of February 21, 1475, Nicholas arrived unexpectedly in Ferrara and arranged a proper royal entrance. According to the local chronicler, Ugo Caleffini, he arrived with one hundred and fifty horses "which went in a manner of ships, in complete harmony," followed by "a beautiful escort of finely dressed men."[28] After spending the following day with the duke, Nicholas departed for Ravenna on February 23, but just before boarding the ship he presented the duke with his own "beautifully adorned" cast-iron carriage drawn by six "young, beautiful, and dignified runners." Most importantly, Caleffini notes that the gift was presented to the duke by the king's own *maiestas*.[29]

More than a month later the king returned to Ferrara, now to be appropriately welcomed by the duke who, indeed, went out to meet the king and hosted him in his own court, but only after he had "adorned the great hall with his most splendid curtains," and other rooms "with *pane d'oro* and other refined things."[30] Nicholas even left his votive wax figurine in Florence, which later joined the figurines of the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, and he managed to stay in the apostolic palace, warmly welcomed by the pope.[31]

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[26] Albert Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457-1508)* [Queen Beatrix 1457-1508] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1908), 175-176; Gábor Kazinczy, *Mátyás király: Kortársai tanúsága szerént* [King Matthias according to his contemporaries] (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1863), 117–122.

[27] For previous works on Nicholas's pilgrimage to Rome, see Florio Banfi, "Romei ungheresi del Giubileo del 1475: Niccolò Ujlaki Re di Bosnia in un affresco nell'Ospedale di Santo Spirito dell'Urbe," *Corvina – Rasegna Italo-Ungherese* 3 (1941): 499–512; Tamás Fedeles, "'*Bosniae… rex… apostolorum limina visit*': Die Romwallfahrt von Nikolaus Újlaki im Jahre 1475," *Ungarn – Jahrbuch* 31 (2011-2013): 99–117.

[28] Caleffini, *Croniche*, 102–103.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., 104.

[31] Stanko Andrić, "Od Iloka do Rima: talijansko putovanje Nikole Iločkoga" [From Ilok to Rome: the Italian journey of Nicholas of Ilok], *Hrvatska revija* 1 (2015), http://www.matica.hr/hr/446/Od%20Iloka%20do%20Rima:%20talijansko%20putovanje%20Nikole%20Ilo%C4%8Dkoga/ (accessed November 2016).

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Apart from religious motives implied by previous scholarship,[32] a wider context of Nicholas's journey and scattered sources suggest another possible goal: a series of actions guided by the symbolic communication of royal authority and identity. The sources state two explicit motives for Nicholas's journey: redemption, and, importantly, his advocacy of the Observants' rights in the Kingdom of Hungary.[33] The latter is certainly associated with the fact that John of Capistrano's resting place was located inside the Franciscan church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nicholas's capital, Ilok (Újlak).[34] From the beginning, Nicholas was a strong supporter of John's canonization, which led him to address the Italian clergy and nobility in a letter urging the initiation of the canonization process, which was combined with another letter by King Matthias to the same audience, sent in 1460.[35] After the initial steps had ended by the late 1460s, there were only sporadic appeals for restarting the process, but in 1473 one came from none other than Elizabeth Szilágyi, Nicholas's adoptive mother, who reminded Pope Sixtus IV of John of Capistrano's miraculous deeds.[36] Two years later, the same pope met the king of Bosnia in Rome to discuss the rights of the Hungarian Observants and Nicholas appealed for their confirmation.[37] Nicholas's commitment to the Observants' cause is further underpinned by his actions despite Sixtus IV's general anti-Observant stance, but the pope's initiation of Bonaventure's canonization might have spurred hope for the confirmation of John of Capistrano's sainthood as well.[38] In the Jubilee year, it was *Nicolaus rex Bozne illustris* who took upon himself the task of representing the Hungarian Observant movement in Rome, and he was certainly one of the most prestigious pilgrims since no major European monarchs were present in Rome at the same

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[32] See note 27.

[33] Theiner, *Vetera monumenta*, 443–444, doc. 629.

[34] On churches, monasteries, and chapels of medieval Ilok see Stanko Andrić, "Crkvene ustanove srednjovjekovnog Iloka" [The ecclesiastical institutions of medieval Ilok], in *Potonuli svijet: rasprave o slavonskom i srijemskom srednjovjekovlju* [Sunken world: a discussion of the Middle Ages in Slavonia and Srijem] (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001), 143–179; See also idem, *Čudesa svetoga Ivana Kapistrana: Povijesna i tekstualna analiza* [Miracles of St. John of Capistrano: A historical and textual analysis] (Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska–Hrvatski institut za povijest [HIP] Podružnica z povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 1999), 43–46.

[35] Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a s. Francisco institutorum*, vol. 13 (Rome: Roch Bernabò, 1735), 157-160.

[36] Ibid., vol. 14, 72-73.

[37] See note 33.

[38] Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 41–42.

time.[39] The fresco in the Hospice of Santo Spirito in Sassia which represents Nicholas as the most pious king speaks of royal grandeur as well as the diplomatic mission he orchestrated and undertook in Rome, a symbolic communication of his *maiestas*.[40] Sources which contain information about his retinue confirm that the king arrived there with his family as well as his most loyal associates and courtiers of the royal court[41] in a splendid procession of more than a hundred people.[42]

Even though there is no strong evidence to confirm the connection of Elizabeth's letter and Nicholas's pro-Observant activities of 1473 and 1475, several conclusions can be deduced. Firstly, Nicholas successfully established a firm connection between the royal title and his own person at the papal court to further justify and confirm his royal qualities outside the electoral system of the Hungarian Diet and King Matthias's compromise. Furthermore, as the king of Bosnia, recognized as such in Rome, he continued to support the Observants and, possibly, the canonization of a miraculous preacher resting in his own "royal capital" to stress the connection of his own rule with the miraculous Franciscan. Secondly, he managed to represent his royal identity in the center of Western Christianity where the last remnant of the Bosnian Kotromanić dynasty, Queen Catherine (Katarina) Kosača, enjoyed papal hospitality for the last decade of her life and was present in Rome during his visit.[43] It is not a surprise, then, that a false interpretation of Nicholas's travel as pursuit of Catherine's approval of his Bosnian kingship appears sporadically in the older historiography.[44]

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[39] Besides Nicholas, only Queen Dorothea of Denmark (Brandenburg), Anthony "the Bastard" of Burgundy, and Charlotte Lusignan, the deposed queen of Cyprus, were among princely pilgrims who went to Rome in 1475: Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900), 281–282.

[40] Banfi, "Romei Ungheresi," 505–510.

[41] Fedeles, "*Bosniae… rex…*," 110–113.

[42] Based on the number of horses Nicholas had in his escort as reported by Caleffini, Fedeles concludes that Nicholas's escort must have been at least 110 strong. However, certainly not all the horses would have been used by riders, but Caleffini also mentions 40 reserve horses, so the number of mounted horses must have been near a hundred. Fedeles, "*Bosniae… rex…*," 111; Caleffini, *Croniche*, 102.

[43] On Queen Catherine of Bosnia see [Đuro Tošić] Ђуро Тошић, "Босанска краљица Катарина (1425-1478)" [Queen Catherine of Bosnia (1425-1478)], Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине 2 (1997): 73–112.

[44] Ede Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertórium* [Croatian historical repertorium], vol. 2 (Budapest: MTA, 1902), 602.

Certainly encouraged by his Roman experience, Nicholas could further exploit the symbolic potential of a miraculous Observant "pillar" through his shrine in Ilok, a town which had already been an attractive pilgrimage center for two decades before his travel to Rome.[45] He had already met Capistrano in person in 1456. Capistrano chose to die in Ilok, a town which was close to the Ottomans but belonged to Nicholas, whom he perceived as John Hunyadi's successor,[46] and who repeatedly invited him to Ilok so that his "tomb would bring the *voivode's* fortress great fame."[47] Immediately after the death of the living saint in 1456, Nicholas made an effort to "appropriate" his saintly qualities, long before acquiring the kingship. He delegated his *rector curiae* to attend Capistrano in his final days and supervise the internment of his body. After the local friars buried the holy man, Nicholas ordered the exhumation and a reburial in a chapel in a manner worthy of the saintly preacher, opposing the cardinal's orders.[48] Later, in 1468, Nicholas incorporated the chapel into the Franciscan church itself,[49] by financing the church's extension to the east. This was an action he used to portray himself as an ecclesiastical patron of John of Capistrano's cult. As far as Nicholas was concerned, John's future sainthood was to be closely related to Nicholas himself, his town, and the Franciscan church, with a private chapel as his own family's burial place. The ultimate expression of this relationship was manifested immediately after Nicholas himself passed away in 1477 and was buried in the church that was the resting place of his father and John of Capistrano. Even in death, the two men remained in a complementary relationship, a symbiosis which both facilitated both the rise of Capistrano's cult in the periphery of the Christian world and offered Nicholas glory and a means of representation.

By rendering inanimate stone into a humane medium of identity, the site of Nicholas's final resting place offered interpretants a complexity of symbols inevitably interrelating the kingship and the *fama* of sainthood. The work of

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[45] For a detailed analysis of John of Capistrano's sainthood and its connection to Ilok, see Andrić, Čudesa.

[46] In a letter to Pope Calixtus III, John describes Nicholas as the most suitable successor to Hunyadi in both religious zeal and political prudence: *Est namque idem ipse Nicolaus Princeps illustris, in magnificentia exellens, in consilio providus, in gerendis cautus; virilis animi, in fide fervens, in V. S. obedientia humilis sui honoris aemulator et magni zeli; potens in opere et sermone.* Wadding, *Annales*, vol. 12, 373.

[47] Andrić, Čudesa, 57–61.

[48] Ibid., 65–67.

[49] Ibid., 67; Mladen Barbarić, "Povijest crkve iločke" [The history of the church of Ilok], *Jeka od Osijeka* 20 (1919): 5, 11.

masters created a "lithic narrative"[50] in which another material, stone, served as a medium of Nicholas's royal authority and conveyed a story of royal qualities. To address interpretants shaped by the symbolic conventions of local (and broader) kingship, for example, pilgrims to Capistrano's shrine, his tombstone featured the ultimate insignia of a king, the orb.[51] The orb was paired with the coat-of-arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia[52] emblazoned with the standardized idiom of medieval heraldry, perhaps the most advanced language of symbolic communication, understandable to any person of a certain standing.[53] Due to the damage incurred during the Ottoman period, parts of the original tombstone are missing, and some scholars suspect that the king might have been originally depicted with a scepter in his right hand.[54] A fragment of a larger inscription, which reads *(La)urentius istud insig. sepulch…* [Lawrence marked this tomb], probably part of Nicholas's tombstone, suggests that his son continued the tradition of the family's burial chapel.[55] Two decades later, Lawrence himself commissioned his own tombstone to be placed next to that of his father's, but the inscription only referred to the most important lord to be honored and remembered: Lawrence was merely *dux de Wilak filius olim serenissimi Nicolai regis Bozne* [duke of Ilok, son of the formerly most serene Nicholas, king of Bosnia].[56] Through this complex representation, visitors to the Franciscan church and Capistrano's shrine were certainly convinced of Nicholas's *maiestas*, royal identity, and the legitimate and indisputable kingship of Bosnia. This was somewhat unintentionally confirmed by Luigi Marsigli centuries

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[50] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Stories of Stone," *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 1 (2010): 60–61.

[51] On Nicholas's tombstone: Lajos Thallóczy, "Az Ujlakyak síremlékei" [The tombstones of the Újlakis], *Archaelogiai Értesítő* 3 (1889): 1–8; see also Mladen Radić, "Prilozi rasvjetljavanju heraldičke ostavštine iločkih knezova 15. i 16. stoljeća" [Contributions to the research of the heraldic legacy of the counts of Ilok], *Osiječki zbornik* 29 (2010): 143; concerning the orb as part of the Hungarian royal insignia, see Emma Bartoniek, *A magyar királykoronázások története* [History of Hungarian coronations] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1987), 58–84.

[52] Radić, "Prilozi rasvjetljavanju heraldičke ostavštine," 143; Thallóczy, "Az Ujlakyak síremlékei," 1–8; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1914), 296.

[53] Brian Abel Ragen, "Semiotics and Heraldry," *Semiotica: Journal of the International Association for Semiotic Studies* 100 (1994): 5–34.

[54] Barbarić, "Povijest crkve iločke," 18.

[55] Ibid., 16, 18.

[56] Thallóczy, "Az Ujlakyak síremlékei," 5.

later.[57] The cartographer Marsigli completely confidently included Nicholas in the list of Bosnian kings, and in his sketch of the tombstone emphasized what certainly impressed him the most: not only is the orb highlighted, but Marsigli permitted himself to add several features to transform it into a true *globus cruciger*.[58]

Less than three hundred meters to the west of the church and the town's entrance stood an edifice serving Nicholas's secular glorification, representation, and symbolism: a palace that Nicholas Olahus (Miklós Oláh) recognized as a royal edifice, comparing its urban surroundings to Buda itself.[59] Built by Nicholas to meet the standards of representation for late medieval Hungarian aristocratic palaces,[60] it contained architectural elements and interior decoration that suited the royal grandeur. Here, stone, clay, glass, and majolica were made into objects of authority, coats-of-arms, and knightly halls.[61] The palace housed a grand hall ornamented with representative stove tiles manufactured under the influence of the *Ofenkeramik* of Matthias's royal palaces.[62] Their symbolic potential can be

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[57] Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, *Manoscritti di L. F. Marsigli*, vol. 28, 26; see the reproduction in Hamdija Hajdarhodžić, ed., *Bosna, Hrvatska, Hercegovina: Zemljovidi, vedute, crteži i zabilješke grofa Luigija Ferdinanda Marsiglija krajem 17. stoljeća* [Bosnia, Croatia, Hercegovina: Maps, *vedute*, sketches, and notes of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli at the end of the seventeenth century] (Zagreb: AGM, 1996), 58.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Miklós Oláh, *Hungária*, ed. Gábor Szigethy (Budapest: Neumann, 2003), http://mek.oszk.hu/0600/06072/html/gmolah0003.html (accessed November 2016).

[60] See Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, "Architectural Prestige Representation in the Mid-Fifteenth Century: Nicholas Újlaki and the Castle of Várpalota," (MA thesis, Central European University, 2015), passim.

[61] On the most recent archaeological research on the palace see Zorislav Horvat, "Analiza srednjovjekovne faze gradnje dvorca Odescalchi, nekadašnjeg palasa Nikole Iločkog, kralja Bosne" [Analysis of the medieval phase of construction of the Odescalchi Castle, former palace of Nicholas of Ilok, king of Bosnia], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 19 (2002): 195–212; Željko Tomičić, "Na tragu srednjovjekovnog dvora knezova Iločkih (Újlaki)" [On the trail of the medieval court of the counts of Ilok (Újlaki)], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 20 (2003): 131–150; Željko Tomičić, Marko Dizdar, Bartul Šiljeg, Hrvoje Kalafatić, Kristina Jelinčić, Kristina Turkalj, and Juraj Belaj, "Rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja Dvora knezova Iločkih 2006. godine" [The results of archaeological rescue excavation at the castle of the dukes of Ilok in 2006], *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 3 (2007): 7–16.

[62] Željko Tomičić, "Regensburg-Budim-Ilok: Kasnosrednjovjekovni pećnjaci iz dvora knezova Iločkih dokaz sveza Iloka i Europe" [Regensburg-Buda-Ilok: Late medieval stove tiles from the court of the counts of Ilok, evidence for the connection of Ilok and Europe], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 21 (2004): 153–168; see also Imre Holl, "Regensburgi későközépkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon" [Late medieval Regensburg stove tiles in Hungary], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 107 (1980): 30–42.

better understood when compared to the richer findings at another Újlaki palace in Ružica grad (Orahovica/Raholca). At the palace, which underwent significant reconstruction during Nicholas's lifetime,[63] the stove tiles create a series of descriptive heraldry which represents the political allegiance, loyalty, and familial connections between the Újlakis and King Nicholas.[64] The displayed coats-of-arms of Matthias Corvinus, the Gorjanski (Garai) family, the counts of Gorizia, Portugal, Hungary, Bohemia,[65] and others, inform the observer of the rich political career of Nicholas and the Újlakis, and especially Nicholas' loyalty and the spatial importance of royal representation as king of Bosnia. A note among Caleffini's entries further suggests that Nicholas had an active policy to adorn his palace(s) with architectural elements corresponding to his royal identity. During his second visit to Ferrara, after visiting all the palaces and gardens of the d'Este, Nicholas took with him three Ferrara masons and a gardener for the garden *di Sua Maestà*.[66] This acquisition was either influenced by the recent introduction of Renaissance elements into the art and architecture of royal palaces and their ambitious copies in Hungary[67] or motivated by Nicholas's own ideas of representation. Elements of Renaissance architecture and art, found in both Ružica grad and Ilok,[68] suggest that the masters Nicholas hired in Ferrara certainly influenced the architecture of his *curiae*.

The stone relief on the portal of the church of St. Michael in Hlohovec (Galgóc/Freistadt, in present-day Slovakia), a northern estate of the Újlakis,[69] tells

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[63] Zvonko Bojčić, "Opis novih nalaza arhitekture i faza izgradnje Ružice-grada" [Description of new archaeological finds and the phases of construction of Ružica grad], in *Srednjovjekovni grad Ružica*, ed. Mladen Radić and Zvonko Bojčić (Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 2004), 32–33.

[64] Imre Holl, "Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon XI: Címeres reprezentáció" [Medieval stove tiles in Hungary XI: Heraldic representation], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol. 1, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 741–745; Mladen Radić and Zvonko Bojčić, "Arheološki nalazi" [Archaeological finds], in *Srednjovjekovni grad Ružica*, 37–38.

[65] "Katalog" [Catalogue], in *Srednjovjekovni grad Ružica*, 279–282; Radić, "Prilozi rasvjetljavanju heraldičke ostavštine," 137–140.

[66] Caleffini, *Croniche*, 103–104.

[67] Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 319; see also Péter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman, eds., *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance* (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011).

[68] Bojčić, "Opis novih nalaza," 32; Horvat, "Analiza srednjovjekovne gradnje," 199.

[69] Mária Grófová, "Hlohovec i rod Iločkih" [Hlohovec and the Iločki family], *Scrinia Slavonica* 11 (2011): 31–49; idem, "The Family of Ilok – a Croatian Noble House of Slovak Origin?", in *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, ed. Veronika Kucharská, Stanislava Kuzmová, and Adam Mesiarkin (Bratislava-Zagreb: Katedra

yet another story to complement Nicholas's semiotic program. Previous scholars concur that a bearded and, most importantly, crowned head at the top of the portal probably represents King Nicholas himself, since the last reconstruction of the church coincided with the period of Nicholas's kingship.[70]

Finally, wax and metal are also inanimate materials empowered through the dissemination and self-reproduction of social conventions, whereby these materials were considered to be suitable to represent authority and signify identity. As mentioned above, sources mention a royal seal used and certainly commissioned by Nicholas himself. This seal had the ability to indicate Nicholas's royal presence and bestow the *potestas* and reliability of royal authority upon the document. Comparing the seal and Nicholas's familial standard would help in a comprehensive analysis of Nicholas's royal heraldry. Unfortunately, even though the seal itself is mentioned in the *eschatocol* (the concluding part) of charters, and traces of it still remain on them, there is no fully preserved example which would allow for further analysis of its content.[71] Coins produced in his mint, however, possibly located in Ilok, are well preserved, albeit in a small number.[72] Simple silver denars, importantly, do not display any significant imagery. They are modeled after the coins of Antonio II Panciera, Louis of Teck, the patriarchs of Aquileia, and those of King Matthias, and their connection to Nicholas is indicated by inscriptions: *N(icolaus) • R(ex) • BOS(nae)* or *NICOLAI • D(ei) • G(ratia) • R(ex) • BOSNA(e)*, with a reverse often reading PATR(o)NA REGNI and depicting the Virgin,[73] indicating a connection to Matthias's coins. Rengjeo tried to explain their rather low "artistic" quality and the shameless copying of contemporary standards as a result of their role as a recognizable means of trade. However, these coins, even though certainly in use, could not have played a significant role

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slovenských dejín, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave-Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2013), 175–180.

[70] Fedeles, "Galgóc az Újlaki érában (1349-1524)" [Galgóc in the Újlaki period], in *Debrecen város 650 éves - Várostörténeti tanulmányok*, ed. Attila Bárány, Klára Papp, and Tamás Szálkai (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2011), 225–226; Grófová, "Hlohovec," 37–39.

[71] See note 2. Also: MNL OL, DL 88544.

[72] Ladislav Korčmaroš, "Nepoznat dinar Nikole Iločkog" [An unknown denar of Nicholas of Ilok], *Numizmatičke vijesti* 31 (1989): 47–50; Ivan Rengjeo, "Novci Nikole Iločkog, prilog hrvatskoj numizmatici" [The coins of Nicholas of Ilok, a contribution to Croatian numismatics], *Napredak* 19 (1930): 98–111.

[73] Korčmaroš, "Nepoznat dinar," 49; Josip Brunšmid, "Nekoliko našašća novaca na skupu u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji" [Some coin finds in Croatia and Slavonia], *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 4 (1900): 187.

in local or wider trade, which is also indicated by the extremely small number of extant examples (less than 10). Furthermore, the lack of any heraldic or other imagery suggests that they were not considered primarily as a means of Nicholas's royal representation. The very existence of coins and Nicholas's privilege to mint them, as well as the prospect of an autonomous monetary system, no matter how modest, were the sign of a sovereign king and polity whose authority was valid even outside his association with Matthias, the adoption contract, or baronial election.

Conclusion

Just as heraldry, tombstones, crown, dress, and intitulation, the coins emerge as a symbol of rightful kingship through Nicholas's agency and the structure of his immediate social surroundings. Despite other semiotic issues of medieval dominant visual media, or art itself,[74] the king of Bosnia strived to closely and indisputably associate himself with the symbols of kingship bestowed upon him. He expected interpretants of his coats-of-arms, rituals, ornamented capes, shrines, and minting activity to recognize his royal qualities according to conventions of his time and place. These symbols seem to have no other roles, especially not purely ornamental.

Interestingly, the great majority of these tokens were found in medieval Hungary, rather than in Nicholas's territory, which could further indicate his intentions. Even though there is no further available evidence to fully understand his ideas, there question remains whether these representative activities were largely shaped by agency or structure, by a well-planned strategy of royal representation, or an urge to honor the political habits of the society. As mentioned, Nicholas had neither *beata stirps* or royal heritage, nor any other symbolic means of justification or legitimation of his kingship, apart from confirmation by the Diet and his peers. However, his royal self-representation focused on medieval Hungary and its society, where he, already established as a baron, could use it to establish a new position, similar to the "archduke" invented by the Habsburgs. Is it possible that he wanted to legitimize his own kingship outside the approval of his rivals by diminishing the significance of the establishment? In other words, did he try to create royal symbolism from scratch to establish the highest autonomy possible, albeit only through symbolism? Did he end up in a position where he could

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[74] See Georges Mounin, *Semiotic Praxis: Studies in Pertinence and in the Means of Expression and Communication* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985), 101–117.

further express high social status by being competitive and boastful, typical of him according to John (János) Thuróczy?[75]

Several things are certain. Nicholas did subscribe to a new royal identity, and he did represent it through diverse media, all belonging to the standard representative framework of his time and place. The intitulation, the orb, and the seal as symbols of royal authority originated in the conventional institutions of medieval Hungary and Europe in general. However, the king of Bosnia was in the peculiar position of holding both the offices and his baronial status in the late medieval Hungarian society, which defined the extremes of his means of representation and was simultaneously suitable of the "showing off" of his status. Even though the establishment bestowed royal rights on Nicholas, he certainly made an effort to justify his kingship through symbolism and beyond his association with the Hungarian Diet, even if it was limited to competition with his peers. Divine grace granted through coronation and other tokens of kingship, which Nicholas tried to promote as symbols of himself and his royal qualities, were strong symbolic sources of authority. Ultimately, besides Matthias's practical support and the available means of propaganda, he had no other sources of legitimation.

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[75] "For since he [Nicholas] was a man greedy for esteem and burning with no ordinary ambition, and born of the exalted blood of his parents." János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. Frank Mantello (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 197.

ILLE MEUS EST ET EGO SUUS – THE APPROPRIATION OF SAINT JEROME IN THE WRITINGS OF DALMATIAN HUMANISTS

Ines Ivić ⬇

The veneration of Saint Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia was the result of a long formation process through different activities, social and historical contexts which resulted in regional veneration of the saint and his ethnic appropriation as Dalmatian, Illyrian or Slavic.[1] Two traditions contributed to the dispersion of the different manifestations of the cult, which, intertwined created the formation of the regional cult of the saint. The local Glagolitic tradition attributed the invention of the Glagolitic letters to the saint and credited him with translating the bible into Slavonic. Afterwards, this tradition was accepted and promoted outside the Glagolitic monastic communities, providing a solid basis for the formation of the regional cult of Saint Jerome in the fifteenth century, supported by ideas of Italian humanism. This imported tradition was not only reflected in the veneration of the saint, whose popularity was rising around the Europe, but also in the writings of the most prominent Dalmatian humanists of the time, who eagerly defended his regional origin, enhancing the saint's ethnic affiliation. The aim of this paper is to discuss to what extent the Italian appropriation of the saint, mostly expressed in the works of Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) and Jacopo Foresti di Bergamo (1434–1520), triggered the discussion on Jerome as the most meritorious among the humanist writers in medieval Dalmatia. Why was it important to prove that Jerome was Dalmatian/Slav/Illyrian?[2] How did Jerome's appropriation reflect the

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[1] This article is based on Ines Ivić "The Cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century," (master's thesis, Central European University, 2016). About the historical context of the veneration of the saint in Dalmatia see also Ines Ivić, "Jerome Comes Home: The Cult of St. Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2016): 618–644.

[2] Regarding the limitations of this format, this text will not go into a deeper analysis of the differences in the meaning and the differences between the Dalmatian, Slavic, and Illyrian ethnic categories. The complexity of this question reflects the multilayered identities present in the late medieval and early modern Dalmatia. It is important to emphasize that these identities were not mutually exclusive but were closely intertwined. The ethnic category of the Dalmatians could be limited to the geographic borders of Venetian Dalmatia (and Dubrovnik in different political situations), while the Illyrian and Slavic groups could be seen as near-synonyms covering the wide geographic area where the south Slavs lived, including the Dalmatians. In this study the focus is on the common

formation of a common identity on the Eastern Adriatic Coast? This work will focus on a few authors as representative examples.

Before examining the written sources, several conclusions should be mentioned for easier understanding of the text. Fifteenth-century Dalmatia was undergoing a period of political and social change during which historical Croatian lands were not politically united; Dalmatia and Istria were governed by Venice, while the hinterlands still acknowledged the authority of the Hungarian king. The progress of the Ottoman army in the Balkans caused mass migrations from the Croatian hinterlands towards the communes in the coastal area, and from there onwards to the Italian communes, mostly to those in Apulia and the Marche, as well as Venice.[3]

Yet, at the same time, cultural life in the Dalmatian communes was blossoming. Through well-established networks of exchange with Italian cities, not only trade but also intellectual networks, the ideas of humanism and the Renaissance started to emerge in Dalmatian cities like Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Šibenik, and Zadar – centers of literary and artistic production. From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, the cult of Saint Jerome and its artistic representations became a standard repertoire for the sacral imagery of the Dalmatian communes. This omnipresence of Jerome's figure can be partially explained by the general rise of his cult in Western Europe but, more importantly, the specific local veneration in late medieval Dalmatia ascribed an important role in forming the common identity to the cult of Saint Jerome, making it of great political relevance, which was especially emphasized in the literary works. It is noteworthy that Saint Jerome had been a patron saint of the Franciscan province of Dalmatia since 1398 and his cult was widely promoted through Franciscan activities, especially during the establishment of the independent Observant province in Dalmatia during the fifteenth century.[4]

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identity, regardless which modifier was added to it, so I will refer to it as Dalmatian/Slavic/Illyrian.

[3] Lovorka Čoralić, "'S one bane mora': Hrvatske prekojadranske migracije (XV.-XVIII. stoljeće)" ['From that side of the sea': Croatian trans-Adriatic migrations (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries)], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 21 (2004): 183–99; Ferdo Gestrin, "Migracije iz Dalmacije u Marke u XV. i XVI. stoljeću" [Migrations from Dalmatia to the Marche in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 10, no. 1 (1977): 395–404.

[4] Besides the artworks representing Saint Jerome that were commissioned for Franciscan monasteries, all of them possessed copies of Jerome's letters or other works about Jerome. Vatroslav Frkin, "Katalozi inkunabula crkvenih ustanova u Hrvatskoj. IV. zbirka

Ille meus est et ego suus – The Appropriation of Saint Jerome in the Writings of Dalmatian Humanists

As for literary production, Jerome was represented by the transcriptions of his works in codices owned by prominent humanists,[5] while his figure became a piece of evidence in itself testifying to the uniqueness of the people living along the Eastern Adriatic coast and their language. This is mostly found in written answers to Flavio Biondo, which will be discussed here. In his encyclopedic work about Italian geography and history, *Italia illustrata*, Biondo's goal was to describe the linguistic and cultural unity of Italians.[6] His descriptions were based on a geographical and topographical description supported by political and cultural history in order to prove the continuity of the Italians and their language from antiquity until his time. For him, their Roman origin gave the Italians a privileged position among other European nations.[7] In his work, published in 1474, describing the region of Istria, Biondo names Saint Jerome and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder as the most prominent people from the region.[8] He classifies Istria as an Italian province, concluding that Jerome could not be anything else but Italian, since, in his opinion, Istria had been a Roman province even before the time of Emperor Augustus.[9] Through this work, Biondo popularized the

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inkunabula u knjižnicama franjevačke Provincije sv. Jeronima. Prvi dio" [Catalogues of the incunabula books in the church institutions in Croatia. IV. Collections of incunabula in the libraries of the Franciscan province of Saint Jerome. part 1], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 14, no. 26 (1990): 121–204; and "Katalozi inkunabula crkvenih ustanova u Hrvatskoj. IV. Zbirka inkunabula u knjižnicama Franjevačke provincije sv. Jeronima. Drugi dio [Catalogues of the incunabula in the church institutions in Croatia. IV. Collections of the incunabula in the libraries of the Franciscan province of Saint Jerome. part 2]," *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 15, no. 27 (1991): 182–261.

[5] Pavao Knezović, "Sv. Jeronim u hrvatskom latinitetu renesanse" [St. Jerome in Croatian Latinity of the Renaissance period], *Kroatologija* 6 (2016): 2–12. Jerome's work is cited in works by Juraj Dragišić, Dominik Buća, Klement Ranjina, and Matija Vlačić; Bratislav Lučin, "Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436" [The codex of Petar Cipiko from 1436], *Živa antika* 57 (2007): 65–85.

[6] Flavio Biondo, *Roma ristavrata et Italia illustrata* (Venice, 1542).

[7] Biondo, *Roma ristaurata et Italia illustrata*; Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2008), 61.

[8] John M. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator* (Tempe: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University, 1996); Pierpaolo Vergerio, "*Sermones Decem pro Sancto Hieronymo*," in *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of* Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo, ed. John M. McManamon (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999). Biondo probably took the idea of Jerome's Istrian origin from Vergerio's works and adapted it to his idea of Istria as an Italian province and by that saw Jerome as an Italian saint.

[9] Biondo, *Roma ristavrata et Italia illustrata*, 196.

Istrian theory of Jerome's origin, which was then accepted and defended by other Italian intellectuals of the time.[10]

Among the first to dispute Biondo's claims was Benedikt Kotruljević (1416-1469), a Ragusan humanist. In the last part of his book *De Navigatione*, Kotruljević refuted Biondo's geographical location of Istria, stating that the region bordered Dalmatia, which he supported by referring to the famous quote of his time which said that Istria is "the top of the Slavic lands."[11] Additionally, he cited Saint Jerome's own words on Stridon and used them as arguments claiming that Istria was not, in fact, Italian. Kotruljević probably became acquainted with the ideas of Flavio Biondo during his stay in Naples (1448–1469) when he was serving Alfonso V, the king of Aragon, and his son Ferdinand, who gathered some of the most prominent humanists and orators of the time at the royal court – among them Biondo. Whether Kotruljević discussed these matters personally with Biondo or if he had read about them in manuscript versions of his work is still unknown, but the fact that Kotruljević's book was written in 1464 shows that he was familiar with Biondo's statements before the printed edition of *Italia Illustrata* in 1474.[12]

Should Kotruljević be considered the first in the line of those defending Dalmatian Jerome under attack by an Italian writer? Considering that his writings are the earliest which discuss Biondo's appropriation, he may well be, as Davor Balić suggests in his article.[13] However, careful reading of Kotruljević's text reveals that he is not so much discussing Jerome's origin as he is using Jerome's words to prove that Biondo's statements are wrong. He does not use other arguments to support Jerome's words except the famous saying of his time, which could not be taken as a valid foundation for Jerome's Slavic origin. Kotruljević's citation of Jerome's words should be interpreted as the invocation of a higher authority

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[10] Frane Bulić, *Stridon (Grahovo polje u Bosni) rodno mjesto svetoga Jeronima: Rasprava povijesno-geografska* [Stridon (Grahovo polje in Bosnia), the birthplace of St. Jerome: Historical and geographical discussion] (Sarajevo 1920), 25–27. Bulić gives the names of Biondo's supporters, who included Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, Pio de Rubeis, Irineo della Croce, and Filippo Tomasini.

[11] "[…] sequita la Hystria, la qual confina colla Dalmatia secundo lo commune vulgare proverbio lo qual dicie: Ni à cavo de Sclavonia." Benedikt Kotruljević, *De navigatione / O plovidbi* [About navigation], trans. Damir Salopek, Hrvatska književna baština (Zagreb: Ex libris, 2005), 234.

[12] Kotruljević's work was considered lost until 1996 when it was discovered and published by Darko Novaković. Juraj Šižgorić, *Izbor iz djela* [Selected works], ed. Darko Novaković (Vinkovci: Riječ, 2000).

[13] Davor Balić, "Vrste plovilā u Kotruljevićevu udžbeniku plovidbe [The sorts of vessels in Kotruljević's *De navigatione*]," *Metodički ogledi* 17, no. 1–2 (2011): 69.

than Biondo: the saint of admirable knowledge who translated the Bible and who certainly knew the location of his own hometown better than Biondo. Similar observations were made some time later by Marko Marulić. I agree with Vinko Grubišić, who argues that indeed the argumentative discussion about Jerome's origin did start with Marulić, who can be considered as one of the first proponents of the Dalmatian theory of the saint's origin and the location of Stridon.[14] Additionally, Kotruljević's book was not published in his lifetime, which limited its impact as none of the subsequent authors writing about Jerome's origin cite his work.

In 1478, Juraj Šižgorić (Giorgio Sisgoreo, 1442–1509) reflected on the general pejorative attitude of the Italian intellectuals on contemporary ideas about Jerome's Dalmatian origin in his *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*. His work discussed the geographical, historical, and cultural characteristics of Dalmatia, which he calls Illyria. He also seeks to explain the ethnogenesis of his compatriots, whom he calls Illyrians. When discussing the most prominent among them, Šižgorić mentions Jerome; he states that the Italians were eagerly trying to steal him as they thought "that the Dalmatian thorn could never bear such a fertile rose."[15] Although Šižgorić does not mention who the Italians were exactly who appropriated the cult, one can assume that this could refer to Biondo, whose work, *Italia Illustrata*, was published in 1474 or even to Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder (1370–1444), a canon lawyer born in Capodistria in today's Slovenia. Vergerio's family worshiped St. Jerome to express gratitude for their rescue during various attacks in 1380. Vergerio vowed that: "as long as I live, I will review the praises and excellent merits of Jerome in the speech before an assembly of the best citizens."[16] Nevertheless, it is

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[14] Vinko Grubišić, "Trojica humanista o rodnome mjestu svetog Jeronima: Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić i José de Espinoza de Sigüenza" [Three humanists on the birthplace of Saint Jerome: Flavius Blondus, Marko Marulić, and José de Espinoza de Sigüenza], *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008): 292; Bulić, *Stridon*, 27–31 Marulić's ideas were later accepted by many other humanists and historiographers, among them Vinko Pribojević, Tomko Marnavić, Sebastiano Dolci, Ignjat Đorić, and Daniele Farlati.

[15] Giorgio Sisgoreo, *Georgii Sisgorei Sibenicensis de Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici (1487), Versio Electronica*, ed. Veljko Gortan (CroALa: Croatiae auctores Latini), chap. 5, accessed August 1, 2016, http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.80: *De paucibus Illyriorum nominibus. … Dalmatiae spinam non potuisse huiusmodi produxisse rosam pulcherrimam….* Juraj Šižgorić, *Izbor iz djela*, ed. Darko Novaković; Milivoj Šrepel, "Jurja Šižgorića Spis *De Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici A. 1487*" [Juraj Šižgorić's text *De Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici A. 1487*], *Građa Za Povijest Književnosti Hrvatske* 2 (1899): 1–12.

[16] Vergerio, "*Sermones Decem*," Sermon 5, 177; John M. McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio (The Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (1985): 354.

notable that Šižgorić calls Jerome an Illyrian rather than Slav or Dalmatian, which is a reflection of the multi-layered identities present on the Eastern Adriatic coast that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The identification with Illyrian identity was common among humanists with a classical education who tried to associate Slavic origin with the ancient and pre-Roman times by appropriating the name of the tribal people living in that area before Roman colonization. From the end of the fifteenth century, "Illyrian" ideas developed into a separate ideologeme whose characteristics have been studied by Zrinka Blažević in great detail.[17] This category did not exclude the Slavic ethnic affiliation or Dalmatian regional affiliation, even though the historical identification of the ancient Illyrians with Slavs was not possible in any way.[18] In the Renaissance manner of praising the moral and intellectual virtues of individuals, Jerome was seen as one of the greatest, not only because of his religious deeds, but more because of his alleged invention of Slavic alphabet and his translation of the Bible. This view aimed to promote the unity of the Slavs living on the territory of medieval Croatia and, furthermore, to prove that the Slavic language and the Glagolitic letters had been in use since ancient times.[19]

The importance of Jerome's figure in the expression of common identity can be seen in the works of Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus, 1450-1524), the author of the first and only extensive literary work about Jerome's life in Dalmatia. Even though some parts of Marulić's work about Jerome were known because of the transcriptions included in the *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* by Ivan Lučić (1604-1679), published in 1666 in Amsterdam, other parts only came to light when Marulić's codex *Vita divi Hieronymi Presbiteri a Marco Marulo edita* was discovered by Darko Novaković in 1996.[20] The manuscript, written in 1507, comprises several parts: a dedicatory poem to Pope Leo X (*Pro sanctissimo patre Leone decimo*), a life of Saint Jerome (*Vita divi Hieronymi*), a polemical treatise on the saint's origin (*In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*), and a poem to the glory of the saint (*De Laudibus divi Hieronymi carmen*).

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[17] Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*.

[18] Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: Prostor, ljudi, ideje* [Croatia in the Middle Ages: Space, people, ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 386–88.

[19] Iva Kurelac, "Modaliteti recepcije glagoljaške tradicije u dalmatinskoj historiografiji 16. i početka 17. stoljeća" [Modalities of the reception of Glagolitic tradition in Dalmatian historiography of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century], *Ricerche slavistiche* 13, no. 59 (2015): 345.

[20] Darko Novaković, "Novi Marulić: *Vita diui Hieronymi*" [New Marulić: *Vita diui Hieronymi*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): 5–24.

Ille meus est et ego suus – The Appropriation of Saint Jerome in the Writings of Dalmatian Humanists

The letters exchanged with his Venetian friend, Jacopo Grasolari, reveal the reasons why he decided to dedicate his work to Saint Jerome.[21] In one of the letters, Marulić reveals that besides the fact that the saint was his compatriot his fascination with Jerome was based on, deep devotion, religious and spiritual identification with the saint. It is known that Marulić possessed Jerome's works and cited them in several of his own works.[22] His intention was inspired by the circumstance that there were no comprehensive works about Jerome's life and that other things also needed to be clarified. He added that "there was no other thing in his life which he wanted so eagerly than that someone write about the saint with dignity."[23] The same statement was repeated on the first pages of the codex, where Marulić explains how he read the saint's life by an unknown author in which the chronological order was not respected and many events from his life were ignored. In order to show the respect which the saint deserved, he decided to put together all the information he could gather about Saint Jerome, which shows that Marulić was familiar of other authors' works about Jerome.[24] The presence of the events described in the pseudo-letters of Cyril, Eusebius, and Augustin in Marulić's works suggests that he may also have been familiar with the *Hieronymianus* by Giovanni d'Andrea.[25] The text of the official celebration statement in Trogir also reveals that the letters by the pseudo-authors were known in fifteenth-century Dalmatia. In the text, it is emphasized that Jerome should be praised, among other things because of the numerous miracles he performed during his life and after his death which cannot be found in other sources than the letters written by the pseudo-authors.[26] In 1508, a book known under the title *The Passing of Saint Jerome* (Transit svetog Jeronima) was published in Senj. The book was printed in Glagolitic letters; it is a Croatian translation of the Italian *Transito*

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[21] Miloš Milošević, "Sedam nepoznatih pisama Marka Marulića" [Seven unpublished letters of Marko Marulić], *Colloquia Maruliana* 1 (1992): 19–20.

[22] Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 7; Vinko Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema deset govora Petra Pavla Vergerija i Instituciji Marka Marulića" [Saint Jerome in Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder's work and Marko Marulić's *De Institutione*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007): 107–17.

[23] Milošević, "Sedam nepoznatih pisama Marka Marulića," 19 Transcription by the author in footnote 43. "...*Nihil enim. In vita tam cupide cupio, quam ut quis de hoc Sancto, cuius ego studiosissimus sum, aliquid scribat pro dignitate...*"

[24] It is possible that he had read *Hieronymianus* by Giovanni d'Andrea or *Jerome's legend in the Legenda aurea* by Jacopo di Voragine.

[25] Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema deset govora," 116.

[26] "[...] *tum etiam propter miraculorum innumerabilium,quibus perfulsic*(?) *in vita et post mortem claritatem.*" Ivan Strohal, ed., *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira* [Statute and the reformations of the city of Trogir], Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium 10 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1915), 259–60.

de Sancto Girolamo, printed in Venice in 1487.[27] Besides the life of Saint Jerome, the book contained the pseudo-letters of Cyril, Eusebius, and Augustine. In addition to being written in dialect, the *Passing* has another unique feature. At the end of the book, there is an additional double-rhymed hexameter poem in Glagolitic letters *Anjelske kriposti* (Angelic virtues) written in honor of Saint Jerome. Since these verses cannot be found in any other edition, neither Latin nor Italian, they represent an original Croatian contribution to the devotional literature on Saint Jerome.[28] But the question remains: who was the author capable of writing such an elaborate devotional poem? New research suggests it could be no one else than Marko Marulić himself.[29] His knowledge of the saint's life was certainly also obtained from the traditional Glagolitic production with which he was familiar.

Marulić's own letters reveal that the book on Jerome's life was ready for printing in 1507, but its *editio princeps* was never published. It is not known exactly why this happened, but it could be connected with another great Renaissance thinker, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who published his edition of the life and works of Saint Jerome in 1516, followed by commentaries.[30] Erasmus's work was the first critical approach to Jerome's life and work, in which he tried to clarify the facts of the saint's life: he was not a cardinal, he was only baptized in Rome and he cannot be taken as an example of chastity since he himself mentions how he sinned when he was young.[31] Marulić was familiar with Erasmus's work because in the prologue of his unpublished book *Herkul* (Hercules), dedicated to Toma Niger, he praised both Erasmus and Saint Jerome, and thanked Niger for sending

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[27] Anica Nazor, "Senjski tranzit svetoga Jerolima i hrvatski rječnik do Marulića i njegovih suvremenika" [The Senj Transition of St. Jerome and the Croatian dictionary until Marulić and his contemporaries], *Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 25 (1999): 250.

[28] The Italian editions contain the prayer in verse to Saint Jerome at the end of the book, under the title "*Oratione devotissima dedicata a sancto Hieronymo.*" Ibid., 217.

[29] Franjo Švelec, "Autor dvanaesteračke legende o svetom Jeronimu" [The author of the hexameter legend of Saint Jerome], in *Ivšićev zbornik* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 1963), 353–62; Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda," 219–21; Štefanić, "Glagoljski tranzit," 149–58.

[30] For more about Erasmus's work on Jerome see Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 116–36; Hilmar M. Pabel, *Herculean Labours Erasmus and the Editing of St. Jerome's Letters in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); and "Reading Jerome in the Renaissance: Erasmus' Reception of the 'Adversus Jovinianum'," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2002): 470–97.

[31] Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 22.

him Erasmus's books. [32] It is possible that Marulić, after receiving Erasmus's books from Niger, realized that his work about Jerome could never be compared with that by Erasmus so he decided not to publish his *Vita Divi Hieronymi*.[33] That could explain why other parts of the codex, the polemical treatise, *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*, and the praise of the saint, *De Laudibus divi Hieronymi carmen*, were known and published before the discovery of the codex. Of the parts of the codex that were known during and after Marulić's time, one that deserves attention is the argumentative essay *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*, addressed to Italian humanists who identified Jerome as Italian, particularly Flavio Biondo and his student Jacopo Filippo Foresti di Bergamo. In the introduction, Marulić explains that while he was working on his version of the life, someone brought him a copy of the work by di Bergamo, in which Jerome was called Italian. This surely was the book *Supplementum Chronicarum*, published in Venice in 1483. In the text, Marulić reproaches di Bergamo's ignorance, blaming his teacher, Flavio di Biondo, and mocking Biondo's naivety:

> After I had read Biondo's words, I began to find excuses for the pious and naive monk from Bergamo and I said to myself: 'The mistake of the student is [in fact] the fault of his teacher. Namely, it was his teacher who – as it seems to me – did not pay too much attention when it came to researching antiquity; deceived by the similar names, he thought that ancient Stridon was, in fact, the place now called Sdrigna. But he should have at least asked himself this: 'If Sdrigna is, in fact, Stridon, how come Jerome said that this was a city situated between Pannonia and Dalmatia, and not rather between Pannonia and Istria?' What sort of arrogance is this on the part of this quite recent author that made him think people would believe him rather than Jerome himself when he talked about himself? [34]

The title of the work reveals Marulić's determination not to discuss, but rather to explain and teach, not the opponents of his opinion, but rather ignorant people who naively think Jerome could be Italian. Similarly to Kotruljević, Marulić mocked Biondo's geographical ignorance and criticized his lack of understanding

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[32] Bratislav Lučin, "Erazmo i Hrvati XV. i XVI. stoljeća" [Erasmus and the Croats in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 30 (2004): 17.

[33] Lučin, "Erazmo i Hrvati XV. i XVI. Stoljeća," 19; Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 21.

[34] Marko Marulić, *Vita Diui Hieronymi, Versio Electronica*, ed. Darko Novaković (CroALa: Croatiae auctores Latini), accessed July 31, 2016, http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.117:3.croala.

of ancient sources. For this reason, Marulić used ancient sources such as Pliny the Elder and Strabo to argue his opinion, describing the ancient borders of Italy, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. Further in the text Marulić explained that it is the sacred duty of Dalmatians to defend Jerome from possible appropriations and that they should not allow any Italians to forbid them to glorify the saint who had been born among them.[35]

Marulić does not praise Jerome as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet, however, neither does he mention his translations of the Bible into Slavonic. This is interesting since Marulić was familiar with the Slavic tradition and also wrote in the vernacular. The conclusion is that Marulić knew that there was no historical foundation for this assertion. While working on the Latin translation of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja,* he probably discovered that the inventor of the Slavonic letters was Saint Cyril.[36] The reason why he did not include this information may be connected to the importance of the cult in his territory – he was aware of the *communis opinio* and the special place Jerome had among the Dalmatians as their heavenly patron. His revelations would certainly have affected popular devotion and the Dalmatian identity of the saint they were eagerly trying to prove was theirs.

Vinko Pribojević (1450s–1532) cites Marulić in his *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, published in 1532.[37] It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the sixteenth century Jerome's regional cult was already fully formed and widely accepted in Dalmatia.[38] In the praise of the book written by Toma Niger, a

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[35] "*Aut cur tandem aliquis Italorum non permittet nobis hunc apud nos natum esse gloriari, si nos illis non interdicimus, ut sibi plaudant eundem apud ipsos bonarum artium disciplinam percepisse, licet et in Grecia Grecis litteris excultus sit, et in Syria Hebraicis eruditus?*" Marulić, *Vita Diui Hieronymi.*

[36] Josip Bratulić, "Il poeta Marko Marulić e la tradizione glagolitica in Croazia," *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (2000): 240. The actual invention of the Glagolitic letters is still debated, but it is believed that they were Cyril's invention. More about the genesis of the forms in Julia Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, Or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs* (DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014), 16–18.

[37] Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena* [On the origins and the glory of the Slavs], ed. Veljko Gortan, Pavao Knezović, and Miroslav Kurelac (Zagreb: Golden Marketing: Narodne novine, 1997), 143.

[38] Zadar had been the seat of the Dalmatian Franciscan province of Saint Jerome since 1393, so the saint's representations were mostly connected with the Franciscan church and monastery. In Šibenik, Niccolò Fiorentino made a relief of Saint Jerome with a lion in the tondo above the apse. In Split, on Marjan Hill near the city, a church of Saint Jerome was built near the hermitage in the second half of the fifteenth century. At the same time, Andrija Alessi made an altar with a relief of Saint Jerome to be placed in the church. It

renowned Dalmatian humanist and bishop of Skradin, he emphasizes the importance of Jerome in the formation of the common identity: "As much as a Dalmatian owes to Saint Jerome, the same he owes to you Vinko, the bright star of the Hvar soil."[39] Pribojević repeatedly discusses Jerome's merits, especially his invention of the Glagolitic alphabet, which he believed he had produced in order to popularize his native language.[40] Still, the central problem for Niger was the Italian appropriation of the saint. His work reflects the impact Marulić's tract *In eos* had among intellectuals. Pribojević was astonished by Biondo's attempts to describe Istria as an Italian province and Jerome, whom he sees as a Slav, as an Italian saint:

> I cannot stop being amazed at how, competing with us, Flavio Biondo, Filip of Bergamo and some others, so that they could take away from us and count among theirs Saint Jerome, claim that Istria is an Italian land although it is with its location, with its customs and with its language separated from Italy.[41]

Pribojević was familiar with Marulić's text and probably with his translation of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* because Pribojević mentions Saint Cyril as the inventor of the letters used by the Slavs, but does not specify whether these were Cyrillic or Glagolitic. At the same time, he accepted the Glagolites' idea of Jerome as the inventor of the Glagolitic letters.[42]

Conclusion

Reading these three authors, Šišgorić, Marulić and Pribojević, it is evident that Jerome was a heroic figure for Dalmatians/Slavs/Illyrians; he provided exemplary evidence of the learned and pious intellectual who should serve as a moral model for a true humanist. That is why Marulić's words *ille est meus* should be seen as

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is known that a chapel of Saint Jerome existed in the church of the Holy Spirit in Split by the mid-fifteenth century because the painter Dujam Vušković left some funds for the chapel.

[39] Full translation in Domagoj Madunić, "Vinko Pribojević and the glory of the Slavs" (master's thesis, Central European University, 2003), 6; Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, 47.

[40] Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, 160.

[41] Ibid., 142–43; Translation taken from Madunić, "Vinko Pribojević and the glory of the Slavs," 47.

[42] Kurelac, "Modaliteti recepcije glagoljaške tradicije," 346.

an expression of identifying with the saint on several levels.[43] First, they both belonged to the same geographical space, and with that they both belonged to the same ethnic group living in this territory; a fourth-century Dalmatian (in the full sense actually Roman) Jerome and the sixteenth-century Marulić have the same ethnic origin. Second, Marulić identified himself with Jerome in a spiritual sense, expressing deep devotion and following his example of living a pious life following the sacred scripture, as he clarified in his letters. And finally, they identify themselves with Jerome in the linguistic and cultural sense. A similar example of identification with Jerome can be seen in Juraj Šižgorić's collection of poems from 1487.[44] In the prologue of the collection, addressed to the count of Šibenik, Šižgorić explains almost proudly how in one song he is addressing envious people in the same way Jerome did in his works, which once more shows how well Jerome's works were known among humanists in Dalmatia.

Jerome's most important role was connected with his authorship of the Glagolitic alphabet. However, today it is known that Jerome could not have been involved in this since he lived long before the Slavs settled in these lands and long before Glagolitic letters were invented.[45] Iva Kurelac has explained the importance of linguistic unity in forming a common identity during the emergence of proto-nationalist ideas, from the end of the fifteenth century, for the self-determination of the Dalmatian/Slavic/Illyrian identity and for proving their ethnic origins.[46] The act of attributing these inventions to Jerome not only had to prove the continuity of ethnicity through language, but also had to give the language a kind of sacred legitimation, especially in the period when the use of vernacular in the liturgy was being discussed.[47]

Based on the written sources, one can understand the perception of Jerome in late medieval Dalmatia; he was praised for his intellectual achievements and devoted life, he was seen as one of their own, and he was perceived as most meritorious for the linguistic and cultural promotion of the Dalmatian/Slavic/Illyrian people. Because of his relevance for different aspects of the formation of the common identity, Jerome received the mythical role of what could be

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[43] Andrea Zlatar, "Marulićev polemički spis *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt* [Marulić's polemical treatise *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt*]," *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta. Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 15 (1989): 212–20.

[44] Knezović, "Sv. Jeronim u hrvatskom latinitetu," 3-4.

[45] On the image of Jerome as a Slavic saint, see Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome*.

[46] Kurelac, "Modaliteti recepcije glagoljaške tradicije," 341.

[47] Kurelac, "Modaliteti recepcije glagoljaške tradicije," 345; Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 102.

called a national hero and, later, a national saint, a true *vir illustris*. These aspects were crucial in later historiography, especially among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, where the ideas of proto-national "Illyrian" discourse were discussed. The process of forming an Illyrian ideologeme has been explained by Zrinka Blažević with a matrix of the features necessary for its development: a common ancient origin, linguistic unity, geographical distribution of the people, national heroes, national saints, and so on—and Jerome fit them all perfectly.[48]

The role Flavio Biondo played in the formation of this discourse should not be neglected. It would be wrong to claim that his words were a trigger for the formation of the image of the Dalmatian Jerome, since the cult had already been present in Dalmatia for a long time. Nevertheless, it is evident that his words were the direct reason for the open discussion of Jerome's origin. Who else could Dalmatians be so proud of than the holy man, translator of the Bible and the author of several theological treatises, praised throughout the Western Church? Thus, it is not surprising that Biondo's Italian appropriation raised such an ardent answer and a need to defend themselves firmly by defending their compatriot, Jerome.

These writings, which reflect contemporary ideas of Italian intellectuals, are not only important for their political meaning. They also demonstrate that devotion to the saint was not a mere formality, but a lively cult of great importance which produced original devotional literature.

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[48] Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 90.

Mongols, Chinese and Europe:
Special Papers

GOING GLOBAL: EAST ASIAN CONTACTS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Balázs Nagy

Although most of the teaching and research at the Department of Medieval Studies focuses on European and Mediterranean historical trends, there has been a long-standing intention to broaden our academic horizons and move towards a more globalized approach. In the last decade, we have accommodated research which concentrates not only on the above-mentioned regions, but also includes the Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, and India, where István Perczel and other CEMS (Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies) members have taught and conducted research. Over the last decade, professors in the Department of Medieval Studies have begun to develop contacts with China.

In this short introduction, I summarize briefly the road leading to the workshop where these papers were originally presented, and review the development of contacts after the workshop. Following the recommendation of Patrick Geary, Andrew W. Mellon Professor at Princeton University and long-time supporter of the Department of Medieval Studies, Alice Choyke contacted Professor *Linhai Liu*, a medieval history scholar at *Beijing Normal University,* visited his department and delivered a public lecture there. After this first contact, the CEU Department of Medieval Studies hosted a conference ("Perspectives on Medieval Social Dynamics and Contacts – Real and Imagined – in China and the West") co-organized by Beijing Normal University, and welcomed professors and students from that university in November 2014.[1]

Zhexin Xu from Beijing Normal University graduated from CEU's two-year master's program in 2015, studying comparative history and interdisciplinary medieval studies. His thesis concerned perceptions of horses in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century China. Jian Zhang, also from China but with a different educational background (Jiangsu Normal University) studied at CEU in the Comparative History Program (History Department) from 2013 to 2015, and attended several courses at the Department of Medieval Studies. His thesis was a comparative study dealing with authoritative space and commercial space in Song Dynasty Kaifeng and Renaissance Florence.

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[1] For more on the conference and the papers, see https://www.ceu.edu/event/2014-11-10/perspectives-medieval-social-dynamics-and-contacts-real-and-imagined-china-and-west.

The visit of Chinese colleagues from the School of History at Beijing Normal University in 2014 was soon followed by further meetings. Daniel Ziemann, Head of the Department of Medieval Studies at that time, was invited to Beijing Normal University in April 2015, where he gave two public lectures. Later that year, Katalin Szende, who took part at the 22nd *International Congress* of *Historical Sciences*, held in Jinan, China in August 2015, also paid a visit to Beijing Normal University. In the Academic Year 2015/16, the Department of Medieval Studies hosted two PhD students from *Beijing Normal University*, Liao Jingjing and Zhonghua Sun, who spent the fall term and the spring session, respectively, in Budapest with the help of grants from China and CEU's Doctoral Support Program.

A manifestation of the growing interest in the study of Chinese and Asiatic societies in the Department of Medieval Studies was a one-day workshop organized on 27 November 2015 with the title "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interactions."[2] The papers in this thematic block are based on the presentations at that meeting, where six MA and PhD students presented the results of their research to an audience that included prominent experts such as Professors Ágnes Birtalan and István Vásáry, both from Eötvös Loránd University.

Among the speakers at this workshop was Konstantin Golev, who graduated from Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Dorottya Uhrin from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, as well as Stephen Pow and Tünde Komori from Central European University. The two Chinese speakers at the workshop were Liao Jingjing from Beijing Normal University and Ning Ya, graduate of Renmin University in Beijing and currently a doctoral student at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

At the workshop, Professors Birtalan and Vásáry commented on all the presentations, providing useful advice to the speakers. This feedback inspired the authors of the papers as well as the editors of the *Annual* to develop this special section for the *Annual of Medieval Studies* to make the papers available to a broader public. As is clear from the list above, the authors in this part of our volume have different educational backgrounds and diverse research interests. Nevertheless, this collection of essays provides good insight into the work of the authors, who are at an early stage of their academic career.

Two of our professors, Daniel Ziemann and Balázs Nagy, as well as Stephen Pow, a doctoral student from the CEU attended a conference organized at the

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[2] For the detailed program, see: https://medievalstudies.ceu.edu/events/2015-11-27/mongols-chinese-and-europe-contacts-and-interactions.

University of Ostrava in October 2016, entitled "The Mongolian Expansion and Its Influence on Development in the Eurasian Area in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries."

In October 2016, several professors and students from the Department of Medieval Studies took part in a conference organized by the School of History of Beijing Normal University at a hill resort on the outskirts of Beijing. The meeting, at which numerous papers were delivered by professors and doctoral students from the two universities as well as scholars from other schools in China and the West, focused on social governance in medieval Europe and China. Besides the conference papers, the presence and active participation of Chinese students also allowed for informal consultations and thus intensified the contacts. During and after the conference, the local organizers of the meeting offered a number of opportunities for participants to visit the most important historical sites in Beijing and also to meet the representatives of Beijing Normal University and agree on further ways of cooperation.

A prominent international expert in Chinese history and philosophy, Curie Virág (University of Toronto), has also had long-standing cooperation with CEU and the Department of Medieval Studies. As an expert in pre-modern Chinese intellectual and cultural history, she was a Humanities Initiative Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Study at CEU in 2013/14 and also an affiliated fellow in 2014/15. She has taught several courses at our university, giving an impetus to the study of Chinese history and cultural traditions.

The Department of Medieval Studies is looking forward to developing more institutionalized forms of cooperation with Beijing Normal University, particularly its School of History. We welcome all applicants from China and other East Asian countries to apply to our master's and doctoral programs.

FORTRESSES THAT SHATTER EMPIRES:
A LOOK AT MÖNGKE KHAN'S FAILED CAMPAIGN AGAINST
THE SONG DYNASTY, 1258–1259

Stephen Pow 📥

The Problem of Chinese Fortifications

Research into the role that castles and walled cities played in the Mongol decision to withdraw from Latin Christendom, particularly Hungary, in 1242, benefits from a comparative approach that takes into account events in other regions besides Europe.[1] From conversations with other historians whose work touches on the military history of the Mongol Empire, it has been my experience that any assertion that fortifications might have been an effective form of resistance against the Mongols in Europe is typically countered by the example of "China." While most non-Chinese scholars readily concede an imprecise knowledge of the exact state of Chinese fortifications in the thirteenth century, the fact remains that the internationally recognized symbol of China is an impressive wall – more precisely a series of walls – developed over centuries and aimed at repelling northern nomadic groups including the Mongols. It is widely known that the Chinese built their share of impressive fortifications during their imperial history. So the question arises: How did the Mongols conquer China if walls and fortresses were actually a serious obstacle for them?

At the outset, it has to be made clear that "China" during the rise of Chinggis Khan's empire did not function as some sort of unified whole; it was divided into mutually hostile dynasties. Nonetheless, it is true that both of its major dynasties, the Jin in the north and the Song in the south, collapsed under Mongol pressure in the course of the thirteenth century despite their usage of advanced fortifications. Thus, this question is justifiable. One way of addressing it is to first highlight certain issues surrounding Chinese fortifications and the military situation in the thirteenth century that help to explain why resistance was ultimately unsuccessful. Below the case of Sichuan is explored, a province where a unique mountain fortress system proved remarkably effective at stopping the

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[1] The author is a PhD candidate at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the conference "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interaction" held in Budapest in 2015.

Mongols for decades. Particularly, I will highlight the 1258–1259 campaign in Sichuan that ended abruptly in the death of the Mongol Empire's fourth khan, Möngke. The last section will explore the historical questions surrounding his fate since this is significant for how one makes sense of the role of fortifications in China's resistance.

A close look at the details of the consecutive Mongol wars which brought an end to the Jin Dynasty (1211–1234)[2] and the Song Dynasty (1234–1279)[3] reveals that many factors were at play which decided the outcome in favor of the Mongols and served to lessen the effectiveness of Chinese fortifications. It also must be acknowledged that neither of these conflicts can be described as a *brief* or *easy* conquest. In the case of the Song Dynasty, the war lasted forty-five years and, by the time they capitulated, they had outlasted the unified Mongol Empire, which had since divided into rival khanates. Lengthy resistance was ultimately made possible by the presence of mountain fortresses, situated and designed to take advantage of the southern Chinese landscape's difficult terrain and rivers.[4]

A serious issue impeding the Jin's and Song's attempts to resist the Mongols was that the use of such mountain fortresses was not consistently applied. The main fortifications in China were packed earth walls surrounding cities. The cities themselves were not characterized by castles or citadels to which the populace could withdraw if the walls were breached.[5] Another issue, as sources from the time attest, was that Chinese cities were usually built in open plains, making them difficult to defend.[6] This had much to do with the social and political development of China as an empire. The cities had to function as economic and administrative hubs, characterized by thriving commercial activity. They housed huge numbers of people, which could be a liability in times of warfare; sources describe populaces

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[2] For a good summary of the Mongol conquest of the Jin Dynasty see Herbert Franke, "The Chin Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, ed. Herbert Franke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 252–265.

[3] For a short but clear account of the conquest of the Song Dynasty see Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 509–511.

[4] K'uan-chung Huang, "Mountain Fortress Defense: The Experience of the Southern Song and Korea in Resisting the Mongol Invasions," trans. David Wright, in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van de Ven (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 222.

[5] Stephen Turnbull, *Chinese Walled Cities: 221 BC–AD 1644* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009), 20–21.

[6] Huang, "Mountain Fortress," 223–224.

being reduced to starvation and cannibalism by prolonged sieges.[7] Moreover, while substantial cities were protected by massive walls, it does not seem that the rural populace had much recourse when the Mongols invaded. Perhaps this helps explain the large-scale defections to the invaders which characterized the war against both the Jin and Song. The cooperation of huge numbers of local people was vital to the Mongols' success, as Igor de Rachewiltz notes:

> Despite the brilliance of their generals, it would still have been difficult to conquer northern China, and virtually impossible to consolidate their hold without the collaboration of the Chinese, for the invaders were few in number and had no experience in either siegecraft or in ruling a sedentary society.[8]

The Song also allied with the Mongols and played a pivotal role in besieging the Jin capital, Kaifeng, which brought about their dynasty's collapse in 1234. At that point, the Mongols immediately turned on their former allies.

This brief summary illustrates some of the complexities in China's situation which help explain why the Mongols were able to conquer it despite the serious military challenges. When the Mongols went to war with the Song, however, and directed their campaigns against Sichuan in a bid to skirt around Song defenses along the Yangzi River, the Chinese dynasty opted to change its strategy to a new reliance on small mountain fortresses. These proved remarkably effective in halting the Mongol advance for decades and even in bringing an end to their empire.

The Song Defensive Strategy and the Campaign of 1258–1259

From the outset in 1234, and for decades afterwards, the full fury of the Mongols' ongoing war of conquest against the Song Dynasty fell almost squarely on Sichuan, and the devastation inflicted on the local population was appalling. The province which had, in former centuries, been known as "heaven's storehouse" was gradually reduced to an economically ruined backwater over the course of the thirteenth century. Owing to the ensuing slaughter and flight of refugees, the

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[7] *Yuan Shi*, juan 121. Sübe'etei's biography states that the starving populace, reduced to cannibalism after the siege of Kaifeng, was permitted to leave the city to look for food. This and all further references to passages found in the *Yuan Shi* accessed at: http://ctext. org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=603186

[8] Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, and Peter Geier, eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), Xviii.

population was reduced from roughly 2.5 million households in 1223 to between an estimated 120,000 and half a million households in 1282.[9]

Early in the war, the Mongol war machine's tried and true methods proved very effective in overrunning Song territory. Already in 1236, only four of fifty-eight prefectural capitals had not been destroyed. Meanwhile, the civilian population was being subjected to wholesale massacres.[10] Song resistance in the prefecture had almost ceased when a newly appointed general, Meng Gong, took over and drastically reformed the defensive strategy. He turned the area of Chongqing into a network of fortresses with secure food storage facilities. From 1242, the governor of Sichuan, Yu Jie, opted to fortify mountain tops, creating a number of mountain fortresses that could cooperate and support one another against the invaders. The cornerstone of this new system of mountain fortresses was Diaoyucheng, at the confluence of three rivers.[11]

This system of constructing many small fortresses that made use of the defensibility of rivers and hilltops coincidentally resembles the type of defensive strategies seen in Europe at the time. Furthermore, it was extraordinarily effective in allowing the Song to fight a protracted war and even retake territory up to the 1250s, a task which was aided by the Mongols' unstable political situation.[12]

With the enthronement of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–1259), political stability returned and large-scale conquest activities resumed. In 1256, the khan officially declared his decision to take personal command of an unprecedentedly huge campaign against the Song, despite initial opposition from other Chinggisid princes.[13] From the very start of his reign he made a series of reforms and called for an empire-wide census program aimed at maximizing the manpower of the entire empire to use in conquering the powerful states that remained in so-called rebellion. The result was that the army that moved against the Song Dynasty was international in character, containing Mongol, Turkic, Chinese, Korean, and

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[9] Paul J. Smith, "Family, Landsmann, and Status-Group Affinity in Refugee Mobility Strategies: The Mongol Invasions and The Diaspora of Sichuanese Elites, 1230–1330," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 2 (1992): 668–669. These numbers are based on studies of census records.

[10] Ibid., 669–670.

[11] Huang, "Mountain fortress," 230–234.

[12] Ibid., 236.

[13] W. Thackston, trans., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u'tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 413–414. The princes objected to Möngke's desire to take a personal risk.

Alan contingents, among others, who had been impressed into military service following the 1254 census.[14]

After lengthy preparations, and successful Mongol campaigns which had subjugated the independent kingdoms to the south of Sichuan, in 1258 Möngke launched a three-pronged assault that aimed at breaking the mountain fortress network based around modern Chongqing. He himself led a force that approached the heart of Sichuan from the southwest, while his brother Khubilai's army, situated far to the east, pushed southward toward Wuhan. Uriankhadai, son of the famous general Sübe'etei, advanced from the south through Hunan so that Sichuan was entirely encircled.[15] The Mongols advanced steadily but suffered horrific casualties from the climate, epidemics, and fighting. Rashiduddin states that Khubilai lost eight of ten tümens (units of 10,000 men) while besieging a city which held out successfully.[16] In the spring and summer of 1259, Möngke led his forces in attacking the "cornerstone" fortress, Diaoyucheng – a task that was greatly hindered by continual rain and the outbreak of an epidemic amongst the besiegers. The *Yuan Shi* describes several failed assaults on the mountain-top fortress, including a particular disaster in which storm winds blew down (or broke) the Mongol scaling ladders, leading to a defeat; then, in ambiguous circumstances, it mentions that the khan himself died on 11 August, 1259.[17] This brought an end to the campaign; the Mongols withdrew northward to take the khan's body to their ancestral burial ground.

The Death of Möngke Khan

What had unfolded at Diaoyucheng in 1259 was clearly a disaster for the Mongol side. Moreover, it is not a matter of historical debate whether Möngke Khan came out of the campaign alive; the sources are in agreement on this point. Kirakos of Gandzak, an Armenian historian, mistakenly believed that the campaign resulted in the subjugation of the Song, but that "death pangs gripped" Möngke during

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[14] Thomas T. Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, ed. Herbert Franke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 403.

[15] Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006), 31–32.

[16] Thackston, *Rashiduddin*, 415.

[17] *Yuan Shi*, juan 3; Waltraut Abramowski, "Die chinesischen Annalen des Möngke: Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des Yüan-shih," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 13 (1979): 32–33; Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, 364.

his return;[18] Kirakos seems to have been alone in his sanguine assessment of the campaign's results. The account that reached Juzjani in the Sultanate of Delhi was that the khan and his entire army had been defeated, perishing of famine in the hills of China.[19] Juzjani's account was written very shortly after the events and is useful in that it at least reflects a rumor that must have spread quickly. While it is totally improbable that the khan died of starvation, the story is accurate in a broad sense; Möngke and much of his army met destruction in the mountains of Sichuan.

Immediately after Möngke's death, the unified Mongol Empire came to an end – multiple conflicts broke out as various Chinggisid princes contended for the rule of the empire or to strengthen their own domains. Khubilai's victory over his brother Arik Böke in 1263, after several years of civil war, signalled a return to stability in the Mongol-ruled parts of China and in the homeland itself, but it in no way signalled a return to a unified pan-Eurasian empire. The Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate had gone to war with each other upon the death of Möngke and that state of affairs continued throughout the 1260s – they increasingly operated as independent khanates.[20] Thus, the importance that Möngke's untimely demise in the vicinity of a small Chinese fortress holds for world history really cannot be underestimated.

It is frustrating then that there are competing, irreconcilable reports found in the available sources as to *how* the unified empire's last khan died. In my view, historians have long been concerned with Möngke's death as a means to an end; namely, it brought about the rupture of the unified empire. The enormous repercussion of this incident – the "end" as it were – is much more important than the precise "means" by which it happened. Indeed, determining the cause of Möngke's death can seem rather inconsequential in the works of historians that touch on the topic.

For the purposes of this essay, however, I would argue that the means by which he died holds some significance. If it was a direct result of military action while attempting to take a Chinese fortress in 1259 then this bolsters my argument that these fortresses often proved an effective form of anti-Mongol resistance. It could be argued, if such were the case, that strong, well-situated fortresses played

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[18] Robert Bedrosian, trans., *Kirakos of Gandzakets'i's History of the Armenians* (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1986), 108.
[19] H. Raverty, trans., *Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, Tabakat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia* (London, 1881), 1223.
[20] For a summary of this break-up of the empire and the subsequent establishment of the Yuan Dynasty in East Asia, see Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, 603.

a direct role in shattering the unity of the Mongol Empire. Thus, it is useful here to explore what the source material states in order to attempt to reach a conclusion as to the likely cause of Möngke's death.

One can quickly dismiss the story in Hayton's *Flowers of History* (1307) that Möngke died when he crossed the "Cathay Sea" and tried to take an island. While Möngke besieged the island, the islanders swam under his ship and surreptitiously made holes in the hull, drowning him.[21] I view this as a confused reference by Hayton – whose history is laden with errors and amalgams of events – to the subsequent Yuan campaigns against Japan. Presumably he had heard about the famous typhoons in the 1274 and 1281 abortive invasions of Japan and how the samurai attacked stranded Mongol ships while they sat off-shore, damaged by storms. Furthermore, there was a celebrated story of Möngke Khan almost drowning in the Volga River during his successful capture of the Cuman chief, Bachman, in the 1230s.[22] Hayton may have merged this earlier adventure of Möngke with the later invasions of Japan.

The remaining sources fall into three categories. There are those that provide no cause for the khan's death, those that attribute it to infectious disease, and those that attribute it to battle wounds. , A few examples do not mention the cause; Wassaf, for instance, provides no details except that it "destroyed all joy in the world."[23] This is what one might expect; Wassaf's florid, uninformative writing style has long been lamented by modern scholars. It is more surprising that the annals for Möngke's reign in the *Yuan Shi* provide no explanation for the khan's untimely demise during a failed siege; they reveal where and when it happened, but provide no further details.[24] Two remaining categories of sources do provide a cause of death. At the outset, the historian's task is made problematic by the fact that either cause (infectious disease or battle wounds) is plausible considering the context of a thirteenth-century siege of a mountain fortress in Sichuan.

The story that Möngke died of infectious disease, found in Persian sources and those that draw from them, appears earliest in Rashiduddin's historical work. He relates that the siege dragged on into the summer of 1259 as an epidemic broke out among the besiegers. Perhaps because he had a background as a physician, Rashiduddin actually identifies one epidemic as dysentery (اسهال eshāl), but he then mentions that cholera (وبا vabā) was doing great harm amongst the

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[21] Robert Bedrosian, trans., *Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars [The Flowers of History of the East]* (Long Branch, NJ: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2004), ch. 19.

[22] *Yuan Shi*, juan 3; Abramowski, "Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels," 16.

[23] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, trans., *Geschichte Wassaf's* (Vienna, 1856), 22.

[24] *Yuan Shi*, juan 3; Abramowski, "Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels," 33.

Mongol troops. He states that Möngke drank wine for a long period to try to ward off cholera but suddenly he fell mortally ill, passing away "at the foot of the unlucky fortress."[25] The Timurid historian, Khwandamir (1475–1534), repeats the same details about Möngke drinking wine in a bid to avoid the plague (طاعون ta'oon), but adds that he lay ill for eight days before expiring.[26] It is clear that for much of his material on the Mongols Khwandamir relied heavily on Rashiduddin.[27] This additional detail is meaningful since, if it actually stems from a reliable source, it adds credibility to the disease explanation. However, it could be a mere embellishment of later Timurid authors. It is curious that Khwandamir's account reads like a mere paraphrase of Rashiduddin with the exception of this single detail. Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur, writing in Turkic in the seventeenth century, repeats it.[28]

Looking at the account of Möngke's fatal disease, it is quite tenable, though all records in which it appears seem to originate largely from Rashiduddin. This does not discredit the explanation, but it is surprising and somewhat problematic that Chinese sources do not directly corroborate it – particularly since China was where the events happened. Chinese accounts refer many times to the epidemic that was devastating Mongol forces during the campaign in 1259. The *Yuan Shi* biography of a high-ranking military leader, Hasan, mentions that his son fell fatally ill at the siege of Diaoyuchang.[29] It also recounts that Möngke's second-in-command, Wang Dechen (汪德臣), was stricken but recovered from the disease. Möngke sent his own wine and jade belt (believed to have protective properties) to the ailing general and encouraged him to use them to get well, which caused the general to weep with gratitude. Indeed, he did recover and shortly afterwards

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[25] Muḥammad Raušan, and Muṣṭafā al Mūsawī, eds., Rašīd-ad-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Ǧāmi' at-tawārīḫ* 2 (Tehran, 1994–1995), 335; Thackston, trans., *Rashiduddin*, 416. The Persian author seems to attribute many deaths to cholera. Thackston translates the term as such. It is difficult to ascertain if Rashiduddin intended two separate diseases or if he merely meant the second term as an epidemic in a general sense. Interestingly, Möngke's conscious decision to drink wine (presumably to avoid drinking water) implies that an inference was being made that water was the agent spreading the disease, as modern medicine has long confirmed is the case with cholera.

[26] Wheeler Thackston, trans., Khwandamir's *Habibu's-Siyar. Tome Three. The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994), 34.

[27] Thackston, Khwandamir's *Habibu's-Siyar, Tome Three*, x.

[28] Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur. *History of the Turks, Moghuls, and Tatars, Vulgarly Called Tartars together with a Description of the Lands They Inhabit* (London 1730), 161.

[29] *Yuan Shi*, juan 122 [liezhuan 9]. The biography is of a military officer named Hasan (哈散納).

led an assault on Diaoyucheng during which he was fatally wounded by a stone projectile.[30] High social status was evidently no protection against the epidemic, but it may have helped survival chances. The *Yuan Shi* annals of Möngke's reign state that he himself was affected, indicating that during the sixth lunar month the khan felt unwell. In the seventh month (August), after arranging a major assault on the fortress network, the annals indicate that the khan expired.[31] While this does not rule out that Möngke was the victim of acute infectious disease, the phrasing does not indicate if the *Yuan Shi* compilers were drawing a connection and the vagueness leaves room for uncertainty.

Uncertainty is worsened because a number of sources claim Möngke Khan was killed in combat. The Syriac monk, Bar Hebraeus, states that "by ill-luck an arrow came to him" in the course of fighting the Song.[32] This is somewhat compelling because this author was writing in the thirteenth century – not very long after the events – and had some interaction with Mongols and the Ilkhanate court. It is possible that rumors he heard came from an informed source. No official source produced in a Mongol court contains this version of events, but later Chinese sources have similar statements. The fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty author, Shang Lu (商輅), wrote historical material on the Song and Yuan Dynasties in the *Tongjian gangmu xubian* which suggests Möngke's death occurred during a failed assault on the fortress.[33] Does this simply reflect an error on the part of a Ming era author or wishful thinking? The *Yuan Shi* includes details on an assault that closely matches the description provided by Shang Lu of a storm causing the ladders of the Mongol attackers to fall. However, the *Yuan Shi* states that this attack happened in the sixth lunar month and that Möngke's death occurred in the seventh.[34]

It is possible that Shang Lu merely connected Möngke's death to a failed assault, twisting his source material to create a preferable story. Yet, there is a possibility that this really was how Möngke died, and the fact was simply not permitted to be included in the official materials being produced at the Yuan or

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[30] *Yuan Shi*, juan 155 [liezhuan 42].

[31] *Yuan Shi*, juan 3 The relevant passage reads: 是月，帝不豫。秋七月辛亥，留精兵三千守之，餘悉攻重慶。癸亥，帝崩於釣魚山.

[32] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2003), 438–439.

[33] Shang Lu [商輅], *Tongjian gangmu xubian* [通鑒綱目續編], juan 21. For details on Shang Lu's work, published in 1476, and the complex authorship process behind Ming-era comprehensive histories see Nicolas Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 31–34.

[34] *Yuan Shi*, juan 3; Abramowski, "Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels," 33.

Ilkhanate courts. A thirteenth-century Song poet, Liu Kezhuang (1187–1269), writing before his country fell to the Mongols, seems to refer to Möngke's violent death by a crossbow in a poem called something like "Sichuan victory."[35] One must at least consider the possibility that the true circumstances of what happened were retained in local memory in Song territory after the Mongol conquest. In light of this possibility, it is interesting to observe that when Khubilai Khan, Möngke's brother and successor, ordered Chinese officials in 1288 to compile historiographical material on the previous khans, he took offense at their account of his brother's reign in particular. He angrily accused them of memory lapses and demanded a revision.[36] One can only speculate as to what exactly he found so offensive in the narrative.

Another issue relates to Marco Polo's claim that the Mongols massacred people who merely happened to be in the way while Möngke's funeral cortege made its way from Sichuan to Mongolia – upwards of 20,000 were killed according to the Venetian traveller.[37] This seemingly vengeful act against the Chinese civilian population might make more sense if one imagines that Möngke had been killed in Sichuan. Admittedly, such atrocities could have arisen regardless of whether the khan died from enemy action or disease.

Conclusions

The available source material provides two similarly credible versions of Möngke's fate and it is difficult to ascertain what actually happened. What is clear, though, is that the khan's demise was a consequence of the failed siege of Diaoyucheng. One can imagine that a prolonged siege of a small mountain fortress would have produced horrifically crowded and unsanitary conditions in the Mongol camps. The fact that the network of fortresses held firm in 1258–1259 forced the besiegers to remain in place and practically guaranteed that epidemics would break out. If one considers that cholera may have been present, as Rashiduddin holds, this is especially true.

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[35] Liu Kezhuang [刘克庄], Shu jie [蜀捷] in Houcun xiansheng da quanli [後村先生大全集], juan 23.11.b. Accessed at: http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=78651&page=57&remap=gb The poem uses analogies and makes veiled references to Möngke's defeat in Sichuan.

[36] Waltraut Abramowski "Die chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei and Güyük: Übersetzung des 2. Kapitels des Yüan-shih," Zentralasiatische Studien 10 (1976): 121.

[37] William Marsden, trans., The Travels of Marco Polo, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 127–128.

If Möngke died in combat rather than from disease, this again would have much to do with the effectiveness of Sichuan's mountain fortresses. The sources attest his growing frustration with setbacks and his subordinates' failures during the campaign.[38] The inability to achieve a breakthrough against the Song may have caused the Mongol commanders to make rash and strategically unsound decisions which put their own persons at risk, as can be seen in the case of Wang Dechen, who was killed by a stone from the defenders' artillery after he approached the fortress walls and demanded that the defending general surrender immediately.

As an observation, it seems that history has not permitted the great khans of the Mongol Empire to have a single version of their respective deaths. It is a commonplace that there are many accounts of how Chinggis Khan met his end, found in different sources from all over Eurasia. Möngke's father, Tolui, either committed a noble act of self-sacrifice or died of alcoholism, while his predecessor, Güyük, died of natural causes or was assassinated by another Chinggisid prince. What this all speaks to is a culture of taboos and secrecy – perhaps even official efforts at disseminating misinformation – which surrounded such misfortunes.[39] This disposes me to at least consider it thinkable that Möngke died at the hands of the Song. If he did, certainly the account cannot be expected to appear in official records.

One can much more confidently assert that the khan's death and the defeat at Diaoyucheng must have been a devastating blow for his subjects. With the shattering of the Mongol Empire into warring khanates in the immediate aftermath, it must have appeared for at least a moment that the Song fortress network in Sichuan really had proven an effective defense against the Mongols. Perhaps they would just be another dynasty of northern barbarians that would not be able to break south of the Yangzi River. Remarkably, Khubilai Khan was able to win the ensuing civil war and restore order to his domains in East Asia while renewing the campaign against the Song. With a marked shift in tactics, such

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[38] Thackston, *Rashiduddin*, 415.

[39] The Mongols were not unique in this and it seems to be a feature of Chinese historiography evident in other periods. For instance, on the many accounts of the death in captivity of a Song emperor, Huizong, found in surviving sources, Stephen H. West notes that we do "injustice" to these tales "if we consider 'truthfulness' only in the form of representation based on principles that we in the modern Western world deem historical or fictional." See Stephen H. West, "Crossing Over: Huizong in the Afterglow, or the Deaths of a Troubling Emperor," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford ((Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2006), 567.

as the creation of a navy,[40] along with the arrival of advanced trebuchets from Western Asia,[41] the stalemate was finally broken and the Song Dynasty collapsed spectacularly in the 1270s. Its capital city, Hangzhou, capitulated without offering resistance upon the realization that the Mongols were poised to advance on it with their navy.[42] It is significant to note, however, that when the Song Dynasty came to an end in 1279, Sichuan's mountain fortress network, centered on Diaoyucheng, was still unconquered.[43] It had held out through decades of intense, destructive invasions. This serves to highlight that small fortresses situated on hilltops really were an effective strategy against the Mongols. It was the Song Dynasty's misfortune that such a system was not more widely employed.

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[40] David Curtis Wright, "Artillery is Not Needed to Cross a River: Bayan's Swift Riparian Campaigns Against the Southern Song Chinese, 1274–1276," in *Military Studies and History*, ed. John Ferris (Calgary: Center for Military and Strategic Studies, 2008), 91.
[41] Paul E. Chevedden, "Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8 (2004): 232–233.
[42] Wright, "Artillery," 101.
[43] Huang, "Mountain Fortress," 237.

PRESTIGE OBJECT OR COFFEE CUP?
PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFYING AND DATING CHINESE
PORCELAIN UNEARTHED IN BUDA

Tünde Komori 📥

Chinese porcelain is a lesser known part of the material culture of the Ottoman era in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hungary. Between 1948 and 1964 excavations of the Buda Royal Palace yielded more than five hundred Chinese porcelain sherds.[1] There are a handful of brief descriptions of some sherds and Imre Holl published summaries on ceramics imported to Hungary during the Middle Ages and Early Modern times.[2] Beside these, however, no comprehensive analysis has been conducted to identify them. Holl gave the most extensive Hungarian description of Chinese porcelain to date and since the publication of his studies they have been used as a basis for identifying and dating Chinese porcelain.

After the Buda excavations, porcelain was discovered at several other sites, including the castle of Eger, which has the second largest assemblage (more than 450 sherds) known in Hungary. One of the earliest publications about Chinese porcelain finds came out of the excavations at Eger castle in the 1960s.[3] This article notes that this assemblage was one of the largest in the country at the time, which was the first step towards recognizing Chinese porcelain as part of Hungarian archaeological heritage.

Another assemblage significant in scholarship came to light in Szolnok Castle. Gyöngyi Kovács attempted to identify the origin of these pieces and connected them with the Turkish population of the castle, dating the appearance of Chinese porcelain in Hungary to the sixteenth century. She based her conclusions on written sources, firmly dating the sherds to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

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[1] This work is based on my MA thesis, "Comparative Study of the Chinese Porcelain Finds from Ottoman Buda and the Castle of Eger" (Central European University, 2017) and previous research.

[2] Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Burgpalast von Buda*, Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 17 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2005) and Imre Holl, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III" [Foreign Ceramics in Hungary Part 3], *Budapest Régiségei* 40 (2006): 253–294.

[3] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957–1963)" [Excavation at Eger Castle], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1963): 119–171.

century, the later period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).[4] From the second half of the 1980s onwards, newly discovered Chinese porcelain pieces were published more often. In general, these only included short descriptions and broad dating usually to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chinese porcelain is without doubt a special type of object that was considered a privilege to own, yet not much is known about its exact function as a status symbol or the way it was used in everyday life. The main question of this essay is whether it is possible to trace differences between types of porcelain based on this specific type of material. For example, what was the difference between the everyday coffee cup of soldiers stationed in the military camp in the medieval Royal Palace and the personal belongings of high ranking personnel living around the Pasha's Palace in Ottoman-era Buda.

Ottoman Period Developments in Buda

The Ottoman expansion was already a threat for the Hungarian kingdom during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490). The conquest became real after the 1526 Battle of Mohács, in which the Ottoman troops defeated the Hungarian army and King Louis II was killed. After Mohács, Sultan Suleiman marched into Buda in 1526 and 1529. He did not need to occupy the city, because John Szapolyai ruled Hungary with his help (1526–1540), and was loyal to him. Therefore, Suleiman only had to occupy Buda after Szapolyai's death, when Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, king of Hungary elected by some barons in 1526, began re-taking lands previously ruled by Szapolyai.[5] The sultan's troops took control of Buda on August 29, 1541, the fifteenth anniversary of the Battle of Mohács.

After the occupation, Buda became the center of the Buda *vilayet*, the northernmost administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire; it operated mainly as a military division and all other functions were secondary.[6] The basic social topography of the Castle Hill changed gradually. Soldiers of the garrison inhabited the medieval royal palace and its surroundings; the pasha (governor) first moved into a nobleman's mansion on the Danube bank, and in 1598, moved up the hill (*Fig. 1*).[7] The Janissary agha was stationed at the northern end of the Castle

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[4] Gyöngyi Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon* [Turkish Ceramics in Szolnok], Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár 30–31 (Szolnok: Damjanich Múzeum, 1984).

[5] Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár, *Gül Baba és a magyarországi bektasi dervisek* [Gul Baba and the Bektaşi dervishes in Hungary] (Budapest: Terebess Kiadó, 2002), 5–6.

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] The building became a Carmelite monastery in the eighteenth century. Ibid., 7.
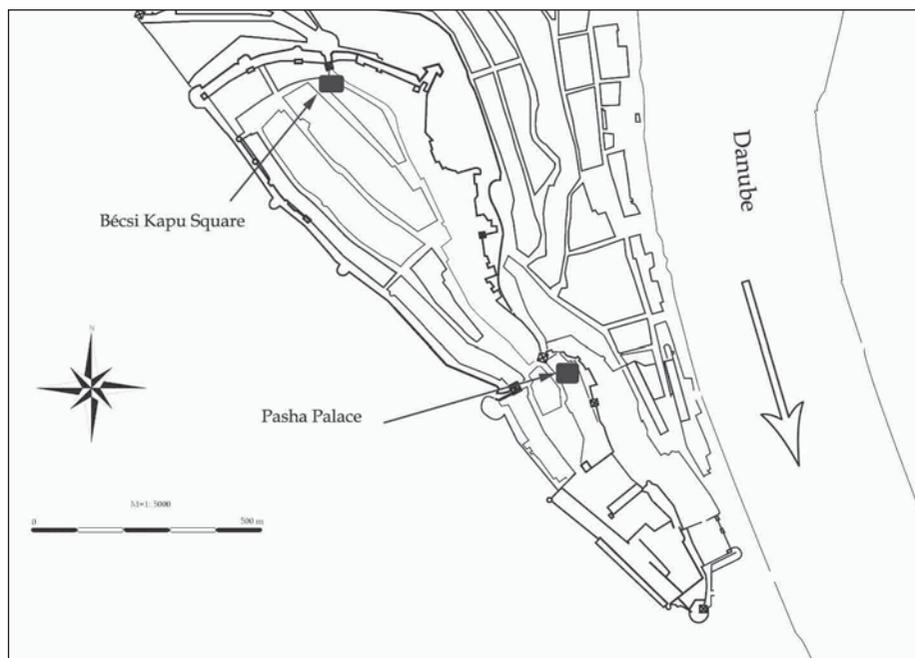
Fig. 1. The location of the Pasha's Palace after 1598 and Bécsi Kapu Square. The Janissary Agha was stationed nearby. Map by the author, after András Végh, Buda*, pt. 1,* To 1686, *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015), map A.3.4.*

Hill, in the vicinity of today's Bécsi kapu Square. Written sources, mainly tax registers, provide information about the social topography of the town, including the suburban settlements (*Fig. 2*). However, archaeological investigations do not yield sufficient information to support reconstruction. Furthermore, data is fragmentary and most sources come from the sixteenth century, with the number of registers decreasing during the seventeenth century.

Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár reconstructed the *mahalle* (neighborhood or quarter) system of Buda and its suburbs. Their theory of the *mahalle* system has not been unequivocally accepted in archaeological scholarship due to the paucity of evidence. Ágoston and Sudár identified parts of the town named after ethnic or religious groups living there,[8] as well as *mahalle*s named after streets instead of

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[8] Ágoston and Sudár, *Gul Baba,* 7.
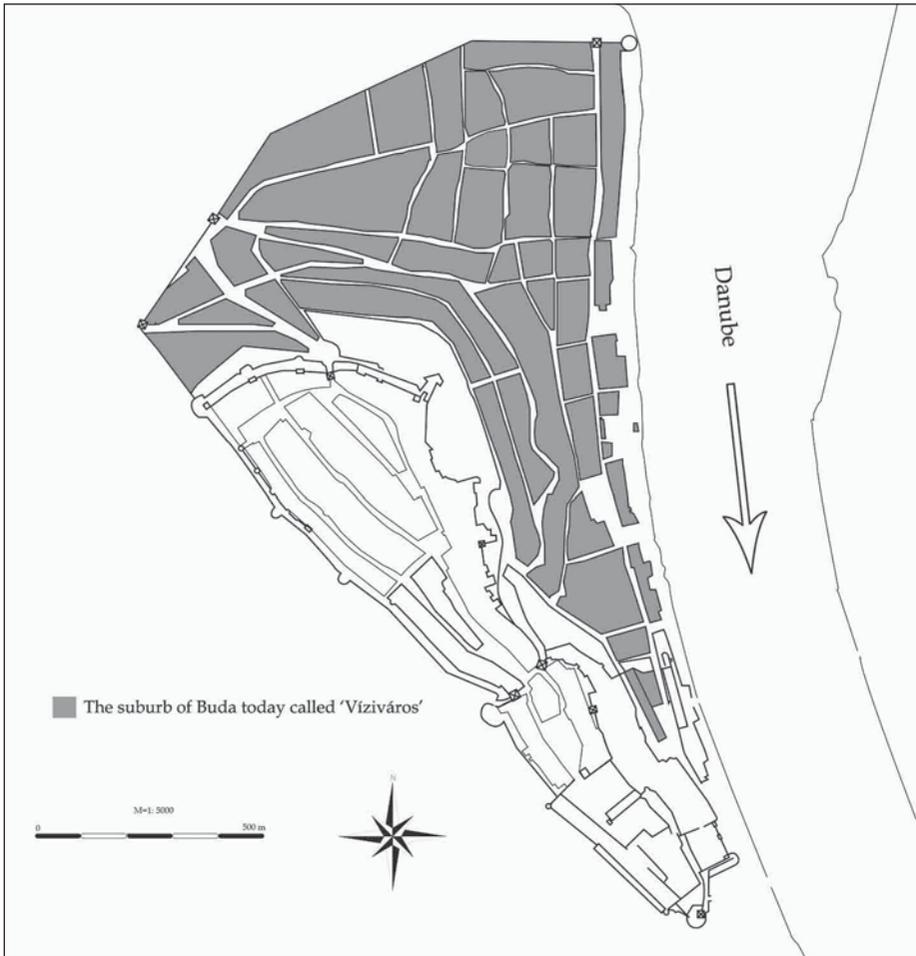
Fig. 2. Buda and its suburbs. Map by the author, after András Végh, Buda, *pt. 1, map A.3.4.*

important religious buildings as was the practice in Muslim cities.[9] Both Christian and Muslim travelers described how the town changed after the Ottoman

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[9] Ibid. In fact, the first scholar to identify *mahalle*s was Lajos Fekete in his fundamental work "Budapest a török korban" [Budapest in the Turkish era], in *Budapest története* [The history of Budapest], vol. 3, ed. Károly Szendy (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetem, 1944). Lajos Fekete's results still stand; later excavations have only refined Fekete's findings and interpretation.

occupation: *minaret*s were built and Christian churches were transformed into *cami*s (mosques). Dwellings and the wooden *bazaar* stalls were also added.[10]

Since the Second World War there have been numerous excavations in the present-day Castle District as well as in the areas that used to be the suburbs of Buda in the Ottoman period. These excavations supplemented the information derived from written sources. Large-scale excavations were carried out in the Buda Royal Palace by László Gerevich and Imre Holl between 1958 and 1961.[11] After this major project, archaeologists of the Budapest History Museum have conducted smaller excavations still ongoing in the present-day Castle District and Víziváros ("Water Town," along the Danube).[12] These excavations make a more precise reconstruction of the Ottoman-era topography of Buda and Víziváros possible. The latest results are summarized by András Végh.[13]

In summary, the medieval royal palace functioned basically as a military camp. From 1598 onwards, in the area north of the Royal Palace, the Pasha's Palace was situated to the east. To the west in this area, medieval houses remained in use without drastic transformation, at least not substantial enough to be discernable in archaeological data. Although Víziváros played an important role in the life of Ottoman-era Buda, no Chinese porcelain sherds were unearthed there, so this area is beyond the purview of this study.

The Archaeological Context of the Finds

The main body of the assemblage comes from the excavations conducted around the medieval royal palace between 1948 and 1960. There are altogether 538 pieces, and 75 sherds less than 1 cm in size, which belong at least to 412 separate vessels. The exact provenance of approximately one quarter of the vessels (110 items) is unknown. Altogether 165 vessels have been identified outside the Royal Palace, elsewhere in Buda (*Fig. 4*). These have been reconstructed from approximately 180 sherds. Five of these vessels are certainly modern.

Stratigraphically, most of the porcelain sherds were recovered from layers created during the Baroque reconstruction of the palace after its re-occupation

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[10] Ibid., 9.
[11] László Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása* [The excavation of the castle of Buda] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966).
[12] The most recent summary of the research into the topography of Buda in the Middle Ages and the Ottoman era is András Végh, *Buda*, *pt. 1, To 1686*, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015); see also short reports of excavations in the annual of the Budapest History Museum (*Budapest Régiségei*) from 1958 onwards.
[13] Végh, *Buda*, map A.3.4.
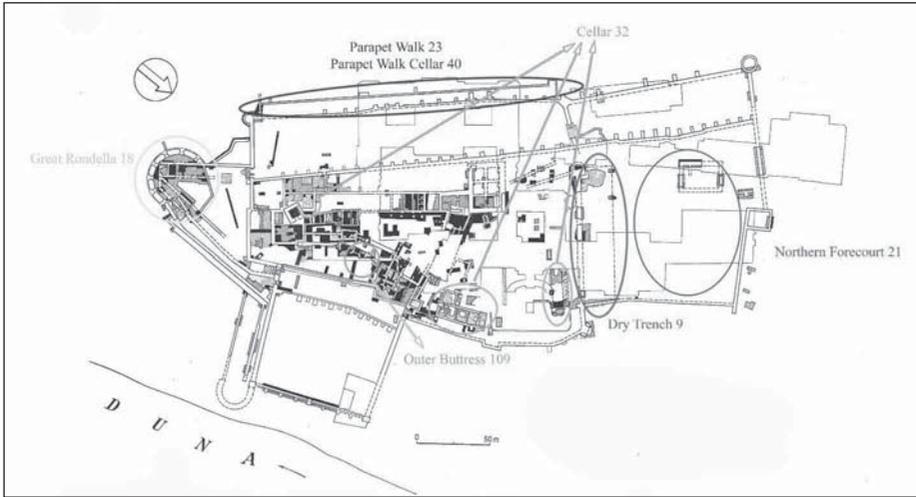
Fig. 3. Sites where the pieces of the Buda assemblage were recovered. Map by author, after László Gerevich, A budai vár feltárása *[The excavation of the Buda Castle] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 8.*

from the Ottomans in 1686. This means that these sherds were collected together with the debris from all over the city and used to fill up the *zwinger*s (narrow spaces between two walls, in this case, those of the castle), as well as old and new cesspits. Therefore, Chinese porcelain was seldom retrieved from securely datable archaeological contexts, accompanied by other objects that make a more precise dating possible.

In addition to the Royal Palace finds, another significant assemblage was recovered from the area of present-day Szent György Square, immediately north of the medieval royal palace. The Pasha's Palace, excavated on the eastern side of the square, yielded a Chinese porcelain assemblage (*Fig. 4*). This assemblage is not accessible at the moment, therefore, it is not included in this study. On the western side of the square, another assemblage was collected at four different sites between 1998 and 2000: 4–10 Szent György Street; Teleki Palace; Szent György Square, Southwest; and the Csikós [horse herder] Yard (*Fig. 6*).[14] Several

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[14] Excavation reports in Hungarian: Dorottya B. Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári Szent György téren* [Medieval well find from Saint George Square in the castle of Buda], Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 12 (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003); Károly Magyar, "A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése. Történeti vázlat 1526-tól napjainkig" [The formation of St. George Square in Buda and its changing
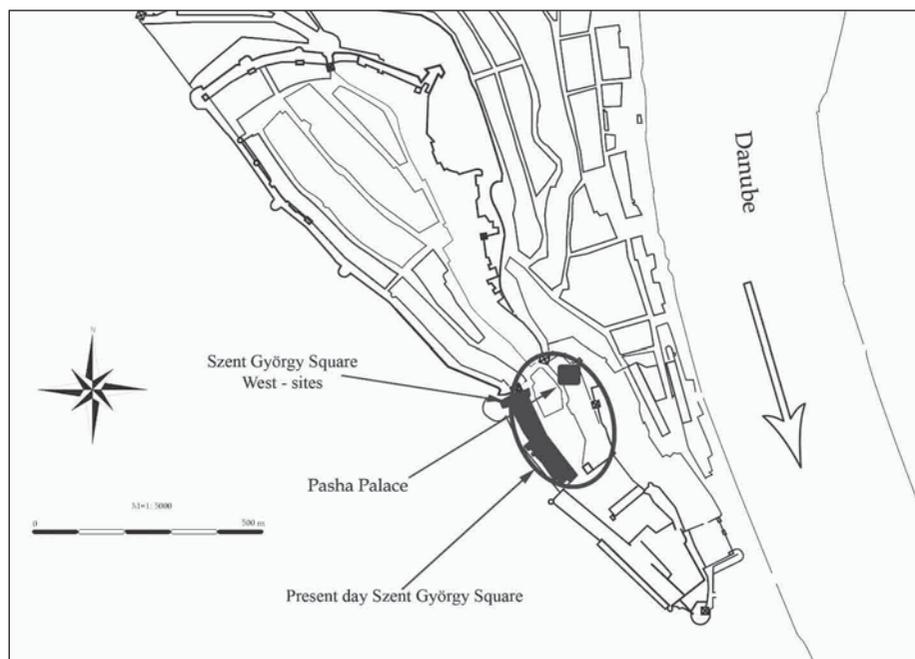
Fig. 4. The Pasha's Palace and the excavation sites at Szent György Square West.
Map by author, after András Végh, Buda, *pt. 1, map A.3.4*

other small excavation sites, both in the Castle District and Víziváros, yielded some sporadic Chinese porcelain sherds. However, this article focuses on the more substantial assemblages of the medieval royal palace and the western part of Szent György Square.

The Buda Assemblage

The Assemblage of the Medieval Royal Palace

The assemblage of the Royal Palace in Buda shows a general tendency that distinguishes it from the Western European, American, and Chinese collections. Some of the Buda pieces correspond to these collections and can be identified using analogies. However, the majority are so-called bulk (mass produced) products, dating to the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. This dating is important because Chinese porcelain appeared in Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century, after the Far East became easily accessible by sea in 1498.[15] As a result, in the first half of the sixteenth century, Beijing exported porcelain to Portugal. These artifacts were specifically produced for the European market.[16] By the second half of the sixteenth century, the so-called *kraak* ware appeared in Europe. This type of ware became widespread in Western Europe. *Kraak*, in most cases high quality blue and white ware, can be defined as "thinly potted wares which are lightweight and decorated on the cavetto [the area between the rim and the flat inner surface] of dish shapes with radiating panels that alternate between wide and narrow," with a decorated medallion in the center of the dish. It was mostly produced in the kilns of Jingdezhen (景德镇). Based on shipwreck assemblages, *kraak* appeared on the market between 1553 and 1579.[17] Two examples of *kraak* ware have been identified so far in Buda, one in the medieval Royal Palace[18] and another in the Pasha's Palace.[19]

The Chinese *swatow* type of porcelain, in all aspects different from *kraak* ware, was produced roughly between 1550 and 1650, targeting mainly the Southeast Asian market. This type of ware, in contrast with *kraak*, was produced in *minyao*s (民窑), private kilns.[20] Out of the two types, most of the bulk products unearthed in the Royal Palace (*Fig. 6*) resembles *swatow*. Scarce publication on Southeast Asian

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[15] Clare le Corbeiller and Alice Clooney Frelinghuysen, "Chinese Export Porcelain," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series 60, no. 3 (2003): 7.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium, 2007), 34.

[18] Holl, "Külföldi kerámia," 288, Fig. 31.

[19] Unpublished, discovered in 2015 and displayed in the temporary exhibition of the Budapest History Museum: "Paloták, polgárházak, templomok a középkorból" [Palaces, townhouses, and churches from the Middle Ages], September 19, 2016 – March 5, 2017.

[20] Michael Flecker, *The Binh Thuan Shipwreck. Archaeological Report* (Melbourne: Christie's Australia, 2004), accessed on January 15, 2017, http://www.maritime-explorations.com/BinhThuan.pdf

shipwrecks and the lack of proper documentation of their provenance hinders confident connections between the Buda Royal Palace assemblage and *swatow* porcelain. Furthermore, some high quality pieces also appear in this assemblage.[21]

There are general tendencies discernible in vessel shapes in Hungary, namely, that jugs, pitchers, and footed bowls are missing from the Chinese porcelain assemblage, which indicates a special use for these objects. Imported cups, and probably small bowls as well, were used for drinking tea and coffee, while jugs and pitchers were mainly produced by local potters. The latter appear in assemblages of Turkish and local Hungarian pottery, but footed bowls are also a characteristic type of ceramics in Ottoman Hungary. This shows that the missing vessel shapes are not truly missing but are present in different assemblages, again indicating that Chinese porcelain probably had a specific role among the forms of tableware.

Chinese Porcelain from Szent György Square

This assemblage is much smaller than that of the Royal Palace. The four sites altogether yielded 96 Chinese porcelain sherds; the quality of these pieces, however, is higher than that of most items from the Royal Palace. One of the most apparent differences is that there is a larger number of marks and reign marks in this assemblage. Even though the Szent György Square assemblage is quarter of the size of that from the Royal Palace, both yielded eight marked pieces (*Fig. 5* and *6*). There are more marked pieces unearthed in other parts of the civic town and suburbs of Buda, which indicates that in general there might have been more marked vessels than what the Royal Palace assemblage suggests. The discrepancy is notable, even though the frequency of marked pieces is unrepresentative due to the fragmentary nature of the material.

The other major dissimilarity is that the bulk products of the Royal Palace are only present in small numbers and there are types and shapes that are absent from the palace assemblage or are only represented by a few sherds. These are cups with foliated or outward-leaning rims and vertically ribbed walls (*Fig. 7*). These pieces tend to be more delicately formed and painted, with very thin walls and very precise painting. The type absent in the royal palace is the so-called *famille rose* (*fencai* 粉彩) porcelain manufactured in China in the second half of the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, this type became so popular

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[21] For a detailed description and more illustrations of the material see Holl, *Fundkomplexe*; Holl, "Külföldi kerámia," and Tünde Komori, "A budavári királyi palota porcelán leletanyagának kutatása új szempontok alapján" [New aspects of the porcelain finds from the Buda Royal Palace], *Budapest Régiségei* 47 (2014): 313–338.
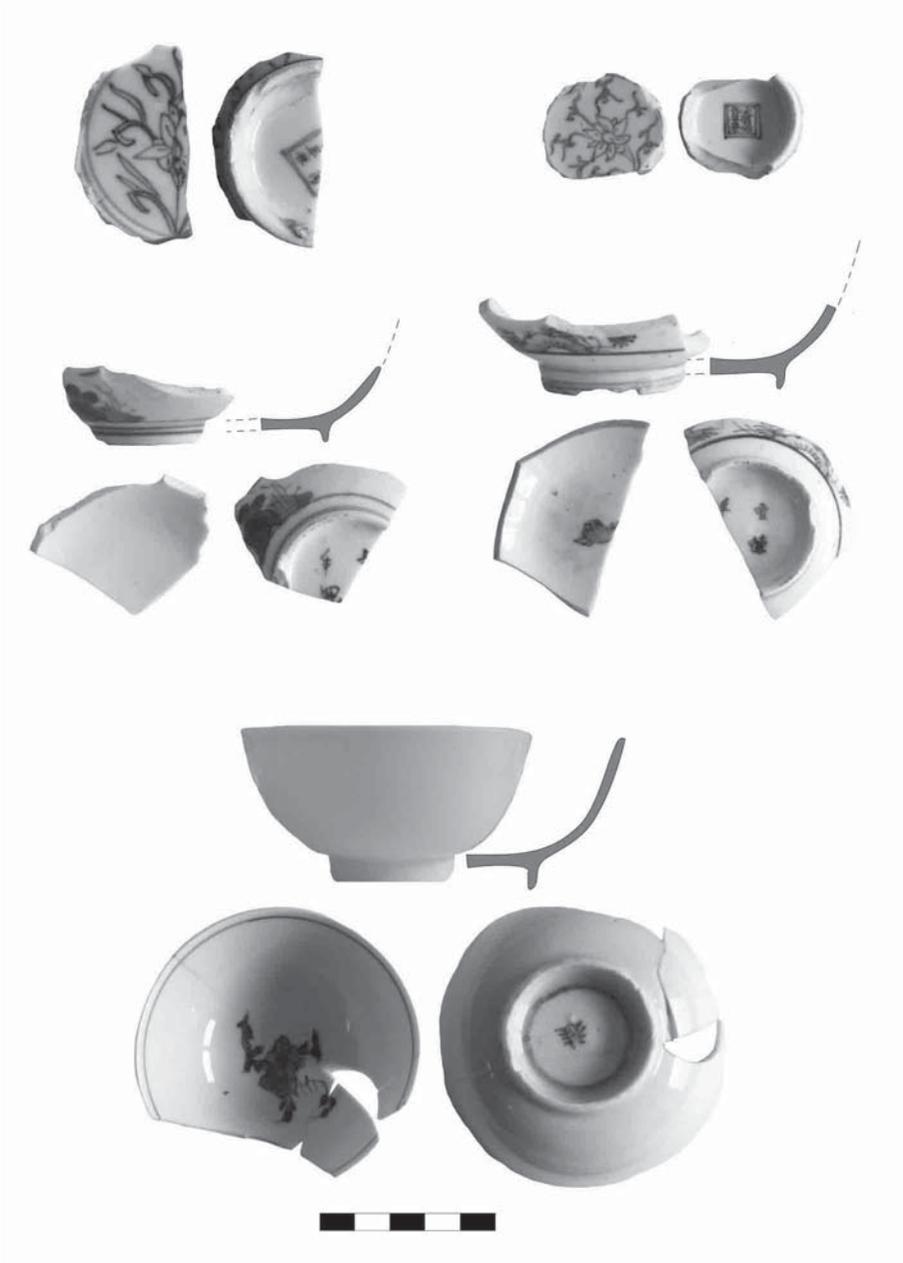
Fig. 5. Examples of marks on sherds from Szent György Square
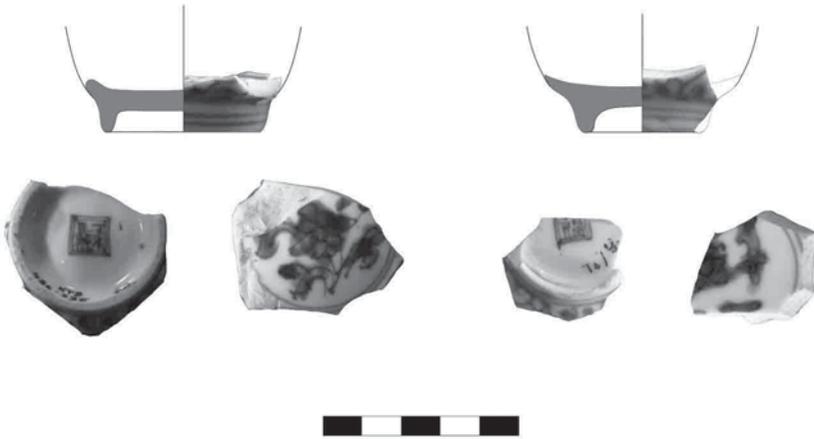
Fig. 6. Examples of marks on sherds from the Royal Palace
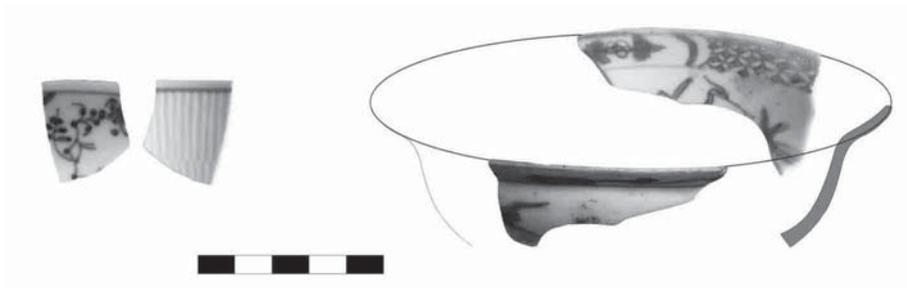
Fig. 7. Examples of ribbed walls and foliated rims on vessels from Szent György Square

in Europe that it began to affect the domestic market in China (*Fig. 8*).[22] The presence of this type in Szent György Square suggests a difference in dating, but also raises other questions related to Chinese porcelain as an indicator of social status (and its possible changes) during and after the Ottoman era. The identification of the pieces shown in *Fig. 8* is not clear, however, they may be of the *famille rose* type or more likely Chinese imari.[23]

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[22] Corbeiller-Frelinghuysen, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, 20.
[23] See Lisa Rotondo-McCord and Peter James Bufton, *Imari. Japanese Porcelain for European Palaces* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1997), 60–81.
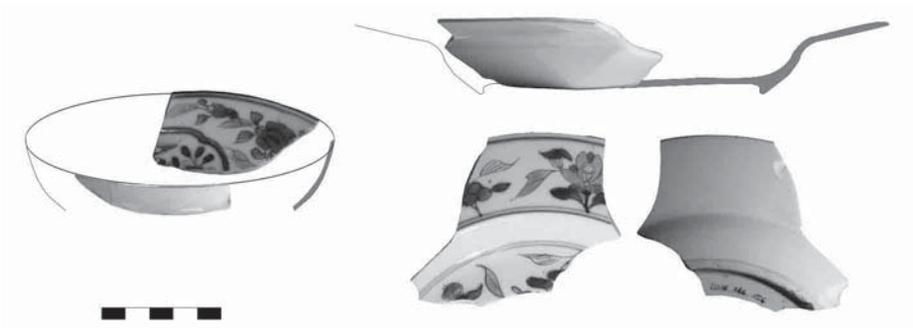
Fig. 8. Examples of the Chinese imari type

The archaeological contexts of the sherds from Szent György Square are not relevant here because they are quite similar to those from the Royal Palace. Site location is more informative because both are immediately opposite the Pasha's Palace. It is thus likely that the houses where these cups come from were centrally located. Excavations show that stone structures in this part of Buda were not significantly altered in the Ottoman period: they definitely remained in use as dwelling houses.

Aspects of Identification

Dating Chinese porcelain is a fairly unexplored field of study in Hungarian archaeology, which is not surprising considering that Chinese scholarship often remains inconclusive. One of the main reasons for this is the nature of the material in general, specifically that production techniques and the composition of the material have barely changed throughout its history and furthermore are mostly invisible to the naked eye. In addition, the decoration and motifs on the objects are insufficient to establish a stable typochronology. The only reliable evidence is glaze analysis and the stylistics of the painting technique, although other information may be enlisted to assist in dating.

Stratigraphy and Archaeological Contexts

The main archaeological method, using context and stratigraphy, is problematic when dealing with tableware ceramics. Decorative and usually more expensive, these pieces were in use for longer, sometimes even centuries. A datable context or layer can only indicate the time of disposal, but certainly not the time of production. The value attached to Chinese porcelain pieces is demonstrated by

pieces that show traces of repair: small drilled holes corresponding to each other along breaks. One surviving piece has metal traces in the repair hole, suggesting the use of thin metal wire.

In Buda, the archaeological context is rarely helpful in dating Chinese porcelain, because at the time of Buda's re-conquest from the Ottomans in 1686, the debris was leveled in preparation for reconstruction works. As a result, most of the strata containing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material consist of a mixture of waste, litter, and debris levelled during the Baroque reconstruction. Therefore, a more precise dating is impossible. Chinese porcelain sherds have rarely been found in securely datable archaeological contexts.[24] In the case of the Royal Palace, for example, all the porcelain sherds were found in cesspits or in landfill of other trenches, pits or *zwinger*s, therefore there is no available context for precise dating. As mentioned above, the archaeological context in this case merely provides dates that set the end of the objects' life cycles, but cannot indicate their beginning. Other sites in Buda are similar in this regard. Therefore, the pieces recovered there cannot be precisely dated either.

Marks

At a glance, potters' marks may seem like the most straightforward evidence for dating, since they mostly consist of dynastic and imperial names. However, the situation is far more complicated. Ignoring the long and complex evolution of the Chinese writing system,[25] potters' marks can be misleading.

The marked pieces unearthed in the Royal Palace are fragmentary and only two are legible. One of them is the *fu* 福 character, meaning "good luck" or "good fortune," so the marking may stand for a good wish. Different forms of good wishes are commonly found on Chinese porcelain and the *fu* 福 character was most often used in the Yuan and Ming periods (1271–1644),[26] which does not allow a refined dating. The other legible mark is a date, unfortunately not too precise. The mark says "丁未年製 *dingwei nianzhi*," which means "made in the year of *dingwei*." *Dingwei* is the name of a year in the sixty-year cycle of the Chinese lunar calendar.[27] This name can appear only once within a cycle but

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[24] For example, Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 131, 133.

[25] See also Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[26] Gerald Davison, *The New and Revised Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics* (London: Somerset, 2013), no. 160.

[27] China started using the lunar calendar as early as the Shang period (商代, 1600–1028). It operates with cycles of sixty years, each corresponding to a century in the Western sense. The cycles consist of ten Heavenly Stems (*shi tian gan* 十天干) and twelve Earthly

without knowing the exact cycle, dating is not possible. The cycle is usually not specified on porcelain vessels, as on this specific fragment, which leaves open the question of the production year. For the Royal Palace piece, three years can be suggested: 1487, 1547, and 1607. However, the history of the medieval Royal Palace of Buda and the archaeological context may yield analogies for more exact dating.

A piece found at the Pasha's Palace during the excavations of Győző Gerő in the 1960s[28] bears the mark "萬福攸同 *wanfu youtong*," meaning: "may infinite good fortune surround you." According to Gerald Davison, this good wish was in use from the Jiajing 嘉靖 to the Kangxi 康熙 period (1522–1722), covering exactly two hundred years.[29]

The most interesting sherds from Szent György Square are two cups, similar in the style of their imperial marks and decoration. They differ, however, in size, paint color, and name of the emperor written on them (*Fig. 8*). One of them bears the name of Emperor Chenghua (成化, 1465–1485) and the other of Emperor Wanli (萬曆, 1573–1619). This suggests that later porcelain painters followed in the footsteps of their predecessors and copied their style, sometimes even the imperial mark itself.[30]

Another pair of cups, similar in decoration, both bear the same imperial mark of Emperor Xuande (宣德, 1426–1435). Because of their context and style, however, it is unlikely that they were made in the fifteenth century (*Fig. 8*). Another interesting piece from Szent György Square bears the mark *ya* (雅), meaning elegant or refined. This mark is dated to the period between the reign of Emperor Wanli 萬曆 and that of Emperor Shunzhi 順治, 1573–1661.[31] Out of the Buda pieces dated by their marks, this one is the most precisely datable piece from Buda. This fact, again, shows that marks in themselves cannot be considered sufficient evidence to date Chinese porcelain.

Branches (*shi'er zhi* 十二支), which all have specific names formed by pairing the Heavenly Stems with the Earthly Branches. Ibid.*,* 33.

[28] See Győző Gerő's excavation reports (*Budapest I., Színház utca 5–7, volt Pasa–palota (ásatási jelentés)* [Budapest 1, 5–7 Színház Street, the old Pasha's Palace]) in *Régészeti Füzetek* 1961–1968; and Győző Gerő, "The Residence of the Pashas in Hungary and the Recently Discovered Pashasaray from Buda," in *Art Turc – Turkish Art:10th International Congress of Turkish Art – 10 Congrès international d'art turc. Actes–Proceedings. Genève, 1995*, ed. François Déroche (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 353–360.

[29] Davison, *Marks*, no. 1895.

[30] Ibid., 20.

[31] Ibid., no. 194.

Conclusions

Establishing the production date of Chinese porcelain finds is difficult. Firstly, analogies are yet to be identified in most cases; secondly, the archaeological contexts are usually not sufficient, and lastly, the marks, if any, provide information too general for dating. Despite these difficulties, the Ottoman-period Chinese porcelain unearthed in Buda may be dated to the late Ming and early Qing periods, specifically the Wanli (萬曆, 1573–1619), the so-called Transition (1620s–1680s), and the Kangxi period (康熙, 1662–1722). The characteristic features of the Royal Palace and the Szent György Square finds indicate a significant difference. The position and function of the two sites suggest different owners and users for these objects. The garrison was stationed in the Royal Palace, so it functioned as a military camp. Since the cups and small bowls discovered in this area were probably used by soldiers, it is not surprising that most of them were mass-produced. In contrast, the high-quality objects may be connected to members of the upper layers of society who resided in the Szent György Square area. Due to the lack of data about settlement structure, especially the social topography of Buda, this remains speculative. In addition, after the re-conquest of Buda the debris and litter from the Pasha's Palace was spread in the vicinity, including the western side of Szent György Square. Moreover, the clean-up after the battle of 1686 is not well documented. Disturbed archaeological contexts and severely mixed layers continues to pose the biggest challenge in excavating in Buda.

Regardless the uncertainty of the hypothesis, my approach raises further questions: Why is it so difficult to find analogies for parts of the assemblage? What are the reasons for the differences between the Royal Palace and the Szent György Square assemblages? Is this difference real or merely implied by misinterpreted evidence? Does an actual difference between the finds recovered from these sites reflect the status of their owners? If so, does it mean that Chinese porcelain was a prestige object, a status symbol in the Ottoman Empire and in Ottoman-period Hungary? Was Chinese porcelain available as frequent commodity in markets or did it arrive in Hungary in the personal belongings of soldiers, officials, and diplomats? Was Chinese porcelain used as a diplomatic or social gift? Were these porcelain items used for tea or coffee, or both? The specific methodology used in this article, thus, allows narrow insight into this hitherto unexplored field, and raises the necessity of new methodologies to find out more about the fascinating history of these artifacts.

MONSTROUS HUMANS IN THE MONGOL EMPIRE.
FRANCISCAN ACCOUNTS OF THE MONGOLIAN TRIBES[1]

Dorottya Uhrin 📥

In medieval Europe, wild forests and unknown territories were the antitypes of the inhabited world, where human culture thrived.[2] These unexplored places were the homeland of humans very different from us; they might be monstrous beings like people with dog heads or humans in the form of dogs. I focus here on some monstrous creatures which many people in the Middle Ages seem to have accepted as fact. These creatures were located on the conceptual boundary between humans and animals. The medieval mind often made connections between these imagined beings and strange peoples who came from outside their world to attack them. These non-European tribes were usually associated with monstrous races; the Scythians, Parthians, Huns, Alans, and Turks were imagined as being dog-headed in the minds of medieval people.[3]

This article attempts to shed some light on the stereotypes Western authors, mainly Franciscan envoys, applied to the Mongols. The Mongol invasion of Europe is called the Tartar Invasion in modern Hungarian historiography. Medieval authors were applying the name "Tartars" to Mongols even before they arrived in Europe.[4] The Tatars were a tribe conquered by Genghis Khan, but medieval, Latin writers commonly used this appellation for the Mongols because of the similarity of the word Tatar to Tartarus, the hell of antiquity. Because of this similarity between the words, and because of their cruelty, the Mongols were described as though they were creatures from hell.[5]

From the mid-thirteenth century, Franciscan emissaries were sent to the Mongols; the two most famous among them were John of Plano Carpini[6] and

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1 This paper is based on "Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire: Franciscan Accounts on the Mongolian Tribes," presented at the workshop "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interactions," in Budapest in 2015. The author is a PhD student at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Institute of History, Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of Hungary; Department of Inner Asian Studies.

2 David Gordon White, *Myths of the Dog-Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 9.

3 White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 52–53.

4 István Vásáry, *Az Arany Horda* [The Golden Horde] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1986), 25.

5 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), 59.

6 The critical edition of John of Plano Carpini's description is Giovanni di Pian di Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989).

William of Rubruck.[7] The aims of these missions were twofold; Christian leaders wanted to evangelize the Mongols and also collect information about them to prepare Europe for a supposed new invasion.[8] The envoys' descriptions of their adventures among the Mongols thus have an ethnographic point of view; they observed Mongolian customs, hairstyles, and even diet. William of Rubruck had the opportunity to taste some nomadic specialties like fermented mare's milk (*comos*) and at the first draught he reported that he sweated all over because of its unfamiliarity.[9] The Mongolian nomadic lifestyle differed dramatically from that of medieval European culture, but after the first shock of the fermented mare's milk, the friars realized that no dog-men nor any other monstrous humans lived among the Mongols. Rubruck wondered whether it were true that monsters or monstrous humans lived among or near the Mongols, but when he asked them, the Mongols told him that they had never seen such beings.[10]

The First Franciscan Mission to Mongolia

Even before William of Rubruck, other missionaries had reached the Mongolian Empire and left detailed records for posterity. In these records one can find interesting details on fabulous tribes and accounts from people who had seen them. The most famous of these embassies was headed by John of Plano Carpini, one of the companions and disciples of Saint Francis of Assisi. Pope Innocent IV sent Carpini's mission to Güyüg Khan in 1245. Carpini's party included several friars, but most of them are unnamed in the records except for Stephanus Ceslaus, Benedictus Polonus, and C. de Bridia. The mission took a route through Eastern Europe to Batu Khan's camp on the Volga.[11] Stephanus Ceslaus suffered poor health and he rested at Batu's court, then Carpini and Benedictus continued their journey to the Mongolian capital, Karakorum, where they witnessed the enthronement of Güyüg in August, 1246. De Bridia presumably stayed with

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[7] William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan monk, went on a mission to the Mongols from 1253 to 1255 and wrote a detailed account about them. See Peter Jackson, trans., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990).

8 Peter Jackson, "Franciscans as Papal and Royal Envoys to the Tartars (1245–1255)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 223–225.

[9] Jackson, *The Mission,* 98–99.

[10] Ibid., 201.

[11] Jackson, *"*Franciscans As Papal and Royal Envoys," 225.

Stephanus, then perhaps went to Mochi's camp on the left bank of the Dnieper.[12] When he came back from Mongolia he met Carpini in Korenza's court on the right bank of the Dnieper.[13] It is well known that Carpini and Benedictus Polonus wrote reports on their experiences in the East. Carpini wrote his account, the *Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, in the autumn of 1247, when he arrived back from his journey.[14] While the missionaries made their way back, the drafts of their reports started to circulate among interested parties. De Bridia produced another report,[15] which he finished writing on 30 July 1247,[16] based on the oral narrative of Benedictus and on Carpini's unfinished draft.[17] He might have completed the account with information which he had heard at Batu's court.[18] The aim of de Bridia's work was not to prompt action against a supposed new Mongol attack; he described them as a divine penalty inflicted on Christians.[19] De Bridia made some revisions to Carpini's work; the most interesting for my work is that the text contains some tribal names in the Mongolian language. Some of these tribal names are connected to the fabled tribes and monstrous humans. De Bridia's account presents the Mongols more negatively than Carpini's and uses more ancient stereotypes for the nomadic tribes than Carpini's description.[20]

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[12] Ibid., 233.

[13] György Györffy, *Julianus barát* és *a napkelet fölfedezése* [Friar Julianus and the discovery of the East] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi kiadó, 1986), 433.

[14] De Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys,* 91.

[15] Two manuscripts remain of de Bridia's description. For a bilingual edition of the text see George Duncan Painter, trans., "Tartar Relation," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George Duncan Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). The other manuscript was found in 2006; Gregory G. Guzman, "The Vinland Map Controversy and the Discovery of a Second Version of *The Tartar Relation:* The Authenticity of the 1339 Text," *Terrae Incognitae* 38, no. 1 (2006): 19–25.

[16] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 101.

[17] Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men. The Story of the Vinland Map* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 269.

[18] Ibid., 269.

[19] Gregor Werner, "Die militärische Macht der Mongolen in den Berichten der Carpinimission – Die Unterschiede in der Darstellung bei Carpini und C de Bridia," PhD dissertation (Fernuniversität in Hagen, 2011), 19.

[20] Werner, "Die militärische Macht," 18–19.

Imaginary Tribes in the Franciscan Accounts

In Carpini's, de Bridia's, and Rubruck's accounts they describe monstrous tribes at several points. De Bridia, chapter 13, gives some details about Genghis Khan's Eastern campaign. He mentions a tribe called Men of the Sun. "After these three months Genghis came to great mountains in a country called Narayrgen, that is, Men of the Sun, for Nara is Tartar for sun, and Irgen means men."[21] After this section de Bridia gives almost the same description as Carpini. The Mongols passed through a land where they did not find people although there were trodden trackways. Finally they found humans and Genghis questioned them about the inhabitants of this territory. According to their story, the people had lived "in the earth under the mountains." These people secretly attacked the Mongols, thus the Mongolian army had to leave the territory because of the great losses. Moreover, the sun "comes up with such a noise that was impossible to endure."[22]

It is unknown who the Men of the Sun were. De Bridia's work complements Carpini's account: "the aforesaid country is situated at the very end of the world, and beyond it no land is found, but only the ocean sea."[23] This last sentence might make it possible to identify where this country was located. It is hypothesized that this chapter refers to a well-known country where the sun comes up: the Land of the Rising Sun, that is, Japan. It seems that this description was based on a real place, but it might have been exotic people to both the Europeans and the Mongols. The Japanese people lived on islands isolated in the midst of the ocean and, more than a geographical boundary, the oceans constituted limits in the medieval mind.[24]

Besides the Men of the Sun, the Franciscan accounts describe some truly monstrous humans. In chapter 18, De Bridia gives information about a particular territory called the Land of Dogs. This chapter describes the return of the Mongols from their campaign to India and was based on information provided by Russian clerics who lived at the court of the khan.[25] According to this chapter, after the Tatars came across a desert, they reached "the Land of Dogs, which in Tartar is called Nochoy Kadzar; for *nochoy* means dog in Tartar, and *kadzar* means land. They found only women there without men." [26] In this country, women had

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[21] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 65.

[22] Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli,* V, 16.

[23] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 65.

[24] White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 10.

[25] Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli,* V, 13.

[26] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 70.

the form of humans while men were dogs by nature.[27] The dogs attacked the Tatars, who fought with them but could not kill them and fled. De Bridia reports that Friar Benedict spoke to:

> one of the Tartars who even told him that his father was killed by the dogs at that time; and Friar Benedict believes beyond doubt that he saw one of the dog's women with the Tartars, and says she had even borne male children from them, but the boys were monsters. The aforesaid dogs understand every word that women say, while the women understand the dogs' sign language.[28]

In de Bridia's and Carpini's accounts another strange nation appears which is similar to the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs. The Mongols told the friars that after they had occupied Kiev (in 1240) they had turned north and conquered several groups like the Baskirs and Samoyeds. Then they had found a nation called "*Ucorcolon*, that is, Ox-feet, because *ucor* is Tartar for ox and *colon* for foot, or otherwise *Nochoyterun*, that is, Dog-heads, *nochoy* being Tartar for dog and *terun*[29] for head." After that, de Bridia explains how these creatures looked: their feet were like oxen feet from the ankles down, their heads had the form of a human's, but from the ears they had "a face in every respect like a dog's," and they took their name from this monstrous part of their form. Regarding their language, he says, "they speak two words and bark the third."[30]

The idea of the Land of the Dogs and the dog-headed men (*cynocephalus*) derived from accounts from ancient times. It appeared in Egyptian religion; Anubis was usually depicted as a man with a canine head. In addition, classical

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[27] Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli,* V, 13.

[28] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 70.

[29] Painter read *terim* instead of *terun*; Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 75. In Classical Mongolian the word *terigün* means head, Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) 805. In the manuscript the last two letters of this word were designated by four stems which can be read either te*rim* or te*run*. Although there is a dot above the second half of the word, the use of dots and stems for the letter 'i' is not general in the text. The medieval Mongolian pronunciation is not known, but in Khalkha Mongolian, head is тэргүүн [tergüün]. I think the reading of this word is *terun*. Thus, the medieval copyist presumably omitted one or two letters (-g or -ig) from a word which he did not know.

[30] Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 74.

writings also refer to them, such as Herodotus,[31] Ctesias, and Pliny the Elder.[32] The idea of dog-headed men appears in the Christian tradition, too, a martyr from the third century, namely, Saint Christopher, was portrayed with a dog's head in the Orthodox Church. The famous thirteenth-century collection of legends, the Golden Legend,[33] notes that he was a Canaanite, which means etymologically that he had come from the Land of the Dogs.[34] The lore of the dog-headed man had spread in West through the Alexander Romance, the collection about the mythical exploits of Alexander the Great.[35]

Pliny located the "dog-tribe" in the Canaries because he identified the islands' name (*Canaria*) with the Latin word for dog (*canis*). According to him, only a huge number of large dogs (*multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis*) lived on the island.[36] It was believed that dog-men and the dog-headed people came from Adam and Eve, but they were subsequently chased east of Eden, together with the Amazons. Both of them were usually located at the Eastern edge of the world, not just by Franciscan envoys; they were mentioned in a famous account, *The Journey of Hethum, King of Little Armenia, To Mongolia and Back*. Hethum, an Armenian king visited the Mongol khan, Möngke, at his court in 1254.[37] His companion wrote a description of the journey, where he mentiond the dog-men and their anthropomorphic wives. In this description, the dog-men were hunters but they shared the prey with their wives. Their sons had the shape of dogs and the daughters looked like their mothers.[38] One can find the dog-headed tribe in Marco Polo's description as well. He located them on an island, like Pliny, but

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[31] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. A. D. Godley (London: Heinemann, 1928), II. IV/191. 395.

[32] C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae cum commentariis et adnotatonibus* (Hackios: 1669), I. 383.

[33] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), II. 10–14.

[34] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound. Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 149–153.

[35] The romance about Alexander the Great, dating from the third century, had several translations and adaptations in the Middle Ages. This fictional account describes legendary and monstrous creatures. Dennis M. Kratz, "Introduction," to Dennis M. Kratz, trans., *The Romances of Alexander* (New York: Garland, 1991), ix–xi.

[36] C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae cum commentariis et adnotatonibus*, I. 383.

[37] Rouben Paul Adalian, *The Historical Dictionary of Armenia* (Lanham, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 361.

[38] Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longman, Green, 1867; reprint 2013), 113.

this island was located in the Indian Ocean, called Angamanain.[39] Pierre d'Ally, a French scholar of the fifteenth century, referred to the dog-tribe as one of the exotic nations of India.[40]

European accounts describe the fabled dog-tribe who were supposed to have lived in the Mongol Empire. But are there any Mongolian or Far Eastern written traditions which mention a dog-tribe? Lubsandanzan, writer of the famous seventeenth-century Mongolian chronicle, the *Altan Tobči*,[41] mentions them in a list of the nations conquered by Genghis.[42] Among them one can find some odd tribes, like the tribe of intelligent people, the people of the pinto horse, the people of the team with the golden bowl, the tribe of maroon dogs – in Mongolian *qürin noqai ulus* – the people without heads, the people of the single striped leg, and others.[43] In this tradition, Lubsandanzan described the color of the dog-nation as maroon. Early Chinese sources also mention the Land of the Dogs, situating them northwest of Shang China, where a tribe lived ("Dog Jung") whose ancestors were dogs. The Chinese traveler Hu Qiao stayed among the Khitais in the tenth century and also mentions the dog-tribe. He writes that the Kingdom of Dogs, called *Gou Guo*, was further north, where the inhabitants had the bodies of men and the heads of dogs. They had long hair and no clothes, they overcame wild beasts with their bare hands, and their language was the barking of

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[39] "The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species." Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian. Revised from the Marsden Translation,* ed. Manuel Komroff (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1953), III/13, 301.

[40] Enikő Csukovits, "A konstanzi zsinat mint könyvvásár és tudományos forum," [The synod of Konstanz as a book fair and scientific forum], in *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris" – Tanulmányok a konstanzi Zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából* [Essays on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Council of Constance], ed. Attila Bárány and László Pósán (Debrecen: Print-Art, 2014), 53.

[41] On the *Altan Tobči* see Shagdaryn Bira, *Mongolian Historical Writing from 1200 to 1700* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, Center for East Asian Studies, 2002), 170–219, and D. Bayarsaixan [Д. Баярсайхан],: *Монголын түүх бичлэг. Арван долоодугаар зуун* [Mongolian historiography, seventeenth century] (Ulaanbaatar, 2011), 63–74.

[42] Lubsandanjan, *Altan Tobči* [facsimile] (Ulaanbaatar, 1990), 130, and Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo Bzaṅ bstan 'jin. Text und Index* (Tokyo: Daiwa, 1992), 92.

[43] "Döcin tümen Mongγol : dörben tümen Oyirad : jirγuγan mingγan Üjiged : Ongγoca : Osgi . Barγu : Buriyad . Tou-a . Uriyangqan . Uruγtan . Qamiγan : Enggüd : oyin irgen . alaγ aduγutu : altan tebsitü bölög cölög ulus : kürin noqai ulus : terigün ügei ulus : eriyen γaγca kül-tü ulus terigüten : edün ekiten ulus-i erke-tür-iyen oroγulju," Lubsandanjan, *Altan Tobči*, 92.

dogs. Their women had a human form and could speak Chinese; when they gave birth to males, they had the form of dogs; when they gave birth to females, they had the form of humans.[44]

The Mongols believed that they were descended from a grey wolf and a red doe,[45] but dogs were also important in Mongolian culture. According to a Mongolian myth, the dog was created from a piece split off of a human.[46] Presumably, the origin of the classical, medieval, and Chinese sources is *en rapport* with the Altai people's (furthermore, with the Estonian, Hungarian, and Finnish) beliefs that they had animal ancestors.[47] Many times this ancestor was a wolf or a dog. In the Middle Ages it was believed that one ancestor of the Turks was given wolf's or dog's milk and this was the reason why they were bad-tempered.[48] The origins of the tales of dog-headed men or dog-men were probably the dog or wolf ancestors of nomads. The surrounding groups, however, came to know a distorted version in which humans had dog-heads or the forms of dogs. This image had spread in Europe through Herodotus. The Chinese had a direct connection with the nomads so they may have known about their myths. Perhaps the Mongols, in turn, heard this wide-spread myth from outsiders (from Rubruck, for example, who asked them about these creatures) and that is why a later Mongol source, the *Altan Tobči*, writes about the Land of the Dogs. Another interesting possibility for the origin of imagining dog-headed men also derives from nomad beliefs.[49] In some shamanistic beliefs, humans have more than one spirit. It was commonly believed that the humans have three spirits: the real spirit, the "transporter spirit," and the outer spirit; in Mongolian folk tales the outer spirit usually had the form of an animal.[50] Furthermore, during shamans' battles, the shamans were thought

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[44] White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 133.

[45] Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century," shorter version ed. John C. Street (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2015), Book 4. 1.

[46] Ágnes Birtalan, ed., *Miért jön a nyárra tél? Mongol eredetmondák és mítoszok* [Why does winter follow the summer? Mongolian legends of origin and myths] (Budapest: Terebess Kiadó, 1998), 49.

[47] White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 131.

[48] Julian Baldick, *Animal and Shaman: Ancient Religions of Central Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 49.

[49] I am indebted to Gábor Klaniczay for this advice.

[50] Ágnes Birtalan, "Lélekképzetek a mongol népek körében (Népvallás és sámánizmus)" [The imagination of souls among the Mongol peoples (Folk religion and shamanism)] (unpublished draft). There are other subdivisions of the spirits, see, for example, Alice Sárközi "Abode of The Soul of Humans, Animals and Objects in Mongolian Folk Belief," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61, no. 4 (2008): 467–75.

to fight each other in the form of animals, usually in the form of a bull, but it could be other animals. Among the Yakuts the shamans are very ill when the snow melts; at that time a type of spirit called the "mother-animal" wanders. This spirit is represented by the dog, the bull, and so on.[51] In short, it was believed that some people can live in the form of a dog. How could a European envoy make sense of this? The ancestor of the Mongols, the fearful enemies of Christians was a wolf, and there were people from their part of the world who looked like dogs.

As the European sources show, medieval writers located these monstrous humans at the edges of the known world or on an island in the boundless ocean. The Eastern peoples or the barbaric nomads who had attacked "civilization" were usually represented as monstrous; the Scythians, the Huns, and even the Hungarians were believed to have dog-heads. Although the dog-tribe was also part of the beliefs of several Asian peoples, it differed from the European image. The Chinese, for example, did not believe that dog-headed tribes lived on the furthest edge of the known world, which would be Western Europe. But they did believe that the Land of the Dogs was situated further in the direction of the Khitais[52] because a monstrous half-human tribe like the dog-headed men would have been worse than uncivilized nomads. The Tatar invasions caused trauma in Central Europe and people feared a new attack was coming, all of which left marks in the historical consciousness.[53] Several folk tales and proverbs in present-day Hungary might have derived from the medieval or early modern Tatar attacks.[54] If Hungarians have to associate a word with the Tatar tribe, the dog-headed notion comes to their minds first.[55] One can conclude that these descriptions were not just part of the European imagination, but were widespread around the world. Although the idea of dog-headed men originated in antiquity, these ideas probably also existed among the Mongols, seen in the descriptions of both de Bridia and the Eastern sources.

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[51] Baldick, *Animal and Shaman*, 77.

[52] White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 133.

[53] Tibor Szőcs, "Egy második 'Tatárjárás'?" [A second Tartar Invasion?], *Belvedere* 22 (2010: 3–4): 16–49.

[54] Zsolt Barta, "A magyarországi tatárjárás legendáriuma" [The legend of the Tartar invasion of Hungary], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 300–307.

[55] Ilona Dobos and László Kósa, "Tatár mondakör" [Tartar cycle], in *Néprajzi lexikon*, ed. Gyula Ortutay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), vol. 5, 223; Ilona Dobos, "Kutyafejű tatárok" [Dog-headed Tartars], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó 2003), 338–347; János Melegdi, "Nem hajt a tatár!" [The Tartars do not urge you!], *Magyar Nyelv* (1916:1): 10–11; Ödön Beke, "Kutyafejű tatár" [Dog-headed Tartar], *Ethnographia* (1946): 90–91.

WITCHCRAFT AND POLITICS IN THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN: INTERREGNUM CRISES AND INTER-FACTIONAL STRUGGLES AMONG THE MONGOL IMPERIAL ELITE. THE CASE OF FĀṬIMA KHATUN[1]

Konstantin Golev 📥

In his description of the Mongol religion, the Chingizid administrator Alā' al-Dīn ʿAṭā'-Malik Juvaynī, a Persian historian, reports that the *qams* (as he designates the Mongol shamans) practiced the art of magic.[2] The Franciscan friar Rubruck mentions rituals similar to those described by Juvaynī.[3] There is little doubt that the adherents of the Abrahamic religions perceived the practices of the *qams* as identical with magic.[4] In this regard they did not differ much from the

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[1] The author is affiliated with Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski and Uludağ University, Turkey. An earlier version of this paper, "Witch-Hunts in the Court of the Great Khan (Magic, Superstition and their Political Usage in the Mongol Empire during the Thirteenth Century)," was presented at the workshop "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interaction" held in Budapest in 2015. I had the chance to revise this research while I was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies – Sofia, to which I express my thanks for the support provided. I am also indebted to Ishayahu Landa for his comments on the draft of this paper.

[2] "They knew the science of magic and called the experts in this craft *qams*" می گفته اند علم سحر می دانستند که دانندگان آن حرفت را قامان"; Alā' al-Dīn ʿAṭā'-Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* [History of the Mongols], ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 1 (Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co, 1912), 43–44; ʿAla-ad-Din ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, trans. John A. Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 59.

[3] Guillelmus de Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1, *Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert OFM (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), 305; Peter Jackson, trans., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke 1253–1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society 1990), 245; the editors of the translation point out the similarity with Juvaynī's account.

[4] See, for example, the accounts of Gregory of Akner and Kirakos of Gandzak, Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc: 'Hitherto Ascribed to Maġak'ia The Monk:' The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, no. 3/4 (1949): 289; [Kiriakos Gandzaketsi] Киракос Гандзакеци, *История Армении* [History of Armenia], trans. L. A. Hanlaryan] (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 173; John A. Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963): 208; reprinted in John A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire, 1206–1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), article 19. The accounts of the members of Carpini's mission leave similar impressions, see, for example,

representatives of other sedentary civilizations; as early as the time of the Han dynasty (202 BC – AD 220) the Chinese feared the witchcraft of the nomadic Hsiung nu's shamans.[5] Yet the Mongols themselves made a careful distinction between the shamans and practitioners of witchcraft. Furthermore, the shamans were often involved in "denouncing" sorcerers. Although the scarcity of sources makes conclusions regarding the particular features of the indigenous Mongol religion in the Middle Ages[6] rather uncertain, nevertheless it seems that according to the Mongol spiritual concepts supernatural practices fell exclusively within the shamans' expertise.

Persecutions of "illegal" witchcraft were motivated by the perception of any endeavor of this kind as a tremendous public threat, equivalent to a capital offence. This conclusion finds support in the statement of the Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī, who claims that Mongol law provided capital punishment for witchcraft.[7] Such a sensibility regarding magic is often characteristic of pre-modern societies;

Giovanni Di Pian Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Paolo Daffinà, Claudio Leonardi, Maria C. Lungarotti, Eenrico Menestò, and Luciano Petech (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989), 240–241; Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 12; Raleigh A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, *The Vinland Map and the Tatar Relation*, foreword by Alexander O. Vietor. New Edition, with an Introduction by George Painter, and Essays by Wilcomb E. Washburn, Thomas A. Cahill, Bruce H. Kusko, and Laurence Witten II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), § 42, 90–92.

[5] Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier. Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989), 65 and the literature quoted there.

[6] See, in general, Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 27–50.

[7] A number of authors offer reconstructions of different fragments of Mongol imperial law, including that concerning witchcraft: Constantine d'Ohsson, *Hstoire des Mongoles depuis Tchinguiz khan jusqu'a Timour bey ou Tamerlan*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Frederic Muller, 1852), 408; Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 1, *The Mongols Proper and the Kalmuks* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), 111; see also Riasanovsky's research on Mongol law: Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law* (Bloomington: Indiana University – The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 36, 83. Besides the hot debate over the real existence of the *Yasa*, described by al-Maqrīzī, I find his account of capital punishment for sorcery absolutely relevant. This conclusion is supported by the correlation of his statement with a group of Western, Islamic, and Chinese sources which describe the persistent Mongol behavior of executing persons accused of witchcraft, as well as the reasonable assumption that al-Maqrīzī included characteristic and even stereotyped Mongol judicial practices in his work.

in the Mongol perception the supernatural world was closely intertwined with the real one. One fragment of Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum* eloquently describes this worldview. According to the papal legate envoys, princes and all other visitors among the Mongols had to pass between two fires, together with the gifts they carried, in order to be purified. Carpini points that this was "lest perchance they have practiced sorcery, or brought poison or anything else injurious."[8] Other members of Carpini's mission, as well as Rubruck, confirm that this was standard procedure.[9] What is indicative in this case is the fact that the Mongols did not distinguish between a physical menace such as poison and damages that could be brought by witchcraft. Furthermore, shamans tried to neutralize the potential existence of poison with ritual practices. Such an approach is not typical only of the Mongols and can be observed among many other societies – including some in Europe. But it is precisely this mindset that is one of the most important prerequisites for the advent of the witch-hunt.[10]

It is not surprising, therefore, that around the mid-thirteenth century Mongol imperial society was shaken by a whole series of repressions against practitioners of witchcraft aimed at commoners and members of the middle social stratum as well as against prominent representatives of the political elite in the empire. Rubruck's report and some other evidence attest that climate extremes and other natural phenomena were ably manipulated by Mongol shamans, who represented them as a result of witchcraft. Thus, they used the trials that followed to strengthen their own prestige and circumstances.[11] But no matter how demonic the actions of the Mongol shamans were (represented by Rubruck in a negative light), there is no doubt that the dread of witchcraft, deeply rooted in the medieval

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[8] "*ne forte veneficia fecerint, aut venenum vel aliquid mali portaverint,*" Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 241; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 12; de Bridia, *Tatar Relation*, § 43, 92–93; see also Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 310; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 56; Benedictus Polonus, *Sinica Franciscana*, 136–137. The procedure of purifying by fire is also described in detail in Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 244; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 14; de Bridia, *Tatar Relation*, § 48, 94–95, and also in Rubruck's passage in the next footnote.

[9] Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, 301; Jackson, *Friar William of Rubruck*, 241. As the editors of the translation point out, the practice of purifying by fire was also attested among the sixth-century Turks. For more details see the quoted literature, ibid., footnote 6.

[10] In the present study, this term designates the persecutions of practitioners of "improper" magic of both sexes and is used since this is the appellation under which the examined phenomenon acquired popularity.

[11] Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, 300–305; Jakson, *Friar William of Rubruck*, 240–245. The editors of the translation refer to another piece of similar evidence in the *Itinerarium* of the Dominican friar Ricoldo of Monte Croce, Johnatan C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1864), 115.

Mongols' spiritual beliefs,[12] and the mass hysteria which arose out of it, were the main factors that brought large-scale repression into being. While the shamans usually concentrated their strikes against representatives of the lower and middle social strata, some members of the imperial elite realized that such a social climate provided fertile ground for purging their adversaries with high positions in the imperial court. Thus, witch-hunts flared up among the highest circles of imperial society. This article traces one of the first attested manifestations of this phenomenon.

Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* recounts a story of three interconnected cases of accusations of witchcraft belonging precisely to this category.[13] He describes a series of repressions against members of the imperial political elite that took place in the 1240s and 1250s. Juvaynī first describes the trial against the famous Fāṭima Khatun; this trial and its political context will be examined in the present study.

Fāṭima Khatun was an inhabitant of Mashhad taken into captivity during the Mongol campaign against the Khwārazmian Empire (1219–1221). After her capture she entered the entourage of Töregene Khatun – one of the wives of the Great Khan Ögedei (1229–1241). Fāṭima's star ascended after Ögedei's demise, when Töregene took the regency of the empire (1241–1246) until the election of a

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[12] Rashīd al-Dīn states explicitly that the Mongols were disgusted by witchcraft: "و چون مغول سحر را بغایت منکر می باشند", Faḍlallāh Abū al-Khayr Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Eqbal, 1338/1959), 787; Faḍlallāh Abū al-Khayr Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Rūshan and Muṣṭafī Mūsavī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Nashr-e Alborz, 1373/1994), 1128; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami 'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999), 550; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей*, vol. 3, [Compendium of Chronicles], trans. Alfred Arends (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1946), 101.

[13] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200–203; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 244–247. Rashīd al-Dīn recounts these events (as well as many others) closely following the text of Juvaynī, but sometimes differences or additional information appears in his *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, hence parallel references to both authors will be given: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 566–567; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 2, 802–803; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 179; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami 'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1999), 391–392; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей* [*Compendium of Chronicles*], vol. 2, trans. Yu. P. Verkhovsky (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1960), 117.

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new great khan.[14] As a prominent member of Töregene's entourage and confidant of her mistress,[15] Fāṭima started to exercise increasing influence on state affairs. Töregene Khatun had harbored hatred against some of the highest officials of the empire for a long time[16] and Fāṭima, former inhabitant of Mashhad, played an active role in the intrigues against them. On Fāṭima's advice, dignitaries were removed from power and replaced with others. She and her mistress dared to raise their hands against such eminent members of the imperial administration as the Nestorian Chinqai – first minister of the late Great Khan[17] – and other outstanding imperial officials such as the Central Asian Muslim Maḥmūd Yalavach,

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[14] Trusting the regency to one of the widows of the dead ruler was a common practice in both the united empire and in the emerging regional khanates; for different examples see Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195–196, 216–217, 223, 228–229, 230; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 240, 262–263, 268, 272–273, 274; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Karīmī, 544–546, 564–567, 571; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 1, 767–769; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799–803, 810; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 149–151, 176–179, 185; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 376–377, 390–392, 395; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 97–98, 114–117, 122; Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣiri*, ed. ʿAbdālaḥī Habībī, 2d ed., vol. 2 (Kabul: Anjeman-e tārikh-e Afghānestān, 1342–1343/1963–1964), 167; Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (800 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*, vol. 2, trans. Henry G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprints, 1970), 1144; [Roman Khrapachevsky], Роман П. Храпачевский], trans., *Золотая Орда в источниках*, vol. 3, *Китайские и могольские источники* [The Golden Horde in the Sources, vol. 3, *Chinese and Mongolian Sources*] (Moscow: Nauka, 2009), 177–178. The custom that the wife of the dead khan should exercise the regency apparently stemmed from pre-imperial traditions of the Mongols, Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 315; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 60.

[15] According to Juvaynī, Fāṭima "became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets" of her mistress (following Boyle's translation of: رازهای نهانی شد"" محرم اسرار اندرونی و مهل"), Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 245; see also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Karīmī, 564; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 176; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 390; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 115.

[16] Her feelings may not have been entirely groundless. In another passage of his work, Juvaynī reports that at the time when Chinqai was still influential at court his protégés, Maḥmūd Yalavach and another imperial official named Körgüz disregarded Töregene Khatun, Alāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ-Malik Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 2 (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1916), 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, trans. John A. Boyle, 504.

[17] See also Paul D. Buell, "Činqai," in *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz, Hock-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, and Peter W. Geier (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 95–111.

who had already entered Mongol service in the times of Chingiz Khan (1206 – 1227).[18] Anticipating the danger, Chinqai sought refuge in the camp of Köten, one of Ögedei's sons. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Fāṭima had an old grudge against Maḥmūd Yalavach and took advantage of the situation to replace him as governor of the Mongol provinces in North China with another Central Asian Muslim – 'Abd al-Raḥman.[19] Yalavach managed to deceive the envoys that were sent to arrest him and in his turn found shelter in Köten's camp. Notwithstanding the repeated demands of his mother, Töregene Khatun, the prince refused to hand them over and declared that he would present them before the next imperial assembly, the *qurultai*,[20] where their guilt could be established. Upon learning of these events, Maḥmūd Yalavach's son, Mas'ūd Beg,[21] governor of Turkestan, and Māwarā' al-Nahr, thought it wiser to head for the camp of Batu, leader of one of the four main branches of Chingiz Khan's Golden Lineage (*Altan Uruq*) – the *Ulus of Jochi* (often referred to in the historiography as the Golden Horde).[22] The above examples are only some of the purges in the highest political circles, which affected the sedentary regions of the empire in particular. These regions were among the most significant sources of income for the state and the dynasty.

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[18] See also Thomas T. Allsen, "Maḥmūd Yalavač," in *In the Service of the Khan*, 122–128.

[19] It should be mentioned that Yalavach himself was appointed as governor of the Mongol dominions in North China in place of 'Abd al-Raḥman just a few months before Ögedei's demise. There seems to be a contradiction between *Yuanshi* and the Persian sources about the precise circumstances under which Maḥmūd Yalavach was dismissed from his office. According to the authors of the Chinese dynastic chronicle, Yalavach was removed while Ögedei was still alive as a result of an investigation caused by a conflict with his Chinese colleague, Liu Min. This version of the events was preserved in Liu Min's biography in *Yuanshi*. Both Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, however, state that Yalavach fell out of favor and lost his office in the time of Töregene's regency, Allsen, Maḥmūd Yalavač, 125. Furthermore, in this case Rashīd al-Dīn does not simply repeat the words of his predecessor, but also adds new details. It is in his account where we find out that Fāṭima was involved in this affair, as well as additional information regarding the way Yalavach was able to deceive the envoys sent to arrest him. This suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn had access to additional sources apart from Juvaynī, hence the version preserved in the Persian historiography should be preferred.

[20] This would have been the *qurultai* when a new great khan would be nominated.

[21] See also Thomas T. Allsen, "Mas'ūd Beg," in *In the Service of the Khan*, 128–129.

[22] For these events and the rise of Fāṭima see Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195–200; Juvaini *History*, vol. 1, 239–245; Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 504; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 564–566; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799–802; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 176–179; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 390–391 Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 114–117.

Fāṭima was personally involved in much of the reshuffling at the top of the empire and became one of the major political players at the court.

In the meantime, Töregene Khatun aimed to ensure the imperial throne for her son and favorite, Güyük, despite Ögedei's explicit desire to be followed by his grandson Shiremün.[23] Güyük seems to have returned from his participation in the Western Campaign (1236–1242) after his father's death,[24] but Töregene

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[23] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 51, 445, 524, 561, 567, 568, 582; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 1, 69, 622, 734; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 793, 804, 805–806, 825; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 19, 120, 170, 180, 181, 201; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿ uʾt-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998), 39; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 305, 360, 387, 392, 393, 402; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей*, vol. 1, part 1 [*Compendium of Chronicles*, trans. Lev Khetagurov] (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1952), 95; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 9–10, 80, 112, 118, 119, 129; Khrapachevsky, *Golden Horde*, 178, 182–183. Shiremün was the oldest son of Ögedei's favorite son – Köchü – who was proclaimed heir apparent. Since Köchü died during Ögedei's reign, he ordered that the under-age Shiremün be proclaimed successor to the imperial throne.

[24] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195, 199–200, 203; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 239–240, 244, 248; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 477, 482, 564, 566, 567, 582; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 1, 669, 670, 678; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799, 802, 804, 825; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 61, 69, 176, 178, 180, 201; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 328, 331, 390, 391, 392, 402; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 40, 44, 114, 116–117, 118, 129. Rashīd al-Dīn contradicts himself regarding the precise moment of Güyük's return. Some passages in *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* leave the impression that this happened before Ögedei's demise. At the same time, elsewhere in his work as well as in Juvaynī's earlier text (which he followed), and also in an independent passage of *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (the last quoted), he asserts that the great khan did not live long enough to see the return of his son. Jackson tries to reconcile the sources and link Rashīd al-Dīn's evidence with the famous episode of the *Secret History* where Ögedei reprimands his son for his failure to obey Batu, Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, vol. 1, trans. and with a historical and philological commentary (Leiden: Brill, 2006), § 275–277, 206–209; see also the comments on these paragraphs in Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1011–1019. Thus, Jackson offered a hypothesis for two returns – one before Ögedei's death and another after it – but this interpretation seems unlikely: Peter Jackson, "The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1978): 198–199, note 48; reprinted in Peter Jackson, *Studies on the Mongol Empire and Early Muslim India*, Variorum (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), article 1; see also Kïm's critique of the possibility of Güyük returning from Europe twice: Hodong Kïm, "A Reappraisal of Güyük Khan," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others. Eurasian Nomads in the Sedentary World*, ed. Rouven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 314–320, 333.

continued to rule. Several nominations were presented at the *qurultai* that followed. Besides Güyük, Shiremün and Köten (Güyük's brother) also claimed the supreme power. Eventually, Töregene managed to secure the throne for Güyük.[25]

When Güyük was proclaimed great khan (1246–1248), an inhabitant of Samarkand, a certain 'Alid called Shīra, who functioned as the cupbearer of Qadaq (the *atabek* of Güyük[26]), accused Fāṭima Khatun of having bewitched and caused Köten to be ill. After Köten returned from the *qurultai* where his brother was enthroned, his health deteriorated further and he sent an envoy to the khan telling him that his illness was a consequence of Fāṭima's magic and that if something happened to him she was the one who should be held responsible. In Juvaynī's words, repeated by Rashīd al-Dīn, a message announcing Köten's death came afterwards.[27] Chinqai, who

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[25] See the passages noted in note 23. In addition, see also Juvaynī, who mentions Töregene Khatun's role at the *qurultai*, but nowhere states explicitly that Güyük owed his throne to his mother's intervention: Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 206; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 251.

[26] In this context, *atabek* designates a tutor of a prince and one of most trusted individuals in his entourage. For the influence of Qadaq and Chinqai upon Güyük in the years of his youth and during his short reign, see, for example, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 213–214 and vol. 2, 215, 247–248; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 259; and vol. 2, 480, 511; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 570–571, 573; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 808, 810; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 184, 185, 188; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 394, 395, 396; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 120–121, 122; Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 320, 324–326; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 63, 66–67. About Qadaq's personality in general see Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200–201, footnote 8, where Qazvīnī points out that Qadaq was a Naiman, and indeed there are hints of this elsewhere in Juvaynī's text: Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 247, quite loosely translated by Boyle: Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 511.

[27] There seems to be a certain ambiguity about the precise year of Köten's demise. The passages of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvaynī noted here state that he died soon after Güyük's election, in another place of *Jāmi al-tawārīkh* Rashīd al-Dīn reports that the prince was still alive when Möngke (1251–1259) ascended the throne, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 445–446, 562; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 1, 623–624; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 794; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 20–21, 170; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 305–306, 387–388; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 11, 113. It should also be noted, however, that Rashīd al-Dīn's quoted evidence may not be reliable since it contains other contradictions. According to a Tibetan source Köten died in 1251, *Пагсам-Джонсан: История и хронология Тибета* [Pagsam-Djonsan: History and Chronology of Tibet], Ригби Пубаев, перев., [trans. Rigbi Pubaev] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1991), 80; Christopher Atwood pointed out that some sources report his death as late as 1253, Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 321. Apparently Köten's death could not have been the immediate cause for Fāṭima's trial, but without doubt his

had already regained his influence at the court,[28] took care to remind Güyük of his brother's message. The khan sent for Fāṭima from his mother's camp, but his mother refused to hand her over and persisted before every subsequent envoy. According to Juvaynī, the relations between mother and son became strained. Eventually, Güyük sent Shīra to fetch Fāṭima and to use force if necessary. "Days and nights" she was kept naked and chained, hungry and thirsty, and suffered various tortures, including bastinado. Finally, the once-powerful favorite confessed the crime of which she had been accused, after which she was wrapped in felt and cast into the river.[29]

In this case it is quite evident that Fāṭima became the victim of a power struggle between the different political circles in the empire – a struggle that she herself had orchestrated so successfully before Güyük's enthronement. Ironically, the attack was inspired by her mistress' favorite son. Incidentally, shortly after Fāṭima's arrest Töregene Khatun also passed away. The attack took the shape of an accusation of witchcraft and the number of persons involved suggests the scale of the coalition against Fāṭima, and apparently against servants of the "old regime" from the interregnum period in general. The direct informer – Shīra – was a servant of Güyük's *atābek* and there can hardly be any doubt that his actions were coordinated with the great khan. Chinqay's timely intervention also cannot be surprising – as noted above he was among the victims of the reorganization inspired by Fāṭima. Köten played the key role, as his deteriorating health provided evidence for the "crime". Indeed, his health had long suffered, which was one of the reasons for the rejection of his aspirations to the throne.[30] The rumor

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health was shaken (see below) and this provided the grounds for the accusation that the prince was bewitched.

[28] This could be deduced from Juvaynī's explicit statement (repeated by Rashīd al-Dīn) in the passage under discussion, as well as by evidence in another part of *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* that shows that this official enjoyed considerable influence even as early as the *qurultai* that enthroned Güyük, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 215; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 480. According to another fragment by Juvaini, Chinqai took refuge in Güyük's camp (literally "clung to Güyük's service:" "بخدمت کیوك خان تمسك کرده ") before Güyük was elected great khan, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 504. Therefore, it is possible that Chinqai moved from Köten's camp to that of Güyük before the assembly.

[29] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200–201; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 245-246; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 566; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 802-803; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 179; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 391; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 117.

[30] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 206; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 251; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 568; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 181; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 393.

that Köten suffered from palsy even reached Jūzjānī in India.[31] It seems that the faction around the new khan deliberately used Köten's illness to justify the crackdown against their adversaries. Köten's participation is important as it also reveals certain details of the clash's earlier history. It was precisely this prince who had offered refuge to the disgraced dignitaries, which hints that the faction responsible for Fāṭima's death had already started to form during the interregnum and took the first opportunity for revenge. In this regard, it should be pointed out that despite their rivalry for the throne the two brothers apparently acted in concert against Fāṭima.

Another statement of Rashīd al-Dīn also indicates the political nature of the process. According to him, the inquiry into Fāṭima Khatun was the first to be made after Güyük ascended the throne, even though another sensitive case awaited a verdict – that of Otchigin Noyan. The latter, being the youngest brother of Chingiz Khan and hence one of the oldest and most respected members of the dynasty, tried to seize power by force during the interregnum and throw the whole *Altan Uruq* into disturbance.[32] The fact that on the pages of *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* the

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[31] al-Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣirī*, ed. Habībī, 169; al-Jūzjānī, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 2, trans. Raverty, 1149. The Tibetan Buddhist tradition also states that during the visit of the Buddhist spiritual leader, Sakya Pandita, to Köten's court the latter suffered from an illness that the Tibetan managed to cure and thus the prince converted to Buddhism, John Powers, *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications), 442–443, 464–465, endnote 14. But the story of the Tibetan sources should doubtlessly be treated with skepticism as it fits too well into the classical topos of a famous spiritual leader miraculously healing a pagan ruler who then adopts the new religion.

[32] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 199–200, 203, 210; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 244, 248, 255; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 565–566, 567, 569; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' al-tawārīkh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 801–802, 804, 806; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 178, 180, 182; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 391, 392, 393; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 116–117, 118, 119; see also Jackson, *Dissolution*, 198. The precise sequence of events cannot be established with a reasonable degree of certainty. Temüge Otchigin's attempted coup as well as the inquiry and his execution that followed Güyük's enthronement are described by both Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn. But while Juvaynī states that the first inquiry after Güyük's enthronement was that of Otchigin, Rashīd al-Dīn is explicit: "First they held the inquiry of Fāṭima Khatun, second they took up the case of Otchigin," ''اول یارغوی فاطمه خاتون پرسیدند و دوم ماجرای اوتچگین پیش گرفتند''. Rashīd al-Dīn also states that Fāṭima's trial was the first to be held after the new khan mounted the throne – a statement not found in Juvaynī (see the passages referenced in note 29). Members of Carpini's mission also mentioned the execution of Temüge Otchigin in connection with his attempt to seize the supreme power, but omitted his name and erroneously considered him to be a nephew of Chingiz Khan. What is more important, however, is that both Carpini and de Bridia are unanimous that this happened before Güyük's election: "*Unum*

trial against Fāṭima took precedence over the investigation of an attempted coup by of one of the most prominent members of the Golden Lineage hints that the crackdown against Fāṭima and her circle was of no less political importance and held a priority position in the plans of the new ruler. Perhaps this was why this event was preserved in the Mongol historical memory for nearly five decades, up to the time when the Ilkhanid vizier, Juvaynī, compiled his monumental chronicle.

Perhaps the most important political aspect of the events surrounding the death of Fāṭima Khatun, however, is only mentioned in the last phrases used by the Persian chroniclers to describe this episode of imperial history. According to Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, everyone who was connected with the fallen favorite also perished. Juvaynī adds that envoys were sent to hunt down people from Mashhad[33] who were connected with the convicted woman, and thereby they were also subjected to repression.[34] This scarce evidence hints that the attack against Fāṭima was only the beginning of the crackdown that also befell her followers. Thus, the accusation of witchcraft actually allowed the rival factions at the imperial court to deliver a decisive blow on a whole circle of administrators and courtiers who had risen to high positions during the interregnum.[35] Apparently, Güyük

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est quod quicimque in superbiam erectus propria auctoritate sine electionem principium, voluerit esse Imperator, sine ulla miseratione debet occidi. Unde, ante electionem istius Cuyuccan, propter hoc unus de principus, nepos ipsius Chingiscan, fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare," Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli,* 264; Dawson, *Mongol Mission,* 25; "*Item si quis per superbiam auctoritate propria can esse voluerit mox necetur. Ideo ante electionem Cuiuc can nepos Cingis can occisus fuit quia ad imperium aspiravit,*" de Bridia, *Tatar Relation.* § 41, 89–90. Although in both friars' texts factual mistakes are not rare, and sometimes they just repeat rumors, their statement cannot easily be ignored. Among the authors quoted they were the only ones who were in the vicinity of the Mongol political center about the same time as these events took place. The sequence of the trials against Fāṭima and Temüge Otchigin, however, cannot be firmly ascertained. What is of significance for the present paper is that Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the inquiry against Fāṭima together with an investigation of a coup d'état and this is doubtless an indication of the political dimensions of the crackdown against Fāṭima.

[33] Among which it seems Fāṭima recruited a considerable number of her followers.

[34] See the passages noted in footnote 29.

[35] Carpini also provides an interesting piece of evidence that Güyük's unnamed paternal aunt was accused of poisoning Ögedei and after the new khan took the throne she and "many others were tried and put to death:" "*Capta enim erat amita imperatoris istius que veneno interfecerat patrem eius … de qua cum aliis pluribus fuit factum iudicium, et fuerunt occisi,*" Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli,* 322; cf. the English translation, where due to a mistake in the Latin text the accused is identified as Güyük's mistress instead of his aunt, Dawson, *Mongol Mission,* 65. Some scholars see in this episode a distorted description of the trial against Fāṭima Khatun, de Bridia, *Tatar Realtion,* § 30 p. 83, footnote 2; S. Aksenova and Alexander Yurchenko [С. Аксенова и Александр Юрченко], *Христианский мир и*

found it the most effective way to remove political figures associated with his mother's reign. By orchestrating the purge and restoring the disgraced officials, the new khan aimed to emancipate himself and to emphasize the independence of his rule.[36] It is not by chance that in exactly the same period the sources mention, though outside the context of Fāṭima's trial, the execution of one of her most prominent protégés, ʿAbd al-Raḥman, the governor of North China.[37]

Hence, Güyük's ascent to the throne was immediately followed by a purge of high-ranking officials and courtiers who had served during the interregnum. And although these events cannot be compared with the large-scale purges in the reign of Möngke, Güyük's successor, there can be no doubt that they fit the same model – a crackdown on the officials of the old regime.[38] As is evident above, in this respect Güyük's actions were not unlike those of his mother at the beginning of her regency. What is new is that for the first time sources mention an accusation of witchcraft as an argument for eliminating a political adversary and her associates in the high circles of imperial society. Thus, the trial of Fāṭima Khatun turns out to be the first and one of the best-described manifestations of a phenomenon that left a distinct mark on the political history of the Mongol Empire and its successor khanates. The wide opportunities presented by the accusation in such an outrageous crime left the door open not only for the physical

«Великая монгольская империя». Материалы францисканской миссии 1245 года [The Christian World and 'the Great Mongol Empire.' Materials of the Franciscan mission of 1245] (Saint Petersburg: Evrazia, 2002), 302–305. Boyle links it with Rashīd al-Dīn's story that Sorcoctany Beki's sister, Ibaka Beki, and her son were accused of poisoning Ögedei. But it should be pointed out that according to Rashīd al-Dīn this accusation did not end with a trial and execution, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 65–66, footnote, 293. In his turn, Daffinà (his interpretation seems to be the most reasonable) links this passage with the execution of Ögedei's sister, Altalun, although the circumstances surrounding her death remain unspecified in *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 490, note 56. Carpini's laconic statement, however, hints that after the new khan took the throne a number of trials were held, ending with numerous executions. It seems probable that Fāṭima's associates were among the executed.

[36] Which of course does not exclude the presence of purely practical motives for the new khan's personal reorganiztion, such as possible administrative incompetence, for example.
[37] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 570; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 808–807; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 183; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 394; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 120.
[38] The purges at the beginning of Möngke's reign had unprecedented scale and affected even the members of the Golden Lineage to such an extent that they seriously decimated the Ögedeid and Chaghataid branches, Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism. The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke on China, Russia and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 30–34.

extinction of a particular opponent, but also for the disgrace and elimination of a whole circle of his or her associates. Thus, persecutions for witchcraft became a particularly effective instrument in clashes between rival factions in the imperial elite, which explains the emergence of a whole line of trials against sorcery among the highest strata of the imperial society. Soon after Fāṭima's death, the witch-hunt flared up the social ladder and doomed to death not only various courtiers, but also the members of the Golden Lineage who stood at the top of the world empire – a phenomenon that has been unduly neglected up to the present day.[39]

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[39] With the exception of some limited comments, for example, Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans, Fortune-tellers and *Yin-yang* Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yüan China," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Rouven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 226–227.

THE TAIYUANYIN AND THE NORTHERN NOMADS DURING THE TANG DYNASTY

Liao Jingjing (廖靖靖) 📥

In ancient China, every dynasty adopted different foreign policies. For long, China was open to the outside world: Chinese goods and culture were not limited to contacts with East Asian territories but also extended to the West as well. The Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907) is one of the most important dynasties in Chinese imperial history. In this period, foreign materials and cultures were accessible in China. By the same token, people from different regions were also integrated into ancient Chinese society. During the three hundred years of this prosperous dynasty, the land and maritime routes of the Silk Road flourished. Given the bountiful historical data and numerous archaeological discoveries, the connections between the Tang Dynasty and the ethnic groups from surrounding territories have become a hot research topic.

Fig. 1. The area ruled by the Tang Dynasty
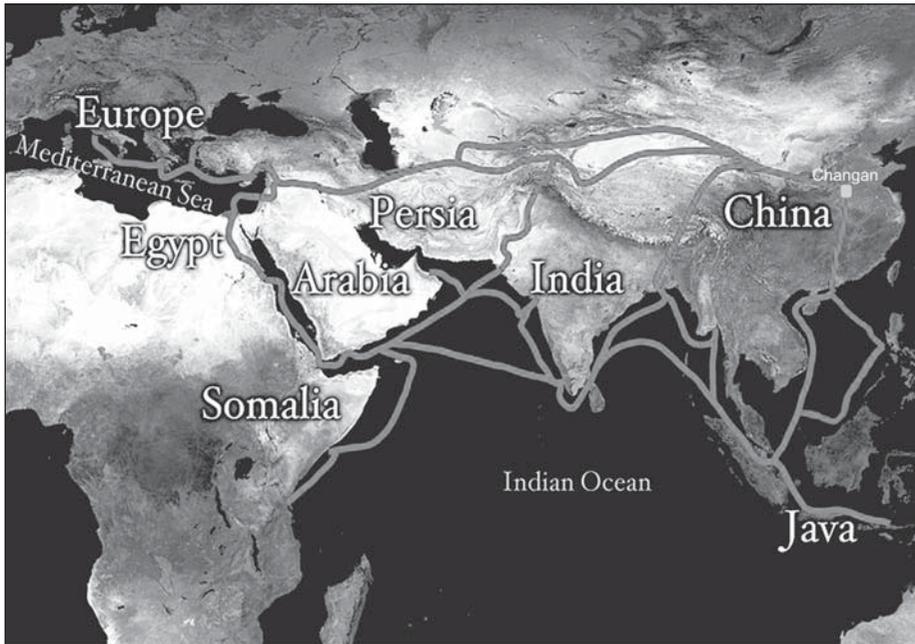
Fig. 2. The Silk Road

Taiyuan (太原, modern Taiyuan in Shanxi Province) was the "northern capital" of the Tang Dynasty because of its special location which was both an agricultural zone and an area inhabited by nomadic groups. There is no doubt that this city acted as an important "northern gateway" guarding the heartland of Central China. Previous studies concerning Taiyuan focused on military issues or control by the imperial government. My own work on historical materials revealed the city of Taiyuan acted as a hub where agricultural society came into contact with nomadic empires. Nomadic groups such as the Huns, Turks and Shatuo entered Central China through Taiyuan. Some of these groups eventually integrated into the Han cultural sphere, while others migrated west into Europe, strongly impacting societies there.

In my master's thesis,[1] I researched the office of *taiyuanyin* (太原尹), the chief officer of Taiyuan during the Tang Dynasty from AD 723. Altogether sixty-

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[1] This article is based on Liao Jingjing, "*The taiyuanyin of the Tang Dynasty*," MA thesis (Beijing Normal University, 2014).

Fig. 3. Modern map of the area

seven people served as taiyuanyin. I studied their tasks, responsibilities and official experiences. These elements constitute the basis of my database.

Over time, the authority and status of the taiyuanyin changed. The An-Shi Rebellion marked an important shift in the role of this administrative post. This event, also known as the An Lushan Rebellion, was a devastating revolt against the Tang Dynasty lasting from AD 16 December, 755 to 17 February, 763. During the conflict, the taiyuanyin was considered a prestigious title. He organized the protection of the city and fought rebels led by generals of northern ethnicities. After the rebellion was brought to an end, the taiyuanyin became the representative of the imperial court in its dealings with the northern nomads.

Northern Nomads under Tang Rule

The Huihe (回紇), Tubo (吐蕃) and Shatuo (沙陀) were the main nomadic groups in contact with the Tang Dynasty. Their territories lay geographically close to Taiyuan City, and they sought to conquer it in order to expand their dominions. Huihe or Huihu was the name given to the Uighur population at

the time of the Tang Dynasty. The Shatuo were representatives of a branch of the Western Turks (西突厥). The Uighur and the Turks were the two largest nomadic confederations in northern China. The Huihe Khanate was established in the third year of Tianbao (天寶, 744). In the fourth year of Zhenyuan (貞元, 788), the Huihe changed their name to Huihu, referring to the phrase 迴旋輕捷 如鶻, meaning that they were like the eagles moving swiftly and nimbly over the grassland. In 552, the Turks founded a khanate, which later they split into eastern and western branches. The eastern Turkic Khanate frequently interacted with the Tang Empire. In the fourth year of Zhenguan (貞觀, 630), Khan Xieli (頡利可 汗) was captured and the eastern Turkic Khanate fell apart. Many tribes belonging to the western Turkic Khanate joined the Tang rulers. After the fall of the western Turkic Khanate, the Shatuo, who were originally called Chuyuezhong Turks (處月種突厥人), submitted to the North Court Supervision Office (北庭都護 府).[2] The Tubo were the ancestors of the population of present-day Tibet. In the sixth century, three power centers emerged on the Tibetan Plateau, of which, the Tubo were located in the southwest. In the seventh century, Songzain Gambo (松 贊干布) of the Tubo unified Tibet.

Other names of peoples recorded in historical texts include the Jiuxinghu (九姓胡, jiuxing: "nine surnames"), the Tuihun (退渾), and the Qibi (契苾). These groups were Hu, a name which refers to tribes that did not belong to the Han. The Jiuxinghu comprised of people from Central Asia: the Kang (康), An (安), Cao (曹), Shi (史), Mi (米), He (何), Shi (石), Huoxun (火尋) and Wudi (戊地). They used the names of their place of origin as their surname. The Tuihun (退混), also called Tuyuhun (吐谷渾), one of the ancient ethnic minorities in northwest China, were originally part of the Murong Xianbei (慕容鮮卑), and their ancestors were nomads in the area of the Qing Mountain (青山, northeast of modern Yi Xian in Liaoning Province). The Qibi (契苾) were a branch of the Tiele (鐵勒) tribes, residing near Bai Mountain (白山, modern Tianshan in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region).

The power of these nomadic tribes fluctuated from one period to the next. From 762 to 843, the Huihe were the most powerful force facing the Tangs, although the Tubo also tried to expand their influence in the area. At the same time, the Shatuo were growing stronger. By the time when Li Keyong (李克用), a Shatuo nobleman, became the last taiyuanyin, the Shatuo effectively controlled Taiyuan and the imperial court's influence over the region diminished.

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[2] This office was an administrative unit of the Tangs, located north of the Tian Shan Mountains, modern Changji in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region.

Policies toward the Northern Nomads and the Imperial Court's Attitude as Reflected in the Written Sources

The attitude of the imperial court to these various nomad groups changed across time with regard to individual ethnic groups. In general, policies started liberal and gradually turned increasingly drastic. Taiyuanyins at different times adopted vastly different strategies.

(1) Examples for aggressive strategy

In 778, Bao Fang (鮑防) was the taiyuanyin. When the Huihe invaded Taiyuan, Bao Fang sent Jiao Boyu (焦伯瑜) to fight them. Bao Fang did not listen to the advice of his assistant, Li Ziliang (李自良), who advised maintaining their position to cut off the Huihe's escape route. Bao Fang lost more than one thousand people in the Battle of Beijing (百井).[3]

In 843, Liu Mian (劉沔) was the taiyuanyin. His army defeated that of the Huihe. Three thousand Huihe were killed and four thousand captured.[4]

In 870, Cui Yanzhao (崔彥昭) was the taiyuanyin. When he came to Taiyuan City, the mutiny in Xuzhou (徐州, near modern Xuzhou in Jiangsu Province) had just subsided while northern nomads frequently attacked the border. He used both appeasement and strict policies towards the northern nomads and so this region remained stable. When his term of office came to an end after three years, local people went to the court and asked Cui Yanzhao to remain in office. The court said that Taiyuan had been as stable as the Great Wall since Cui Yanzhao had come to Bingzhou (并州, the name of Taiyuan during the Tang Dynasty). Cui Yanzhao remained in office.[5]

In 878, Cao Xiang (曹翔) was the taiyuanyin. In August, the Shatuo fought the Kelan Army (嵐崗軍, the army stationed in Kelan, near present-day Kelanxian in Shanxi Province). Cao Xiang led the army to Xinzhou (忻州, near modern Xinzhou in Shanxi Province) to fight against the Shatuo.[6]

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[3] 回紇侵犯太原，鮑防忙派大將焦伯瑜等迎戰，牙將李自良建議"堅壁不動""扼其歸路"鮑防不聽，百井一戰，喪師一千多人。Liu Xun, *Jiutangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1975), 3957.
[4] 沔率軍在殺胡嶺大破回紇部，斬首三千級，俘虜四千餘。
[5] 當時正值徐州兵變平息、北戎寇邊頻發，彥昭恩威並施，保持河東局面的穩定，三年人滿後，地方耆老赴朝廷請留任，朝廷遂下詔"自臨并部，隱若長城"，繼續留任。Liu Xun, *Jiutangshu*, 4628.
[6] 八月，沙陀陷嵐崗軍，曹翔自率軍赴忻州。Liu Xun, *Jiutangshu*, 702.

In 879, Cui Jikang (崔季康) was the taiyuanyin. In December, Cui Jikang and Li Jun (李鈞) fought Li Keyong in Honggu (洪谷, near present-day Kelan in Shanxi Province). Li Keyong's army defeated the army of Cui Jikang and Li Jun was killed by flying arrows.[7]

In 880, Kang Chuangui (康傳圭) was the taiyuanyin. When the Shatuo attacked Taiyuan City, Kang Chuangui sent Su Hongzhen (蘇弘軫) to counter-attack the Shatuo at Taigu (太谷, modern Taiguxian in Shanxi Province). Su Hongzhen met the Shatuo in battle and returned defeated. Kang Chuangui was angry with this result, killed Su Hongzhen and sent Zhang Yanqiu (張彥球) with three thousand soldiers to pursue the Shatuo. A mutiny took place in Beijing (百井), because the deployed troops wanted to go back to Jinyang (晉陽, another name for Taiyuan City during the Tang Dynasty), however, Kang Chuangui closed the city gate to thwart their attempt. Eventually, they entered the city through Ximing Gate (西明門, the second gate on the western side of Taiyuan) and killed Kang Chuangui. Zhou Cong (周從), the military inspector, pacified the soldiers and appointed Zhang Yanqiu as the *fuchengduyuhou* (府城都虞候, an inspector responsible patrolling the capital city). The imperial court lost control of the situation.[8]

In 881, Zheng Congdang (鄭從讜) was the taiyuanyin. His army defeated the army of Li Keyong with help from the Qibi's army.[9]

(2) Examples for defensive strategy

In 762, Xin Yunjing (辛雲京) was the taiyuanyin. Encouraged by their past victories, the Huihe plundered the lands they crossed on their way to the court. Xin Yunjing carried out his duty and consolidated the army so that the Huihe did not dare invade Taiyuan.[10]

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[7] 沙陀攻石州，崔季康救之。十二月，季康與北面行營招討使李鈞，與沙陀李克用戰於岢嵐軍之洪谷，王師大敗，鈞中流矢而卒。Liu Xun, *Jiutangshu*, 702.

[8] 遣前遮虜軍使蘇弘軫擊沙陀於太谷，遇沙陀，戰不利而還，傳圭怒，斬弘軫。時沙陀已還代北。傳圭遣都教練使張彥球將兵三千追之。至百井，軍變，還趣晉陽。傳圭閉城拒之，亂兵自西明門入，殺傳圭。監軍周從寓自出慰諭，乃定，以彥球為府城都虞候。Sima Guang, *Zizhitongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013), 7835.

[9] 從讜追安，使與將王蟾、高弁等踵擊，亦會振武契苾通至，與沙陀戰，沙陀大敗引還。Ouyang Xiu, *Xintangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1975), 5060.

[10] 回紇恃舊勳，每入朝，所在暴鈔，至太原，雲京以戎狄待之，虜畏不敢愒息。數年，太原大治。Ouyang Xiu, *Xintangshu*, 4751.

In 841, Fu Che (符澈) was the taiyuanyin. He repaired the defenses in Baitoufeng (杷頭峰, near modern Baotou in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region) to prevent the Huihu from launch an invasion.[11]

In 874, Dou Huan (竇瀚) was the taiyuanyin. At this time, the Shatuo attacked the Zhelu Army (遮虜軍) stationed southeast from Kelan, near modern Kelanxian in Shanxi Province. Dou Huan sent Kang Chuangui to Daizhou (代州, modern Daixian in Shanxi Province) with two thousand soldiers from the local militia based in Hedong, present-day Shanxi Province, to stop them. Before they left, the soldiers demanded a reward and killed officer Deng Qian (鄧虔). Dou Huan came to appease them and borrowed fifty thousand *guan* (貫, a monetary unit of the Tang Dynasty) from the wealthy residents of the city to pay off the soldiers. The imperial court thought he mishandled the situation and replaced him.[12]

(3) Examples for appeasement as strategy

In 830, Liu Gongchuo (柳公綽) was the taiyuanyin. The Shatuo were located in Xingbei (陘北, north of Gouzhu Mountain separating Shanyinxian and Daixian in Shanxi Province) and behaved bold and intimidating, and so the Jiuxinghu in Liuzhou (六州, Liuzhoujun during the Tang Dynasty, an area north of Shanxi Province) feared them. Liu Gongchuo met Zhuye Zhiyi (朱邪執宜), the leader of the Shatuo, who controlled eleven abandoned fortifications and recruited three thousand soldiers as garrison troops. When Zhuye Zhiyi's wife and mother came to Taiyuan City, Liu Gongchuo asked his own wife to serve them a feast and give them his compliments. The Shatuo were appeased and did their best to defend Taiyuan City.[13]

In 858, Bi Xian (畢諴) was the taiyuanyin. Before his coming to the office, the northern nomads often rebelled. Bi Xian exercised reward and punishment

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[11] 修杷頭峰舊戍以備回鶻。Sima Guang, *Zizhitongjian*, 7658.

[12] 沙陀首領李盡忠攻陷遮虜軍。瀚派康傳圭率河東土團二千人屯駐代州，防備沙陀來襲。臨行時，軍士求賞，殺死馬文軍使鄧虔。瀚聞訊，親自前往軍中安撫，向富戶借錢五萬貫賞賜給軍人。朝廷以為此舉不當，派遣曹翔代之。Liu Xun, *Jiutangshu*, 701.

[13] 陘北有沙陀部，勇武喜鬥，為九姓、六州所畏。公綽召其酋朱邪執宜，治廢柵十一，募兵三千留屯塞上，其妻、母來太原者，令夫人飲食問遺之。沙陀感恩，故悉力保鄣。Ouyang Xiu, *Xintangshu*, 5019.

strictly and carefully investigated the enemy. In one year's time, the attitude of all northern nomads was transformed profoundly.[14]

In 860, Lu Jianqiu (盧簡求) was the taiyuanyin. The army in Taiyuan City came into continuous contact with the Tuihun, the Qibi and the Shatuo. Sometimes appeasement and recruitment was not sufficient to contain these troublesome groups and there was trouble along the frontier. In the past, the leader in Taiyuan had asked the chiefs of the northern tribes to pledge fealty and leave their children behind as hostages. However, raiding did not stop. Lu Jianqiu used a policy of appeasement, and when he finally released the hostages, the nomads all obeyed him.[15]

The variety of interactions between the taiyuanyin and the northern nomads is evident from the sources cited above. Previous studies have mainly been concerned with the Tang Dynasty's policies toward northern ethnic groups, using government decrees as their primary source. The body of evidence gleaned from the chronological pattern of annals and biographical sketches is fragmented. The experiences of the taiyuanyin recorded in their own account, provide useful supplementary material. Many different individuals served as taiyuanyin: their diaries, notes and epitaphs constitute an important corpus of sources. Notes and novels written by scholars in the Song Dynasty may also contain relevant information on taiyuanyins.

This investigation brings us closer to the realities behind nomad-sedentary interactions in this period. Was the official policy towards these nomadic groups merely a formality or was it rigorously enforced? Cases involving the taiyuanyin may shed light on this question as the following impressive example demonstrates.

In 786, Ma Sui (馬燧) was the taiyuanyin. Between winter and spring, the Tubo army occupied Yanzhou and Xiazhou (鹽州, 夏州, modern Dingbian and Jingbian in Shanxi Province, respectively). Their sheep and horses died and famine broke out. When they learned the taiyuanyin Ma Sui's army was to attack them, they were scared and requested peace negotiations. The Tang emperor, Dezong (德宗), refused them. Then the Tubo general gave precious gifts to Ma Sui and humbly asked for negotiations. Ma Sui helped them approach the emperor, but he upheld his previous decision. Ma Sui came back to Taiyuan City with his army, brought the Tubo general to see the emperor, and persuaded him to negotiate.

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[14] 太原近胡，九姓為亂。誠明賞罰，謹斥候，期年諸部革心。Liu Xun, Jiutangshu, 4609.

[15] 太原軍素管退渾、契苾、沙陀三部落，或撫納不至，多为边患。 前政或要之诅盟，质之子弟，然为盗不息。简求开怀抚待，接以恩信，所质子弟， 一切遣之。故五部之人，欣然听命。Liu Xun, Jiutangshu, 4272.

However, during the negotiations, the Tubo army seized the diplomatic corps, capturing more than sixty Tang officers. After this fiasco, Ma Sui was dismissed from his military position.[16]

It is clear from this account that the taiyuanyin's actions could be in direct opposition to the court and the court ultimately compromised. It provides a clue about the real power of the taiyuanyin.

Who Dealt with the Northern Nomads?

Ma Sui's case reveals that the taiyuanyin was the real decision-maker when Taiyuan City faced problems on the northern frontier, although the central government still had the right to appoint and remove these officials. After the An-Shi Rebellion, the taiyuanyin served both as the military commissioner of Hedong (河東節度使), and regent of the northern capital (北都留守). When one person held both military and political power, he could control the area more effectively. Taiyuan City became the center of the Tangs' northern defenses. Using the city as the heart of the entire line of defense, the commander made his decisions based on the situation on the border.

Because the court sometimes appointed civil servants who lacked combat experience and did not understand the local situation, the taiyuanyin had many assistants. As the 778 incident, cited above, demonstrates, Bao Fang consulted his assistant Li Ziliang on military strategy. Li Ziliang' official military rank was yajiang (牙將, company commander). The case of Kang Chuangui shows that the fuchengduyuhou (府城都虞候, the inspector responsible for patrolling the territory of the capital city) played a similarly important role in military tactics.

The legal code Tangliudian specifies that there were twenty staff officers working for the taiyuanyin:[17]
- two Administrators of Record Keeping (司录参军事)
- two Administrators of Personnel (功曹参军事)
- two Administrators of Justice (仓曹参军事)

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[16] 二年冬，吐蕃大將尚結贊陷鹽、夏二州，各留兵守之，結贊大軍屯于鳴沙，自冬及春，羊馬多死，糧餉不繼。德宗以燧為綏、銀、麟勝招討使，令與華帥駱元光、邠帥韓遊瑰及鳳翔諸鎮之師會於河西進討。燧出師，次石州。結贊聞之懼，遣使請和，仍約盟會，上皆不許。又遣其大將論頰熱厚禮卑辭申情於燧請和，燧頻表論奏，上堅不許。三年正月，燧軍還太原。四月，燧與論頰熱俱入朝，燧盛言蕃情可保，請許其盟，上然之。燧既入朝，結贊遽自鳴沙還蕃。是歲閏五月十五日，侍中渾瑊與蕃相尚結贊盟於平涼，為蕃軍所劫，狼狽僅免，陷將吏六十餘員，由燧之謬謀也，坐是奪兵權。

[17] Li Linfu, *Tangliudian* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1992), 750.

- two Administrators of Revenues (户曹参军事)
- two Administrators of the Military (兵曹参军事)
- two Administrators of Justice (法曹参军事)
- two Administrators of Levied Service (士曹参军事)
- six ordinary administrators (参军事)

Out of these posts, the Administrator of the Military was the most important for dealing with the northern nomads, clearly demonstrating that interactions with these peoples were dealt with primarily in military terms.

Later Developments

Around the turn of the eighth century, Li Keyong, a northern nomadic Shatuo aristocrat, was appointed as taiyuanyin, which meant that the Tang lost Taiyuan City as well as Hedong. The key to Li Keyong's success was military prowess. However, he still desired an official appointment from the court. Because of the specific role of the taiyuanyin, the position was considered prestigious by the people of the north, and thus strengthened his position among the other tribes as well. Li Keyong, coming from a minority group in the north, took advantage of the Tang to prevail over other nomad groups in the region.

After the fall of the Tang Dynasty, the struggle over Taiyuan City continued. The nomadic tribes of the north invaded the southern sedentary regions and Hedong remained pivotal for the powerful governors of the provinces (節度使). The traditional saying "he who holds Taiyuan City will conquer China" (得太原者得天下) proved true in the end. This period was followed by the Five Dynasties (五代, 907-960) and Ten Kingdoms (十國, 907-979). The Later Tang Dynasty (後唐, 923-936), the Later Jin Dynasty (後晉, 936-947), the Later Han Dynasty (後漢, 947-951) and the Northern Han (北漢, 951-979) all rose to power from Taiyuan City or established it as their capital. Taiyuan and Kaifeng (開封, near present-day Kaifeng in Henan Province) remained battlegrounds for competing forces, and as the economic center shifted to the south, armies based in Taiyuan City lost their advantage.[18]

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[18] Eventually, a new chapter began with the Song Dynasty, centered in Kaifeng. In 951, Liu Min (劉旻) of Shatuo ethnicity, became the emperor in Taiyuan and established the kingdom of Northern Han, the last of the Ten Kingdoms. Liu Min tried to get support from the Qidan (契丹, Khitan), a nomadic people, but in 979, the Northern Han Dynasty was destroyed by Emperor Taizong of the Song Dynasty (宋太宗).

MONGOLS WITHOUT AN EMPIRE: NARRATIVE STRATEGIES SURROUNDING MONGOL HISTORY IN MODERN CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY[1]

*Ning Ya (*宁雅*)* 📥

Introduction

On April 23, 2015, Wang Qishan (王岐山), one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China, met with Japanese-American political scientist Francis Fukuyama in Beijing. Wang, who majored as a history undergraduate, effusively praised the contributions of Japanese historians on the history of the Mongols. According to Wang, Hidehiro Okada revived traditional Japanese historiography, refining the lands between China and Europe, including the Mongols, both on a micro and macro level.[2] Fukuyama was well known for his development of the thesis of his supervisor, Samuel Huntington, concerning the clash of civilizations between the Eastern and Western worlds. Shortly after the fall of Soviet and Eastern European communism, Fukuyama declared the end of history and the victory of capitalist democracy. On this occasion, Wang's reference to the Mongol Empire was packed with political meanings and can be understood as an attempt to seek a usable past experience for the rising global power in today's world.

In addition to Hidehiro Okada, other Japanese historians such as Sugiyama Masaaki and Haneda Masashi, whose research interest focused on the Mongol Empire and world history, were introduced into Chinese scholarly discourse and enjoyed warm reception.[3] All these Japanese scholars have a uniquely East Asian

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2 See the news piece in the Chinese *Pengpai News* [澎湃新闻]: [Ling-Wei Kung] 孔令伟, *王岐山说的冈田英弘是谁* [Who is the Okada Hidehiro mentioned by Wang Qishan?], May 18, 2015, accessed November 5, 2016, http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1331629.

3 See the Chinese translations: [Hidehiro Okada] 冈田英弘, *世界史的诞生: 蒙古帝国的文明意义* [The birth of world history: The meaning of civilization in the Mongol

point of view of world history and had a better grasp of the culture and practices of present-day Chinese society.

The upsurge of interest about the Mongol Empire in Chinese society, however, represents something new. For a long time, the term Mongols were not associated with the concept of an empire, and their history was scattered across disparate genres of Chinese historiography.[4] This article will not present a detailed investigation of scholarship, but will survey the changes of historical narrative strategies and the political contexts behind them.[5] Roughly speaking, there were and still are three strategies in the history of Mongols among Chinese historians.

The first and the longest-standing approach is to study the history of the Mongols within the framework of the history of the Yuan Dynasty. This model dates back to *Yuanshi* (元史), a standard history compiled in the late fourteenth century. The second strategy emerged during the Chinese Republican Period but rose to prominence after the founding of the PRC in 1949. According to the socialist views on nationality, the Mongols, along with Han people and another fifty-four minorities, form a single, great Chinese nation, itself a modern construct. Given this premise, the history of the Mongol minority was and is currently being written. The third model, although it has some precursors, is still being formed. Mongol history is studied within the framework of world history which I call the "return of the Mongol Empire."[6] Behind these narrative strategies

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Empire] (Beijing; Beijing chu ban she, 2016); 从蒙古到大清: 游牧帝国的崛起与承续 [From Mongol to Qing: The rise and continuation of a nomadic empire] (Taipei, 2016); [Sugiyama Masaaki] 杉山正明, 忽必烈的挑战 [The challenge of Kublai] (Beijing: She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, 2013); 蒙古帝国的兴亡 [The rise and fall of the Mongol Empire] (Beijing: She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, 2015); 蒙古颠覆世界史 [The Mongols overturned world history] (Beijing: Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 2016); [Haneda Masashi] 羽田正, 伊斯兰世界概念的形成 [The forming of the conception of Islamic world] (Shanghai: Shang hai gu ji chu ban she, 2012).

[4] The term empire here does not imply that Chinese historians should have used such anachronistic modern vocabulary in their writings. Instead, I emphasize that they were unable to find a compatible framework to include the history of the Mongols both in Eurasian and Chinese contexts.

5 Useful introductions to Mongol- Yuan studies in China can also be found in the work of various Chinese scholars [Yang Zhijiu, Li Zhian and Wang Xiaoxin] 杨志玖, 李治安, 王晓欣, 元史学概说 [General introduction to the scholarship of Yuan studies] (Tianjin: Tianjin jiao yu chu ban she, 1989); [Chen Dezhi] 陈得芝, 蒙元史研究导论 [Introduction to the study of Mongol-Yuan history] (Nanjing: Nanjing da xue chu ban she, 2012).

[6] It is difficult to give a summary definition of "world history." Historians in the English-speaking world, more or less, use this term interchangeably with global history. See

lie the key question how Chinese view their own process of ethnogenesis and how they handle the entangled history of the Han and non-Han peoples, in this case the Mongols, during different historical periods and in different political circumstances.

The Mongols in Chinese Dynastic History

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, a powerful tribal confederacy was consolidated in the Mongolian Plateau. Under the leadership of Genghis Khan and his successors, the Mongols conquered the surrounding region one after the other. After the Mongol conquest of the Song Dynasty in 1271, Kublai Khan named himself the emperor of China and founded the Yuan Dynasty. In the *Zhongtong jianyuan zhao* (中统建元诏), Kublai proclaimed:

> I, the Emperor, inherit the holy enterprise and continue the glorious mission, confirm the rules of previous great emperors and adopt their establishment. I use the new royal title to inform the world that I am the true successor of this time-honoured empire and all regions are united into a single family.[7]

In 1368, the Yuan Dynasty was overturned by the peasant leader Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) who established the Ming Dynasty shortly afterwards. The Yuan Dynasty was the first united regime founded by a non-Han people in Chinese history. Before Zhu ascended the throne, he refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Yuan emperors. In the *Yu Zhongyuan Xi* (谕中原檄), Zhu asserts:

> From time immemorial, the world has been ruled by the Chinese emperor from the heart of the land and the barbarians from outside were obedient to China. There was never a case when barbarians ruled the empire in the interior of China [...] As the old saying goes, the barbarian does not have the mandate of heaven to rule for more than one hundred years. As we can see now, this is indeed true.[8]

Douglas Northrop, ed., *A Companion to World History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012). However, in China, according to the current structure of disciplines, "world history" is equivalent to "non-Chinese history," which is the interpretation I use in the present article.

[7] *元史・卷四* [*Yuanshi*: Yuan Chronicle, vol. 4] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976), 65.

[8] *明实录・太祖实录・卷二十六* [*Ming Shilu, Taizu Shilu*: Ming and Taizu Chronicles, vol. 26] (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962), 401-402.

However, when he himself seized the power, Zhu found that he could not rule the empire without the Yuan system in place. He commissioned a memorial for Kublai, calling him one of the greatest Chinese emperors from ancient times and worshiped him in the same way as the emperors Liu Bang (刘邦), Liu Xiu (刘秀), Li Shimin (李世民), and Zhao Kuangyin (赵匡胤). Zhu also ordered a compilation of the dynastic history of the Yuan Dynasty, the *Yuanshi*, which came out in 1370. From this point onwards, Yuan became a legitimate dynasty in Chinese historiography. Similarly to previous standard Chinese historiography, the ancestors of Kublai Khan were posthumously labelled emperors of Yuan China.

After the compilation of *Yuanshi*, many revisions of this book were published, however, these works rarely deviated from the dynastic framework. One of the most important redactions is the 42-juan (卷) book *Yuanshi Leibian* (元史类编), compiled around 1676 by Shao Yuanping (邵远平).[9] Since the *Yuanshi* was completed within two years after the end of the Yuan Dynasty, a great deal of sources from the Yuan Period were not processed in a timely manner. Shao's book represented progress. More interestingly, Shao dealt with the two periods of the first four Mongol khans and the emperors of the Yuan Dynasty differently. He used the genres s*hiji* (世纪) and *dixi* (帝系) separately because in his opinion the first four Mongol khans did not rule the whole territory of China and were therefore not Chinese emperors.

Some 150 years later, Wei Yuan (魏源) finished a huge volume of the history of the Yuan Dynasty entitled *Yuanshi Xinbian* (元史新编).[10] This book contains 95 juan and, as opposed to previous books, contributed to the early conquest history of the Mongol Empire. In juan 17, 18 and 19, Wei Yuan discussed the history of conquests by the khans Genghis, Ögödei, Möngke, and Kublai. He listed those regions that were conquered but did not mention the previous Chinese Song Dynasty in this part. It can be inferred that Wei Yuan also viewed these Mongol khans as Chinese emperors.

The *Xin Yuanshi* (新元史) by Ke Shaomin (柯劭忞) is another example of this dynasty model.[11] Ke devoted more than thirty years to this history and completed this 247-juan book in 1920. Even though it was a personal work, Xu Shichang (徐世昌), the president of the Republic of China, officially accepted

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[9] [Shao Yuanping] 邵远平, *元史类编* [Classified edition of the *Yuanshi*] (n.p., c. 1676).

[10] [Wei Yuan] 魏源, *元史新编* [New edition of the *Yuanshi*] (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2002).

[11] [Ke Shaomin] 柯劭忞, *新元史* [New standard history of the Yuans] (Shanghai: Kaiming Shuju, 1935).

the *Xin Yuanshi* as one of the traditional Chinese standard histories. Compared to official fourteenth-century historiographers, Ke had more knowledge of the world outside Chinese territory during the Mongol period. Juan 208, 209, and 210 in *Yuanshi* cover the surrounding countries in East and Southeast Asia; at the same time, nine juan (249-257) of the *Xin Yuanshi* were dedicated to foreign states from Inner Asia to Persia, Russia, and Central Europe. These passages have some value from the angle of knowledge transmission which I will discuss below, but Chinese researchers eschew the use of Ke's book because he does not provide notes and his primary sources are opaque. Nevertheless, *Xin Yuanshi* still belongs to the Chinese dynastic history genre because it identifies the Mongol-ruled western lands as foreign countries rather than parts of China or the Mongol Empire.

The dynastic model is still dominates Chinese history education. Two important books came out in the 1980s and 2000s. Han Rulin (韩儒林) edited the nearly one-thousand-page *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (元朝史) in 1986.[12] Zhou Liangxiao (周良霄), in cooperation with Gu Juying (顾菊英), published another nine-hundred-page *History of the Yuan* (元史) in 2003.[13] Both volumes are on the required reading list for Chinese undergraduate and graduate students. Similarly to their antecedents, these two books barely deal with the history of the Mongols beyond Yuan China.

The Mongols and Chinese National History

The birth of a national history in China otherwise is a modern development. It emerged parallel to the rise of the Chinese national state from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. From a historical point of view, China has been a multi-ethnic state for a long time, which is reflected in the traditional historiographical model of dynastic history. In addition to *Yuanshi*, the standard history *Beishi* (北史) covers the history of the four northern dynasties of Wei (魏), Qi (齐), Zhou (周), and Sui (隋) from 385 to 618, of which the Wei and Zhou were founded by a non-Han people, the Xian Bei (鲜卑). During the Yuan Dynasty, the emperor ordered royal historiographers to compile the history of the Jurchen (女真), the Khitan (契丹), and the Song (宋). By doing this, he recognized their

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[12] [Han Rulin] 韩儒林主编, ed., *元朝史* [History of the Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1986)

[13] [Zhou Liangxiao and Gu Juying] 周良霄, 顾菊英, *元史* [History of the Yuan] (Shanghai: People's Publishing House, 2002)

equal legitimacy as Chinese dynasties.[14] However, in the era of nationalism the position of non-Han people in Chinese historiography became complex and controversial.

Chinese National History before 1949

At the turn of the twentieth century, fierce debates ensued about the meaning of the "Chinese nation."[15] The two political groups involved in this debate, the constitutionalists and the revolutionists, adopted different nation-building schemes. The constitutionalists believed that the new monarchy should be composed of both Han and non-Han people. In contrast, the revolutionists thought that the new republic should only consist of Han people and their eighteen Central and Southern Chinese provinces. In the end, even though the revolutionists came to power and founded the Republic of China after the 1911 revolution, the national idea of constitutionalists triumphed. In his inauguration address, President Sun Yat-sen (孙中山) announced:

> The state is rooted in the people. Unite the territories of the Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, and Tibetan into a single state and unite the people of Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui and Tibetan into one people and that is our united nation.[16]

This is the famous national idea of "five nations building one republic" (五族共和). Since then, it has become the guiding principle of the Republic of China on ethnic affairs and was embodied both in public discourse and historiographical practices. The history of the Mongols and other non-Han people was treated as an integral part of Chinese national history. In his preface to *Xinzhi Benguoshi Jiaoben* (新制本国史教本) published in 1920, editor Zhong Yulong (钟毓龙) writes:

> The history books of our country have focused on the role of the Han people and belittled the contributions of non-Han people. Our book

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[14] For the legitimization problem of non-Han regimes in Chinese history, see [Liu Pujiang] 刘浦江, "德运之争与辽金王朝的正统性问题" [Debates on the cycle of five virtuous elements and legitimacy of the Liao and Jurchen Jin Dynasties], *中国社会科学* [Social sciences in China], 2 (2004): 189-203.

[15] For the debates on the "Chinese Nation" idea, see [Huang Xingtao] 黄兴涛, "现代中华民族观念形成的历史考察" [A historical investigation on the concept of the Chinese nation], *浙江社会科学* [Zhejiang social sciences] 1 (2002): 128-141.

[16] *中华民国史档案资料汇编:第二辑* [Collection of the archives of the history of the Republic of China, 2] (Nanjing: 1991), 1.

will be based on the principle of "five nations building one republic" and describe the birth and development of the Manchu, Mongol, Hui, and Tibetan peoples in as detailed a manner as possible based on contemporary history. As for the conflicts with Han people among these four nations, we will write in an equal way and not differentiate between them. Thus, we shall bring together our five nations and promote the national sense of unity.[17]

Besides textbooks, academic books from this period also employ the same strategy. In 1923, Lu Simian (吕思勉) published the first Chinese history book in vernacular Chinese.[18] Lu included a number of chapters about the Mongols, Hui, Tibetans, and non-Han people in Southwestern China.

Chinese National History after 1949

The Chinese Communist Party also developed a narrative strategy concerning non-Han people from the early 1920s onwards. Due to the influence of Soviet ethnographic discourse, the Chinese Communist Party tended to acknowledge the independent political and cultural rights of the Mongols and other non-Han peoples and eventually built a federal state composed of different nation-states. This idea is very different from the aforementioned policies of the government of the Republic of China. But when the Chinese Communist Party replaced the Chinese Nationalist Party and seized power after 1949, they had to re-evaluate their previous policy and put the unity of the whole country as first priority. The Soviet way did not always prove useful in resolving Chinese ethnic problems. In the end, the Chinese Communist Party found a compromise during Chinese Nationalities Recognition Campaign (民族识别运动) and implemented a system of regional national autonomy (民族区域自治制度). These actions produced two new ways of writing the history of the Mongols in China, i.e., the history of Mongol nationality and the history of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Both concepts, however, still fall within the framework of Chinese national history. Nevertheless, in this case, the Chinese nation is composed of 56 ethno-nationalities instead of five nations.

The Nationalities Recognition Campaign was first launched in 1950 and ended in 1987. During this period, the Chinese government recognized 56 ethno-

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[17] [Zhong Yulong] 钟毓龙编ed., *新制本国史教本, 卷上* [New textbook of Chinese history, 1] (Shanghai, 1920), 1-2.

[18] [Lu Simian] 吕思勉, *白话本国史* [The Vernacular History of China] (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1923).

nationalities in the modern territory of the People's Republic of China. Other than the so-called Han majority, the remaining 55 ethno-nationalities are usually called national minorities (少数民族). Along with the campaign, the Chinese government extensively investigated the political, economic, social and historical situation of these national minorities. The historical narratives surrounding each of these national minorities came out as a series of books entitled *Short Histories of Chinese National Minoritie*s (中国少数民族简史丛书). *The Short History of the Mongol Nationality* (蒙古族简史) was first published in 1959 with revised editions published in 1977, 1986 and 2007.[19] This book mainly discussed the history of the Mongol nationality in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties, as well as the Republican China Period. Due to the limitations of size, this book is more of an outline than a piece of scholarly research. Two more extensive studies have been published since the 1990s. The first, *The General History of the Mongol Nationality* (蒙古族通史) was published under the direction of the Historical Institute of Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences.[20] It comprises three volumes and covers Mongol history from the rise of the Mongol Khanate to the founding of the PRC. Another *General History of the Mongol Nationality* (蒙古民族通史) covers the same period and consists of five volumes.[21] These books have several patterns in common. They discuss the impact of Mongol-Yuan domination over China as well as over the Mongols themselves. They also suggest that the Ming Dynasty and the northern Yuan should be viewed as coexisting regimes in China rather than separately as China and a foreign country. The role of Mongols in shaping the modern Chinese nation and territory has also been acknowledged.

The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was established in 1947, two years before the founding of the PRC itself. The first local history books of Inner Mongolia were published in the 1950s. Systematic research project was not launched until the early twenty-first century, commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Autonomous Region. Today, the Mongols are the main inhabitants of this area, but from a historical point of view, this place was a frontier zone between northern nomadic groups and southern sedentary populations. The main theme in the local history of the region focuses on the encounters between Mongols

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[19] *蒙古族简史* [Short history of the Mongol nationality], ed. 内蒙古自治区蒙古语文历史研究所主编 [Institute of Mongolian Language and History of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region] (Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House, 2007).

[20] [Liu Jinsuo] 留金锁主编 ed., *蒙古族通史* [General history of the Mongol nationality] (Beijing: Nationalities Publishing House, 1990; Second ed. 2000).

[21] [Yiduhexige] 义都合西格主编 ed., *蒙古民族通史* [General history of the Mongol nationality] (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2002).

and non-Mongols. Two big projects have been undertaken concerning the general history of Inner Mongolia (内蒙古通史) in China. The first one was led by Cao Yongnian (曹永年) and his team at Inner Mongolia Normal University. They published a four-volume book, *The General History of Inner Mongolia*, in 2007.[22] This book covers local historical processes from prehistory to 1949, in chronologically arranged chapters. The other project was co-organized by Hao Weimin (郝维民) and Jaqadai Cimeddorji (齐木德道尔吉) at the Research Center of Mongolian Studies at Inner Mongolia University. The first publication of the project was the *Outline of the General History of Inner Mongolia* (内蒙古通史纲要) in 2005.[23] The final result was a twenty-volume *General History of Inner Mongolia*, published in 2012.[24] The book is arranged both chronologically and thematically and covers the history of the region until the end of the twentieth century. Notably, the last volume deals with environmental history, reflecting the current concerns of Chinese scholars.

A remarkable characteristic of these ethnic and local histories from the period of the PRC is that they were written by both Chinese Mongol and Han scholars. Although most of these projects were part of the commemoration of political anniversaries and as such, are written in a traditional Chinese academic style, they do not fail to represent the shared historical identity of modern Chinese scholars.

The Mongols and Chinese World History

Like many other civilizations, China has traditionally had a center-periphery view of the world. The country was seen as the center while the world beyond its borders as unknown and barbaric. It was from the nineteenth century, with the emergence of European colonial power in East Asia and China that the Chinese began to learn about the outside world extensively. The transmission of new knowledge and the opportunity to travel abroad produced the first generation of Chinese world historians and their world histories. Thus, the history of the Mongols was gradually placed in a broader perspective.

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[22] [Cao Yongnian] 曹永年主编 ed., *内蒙古通史* [General history of Inner Mongolia] (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2007).

[23] [Hao Weimin and Jaqadai Cimeddorji,] 郝维民, 齐木德道尔吉主编, eds., *内蒙古通史纲要* [Outline of the general history of Inner Mongolia] (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2006).

[24] [Hao Weimin and Jaqadai Cimeddorji] 郝维民,齐木德道尔吉主编, eds., *内蒙古通史* [General history of Inner Mongolia] (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2012).

The first scholar working in this new academic context is Hong Jun (洪钧) who authored *Supplements to Yuanshi: translated sources* (元史译文证补).[25] This book is not a world history but it did expand Chinese historians' understanding of the role of the Mongols in the wider world. As a traditional genre of Chinese dynastic writing, the *Yuanshi* provided little information about the Mongols beyond the borders of China. No previous Chinese historian had any interest in or possibility to study the history of the Mongol Empire comprehensively. Hong Jun himself was an ambassador of Qing in Russia, Germany, Austro-Hungary and The Netherlands. During his stay in Europe from 1887 to 1890, he learned about European scholarship about the Mongols. Although Hong Jun did not master European languages, the new Russian translation of Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh*, d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, and Henry Hoyle Howorth's *History of the Mongols* were frequently cited in his book. Following the approach of Hong Jun, Tu Ji (屠寄) compiled a 160-juan *History of the Mongols* (蒙兀儿史记) in the 1910s, which was posthumously published in 1934.[26] The new knowledge about Mongols in the world was systematically surveyed in Li Sichun's (李思纯) outline of Mongol history. In the *Historiography of the Yuan* (元史学), Li designed a history of the Yuan Dynasty that included an exhaustive chapter about the history of the Mongols, comprising most of the Mongol Khanate (including China), the Kipchak Khanate as well as the Ilkhanate, Chagatai Khanate, and Timurid Khanate. The smaller part deals with the medieval history of other countries from China through Russia to Egypt, and the history of Eurasian religions as well as Mongolian languages.[27]

The *General World History* (世界通史) written by Zhou Gucheng (周谷城) is the first world history written by a Chinese historian.[28] This book was published in 1949 primarily as a textbook for undergraduates. The second part of the book concerns China's encounters with Eurasia. Zhou mentions three sets of encounters: the Persian invasion of Greece and the expeditions of Alexander the Great; the spread of the Arab Empire into the West and the Crusades; and the

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[25] [Hong Jun] 洪钧, 元史译文证补 [Supplements to Yuanshi: translated sources] (?, 1897).

[26] [Tu Ji] 屠寄, 蒙兀儿史记 [History of the Mongols] (Changzhou, 1934).

[27] [Li Sichun] 李思纯, 元史学 [Historiography of Yuan] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1926). Also see [Li Sichun] 李思纯, 李思纯卷 [Collected works of Li Sichun] (Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006), 464.

[28] [Zhou Gucheng] 周谷城, 世界通史 [General world history] (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1949).

western expeditions of the Mongols. According to Zhou, the Mongol Empire represented the peak of what he termed the power of the 'Yellow Race' in Europe.

After the founding of the PRC, the education system was overhauled using the Soviet model. Chinese world history scholarship and education took a sharp turn in this period. Soviet orientalism was also transmitted to China which, in turn, nuanced the Chinese understanding of the Mongol and other nomadic societies. The Sino-Soviet relationship waned in 1958 and since then the situation has changed only gradually. In 1962, Chinese historians published their own four-volume world history textbook, with Zhou Yiliang (周一良) and Wu Yujin (吴于廑) as chief editors.[29] Volume two concerns medieval history and Chapter 17 covers the Mongol expansion and Tamerlane's empire. Still in the framework of Soviet world history, the book asserts that Mongol society was organized by what they called a nomadic feudal system, and that their expansion was driven by the feudal landowners' ambition to dominate. In this vein, the rebellion of the oppressed lower-classes, especially peasants, resulted in the disintegration of the Mongol state and the Four Khanates. In this interpretation, the Mongols in world history were presented in a negative light.

After 1978, China entered a new era of reform and opening up to the world. Soviet world history began to be perceived as outdated, and a new world history project was launched in 1986. In 1992, a six-volume *World History* was edited by Wu Yujing (吴于廑) and Qi Shirong (齐世荣).[30] Wu played a key role in the project and his personal philosophy of history was adopted as the governing principle. Between 1984 and 1993, Wu published a series of seminal articles on the relationship between the sedentary, nomadic and industrial world. The history of the Mongols became the subject of new interpretations. According to Wu, the nomadic world had three waves of impacts on the sedentary world in the pre-modern period. The first wave took place around the mid-2000s BCE when Indo-European tribes invaded the sedentary agricultural worlds of China, India, and Greece. The second wave began with the invasion of Xiongnu (匈奴) into the Han Empire around 200 BCE. The Migration Period as well as the immigration of the Slavic tribes are European parallels to this event. This second

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[29] [Zhou Yiliang and Wu Yujin] 周一良, 吴于廑主编, eds., *世界通史* [General world history] (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2012). See especially [Zhu Huan] 朱寰主编 ed. *世界通史: 中古部分* [General world history, vol. 2, Medieval history], 235-247. Both Zhou Yiliang and Wu Yujin were born in 1913 and earned their doctorates at Harvard University in the 1940s.

[30] [Wu Yujin and Qi Shirong] 吴于廑, 齐世荣, eds., *世界史* [World history] (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 1992).

wave ended with the Arab expansion in the seventh century. The third wave from the thirteenth century was the fiercest and most widespread and was caused by the Mongols and Turkic groups. Wu also argues that traditional historiography was a product of the sedentary world and held instinctive biases towards the nomads. The Mongols brought destructions, however, from the perspective of the whole of human history, such conflicts between the sedentary and nomadic worlds were unavoidable.[31] In the second volume of this new *World History* a separate chapter entitled "The Mongol Empire Across Eurasia" appeared for the first time. The narrative here was more neutral than that of the previous edition in the 1960s and acknowledged the contributions of Mongols in the exchange of cultures, goods, religions and technologies across Eurasia.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the history of the Mongols has been dealt with in different genres of Chinese historiography using a variety of complicated and even contradictory strategies. A lot of factors contribute to this competition of narrations. I will note the three most important factors here.

The first problem concerns writing national history in a multi-national state. The paradigm of national history was born in Europe. Along with the spread of nationalism, the new historical genre also took root in the non-European world. For China, a long-standing multi-national empire, the road to build a nation-state was not easy. The Chinese indeed once wanted to establish a single-nation state without the minorities, but they eventually gave up and instead invented a new concept for the Chinese nation that included both Han and non-Han people. Thus, the national history of China must include the history of the Mongols and other minorities as well.

The second problem is connected with the previous issue. The paradox and the uniqueness of the history of the Mongols stem for the fact that as a pre-modern nomadic power, they changed the whole trajectory of Eurasian history, whereas in modern times, they have lived in a diaspora across three countries (Mongolia, China and Russia) for a variety of reasons. The same historical narrative may appear in three different versions among the historians from these three countries. Even Mongol historians coming from China and Russia may have different identities compared to their Mongolian colleagues. There is no intent to

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[31] [Wu Yujin] 吴于廑, "世界历史上的游牧世界与农耕世界" [The nomadic and the sedentary world in world history], 云南社会科学 [*Yunnan social sciences*] 1 (1983): 47-57. Also see the preface to 世界史 [World history] by Wu Yujin.

argue which is more important, their national or an ethnic identity, but historians are still informed by their education in national history and tend to write history at a nation-state scale. It may also not be useful to argue which historical memory is right or wrong. Instead, writing a common or shared history of the Mongols would be useful stepping out of the shadow of *Geschichtspolitik*.[32]

Thirdly, as Benedetto Croce reminds us, every true history is contemporary history.[33] The way Chinese historians understood and wrote about the history of the Mongols has definitely been influenced by the *Zeitgeist*. Clearly, these three ways of writing the history of the Mongols, if not linear, all reflected one or another contemporary trend in Chinese historiography. In a global age, it is natural and essential to re-evaluate the history of the Mongols or the history of the Mongol Empire in a transnational and global way. Dynastic history is still the main narrative in Chinese historical education, and national history is the standard and popular historical genre. Given the growing Chinese interests in global issues, more and more Chinese scholars may devote themselves to the study of the Mongol Empire in the future.[34]

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[32] In fact, during the mid-1950s, a joint project was undertaken to write the history of the Mongols by Chinese, Mongolian and Soviet historians. However, the project failed due to the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations.

[33] Benedetto Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Russell & Russell), 12.

[34] In September, 2014, prominent Chinese specialists of Mongol history organized a workshop at Tsinghua University. Their papers were recently published in 重新讲述蒙元史 [Reconstructing the historical narratives of the Mongol—Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, 2016). The book frames the history of Mongol-Yuan Dynasty in a Chinese and Asian historical context, to acknowledge Mongol contribution to China and Asia in the past and present.

Cultural Heritage Studies in Central Europe

CULTURAL HERITAGE STUDIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Judith A. Rasson[1]

The Cultural Heritage Studies Program at CEU (founded in 2014) was long a dream and a goal of faculty members from the Medieval Studies Department and other departments such as Environmental Science and Policy, Sociology and Social Anthropology, and the School of Public Policy, among others. This multi-disciplinary program directed by József Laszlovszky, Professor of Medieval Studies, has many complex strands, and besides mastering many concepts of best practice and management on the local, regional, national, and international level, each student must weave his or her understanding of the field into an MA thesis that demonstrates a specific approach to a particular cultural heritage problem. Three of the papers presented in this section are based on the theses of the first graduates of the program. The breadth of the field is quite visible in the contributions by Sanijela Stulić, Gergő Paukovics, and Nóra Ujhelyi. Sanijela Stulić, with experience in cultural heritage work in the Vojvodina region of Serbia, takes the seemingly simple goal of protecting historic earthworks (the so-called Roman Trenches) and details the not-so-simple path to achieving this end, which necessitates meeting the standards of the Republic of Serbia, the city of Novi Sad, the International World Heritage organization, environmental protection organizations, and local residents (among others) at the crossroads of their interests and requirements and the trenches themselves. Gergő Paukovics, an archaeolozoologist by training, tackles the multi-level problem of collecting, protecting, and managing remains of the biological sphere recovered from archaeological sites. He presents international protocols for zooarchaeological materials and discusses the difficulty of implementing them, using Hungary as a case study. Nóra Ujhelyi, now an advanced student in archaeology, used her experience of working with a mass of metal artifacts recovered illegally by metal detectorists to explore the practices and attitudes of detectorists, archaeologists, and museum managers to the good and bad sides of this device that can seemingly see underground.

The article by József Laszlovszky and Karen Stark presents a medieval Cistercian monastery's glass production workshop at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi as a cultural heritage site. The excavation yielded a multitude of artifacts, from the

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[1] Formerly a member of the CEU Medieval Studies Department and instructor during the first year of the Cultural Heritage Studies Program.

remains of glass kilns to the finished glass products themselves, and presented a wonderful opportunity to transform the site into an educational platform tackling the challenges of heritage interpretation.

The Cultural Heritage Studies Program places a high value on publication to contribute to the field and show the variability in approaches. To that end, the program immediately launched the Central European Cultural Heritage book series with CEU Press. The first volume in the series was authored by long-time Medieval Studies' professor, Béla Zsolt Szakács, an art historian by training. For many years he has worked with different facets of an illuminated medieval chronicle called the Angevin Legendary. This section includes a description of his book by art historian Zsombor Jékely, a CEU alumnus himself, now the Deputy Director of the Applied Arts Museum in Budapest. This is less a review than a further introduction to both the contents of Szakács' volume and the cultural context of the images.

This modest collection of articles demonstrates the broad reach of cultural heritage studies. From historical studies through applications to managing cultural resources to basic scientific practices they are examples of the many-faceted potential contributions of the field.

PROTECTION OF A HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE, THE CASE OF THE ROMAN TRENCHES IN SERBIA: A PROPOSED LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND THE KEY ACTORS

Sanijela Stulić 📥

In this paper, the problem of historical landscape protection is discussed through a case study of managing large earthworks in northern Serbia, known as the Roman trenches.[1] This study refers to a sequence of earthworks located in Vojvodina Province, Serbia, and particularly one segment of a so-called "major" Roman trench (*Fig. 1*). An earthwork is defined as an embankment or other construction made of earth, especially one used as a field fortification. For centuries, these earthworks have retained their physical space and served as a defining structure in the flat landscape of the Pannonian Basin. Recently, however, due to intensive land use, they have become endangered and are slowly being "eaten away" (*Fig. 2*). The earthworks of this region are usually connected to Roman building activity and present a distinguishing feature of the Roman Empire's defense system.[2] They usually consist of a bank (rampart, *agger* or *vallum*) and a ditch or ditches (*fossae*). Although the term itself carries a period reference, the exact time of construction is still debated. Similar structures have been identified all over the region in the territories of several neighboring countries: Hungary, Romania, and Croatia (*Fig. 3*). Moreover, this type of landmark feature also appears in other regions where they are also interpreted in the context of a Roman legacy. Along with other features from this period, they are usually presented as remains of a former Roman defense line – the *limes* – still visible in the landscape.[3]

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[1] This article is based on Sanijela Stulić, "Protection of Historical Landscape in Serbia: the case of the Roman trenches," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

[2] Maja Đorđević, *Arheolška nalazišta rimskog perioda u Vojvodini* [Archeological Sites from the Roman Period in the Vojvodina] (Belgrade: Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Serbia, 2007), 83-84.

[3] The *limes* was an artificial border between the Roman Empire and the world outside the empire. It stretches across three continents and was created by the Romans as a division line but also as protection from the so-called barbarians. The *limes* may contain a number of different features, such as walls, ramparts, ditches, military fortifications, etc. See David J. Breeze, Sonja Jilek, and Andreas Thiel, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire, Central Europe Project "Danube Limes – UNESCO World Heritage"* (Warsaw: Warsaw University, 2009); Recent literature includes L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov, ed., *Limes XXII. Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Sofia: National Archaeological Institute, 2015).

Fig. 1. The rampart of major Roman trench, from the north (photo by A. Miskov, Courtesy of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad)

Despite continued scholarly interest, the question of the legal safeguarding of earthworks in Serbia has remained at the level of unofficial recommendations and suggestions. The need to preserve them is particularly evident considering modern-day threats. Rising interest in keeping these structures safe can be seen in the recent attempts to include them as part of the Pannonian Limes, a UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] World Heritage Site – "Frontiers of the Roman Empire."

Another unique feature of these earthworks concerns their geomorphology and the special characteristics of the natural environment in this region. Today, due to intensive regulation of the water flow in rivers, canals, and streams on the one hand and agricultural activities (irrigation and drainage) on the other, the area surrounding the trenches looks very different from the time when they were built. In a flat landscape, the trench ramparts stood as dry, elevated ground. Additionally, these huge structures were and still are visible from a distance. It is possible that, apart from their role in historical events (assuming that they were originally a defensive military feature), earthworks had multiple or diverse uses over time. Today, the structure of the major Roman trench is state-owned property,

Fig. 2. The major Roman trench, from the north (photo by author, Courtesy of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad)

controlled by the Public Water Management Company "Waters of Vojvodina." According to their website, the ditch of the major Roman trench (approximately 10.045 km in length) is categorized as a water canal (under the code J-152-7).[4] The importance of the major Roman trench from the view of protecting nature is seen from the fact that it is categorized as an internationally important plant area.[5] The rampart of the major Roman trenches currently functions as a refuge for wild animals, while a part of the ditch which is filled with water serves as a

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[4] GIS database at http://gis.vodevojvodine.com/vodeVojvodineEksterna/ Last accessed December, 2016.

[5] The major Roman trench is classified as an IPA (Important Plant Area) according to the Ramsar Convention from 1971. http://www.pzzp.rs/sr/zastita-prirode/ekoloska-mreza. html, http://www.pzzp.rs/sr/zastita-prirode/podrucja-od-medunarodnog-znacaja/ podrucja-sa-medunarodnom-zastitom.html. Last accessed April, 2016. During the research phase of this article, the author corresponded with experts from the Institute for Nature Conservation of Vojvodina Province and was informed that they are also working
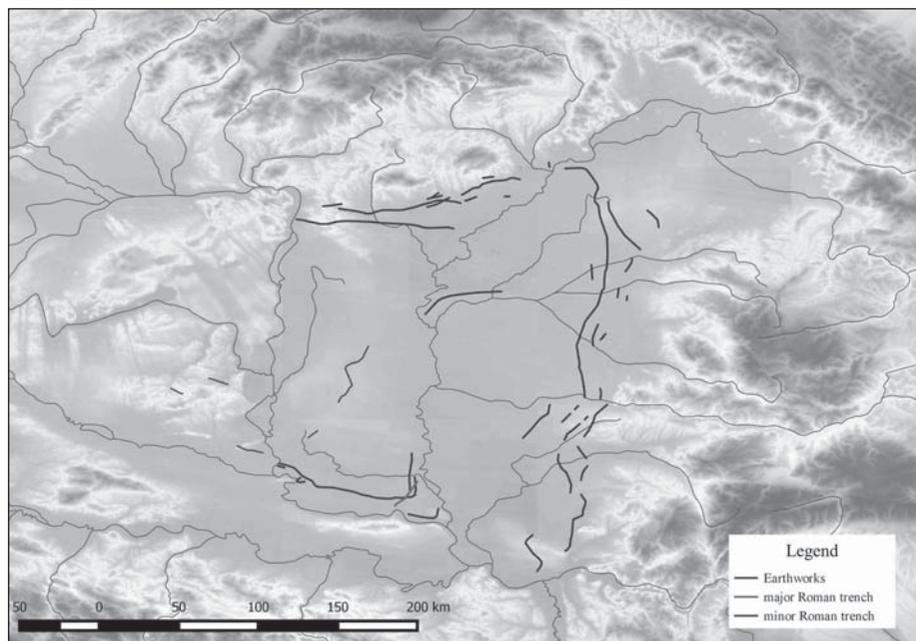
Fig. 3. The system of earthworks in the Pannonian Basin (map by author)

canal for drainage. The surrounding area is arable land, privately owned, where local residents grow crop plants, mainly wheat, maize, and oilseed rape. In the last fifty years, people have replaced their traditional way of working the land with animal traction and started to use heavy machinery for plowing. This trend has substantially affected the preservation of the soil layers beneath the surface, especially those containing archaeological finds. Considering the character of the Roman trenches, a landscape approach is useful because of its ability to connect various actors and processes. In the field of archaeology this method has been widely used because of its potential to indicate the relationships and dynamics between humans and their environment across time and space. Furthermore, a landscape approach offers the best opportunity for preserving both natural and cultural values in an inclusive way. The context of a landscape as a physical, cultural or social construction allows a broad range of possible types of analysis (patterns and systems detection, exploitation and alteration of space, memory

on a proposal for protecting the major Roman trench as a natural area. This area, however, is larger than the area discussed here. Their research began in December 2014.

and symbolism, and others).[6] By default, it includes an actual spatial component: the environment. More importantly, it provides public visibility for archaeological practice by highlighting the way local communities perceive the landscape they interact with. The local understanding of landscape is crucial in the process of interpretation.[7] Therefore, a defined landscape can be used as a tool for attracting communities to take an active part in maintaining their recognized heritage and enhancing its preservation.

It has been noted that sustainability depends largely on local perceptions of heritage and its values. This fact is related to the utilization of heritage as a resource. Even though a heritage feature may have a number of unprofitable factors (scientific, artistic, historical, and educational), it may still have the capacity to provide income for the community.

The Legal Framework

Notions of how the environment and natural settings are essential for cultural heritage protection can be seen through a series of international documents such as conventions, recommendations, and guidelines. From the beginning of international concern for heritage monuments, the concept of protection treated the areas surrounding monuments equally.[8] By indicating the importance

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[6] Stephen Rippon, *Historical Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside*, Practical Handbooks in Archaeology 16 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), 19-20.

[7] Kurt F. Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick, "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 159,163. For a general overview of landscape archaeology development, see Chapter I by Marina Gkiasta, "The History of Landscape Archaeology: Major Traditions and Approaches in the Historiography of Landscape Research on Crete" PhD Dissertation, (University of Leiden, 2008) http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/1887/12855/5/ Last accessed April 2016. For landscape archeology see Michael Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Local History* (London: Routledge, 1985).

[8] The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historical Monuments, adopted in 1931, defined the basic principles of monument conservation. Among other things, it pointed out the relevance of the areas where monuments are located physically. This concept later developed into what are now called buffer zones. http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments Last accessed December, 2016. On the historical development of buffer zones see Anne Mie Draye, "Legal Protection of Monuments in their Settings: A Means of Maintaining the Spirit of the Place," *16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: "Finding the Spirit of Place – between the Tangible and the Intangible,"* 29 Sept – 4 Oct 2008, Quebec, Canada, www.icomos.org/ quebec2008/cd/toindex/77_pdf/77-hDER-23.pdf.

of preservation in the original or a suitable natural environment, the early conventions highlighted a holistic attitude in the field of cultural heritage. This idea was especially stated in the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 1972, under the mixed cultural and natural heritage category.[9] A further attempt to merge these two entities was the implementation of new categories such as cultural landscapes. This was the result of a long discussion among experts from different state parties and UNESCO's advisory bodies: ICOMOS [International Council on Monuments and Sites] and IUNC [*International Universities Networking Conference*]. In this sense, a cultural landscape is defined as "combined works of nature and of man."[10] According to the operational guidelines from 2008, there are three main categories of cultural landscapes.[11] The first category is described as manmade landscapes whose creation was intentional. The second category refers to organically evolved landscapes, which may be a relict or still exist and serve the needs of contemporary society. The third and final category covers associative cultural landscapes and deals with landscapes that carry notions of religion, art or culture which are more emphasized than their physical expression.

Serbia, a legal successor of former Yugoslavia, has a long tradition of joining international conventions and bilateral agreements, particularly in the field of cultural cooperation. In line with that, it has signed most of the European and UNESCO's conventions related to the protection of cultural heritage.[12] The key documents here are the revised Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage and the European Landscape Convention.

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[9] Adopted at the General Conference in the seventeenth session, Paris, 16 November 1972 whc.unesco.org/document/101839.

[10] The definition of a cultural landscape fits generally with Article 1 of the Convention on World Heritage, where cultural heritage is considered, among the rest, to be: "sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view." For the original report on this session see http://whc. unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf. Last accessed April, 2016.

[11] Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, WHC, 08/01, January 2008. Section 6 gives a detailed definition of cultural landscape and its subcategories. See http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf#annex3. Last accessed April, 2016.

[12] For a detailed list of signed documents, conventions, and state-to-state agreements see http://www.kultura.gov.rs/lat/medjunarodna-saradnja/medjunarodna-dokumenta. Last accessed April, 2016.

The revised Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage was proclaimed in 1992 in Valletta, Malta.[13] Serbia signed this document in 2007, ratified it in 2009, and it came into force in 2010. The convention marked a turning point in the protection process for several reasons, mainly because it recognized the necessity of integral protection. Hence, it contributed to allowing archeologists to become actively engaged in the planning process from the regional to the local level. From that time onwards, archeological practice was actively involved in the process of designing new spatial plans. Moreover, it gave a legal context to the implementation of protection measures into development policies, which guaranteed inviolability of and enhanced the archeological heritage. The basic text of the Convention, especially the few introductory notes, emphasizes a holistic approach, where the archaeological heritage must not be detached from its environment. Thus, Article 1 of the Convention defines archeological heritage and fosters preservation and study in order to "retrace the history of mankind and its relation with the natural environment." Article 2 deals with the identification of heritage and the measures for its protection. According to this, each state party should be responsible and form an appropriate legal system that enables the designation of archaeological heritage. In Paragraph 1 of the same article, besides the archaeological sites, the Convention introduces the term "archaeological areas". It is left to the state parties, however, to interpret this phrase. In addition to the new terminology, the Convention also reflects the issue of public awareness, especially in Article 9. Here, state parties are obliged to undertake actions that protect the archaeological heritage and communicate its values to the wider audience (through educational programs) and, more importantly, draw attention to possible threats to it.

The second important treaty signed by Serbia is the European Landscape Convention [ELC] from 2000.[14] It was signed by Serbia in 2007, and in 2011 it was officially ratified and came into force. The purpose of this convention is to address the issues of preservation and answers to new challenges across Europe. The fact that intensive agriculture and land use, development, and exploitation of resources are rapidly changing the environment had been acknowledged even before, but the scope of this convention included issues of management and planning as well. The convention gives a very broad definition of landscape as an area that is a product of natural and/or human interaction. As a legal tool,

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[13] http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/143. Last accessed April, 2016.

[14] http://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape/the-european-landscape-convention. Last accessed May, 2016.

the convention aimed for conservation and maintenance of existing features in the landscape and (re)creation of new ones. Moreover, it focused on managing landscapes by balancing changes caused by different social, environmental, and economic processes. Each signatory state took over the responsibility to work on the visibility of landscapes among the public by providing legal instruments, creating policies, and raising awareness through educational programs. The convention fostered the identification and assessment of landscapes within the territories of each state party as well as transnational or trans-border cooperation.

The implementation of this convention in Serbia is organized through a committee appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment. This working group cooperates closely with representatives of the Ministry of Culture and regional development agencies. In 2014, the Committee drafted an Action Plan for the implementation of the ELC and regulations on the categorization of landscapes. The draft of the Action Plan formulated goals and initial actions for the implementation of the convention for the period 2015 to 2020. The thematic areas included: recognition of the landscape in a legal framework, identification and assessment of landscape character on the territory of Serbia, comprehensive policy areas and integration in planning basics, management measures, landscape policy, participation and awareness-raising, education, research and international cooperation.

Another aspect of landscape protection, especially in the European working framework, depends on agricultural politics. Recently, the EU developed a strategy where small-scale production and traditional farming is to be supported, simultaneously preserving endangered landscapes.[15] Therefore, a local community living in a certain landscape is the caretaker and its participation in the process of conservation of nature and culture is considered vital. The advantage of a protected landscape approach is that it recognizes that the culture and nature of landscapes are inseparably connected and that the communities living in the landscape or nearby are a key factor in their sustainability. Keeping in mind that a landscape can be owned or managed by the public, private or communal social sector, it is of great importance to include all of them in the process of protection and planning. The application of this methodology in various areas of Europe has contributed to understand that the existing cultural diversity must be respected and taken into account in nature protection.[16]

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[15] See the EU common agricultural policy, http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/envir/landscape_en. Last accessed January, 2017.

[16] Jessica Brown, Nora Mitchell, and Michael Beresford, "Protected Landscapes: A Conservation Approach that Links Nature, Culture and Community," *The Protected Landscape*

When it comes to the national level, all actions in the field of cultural heritage in Serbia (in terms of the definition, protection system, conditions of usage, and institutions in charge) are regulated through the Law on Cultural Goods. This law was adopted in 1994 and is rooted in older forms of similar acts and international regulations.[17] This act defines three main value categories, each of them carrying a different degree of state protection. This classification identifies cultural goods, cultural goods of great importance, and cultural goods of the highest importance to the state. It recognizes monuments, archeological sites, historical places, and cultural/historical complexes as immovable goods. In order for something to be declared cultural heritage it is necessary that the institutions in charge conduct detailed research and determine the values of the particular property. The protection process is implemented by public institutions of heritage: museums and institutes for protection on a national, regional or local level. Proclamation of a cultural good has to be officially announced by the Parliament. Only after the Act of Proclamation has been published in the Official Gazette is the decision considered valid. In addition, a protocol for declaring an (immovable) cultural good contains a detailed description of a particular good with its historical, academic, and educational values, its location(s), size, and ownership, buffer zones, and, most importantly, conditions of use and protection measures.[18]

The reasons vary for incongruities between international and national frameworks. In developing countries this can be seen as reflection of the political situation, short-term governments, slow administrations, etc. Besides the state mechanisms, the scholars and professionals in the region usually recognize the need to align their work with the current tendencies on the international scene.[19] International conventions and treaties offer general frameworks and concepts for protection, but national legislation and actual practice should provide the tools

Approach: Linking Nature, Culture and Community, ed. Jessica Brown, Nora Mitchell, and Michael Beresford (Gland: IUCN [*International Union for Conservation of Nature*], 2005):4-5.

[17] The definition of cultural properties (types of goods) is based on the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict, adopted in the Hague, 1954, Law on Cultural Goods, Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, No. 71/94 http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_kulturnim_dobrima.html. Last accessed December, 2016.

[18] Article 47 of the Law on Cultural Goods, Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, No. 71/94

[19] See Anika Skovran and Nataša Ostojic-Ilic, ed. *Cultural Landscape—A Modern Approach towards the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage on Balkans* (Belgrade: European Center for Peace and Development, 2008).

and arrangements for the protection and management of sites or, in this case, landscapes.

Landscapes provide a physical setting for humans but at the same time contain natural features that have their own protection norms and practice. Specific natural features, landmarks in particular, are a product of human activities in the past and need to be protected. According to the standards of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), cultural values can be embedded, and consequently kept, through categories III, V and VI.[20] Category III refers to the protection of natural monuments or features, which may be artificial in origin. The next category deals with the protection of landscapes where "the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value." Finally, category VI deals with protected areas that "conserve ecosystems and habitats, together with associated cultural values and traditional natural resource management systems."

Along these lines, there is a wide-spread practice of protecting man-made features such as prehistoric mounds and earthworks under the laws regulating nature protection. In Hungary alone more than 1900 mounds are protected as natural areas.[21] Likewise, in Serbia, especially in the northern part, mounds and relics of earthen fortifications are protected as international protected areas (IPA) or natural monuments.[22] Another widespread solution for combining natural and cultural heritage is achieved within larger areas that are protected based on their natural merits. Here, the cultural heritage is kept and managed within the premises of the nature-protected area.[23]

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[20] http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/gpap_home/gpap_quality/gpap_pacategories/

[21] According to the Hungarian Law on Nature Protection (adopted in 1996), all mounds are protected *ex lege*. See Csaba Tóth, Katalin Joó, and Attila Barczi, "Lyukas Mound: One of the Many Prehistoric Tumuli in the Great Plain," *Landscapes and Landforms of Hungary*, ed. D Loczy, World Geomorpological Landscapes (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 255. doi10.1007/978-3-319-08997-3

[22] Currently these cases are being revised according to the new Law on Nature Protection. For a detailed description see http://www.pzzp.rs/sr/zastita-prirode/studije-zastite/podrucja-u-postupku-zastite.

[23] The most common examples are national parks, where cultural heritage (usually monastery complexes) are supervised by nature conservation authorities or in cooperation with other cultural heritage institutions of the region (museums, institutes for protection, etc. depending on the rank that the cultural heritage holds). Under this condition, protection measures include specific treatment of arable land, controlled animal husbandry, traditional building techniques, etc. These are usually large areas, such as national parks or

The Roman Trenches in the Context of Heritage Protection

From the description above, it is evident that landscape or area protection exists in the domains of culture and nature alike. Among a variety of working frameworks, it appears that landscape (in terms of the ELC) is the most suitable for protecting the "major" Roman trench. The definition and categorization of landscapes, as well as the emphasized role of stakeholders/caretakers, reflects a holistic approach.

According to the descriptive system, the Roman trenches fall into the category of evolved landscapes, partially the one category of relict landscapes.[24] These earthworks, even though they are not performing their original function, still present a distinguishing feature of the countryside. They show certain adjustments in that their original form remains but the purpose has been altered. Furthermore, the earthworks display another peculiarity as artificially created structures; they have developed into a specific natural habitat through time.

Viable protection in the case of Roman trenches can be achieved through other contexts as well. Since they are, at least according to most scholars, interpreted and labeled as Roman heritage, the possibility of joint presentation exists on an international level through an already established concept. Namely, the WHS [World Heritage Site] Frontiers of the Roman Empire covers a transnational site dedicated to preserving and protecting sites and features originally related to the construction of a former Roman defense line dating from first to the fourth century AD.[25] This framework, where additional sites can be added to existing ones on the UNESCO list, can contribute to raising the awareness of these earthworks, especially given that they represent distinguishing features of the region.

Key Actors in the Process of Legal Protection

In the case of the Roman trenches, the responsibility for formulating a protection proposal lies with the regional and local authorities, namely, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the city of Novi Sad and Vojvodina, the

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landscapes containing several different zones of action and accordingly different levels of protection.
[24] See Nora Mitchell and Susan Buggey, "Protected Landscapes and Cultural Landscapes: Taking Advantage of Diverse Approaches," *The George Wright Society* (2000): 38. Based on this interpretation, continued use and management makes all landscapes evolve. Their value lies in the material evidence of their evolution in the context of the environment.
[25] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/430. Last accessed December, 2016.

Provincial Institute for Nature Conservation, the Water Management Company of Vojvodina Province, and the Provincial Secretariat for Urban Planning, Construction and Environmental Protection. Other city authorities should be involved in the process as stakeholders as well, since they make decisions on how annual financial resources should be utilized. Their support and engagement are crucial in terms of creating an infrastructure, required facilities and/or the formation of public services. In particular, this refers to the possibilities for presenting the trenches by posting information panels, organizing and supporting the creation of paths for hikers and cycling, installing the necessary facilities such as route markers, rest points, benches, trash receptacles, and so on. The institutes should contribute by cooperating with the representatives of the local community where their knowledge can be used in the process of raising awareness among community members. This can be achieved through public meetings, seminars, workshops, etc. Most importantly, the heritage values of the Roman trenches and the necessity for protecting them should be disseminated through the educational system, by organizing field trips for schoolchildren, volunteer camps for students, scientific research for professionals, and other activities.[26]

The next stage of protection is the maintenance and presentation of the major Roman trench. The main actors in this particular segment of planning should be local community and local tourist office. The ways in which the meaning and significance of a particular site are socially constructed – at least in the historical context – should be taken into account in the planning process.[27]

As noted above, there are several levels of responsibility in the protection and planning process, and it can be summarized as:

• The Institutes for Nature Protection and Cultural Heritage should initiate and assemble the proposal accordingly,

• While closely cooperating with city's authorities in charge and securing their support.

• Experts should take part in education and awareness raising by mobilizing the local community.

• The local community, in response, should express their capacities and willingness to participate in the protection by maintaining or enhancing the existing values.

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[26] The Institute for Nature Conservation and local botanical societies have already organized such events on a couple of occasions in cooperation with the city authorities.
[27] Mark P. Hampton, "Heritage, Local Communities and Economic Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 3 (2005): 738. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2004.10.010

• The activities related to presentation and community participation in this manner should be complied in a touristic offer, made by local tourist offices.

The case study on the major Roman trench resulted in the recognition of a number of heritage values, and underlined its present character and function. Today, parts of the trench serve as water canals or stand as habitat for protected species. Precisely for this multi-use character, some of the suggested actions may be perceived as useful and desirable by one group of stakeholders and risky by others. For example, occasional cleaning of the water canal is a necessity and this action is proposed by the Water Management Company. This process is usually done by bulldozers, thus, it might present a threat to the original form of the trench and its structure. Furthermore, the action of cutting down trees and high vegetation for better visibility and presentation purposes can be harmful for the wild life. In the end, cooperation among different partners and on different levels is extremely important for protection, preservation, and presentation of the major Roman trench.

Identifying the stakeholders is important from the point of view of the issue of the present utilization of the trenches. Equally, the involvement of the local community is of great interest in matters of making decisions related to protection. In this case, the issue of sustainability would not be problematic, since through mutual understanding communities can establish a relationship with conservation objectives, protective of heritage or ecological setting. The communities living in this landscape are entitled to take part in the planning process, since they should be the caretakers.[28] This does not exclude the participation of professionals from the field of heritage management; their role is to point out the values and disseminate the knowledge they have accumulated.

Conclusion

The problem of the integral protection of landscape features lies in the division of responsibilities among the authorities charged with protection. This practice shows disparity and lack of cooperation among interested stakeholders. Studies have shown that there is a dichotomy in the perception of landscape and the relationship of humans and the environment. The perceptions are clearly different, one being bio-centric and other anthropocentric.[29] The peculiarity of the major Roman trench lies in a past-present dimension. In ancient times, its

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[28] Nora Mitchell and Susan Buggey, "Protected Landscapes," 44.
[29] Nora Mitchell and Susan Buggey, "Protected Landscapes," 43.

function was cultural, while today, due to human intervention, a natural habitat has emerged. Even though there are differences in approaches to the issues of natural and cultural heritage protection, in this particular case human activity was essential in creating the natural environment.

The solution is twofold: according to the current legal system in Serbia, the Roman trenches can be listed separately as both cultural and natural areas. However, such proposals have to be related and mutually supportive. It is imperative for the stakeholders to take into consideration each others' effects. By keeping the status of heritage in both spheres, the trenches will meet the criteria for a cultural landscape. Additionally, the heritage values can be enhanced through the network of Roman *limes*. Through this context, it would be feasible to extend the limits of the region and make it part of a larger scheme.

Regional co-operation between Serbia, Romania, Hungary and Croatia can be developed for a common policy and protection of these monuments based on the interdisciplinary research of archaeologists, nature conservation experts, and managers of regional tourism. This regional project can later be integrated into European-wide programs for the preservation, protection, and interpretation of Roman frontier monuments and their related landscape.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND METAL DETECTING IN HUNGARY
(2000 TO 2014)

Nóra Ujhelyi ⬇

A metal detector is a portable electronic device that scans the ground and discovers (detects) metal objects. Metal detectors are used industrially to find metal objects such as pipes underground and professionally by archaeologists to find metal artifacts on archaeological sites. They are also used by so-called detectorists, sometimes referred to as treasure hunters, who use them for a number of personal reasons.

I came across the issue of metal detecting in early 2012 as an archaeology student, when I started to work with small metal finds, namely, medieval book fittings that had come into the possession of the Hungarian National Museum as a special case; they belonged to the so-called Kaposvár collection. In December 2003, the District Court of Kaposvár in South Hungary (Somogy County) closed the case of four treasure hunters. As of now, the case is still unique as the most notable trial ever in the Hungarian courts on archaeological artifact looting; four perpetrators were accused of archaeological site destruction, theft of artifacts by illegally using metal detectors, and dealing in artifacts. The case became known to professionals when archaeologists from the Hungarian National Museum were called to act as experts and the material arrived at the museum in April, 2001. The material consisted of 66 boxes (approximately 33 thousand pieces) of metal objects (with a few exceptions such as pottery shards, fragments of glass vessels, even some bones), mainly of archaeological interest. The variety of the objects shows that they were most likely plundered from numerous sites. Because such objects are normally found in burials or hoards (treasure finds), the suspicion arose of not only surface surveying but illegal digging as well. Illegal trade in the artifacts was shown by the lack of objects in relatively good shape or objects made of precious metals, and the presence of "half-repaired" artifacts (the defendants made efforts to complete some lightly damaged objects with the intention of selling them). Even though several of the artifacts are important for professional archaeologists and national collections because of their rarity, for private collectors they may not have seemed valuable because of damage.[1]

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[1] This article is based on Nóra Ujhelyi, "Archaeology and Metal Detecting in Present-Day Hungary," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

According to Hungarian law at the time, the accusation of find-spot destruction could not stand in court without identifying the given locations, but the case was closed with a sentence of several years in prison, disqualification from participation in public affairs, and a fine for theft and receiving stolen cultural goods. For professional archaeologists, this verdict set off an alarm, triggering the need for significant changes in Hungarian law for the protection of not only archaeological items but also archaeological sites.[2]

As of now, fifteen years later, professional archaeology and metal detectorists have still not quite made peace, even though both parties have taken steps, such as detectorists contacting museums, archaeologists working with material that was disregarded before because it was out of context, conferences and round table discussions. Just like anywhere else in Europe, every archaeologist in Hungary has an opinion about metal detecting and detectorists, ranging from considering them thieves to seeing them as collaborators, and these attitudes are mirrored among the detectorists. The case of Hungary in this matter is unique, however, because continuous changes in the legislation seem to be working against a process of finding common ground.

When a researcher aims to understand how and why any state regulates the ownership of archaeological material, the first factor to explore is what these entities consider "archaeological". Under the umbrella of numerous international conventions and guidelines, individual countries have their own legislation and practices based on their language, traditional views, and opportunities; and Hungary is no exception. The current law in force on cultural heritage in Hungary is an amended version of Act No. LXIV of 2001, which states that:

> all detectable signs of human life originating before 1711 on the ground, under the ground or water surface and in natural or artificial cavities which help to reconstruct the universal culture and history of mankind and its relationship with the environment; as well as contributing to the reconstruction of the history of the peoples living on the territory of the country and the nation, certifies, displays, and supports the origins and development of our nation, furthermore, related to which the acquisition of information is excavations and other research methods [shall be considered archaeological heritage].[3]

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[2] Zsolt Mráv and Ádám Szabó, "Rongál-e a kincsvadász? Egy per és egy ítélet tanulságai," [Does the treasue hunter do any damage? The moral of a lawsuit and a verdict] *Magyar Múzeumok* 2 (2006): 25–26.

[3] Unofficial translation by the author of Act No. LXIV of 2001. 7. § 37, based on unofficial translation of previous versions of the text (http://www.eui.eu/Projects/

In Hungary there was formerly a general ban on the use of metal detectors by the public, but since the most recent change in Act No. LXIV of 2001 and a new government ordinance (39/2015. III.11) permission can be granted by an authority (which was, at the time the article was written, the Forster Gyula National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management), but only for use outside of registered archaeological find spots (sites). Using a metal detector in a registered area is considered archaeological excavation and as such is forbidden to those who are not licensed professional archaeologists.[4]

Research carried out with detectorists and finds discovered by them has been summarized in two theses and an article so far, two dealing more in depth with the archaeological significance of medieval metal material and one addressing the issue of the very nature of metal detecting (investigating the main triggers for the practice of metal detecting, the current relationship between metal detectorists and professional archaeologists, and recent improvements and regulations, especially the Hungarian heritage law regarding metal detecting).[5] Primary sources consulted for this research are both formal (for example, official sources consisting of the legislation of Hungary and other countries) and informal (numerous blogs and forums specializing in metal detecting, detectors, and finds). A questionnaire has also been circulated among detectorists in Hungary and served as the most important primary source here (see below).

Reviewing literature was one of the keys to finding out views about this sensitive and complex issue and defining vital terms. The literature review also sheds light on the historical context of the use of metal detectors in Hungary (not only in archaeological contexts), as well as providing a base for comparison to other European countries. I emphasize, however, that an exhaustive research

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InternationalArtHeritageLaw/Hungary.aspx, accessed 26 November 2015. The database is continuously updated).

[4] Act No. LXIV of 2001. 20/A.§

[5] Ujhelyi, "Archaeology and Metal Detecting in Present-Day Hungary;" Nóra Ujhelyi, "A könyvkötészet tárgyi emlékei Magyarországon. Könyvveretek a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum anyagából" [Medieval book fittings from the Hungarian National Museum], MA thesis (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2014); Nóra Ujhelyi, "Könyvveretek csoportosítási és keltezési lehetőségei. Késő középkori nürnbergi típusú példák a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 'Kaposvári Gyűjteményéből' [Grouping and dating book fittings. Late Medieval Nuremberger type book fittings from the 'Kaposvár Collection' of the Hungarian National Museum]," in *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának tanulmánykötete. A Székesfehérváron 2014. november 20–22. között megrendezett Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának tanulmányai* [Volume of the Young Medieval Achaeologist Conference of 2014 in Székesfehérvár], ed. Csilla Szőllősy and Krisztián Pokrovenszki (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2015).

history would require an entirely different paper in itself, therefore the next paragraphs aim to introduce only recent and the most important published works on this topic.

One of the latest volumes on public participation in archaeology is that edited by Agneta Lagerlöf following a conference organized by the Europae Archaeologiae Consilium in Paris in early 2012. Although the conference was supposed to deal with public awareness and participation in archaeological heritage management, interestingly most of the papers presented avoided the topic of metal detecting, addressing the complexity of the problem from the question of plundering to the possibility of simple interest in cultural history.[6] The case of the United Kingdom, with its special model for community involvement in archaeology, is well-researched; Suzie Thomas has published about it the most often in recent years, starting with her PhD dissertation, extended research on the metal detecting community and its relationship to archaeological research in England and Wales. There, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) operates successfully and most detectorists are not considered criminals.

Thomas' results show that despite the existence of the PAS, which provides contacts and research opportunities, the opinions of both parties vary widely in England and Wales. She also points out that this British model has come to be widely envied around Europe, a point that has become almost a cliché in this field since then, and warns that PAS itself does not and cannot provide a satisfying level of interaction and cooperation between professionals and amateurs. She advises that research should focus on detectorists and archaeologists rather than metal detecting versus archaeology.[7] Thomas is also one of the editors of *Internet Archaeology*, issue 33 (2013), which covers the topic from the meaning of basic expressions like nighthawking and hobby metal detecting through the role of detectorists to ownership issues, not only in the United Kingdom but also in France and elsewhere, even in South Africa.[8]

To turn towards different practices, Josephine Munch Rasmussen's 2014 case study on metal detecting in Norway shows that detectorists portray themselves

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[6] Agneta Lagerlöf, ed., *Who Cares? Perspectives on Public Awareness, Participation and Protection in Archaeological Heritage Management* (Jambes, Belgium: Archaeolingua, 2013).

[7] Suzie Thomas, "The Relationships between Archaeologists and Metal-Detector Users in England and Wales: Impact of the Past and Implications for the Future,'" PhD dissertation (Newcastle University, 2009), 333–334.

[8] Stuart Campbell and Suzie Thomas, *Portable Antiquities: Archaeology, Collecting, Metal Detecting*, Internet Archaeology 33 (York: University of York, 2013), http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue33/. Accessed May 2016.

as saviors of history and get praised for this by some sympathetic archaeologists and heritage professionals because they provide research material (artifacts, newly discovered sites, and so on). She discusses the "roles and relations of hobby detectorists and archaeologists within the current legal regime for cultural heritage management" and examines the question from a rather unusual perspective, namely "the concept of metal detecting as a means for procuring and rescuing objects."[9] Andres Dobat describes the special case of Denmark, where metal detecting has never been illegal and a liberal, cooperative model is applied in this field of heritage management, addressing the question of whether this is good practice. He concludes that liberal metal detecting has contributed considerably to archaeological research in Denmark, but it has come at a price, by which price is meant literally (can be counted in millions paid to detectorists) and metaphorically (collateral damage in the form of the occasional loss of objects).[10]

Because this paper aims to explain the Hungarian situation of metal detecting and archaeology, it is also worth looking into how it has been interpreted in academic research. In Hungarian archaeological research, numerous scholarly articles and reports mention the use of metal detectors, sometimes also the presence of volunteer detectorists, from the 1970s onwards. One of the earliest examples, when the issue of detecting is addressed in a way that questions the country's entire practice and relevant law, is the golden treasure of Bodrogolaszi, published by József Fehér in 1996. The treasure was found with metal detectors and was not kept together; some pieces of it ended up on the black market. While telling the story of how the museum got word of the treasure, Fehér also draws a case that pragmatically would still be possible today: the "lucky finder" of the treasure holds back information and misleads the museum intentionally because he fears the authorities, but eventually half of the village and the police get involved. What makes this article relevant here is that it describes the treasure, attempts to put it into context, and also introduces the ethical situation of heritage and detectors in the framework of the law of the 1990s.[11]

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[9] Josephine Munch Rasmussen, "Securing Cultural Heritage Objects and Fencing Stolen Goods? A Case Study on Museums and Metal Detecting in Norway," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 47, no. 1 (2014): 83–107, 84, and 101.

[10] Andres S. Dobat, "Between Rescue and Research: An Evaluation after 30 Years of Liberal Metal Detecting in Archaeological Research and Heritage Practice in Denmark," *European Journal of Archaeology* 16, no. 4 (2013): 704–25.

[11] József Fehér, "A bodrogolaszi aranypénzlelet [The golden coin hoard of Bodrogolaszi]," *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 33–34 (1996): 117–38.

Gábor Szabó's research on Bronze Age hoards has been impacted by metal detecting many times. In his 2009 study, he calls attention to the fact that most of these deposits are not excavated during proper archaeological research. Geomorphological features and the composition of the artifacts themselves play a role in interpreting hoards, therefore they are a classic example of lost information and irreversible site destruction.[12] Szabó further discusses an assemblage of illegally excavated bronze finds and emphasizes the immeasurable damage caused by metal detectorists on Late Bronze Age sites in Hungary. He outlines the history of metal detecting in the country, formulating an inspirational opinion on the possibility of dividing the detectorists into two groups, intentional criminals and "curious patriots."[13]

The Hungarian Experience

The main source of this research, a survey (*Fig. 1*), was designed to target the metal detecting habits in present-day Hungary and the opinions of both detectorists and archaeologists about the unclear legal situation and their personal relationships to one another. It was circulated online. With almost 40 respondents and interviewees in total, it appears that many more detectorists than expected were keen on expressing their opinions and there were even some who are not among those whom heritage professionals would consider museum friendly. The results show how the detectorists see themselves in the framework of their opportunities to associate with archaeologists. This is a satisfying and a representative number, but still far from making it possible to estimate the number of active detectorists in the country. With a different set of questions, archaeologists were also addressed, which eventually led to fewer but more personal and in-depth responses.

Among the respondents, 34 (92%) were museum friendly detectorists (nota bene: this is not a surprise because non-cooperative people are harder to reach and less willing to share their opinions with an archaeologist), who also claimed to maintain friendship or some kind of collegial connection with archaeologists.

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[12] Gábor V. Szabó, "Kincsek a föld alatt. Elrejtett bronzkori fémek nyomában" [Treasures under the ground: Following the traces of hidden Bronze Age metal artifacts], in *Régészeti dimenziók. Tanulmányok az ELTE BTK Régészettudományi Intézetének tudományos műhelyéből* [Archaeological Dimensions, Studies from the Scientific Workshop of the Institute of Archaeology of Eötvös Loránd University], ed. Alexandra Anders, Miklós Szabó, and Pál Raczky (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009), 123–38.

[13] Gábor V. Szabó, "Late Bronze Age Stolen. New Data on the Illegal Acquisition and Trade of Bronze Age Artifacts in the Carpathian Basin," in *Ősrégészeti Tanulmányok/ Prehistoric Studies*, ed. Alexandra Anders et al. (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2013), 795.

General

Is going out in the field with a metal detector a hobby for you? How long have you been devoted to the hobby of metal detecting?

How did you learn it? When did you start, what got you started?

What is it that you like the most in metal detecting?

Do you have a particular type of object or a historical era as a main interest? If yes, what is it?

What do you do with the objects you find?

Do you have favorite places where you like or would like to return for metal detecting? How do you know about that place/those places?

Are you friends with other detectorists? How often do you meet? Do you go out in the field together?

Detecting and the detector

Where do you get information about the devices? Where do you get the device?

Have you heard of online forums, exchanges? How do you find them?

Fig. 1A. General questions on detecting and the detector in the questionnaire for detectorists and archaeologists. Designed by Nóra Ujhelyi, 2014.

Two illegal detectorists responded to the survey, and one person who has a degree in archaeology and practices it but is simultaneously a detectorist as well. For every question, a respondent was allowed to give multiple answers. For some questions, less than 30 answers were submitted, which most likely is the downside of an online survey (if someone did not like a question or could not answer it, he or she skipped it instead of telling that he or she could or would not answer it). It seems that some respondents got confused and gave conflicting answers.

Out of 30 detectorist respondents, most described their relationship with museums and archaeologists as good or even excellent, however, one person intentionally "misunderstood" the question and took the opportunity to criticize a very different aspect, namely, exhibitions, and another two avoided answering this question by saying that they visited museums regularly since childhood, adding that the exhibited material is nothing less than our shared national treasure. One

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Detectorists and archaeology

Did you ever use your detector on a registered find spot? If yes, did you do it with the agreement of archaeologists?

Have you ever had problems with the authorities?

Are you familiar with rules and regulations regarding metal detecting in Hungary? What is your opinion about this?

Are you familiar with the legislation regarding metal detecting from any other countries? Can you form an opinion about it?

How would you generally describe your relationship with museums?

Are you in contact with a museum? Have you ever handed in finds?

Are you in contact with an archaeologist? If no, would you or would you not like to be? Why?

Has it ever happened that you found something archaeologically important/in any way dangerous but you could not report it because of the high chance of a penalty?

Should metal detecting be taught as a non-degree course or be part of archaeological education? Why?

Fig. 1B. Detectorists and Archaeology in the questionnaire for detectorists and archaeologists. Designed by Nóra Ujhelyi, 2014.

noted that his connection with the local museum is better than the museum's willingness to exchange information with other institutions.

One of the most sensitive parts of the questionnaire was how detectorists identify themselves. I refer back to a term already quoted above: curious patriots. Most of the respondents simply see themselves as hobbyists, explaining their favorite historical interests, and one claimed that detecting was a real passion. One person was keen to clarify as many times as possible that he sees himself as an amateur archaeologist, a term that is worth examining more closely because it is a classic example of how much professionals and non-professionals may not understand each other.

When asked for their preferred historical or archaeological era and their knowledge of history, prehistory proved to be the most popular, which is indeed unfortunate from the perspective of Bronze Age deposits, for example,

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Questions for archaeologists

Do you have any experience with metal detectorists? Would you describe it as positive or negative?

Do you use a metal detector or allow it at your excavations? Does the device belong to an institute (museum, university, etc.) or to you?

If yes, how long have you been using it or allowing it?

Has it ever happened that you got real help from a detectorist?

Have you ever found something highly important or outstanding with a detector?

Do you think the detectorists are well informed about the regulations of metal detecting in Hungary? Where or how do you think they get the information?

Are you familiar with forums or groups of detectorists?

Do you think metal detecting should be part of the education of archaeologists or not?

Can you name any system of metal detecting from another country that you think is very good or very bad?

Fig. 1C. Questions for Archaeologists in the questionnaire for detectorists and archaeologists. Designed by Nóra Ujhelyi, 2014.

but a closer look at the survey reveals that it is actually more complex. Only four detectorists preferred the Bronze Age specifically. Others mentioned the Iron Age, the Celts, La Téne, or even earlier cultures, like Zseliz or Baden. The second most popular period is the Hungarian Conquest and the following Árpád Age, with eight responders. It is striking that no one mentioned a preference for anything from the later centuries of the migration period in the Carpathian Basin. Two detectorists expressed interest in the Sarmatians, however, explaining that it feels like a great achievement to contribute to the knowledge about them, as that knowledge, as far as they are concerned, has not reached the highest level yet. For seven out of seven respondents, the Romans and no preference were in joint third place. Some of the seven people who claimed no preference shared their opinion that a good detectorist should be interested in all possibilities. Remarkably, only a

few respondents showed enthusiasm for the later Middle Ages, although many of them are invited most often to medieval sites.

There were several detectorists interested in fairly modern sites and objects, like the Ottoman period and the following decades, the nineteenth century, and the two world wars of the twentieth century. It is notable that many answered this question by mentioning the World Wars, as those, just like the nineteenth century, are not considered archaeological periods in Hungary today, therefore collecting objects from these times is pragmatically far from being a crime. On the contrary, one detectorist showed awareness of this information by answering the question with "anything from before 1711."

The last topic the detectorists were asked about was their awareness of the legal framework of their activity, starting with their attitude towards registered archaeological sites. Remarkably, after the very first question, in which they were asked to define themselves as cooperative or non-cooperative, this was the only question that every respondent answered. As was expected after seeing the number of cooperative detectorists, 32 of them said that they either avoid registered sites or only approach them with or at the invitation of a licensed archaeologist. The number of those who think the opposite and are less interested in the prohibition is congruent with the number of detectorists who considered themselves non-cooperative. Only one person reacted with a question, expressing doubts about the possibility of knowing if a site is registered. One person said that he or she had had no chance yet to use the detector on a registered site, whatever intention this equivocal statement may show. One detectorist explained that it is simply more exciting and more fun to explore new sites, which he considers a successful agenda, as, according to him, it has happened that a site was registered after he informed the authorities about it. Another one sees the registered sites as empty places, "looted to ground zero 20 years ago by Austrian and German tourists."

35 detectorists answered the inquiry about their overall familiarity with the Hungarian law regarding metal detecting and no one admitted not being familiar with it. However, their opinions about the current form and upcoming changes vary greatly from absolutely not caring about it to full agreement with it, clearly showing that no ultimate solution that would please both professionals and detectorists is possible. Interestingly, many expressed that they did not understand why the police have to be informed about their licenses (if they join a museum), claiming that they were and are not criminals. Taking into consideration that these people said they are familiar with the law, this sounds rather confused, as the law states clearly that unauthorized excavations are regarded as illegal activity. Others said that the current Hungarian law is too chaotic and complicated, while two

others thought it too soft and permissive. One thing, however, appears in most of the answers, that the legislation hinders cooperative detectorists, while non-cooperative people still do not pay much attention to it. Archaeologists generally agreed with the strength of the law, but also noted that it was too chaotic to follow quickly enough when a case of a new endangered site emerged.

Both archaeologists and detectorists agreed on where the place of metal detecting in education should be. As this topic required a broader explanation, only personal discussions and interviews gave enough results for the question of whether archaeology students should be educated to be more aware of the advantages and disadvantages of metal detecting. The first archaeologist who responded simply said yes and explained that if used wisely, a metal detector means no more danger to a site than any other survey method. Another archaeologist shared this opinion, adding that educating both parties on metal detecting would lead to easier connection building and would more or less rule out the danger that an archaeologist would disregard other, conventional, methods in favor of metal detecting. Though one of the respondents, an archaeologist with a metal detector, supports the idea of including it in education, several detectorists also held the opinion that someone either is a detectorist or an archaeologist and emphasized that it would be better if both sides were more informed about one another in order to give detectorists an opportunity to cooperate without endangering sites.

Based on these results, a special – but fortunately not standalone – case has unfolded in Orosháza (South Hungary) at the Nagy Gyula Museum. The detectorists in the area started as freelancers, but were made welcome to join the museum after approaching the director – a gold fibula also played an essential role in this decision – although the director, at the time the only archaeologist at the small museum, had been interested earlier as well. Today the museum has two archaeologists, both actively involved with the group of detectorists. This museum also benefits from the detectorists in other ways, for example, they provide help with numismatic problems and the team has designed a traveling exhibit of the finds, with which they make presentations at various venues. The detectorists welcome and appreciate the exhibit and hope to make local children familiar with the historical context of their area based on the objects and lectures. The detectorists cooperating with the museum are also kept informed about the legal framework.

The result is outstanding; thousands of small metal finds have recently come into possession of the museum and the archaeologists actively engage in making the objects available for scientific study. Also, the museum and its team of detectorists play a dynamic role in nearby rescue excavations, sometimes even

with detectorists who have become affiliated with other museums. Both the archaeologists and the detectorists mentioned that they have a unique team spirit (one of them noted that they compete for the best finds to please the museum) that ensures ongoing trust in one another, and they meet regularly on weekends to discuss tasks. This, of course, does not mean that other detectorists are not active in the area, which the museum is aware of, but the overall situation is still regarded as fortunate. This is certainly one form of taking a step towards a better future relationship, however, one can never forget that these answers represent only a small group of detectorists who were willing to conduct a dialogue. There are and will always be nighthawks (illegal detectorists).

The objects themselves reveal another side of the current Hungarian situation. As mentioned above, sometimes the number of the finds ending up in a museum following metal detecting activity can even reach several thousand. As Neil Brodie explains: "the archaeological context will only be known when the excavations that produced the objects are published. If the excavations were conducted clandestinely and never published, then the archaeological context will never be known."[14] This is painfully true, however, certain types of objects can be interpreted in some sort of a context with the help of a typology and both written and visual sources. Extensive research goes and has gone on with the contribution of archaeology students of Eötvös Loránd University on the metal objects from the Kaposvári Collection (mentioned above) and the collection of Professor László Korinek (a retired criminologist who buys small metal artifacts and makes them available to the Hungarian National Museum for research). Studies finished on these collections as of October 2016 include Maxim Mordovin's article on more than a hundred medieval cloth seals[15] and Krisztián Balogh's BA thesis on medieval metal tableware and objects for lighting.[16]

More objects such as book fittings or cloth seals have been found since archaeology started to include metal detecting as a method (or since nighthawkers have started going to sites, it depends on the given find spot), as they or their pieces are often too small to be noticed during excavation. For comparison,

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[14] Neil Brodie, "The Effect of an Artefact's Provenance on Its Saleability," *Culture Without Context*, 19 (2006): 4–7.

[15] Maxim Mordovin, "Late Medieval and Early Modern Cloth Seals in the Collection of the Hungarian National Museum," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 139, no. 1 (2014): 193–237, doi:10.1556/ArchErt.139.2014.9.

[16] Balogh Krisztián, "Teríték és világítás a középkor végén. Fémleletek a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum két gyűjteményéből" [Tableware and Lighting at the End of the Middle Ages], BA thesis (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2016).

there are about 100 book fittings in the Kaposvári Collection and the Orosháza museum has dozens of these objects. Although in both cases the pieces are most likely not from a single site, only one place in Hungary has yielded book fittings published in such large numbers, the Cistercian Abbey of Pilis (104 pieces).[17] The survey and interviews lead to the conclusion that the relationship between detectorists and professionals is promising but there is still much to improve, mainly regarding the attitude of both parties.

The current situation is the result of a long process in which both parties are moving out of their comfort zones in order to develop the relationship further. As several new articles, theses, and ongoing projects show, numerous objects can still be identified and placed in historical context to some extent when cross-matched with similar objects and historical sources.

Many detectorists are beginning to see the irreversible damage unauthorized digging can do to a site, but Hungary is still left with a large number of those who do not think the same way, even though metal detecting is not the only threat to archaeological remains in present-day Hungary.

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[17] Imre Holl, *Funde aus dem Zisterzienserkloster von Pilis* [Finds from the Cistertian Monastery of Pilis], (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, 2000), 68–76, 160–189.

TO HAVE AND HAVE NOT: A COMPARISON OF HUNGARIAN ZOOARCHAEOLOGICAL PROTOCOLS

Gergő Paukovics ⬇

Bioarchaeological data provide answers to socio-cultural questions connected to many aspects of life in the past, but not always the same questions as other kinds of material culture such as pottery or architecture. Each class of material culture is entangled with. Only scientific datasets have the potential to reveal if pottery was made from clay extracted nearby or imported from elsewhere. For this reason there is a need to propagate a more integrated approach to fieldwork (collection), storage, analysis, and publication of such data. Environmental historical research, including bioarchaeology, geology, hydrology, and climatology has great potential for helping scholars from a number of fields understand the long-term ways in which human society impacts and is impacted by the environment in both the past and present. Sometimes these materials may be the only available evidence or information about biodiversity, environmental limitations, agricultural conditions, human diet, ritual, and ultimately, relations and interaction between humans and nature or among humans themselves.

This article presents a comparison of Hungarian zooarchaeological protocols[1] and related documents.[2] My research reviewed institutions' protocols on collecting and preserving bioarchaeological data, with a special focus on zooarchaeological materials.[3] I demonstrate the similarities and differences of the protocols through a qualitative analysis of their content and coherency.

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[1] I consistently use the term zooarchaeology instead of archaeolozoology following the contemporary trends of terminology. In Hungary, archaeozoology is still used more often. For the terminological differences see Peter T. Bobrowsky, "Olsen and Olsen's Identity Crisis in Faunal Studies," *American Antiquity* 47, no. 1 (1982): 181–183.; László Bartosiewicz, "Archaeozoology or Zooarchaeology: A Problem From the Last Century," *Archaeologia Polona* 39 (2001): 75–86.

[2] The author is assistant archivist at the National Archives of Hungary; he holds a BA degree in archaeology and history from Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest and an MA in Cultural Heritage Studies from Central European University. This article is based on Gergő Paukovics, "Integrated Methods of Collecting and Preserving the Environmental and Bioarchaeological Heritage in Hungary: Faunal Assemblage," MA thesis (Central European University, 2016).

[3] This analysis is complemented and compared with three case studies on practice, which can be found in Paukovics, "Integrated Methods," 32–77.

Methodology and Selection Criteria

The selected documents were analyzed from two different standpoints: the content of the protocols, and the required content of a zooarchaeological report. A qualitative analysis was completed to critically illuminate the following problems of the existing zooarchaeological protocols and related documents in Hungary:

1. Lack of a unified approach
2. Differing focal points
3. Not addressing critical methodological questions
4. Differing genres

The protocol of the International Council for Archaeozoology (hereafter ICAZ)[4] was used as a frame of reference in the analysis of relevant existing Hungarian archaeological protocols.

The first and foremost problem of research on existing protocols is their accessibility. They are only in a few cases available online. Most museums handle them as internal private documents and as such they are not available to the public. Thus, the basis of selection criteria was to provide an accurate overview of the existing protocols mainly focusing on those institutions that have their protocols accessible online. The protocols of the Hungarian National Museum and the guidelines of the Association of Hungarian Archaeologists are available online, providing a good basis for the analysis. The only exception was the Budapest History Museum's (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum) two protocols, which were provided by Alice Mathea Choyke who directed work in the zooarchaeology laboratory at the Aquincum Museum[5] during the period the protocols were written (2009–2010), and also contributed to the development of the documents. For the analysis I addressed the museum's *Protocol of Archaeozoological Laboratory* and the *Guidelines to Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling* together, because I strongly believe that they belong together in many ways.

Altogether these five documents cover two of the most important archaeological institutions and museums and the handbook of the most important independent professional association in Hungarian archaeology. Thus,

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[4] Elizabeth J. Reitz, Don Grayson, Guy Bar-Oz, Luis Borrero, Kim Dammers, Keith Dobney, Sebastian Payne, and Melinda Zeder, "International Council For Archaeozoology (ICAZ) Professional Protocols For Archaeozoology," published online, 2009, http://alexandriaarchive.org/icaz/pdf/protocols2009.pdf (accessed December 7, 2015).

[5] The Aquincum Museum is a branch museum under the authority of the Budapest History Museum.

the comparative analysis provides significant results about the general approaches to zooarchaeology in Hungary.

The documents analyzed are:

Hungarian National Museum: *Archaeozoological Protocol and Records of Finds*[6]

Budapest History Museum:
a) *Protocol of Archaeozoological Laboratory*[7]
b) *Guidelines for Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling*[8]

Handbook: Erzsébet Berendi, Archaeozoology[9]

Archaeological Norms, vol. 1, *General Requirements for Archaeological Documentation*

Guidelines for Members of the Hungarian Association of Archaeologists[10]

The Importance of Protocols

Although a scientific approach to archaeology is not a new or original idea, there is a lack of a unified approach to sampling and collecting of bioarchaeological remains at Hungarian excavations. Excavating archaeologists should collect and preserve faunal and archaeobotanical remains as indicators of social and environmental history as well as cultural landscape information. They should do so in order to avoid permanent loss of the data once the excavation is complete. In Hungary, this nevertheless happens rarely in fieldwork and vital information is thus lost forever. This happens partly because institutions do not develop protocols for fieldwork or storage, or if they already have protocols, they are disinclined to follow them.

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[6] *Archaeozoológiai Protokoll és a Leletek Nyilvántartása* [Archaeozoological Protocol and Records of Finds] (Budapest: Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Központ, 2009).

[7] Alice Mathea Choyke, *Archaeozoológiai Labor-protokoll* [Archaeozoological Laboratory Protocol] (Budapest: Budapest Történeti Múzeum, 2010).

[8] Zsófia Kovács and Brigitta Berzsényi, *Útmutató a Mikrofaunisztikai és Archaeobotanikai Mintavételezéshez* [Guidelines to Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2009).

[9] Erzsébet Berendi, "Archeozoológia [Archaeozoology]," in *Régészeti kéziköny* [Handbook of Archaeology], ed. Róbert Müller, Péter Gróf, Ferenc Horváth, Valéria Kulcsár, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Edit Tari, and Katalin T. Bíró (Budapest: Magyar Régész Szövetség, 2011), 442–450.

[10] *Régészeti Normatíva*, vol. 1. *A Régészeti Dokumentációk Készítésének Általános Követelményei: Útmutató a Magyar Régész Szövetség Tagjai Számára* [Archaeological Norms, vol. 1. General Requirements for Archaeological Documentation; Guidelines for the Members of the Hungarian Association of Archaeologists] (Budapest: Magyar Régész Szövetség, 2007).

Protocols are essential for specialists, but vitally important for non-specialists, field archaeologists, technicians, record keepers, museum/storage managers/curators, assistant crew, and anyone who has contact with the material at any stage of the collection, recording, and storage. In Hungary, specialists in zooarchaeology usually do not take part in all stages of excavation. There are two main reasons behind this practice: 1. The small number of specialists, who are usually overburdened with the amount of already-excavated materials, 2. The general ignorance of bioarchaeological data.

It is essential, therefore, to have principles and guidelines for non-specialists (and specialists, too!) of any field of study to follow in order to secure the data when a specialist cannot supervise the recovery and preservation processes. It is not enough to have a protocol; it is the site director's/manager's, find manager's, storage manager's, etc. responsibility to make the working staff understand why it should be followed and to supervise its implementation. In an ideal situation the excavation leader/site manager would have a solid understanding of the importance of bioarchaeology and related fields and implementation of the protocol, but this is rarely so in practice.

Excavation strategies and methods greatly influence the composition of bioarchaeological data (e.g., number of pieces, skeletal elements represented, fragmentation, and so on). Therefore, they should be planned and implemented with care. Recovery and sampling strategies should be consistent with the general aims of the excavation and the research questions.

It is clear that there is no "one size fits all" in archaeology because every archaeological site is different, has its own environmental attributes, research questions, and value. Even high-standard protocols cannot be adapted in the same way to each site. Centrally developed Hungarian protocols are important in setting the general principles to follow, but they have to be adaptable to sites of different sizes, to varying geographical and geological conditions, as well as to all kinds of financial circumstances, because each of these factors carries with it its own body of problems.

Overview of Hungarian Protocols for Zooarchaeology

The first general protocol, the *Archaeozoological Protocol and Records of Finds* was completed in 2009 after long consultation between various experts of zooarchaeology in Hungary. The document was ordered by the Hungarian National Museum's National Monument Protection Center (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Központ, hereafter NÖK) with the intention of creating generally accepted protocols for each special field of archaeology. By

January 1, 2015 the NÖK had been dissolved and its authority and responsibilities taken over by the Gyula Forster National Center for Cultural Heritage Management (Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ), a new, centralized governmental institution.[11] The NÖK protocol was adopted by the Hungarian National Museum, which was also given authority over county museums at the time of its creation.

The *Guidelines for Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling* was compiled in 2009 by Zsófia Kovács and Brigitta Berzsényi at the Aquincum Museum. The Aquincum Museum's *Protocol of Archaeozoological Laboratory* was completed in the next year by Alice Mathea Choyke. In 2011 the *Handbook of Archaeology* (hereafter *Handbook*) was published by the Association of Hungarian Archaeologists (Magyar Régész Szövetség). The goal at that time was to create a practical handbook of archaeology in order to replace the old *Handbook of Archaeology*,[12] vol. 1 (1954) which had become obsolete in many respects.[13] The new handbook provides an overview of every possible area of archaeology from recovery and documentation to laboratory work and processing. In the *Handbook*, the subchapter "Archaeozoology" falls under the fourth chapter: "Natural Scientific Investigations." This subchapter is heavily influenced by the International Council for Archaeozoology (hereafter ICAZ) protocol. It is, however, rather a handbook for students and archaeologists to provide new ideas and develop a

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[11] Magyar Országgyűlés [Hungarian Parliament], *A Kormány 1513/2014. (IX. 16.) határozata a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Központja által ellátott egyes feladatoknak a Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ részére történő átadásáról* [Act No. 1513 of 2014 IX. 16. On the Transfer of Certain Tasks from the Hungarian National Museum's National Heritage Center to the Gyula Forster National Heritage and Asset Management Center]. The Gyula Forster National Center was dissolved on 31 December, 2016 and transfered its associated rights and duties to different institutions. The Gyula Forster National Center's legal successor is the Prime Minister's Office. (See Magyar Országgyűlés [Hungarian Parliament], *378/2016. (XII. 2.) Kormány rendelet egyes központi hivatalok és költségvetési szervi formában működő minisztériumi háttérintézmények felülvizsgálatával összefüggő jogutódlásáról, valamint egyes közfeladatok átvételéről* [Act No. 378 of 2016 XII. 2. On the Subrogation Related to the Revision of Some Central Agencies and Ministerial Background Institutions Operating in Form of Budgetary Organs, Along With the Takover of Certain Public Tasks], § No. 34 – § No. 37.)

[12] János Banner, Gyula László, István Méri, and Aladár Radnóti, eds., *Régészeti Kézikönyv I* [Handbook of Archaeology vol. 1] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1954).

[13] Róbert Müller, Péter Gróf, Ferenc Horváth, Valéria Kulcsár, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Edit Tari, and Katalin T. Bíró, *Régészeti Kézikönyv* [Handbook of Archaeology] (Budapest: Magyar Régész Szövetség, 2011), 5.

better understanding within the bigger archaeological picture, as Róbert Müller states in the foreword.[14]

The ICAZ Protocol

ICAZ published its protocol in 2009 after four years of preparation by the International Council for Archaeozoology Task Force on Professional Protocols. The document itself is not a general protocol in the sense of giving specific descriptions of what should be done during fieldwork, in the laboratory, or in storage facilities. It is rather guidelines or "general statements of standards and best practices"[15] for creating protocols; it provides professionals with a basis for negotiating with institutions and "managers of repositories, administrators, and others under whose care archaeozoological remains and associated documentation fall."[16] The protocol covers five general themes:
1. Professional Responsibilities
2. Publication of Archaeozoological Data
3. Collections Care
4. Archiving Archaeozoological Data
5. Access to Collections and Data

In order to compare the available Hungarian protocols, I took the ICAZ protocol as the basis for the analysis and went through the themes listed above to see whether they are discussed and/or emphasized (or not) in the Hungarian protocols.

Professional Responsibilities

As a member of an interdisciplinary research team, a zooarchaeologist has professional responsibilities in an institution or in an archaeological project. In an ideal situation researchers and experts from various fields are involved in an excavation's planning process right from the beginning. Communication between the team members is key to successful research. As the ICAZ protocol states, the leader of the excavation and field archaeologists should discuss the research questions and goals of the excavation with their zooarchaeologists, especially when there are specific objectives for the zooarchaeological study.[17] This communication

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[14] Müller et al., *Régészeti Kézikönyv,* 6.
[15] Reitz et al., "ICAZ Professional Protocols," Preamble.
[16] Reitz et al., "ICAZ Professional Protocols," Preamble.
[17] Reitz et al., "ICAZ Professional Protocols," Professional Responsibilities; Kovács and Berzsényi, *Útmutató a Mikrofaunisztikai és Archaeobotanikai Mintavételezéshez,* 1.

is also a key element in providing a basis for further research possibilities. In the Hungarian examples examined here, the emphasis on communication with field archaeologists varied (*Fig. 1*). The stress ranges on a scale from the Aquincum Museum's protocol, which does not discuss the issue, to the *Handbook*, which puts the greatest emphasis on the question.

	ICAZ	National Museum	Aquincum Museum	Handbook
Communication with field archaeologists	heavily emphasized	only mentioned	emphasized	heavily emphasized
On site documentation	-	mentioned, but not defined	-	emphasized
Cooperation with specialists	yes	yes	-	yes

Fig. 1. Professional responsibilities as defined in zooarchaeological protocols

The ICAZ protocol does not deal with "on-site documentation", because this type of reporting is usually not the responsibility of the zooarchaeologist but is done mostly by excavating archaeologists and technicians. This approach is also common in the Hungarian examples, although the *Handbook* emphasizes the importance of "on-site documentation" in the "Archaeozoology" subchapter. The explanation, according to the *Handbook*, is that documentation by the field archaeologists is often incomplete because of a lack of time at the site,[18] although the real reasons are, sadly, the undervaluation of animal bone material and incompetency. The excavation leader and the site manager are responsible for incorporating adequate excavation methods and proper documentation.

Cooperation with specialists is just as important as communication with field archaeologists. To succeed in creating a complete and accurate piece of research, zooarchaeologists often need to consult with other specialists (e.g., bird, fish, mollusk, small mammal, archaeobotanical, and pollen specialists). This cooperation needs to be emphasized or at least indicated in an institutional protocol. This cooperation can frequently be poisoned by intellectual jealousy

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[18] Berendi, "Archaeozoológia," 442–443.

or other expressions of power politics between researchers, or even institutions. This is even more harmful if it leads to mistakes and misinterpretations.

Collections' Care

As the ICAZ protocol emphasizes, collections care starts as early as the planning of the excavation and continues with the methods of recovery of archaeological objects.[19] In some ways, it is hard to distinguish among elements of collections care and the process of archiving. I have separated the recovery and processing phase from the repository and inventory phase here. These stages often overlap, but I followed the ICAZ protocol's general topics.

The question of discarding material divides scholars of museum care all over the world. The ICAZ protocol is very clear on this point, and forbids the selective or full discard of animal bone material, even for unidentifiable pieces. In this regard, the Hungarian protocols follow the same scheme, namely, only unidentifiable items – after documentation – are allowed to be discarded (*Fig. 2*). It must be emphasized that "animal bone assemblages are an irreplaceable resource, therefore the ideal approach to their archiving is properly funded retention."[20] Unfortunately, sometimes not only the unidentifiable pieces but the whole faunal material is discarded. This goes against the theoretical approach and comes from practices of collection care, where issues such as finance, storage space, an assured environment for storage, and storage conditions are often considered more important in general, or other finds such as ceramics, glass, and metal are privileged.[21] Nevertheless, if a discard policy is needed, it must aim to minimize the loss of information and follow more specific guidelines, which should be defined in the site/institutional protocol.[22]

What is clearly noticeable is a consistency between the National Museum's and the Aquincum Museum's protocols in regard to identification norms and databases (*Fig. 2*). CSONTÁSZ is a Microsoft-Access-based zooarchaeological database management program developed by Hungarian zooarchaeologist Péter

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[19] Reitz et al., "ICAZ Professional Protocols," Collections Care.

[20] Polydora Baker and Fay Worley, *Animal Bones and Archaeology. Guidelines for Best Practice* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2014), 24.

[21] Rachel Edwards, *Archaeological Archives and Museums 2012* (Society of Museum Archaeologists, 2013), 43–44.

[22] Baker and Worley, *Animal Bones and Archaeology*, 24. For more on this issue see Paukovics, "Integrated Methods," Case Study No. 3.

	ICAZ	National Museum	Aquincum Museum	Handbook
Cleaning	-	staff, except skulls	expert	staff, except skulls or bones in bad condition
Bag	-	paper bag/box, plastic bag	plastic bag	paper bag/box, plastic bag
Bones from closed context	-	-	special care	special care
From mixed stratigraphic unit	-	-	discard	discarding
Identification and measurements	-	von den Driesch, Duerst	von den Driesch, Duerst	-
Weight	-	yes	yes	-
Cutmarks	-	yes	yes	-
Destructive examination	must be documented	-	-	mentioned, but not defined
Pathologic and exotic cases	-	-	special care	-
Worked bones	-	restoration	special ID number	together with the context
Restoration	-	worked bones	only exhibited items	-
Discard unidentifiable items	no	yes, after documentation	not defined	yes, after documentation
Database	online/digital with backup	CSONTÁSZ	CSONTÁSZ*	-

Fig. 2. Professional tasks and collections care as defined in zooarchaeological protocols.
*defined in text, footnote 23

Csippán for assessing faunal remains.[23] The standards for measurements and bone identification follow the international norms.[24]

Archiving Archaeozoological Data

Archiving archaeological data is as important in museum care practice as the methods of excavation and collection. It has to go hand in hand with site management and collection care. "The requirements of the repository should need to be identified at an early stage of the project planning."[25] Developing a proper protocol (and its implementation) for archiving any kind of archaeological data is a key element to any processing, analysis, and further research. It is also indispensable to build a transparent system in archiving. Yet, Hungarian protocols generally lack unified approaches in (see *Fig. 3*):

1. Handling and recording of microfaunal, mollusk, and fish remains
2. General storage conditions
3. Repository, documentation, and inventory numbers
4. Discarding policy.

Nonetheless, one should not assume that experts of zooarchaeology in these leading Hungarian institutions are not interested in handling these issues in a proper way, although these issues should have been clarified and codified in the protocols. One cannot emphasize enough the role of protocols in this matter. They are not only developed for the professionals in a specific field, but aimed at all the employees of a given institution.

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[23] Péter Csippán, PhD, is a Hungarian zooarchaeologist, at the present a research fellow at Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Archaeological Sciences. He designed and created the structure of the first version of CSONTÁSZ and later developed it further with the help of two IT specialists, Lóránt Pauser and Sándor Péter Zoltán. The application is currently only available from Péter Csippán at the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, but the development of CSONTÁSZ into a cross-platform software for broader usage is in his future plans (Péter Csippán, personal communication). For more information on the structure and use of the application see *Archaeozoológiai Protokoll,* 2-9.

[24] Angela von den Driesch, *A Guide to the Measurement of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites.* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1976); Ulrich J. Duerst, "Vergleichende Untersuchungs-methoden am Skelett bei Säugern," in Handbuch der biologischen Arbeitsmethoden Abt. 7, *Methoden der vergleichenden morphologischen Forschung*, Heft 2, ed. Emil Abderhalden (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1926), 125–530.

[25] Baker and Worley, *Animal Bones and Archaeology*, 24.

	ICAZ	National Museum	Aquincum Museum	Handbook
Mollusks	-	separate bags	mentioned (P2*)	-
Microfaunal remains	-	-	heavily emphasized (P2)	emphasized
Fish bones	-	-	-	emphasized
Storage conditions	mentioned, but not defined	mentioned, but not defined	-	only before processing
Repository & documentation	emphasized	-	-	-
Inventory numbers	-	defined	bags & boxes, worked bones	worked bones
Discarding	no	yes, defined	documentation with no. & context	-

Fig. 3. Archiving zooarchaeological data as defined in zooarchaeological protocols (*P2 stands for Kovács and Berzsényi, Guidelines for Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling, *to separate it from Choyke,* Protocol of Archaeozoological Laboratory *which was taken as default)*

Access to Collections and Data

This issue is missing from every single protocol and document in the examples analyzed. Although transparency and accessibility should play an important role in scientific research, there is a lack of a unified approach or, in the light of the accessible documents, it remains hidden.

The Zooarchaeological Report

The results of the comparison of the mandates on the content of zooarchaeological reports as defined in the Hungarian protocols examined is shown in *Fig. 4*. Because the *Handbook* does not address the question of zooarchaeological reports, it was replaced by *Archaeological Norms*, which gives instructions for the inventory of animal bone finds and was published by the Hungarian Association of

	ICAZ	National Museum	Aquincum Museum	Archaeological Norms
Report	yes	yes	yes	only inventory
Archaeological context	yes	yes	no	yes
Sample size	yes	-	yes	-
Cultural context	-	yes	yes	no
Faunal list	-	yes	yes	yes
Withers height calculations	-	yes	no	no
Weight	-	no	yes	no
Meat processing	-	yes	yes	yes
Diet	-	yes	yes	no
Distribution of bones	-	yes	yes	no
Orientation	-	yes	no	-
Worked bones	-	yes	yes	yes
Pathology	-	yes	no	yes
Comparative analysis	-	no	yes	no

Fig. 4. The content of a zooarchaeological report as defined in zooarchaeological protocols

Archaeologists, the same association which compiled the *Handbook*.[26] The ICAZ protocol does not provide many specific recommendations about the content of a zooarchaeological report, yet it is necessary to address it here. The reason for this is its emphasis on giving the sample size in the report, which is crucial in any kind of scientific analysis. In this respect, the only Hungarian example that provides such a mandate is the Aquincum Museum's *Guidelines to Microfaunal and Archaeobotanical Sampling*, which was one of the reasons I reference it together with the museum's *Archaeozoological Laboratory Protocol*. As seen in *Fig. 4*, there are only a few things the protocols agree on: the faunal list, traces of meat processing, and the importance of worked bones. In all other categories the protocols are not unanimous in their focus. It is also rather surprising that they are not consistent on recording the cultural/archaeological context of the finds, which is indispensable for further analysis. All in all, the National Museum's protocol has

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[26] *Régészeti Normatíva,* 130–131.

the most categories of what should be included in a zooarchaeological report. It is still unsettling that none of the reports addresses the description of the recovery methods used during excavation, which is essential to document to avoid research bias.

Conclusion

The target audience of this article is particularly specialists in the field of bioarchaeology as well as field archaeologists and decision makers involved in the implementation of fieldwork. The analysis of selected Hungarian protocols and related documents shows clearly that a unified approach is lacking in almost every general topic of these protocols in Hungary. The documents clearly had other focal points (e.g., the content of the zooarchaeological report), while some topics such as health risks, general conditions of storage, and access to collections and zooarchaeological data were completely omitted from all the documents. Some of the documents contain more precise descriptions of selected topics such as sampling or on-site documentation, but they are another genre rather than a protocol.

This lack of a general approach restricts opportunities for researchers and makes comparisons of zooarchaeological data more difficult. In addition, it often leads to significant data loss or biased research results. Analyzing the protocols gives a broader understanding of the content and structure of these documents, which can open new directions in research. My aim is to draw attention to the subject of protocols and in this way help and contribute to their development, furthermore, to raise awareness about these issues in the Hungarian Association of Archaeologists, Hungarian academia, and elsewhere.

"OTHER PLANTS I CAN'T NAME FOR YOU IN ENGLISH": THE PLANT COMPOSITION OF MONASTIC HERB GARDENS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Zsuzsanna Papp Reed 📥

My brothers, tell me now, do you have a garden? Do you have any herbs in your garden? Yes, we do, sir. Who tends them? The gardener of the monastery, our abbot's doctor. He plants, cultivates, and waters them all year round. […]What sort of plants do you have? Many plants, both good and bad, of different sorts are always growing in our garden. What sort? [...] First growing there are those vegetables that can be eaten just about every day, if they're cooked: cabbage, parsley, mallow, thyme, celery, garlic, mint, dill, and savory. Also growing there are lovage, woad, sorrel, feverfew, henbane, rubia, rape, mullein, wormwood, hemlock, groundsel [...] And there are a lot of other plants I can't name for you in English.[1]

In the Middle Ages, besides the wide expanse of countryside stretching beyond the city stench and malodorous suburban activities, there were carefully tended patches of respite inside densely populated areas such as monastic spaces. The present study provides a glimpse into one such place: the herb garden (*herbularium*), also called medicinal garden, or infirmarer's garden, later increasingly known as the physic garden, which not only looked nice but was also a space for medical and olfactory relief.[2] The term "physic" only partially refers to the human body's welfare and the physicians' duty; more importantly, it also refers to the physical and material as opposed to the metaphysical and spiritual.[3] In this sense, the so-called physic gardens were the forerunners of the modern botanical gardens: sites for the scientific observation of the 'real' botanical world, rather than the contemplation of things spiritual and religious. Such gardens, as the "frontline defence in the battle against disease," were purveyors of ingredients for herbal

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[1] Aelfric Bata, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Aelfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara, trans. David W. Porter (Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 156–59.

[2] Many surviving sources prescribe garden rest for ailing monks. For example, in 1334 a William Pelham was sent to Hendon "to take the air" and special provision was made at Romsey Abbey, a nunnery, for exercise in the garden for convalescents. Percy Flemming, "The Medical Aspects of the Mediaeval Monastery in England," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1929): 774. Unfortunately, Flemming fails to cite his source for this piece of information.

[3] Jill Matthews, "Medieval Physic Gardens," *Landscape Outlook* 50 (2012): 8

medicine, and they were often associated with sites of learning and healing:[4] monasteries, hospitals, pharmacies, and universities.[5]

As the tenth-century quotation above suggests, these gardens, looked after by the "abbot's doctor," were a permanent fixture in most monasteries and abbeys in medieval England from the earliest times. The aim of the present study is to explore medieval herb gardens in monastic settings with a special emphasis on available sources and methodologies ranging from archaeology to manuscript studies. Due to the relative abundance of sources as well as the long-standing tradition of multidisciplinary approaches in garden history and related disciplines in English scholarship, fourteenth-century English examples provide an apt terrain to examine the main scholarly trends in the study of this specific type of garden. Besides providing insights into the content and function of monastic herb gardens, the methodological diversity in the first part of the article and the nuances of the focused micro-study in the second may, in turn, inform current and future projects beyond the British Isles, too – be they historical, horticultural, or both.

A general overview of what we know about the physical characteristics of medieval herb gardens, including customary location and layout, will be followed by a more in-depth treatment of the possible plant composition in these gardens. Enlisting a few seemingly puzzling items contained in a rather traditional text, a herbal in the so-called Killingholme manuscript, the article will return to questions of interpreting available sources as well as the function and content of monastic herb gardens in medieval England.

A description of the grounds of the Cistercian Abbey of Clairvaux in the twelfth century describes the primary function of the physic garden:

> [w]ithin the enclosure of this wall stand many and various trees, prolific in bearing fruit. It resembles a wood, and since it is near the cell of the sick brethren, it offers some comfort to their infirmities, while providing at the same time a spacious place for those who walk, and a sweet place where those who are overheated can rest. Where the orchard ends the garden begins. Here too a lovely prospect presents itself to the infirm brethren; they can sit on the green edge of the great

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[4] Carole Rawcliffe, "'Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles': Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," *Garden History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 3.
[5] More on physic gardens on English university grounds s.v. "Physic Garden," in *The Oxford Companion to the Garden*, ed. Patrick Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

fountain, and watch the little fishes challenging one another, as it were, to war-like encounters, as they meet and play in the water.[6]

As this vividly phrased description suggests, throughout the centuries, gardens in general, both ecclesiastical and private, were created and designed as places imbued with intricate religious symbolism and were living terrestrial metaphors for the long-lost Garden of humankind.[7] Monastic herb gardens, however, were more than this: they were truly multifunctional affairs. Looking beyond food production or providing safe haven for contemplative recreation and labour as the most obvious functions of medieval gardens, a more nuanced view of this specific type of garden is in order in the context of medieval monastic spaces. Besides producing the physical mainstays of herbal medicine, herb gardens and their custodians were also deeply involved in education, innovation, and often had a lively exchange with one another: swapping plants and seeds of botanical curiosities in addition to the medicinally valuable. Without explicit mention of herb gardens, there are ample ecclesiastical sources dating to as early as the eighth century, which attest to an incredibly lively exchange of plants, herbs and seeds between England and the East, especially Jerusalem and the Levant.[8]

Location and Layout

There is a scattered but fairly consistent body of evidence suggesting that the location of the *herbularium* within the monastery grounds was distinct and separate from other gardens. Taking St Benedict's *ora et labora* dictum to heart, many monasteries across Europe were self-sustaining, busy complexes which provided sustenance and care for their residents and the wider community. This naturally meant that they had gardens on their premises. The use of plural is justified: there were various different gardens on monastic grounds, designated for different purposes. Herb gardens were often situated away from those of common alimentary function and were overseen by physicians, surgeons or apothecaries rather than simple gardeners.[9] An early piece of evidence for the

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[6] A fifteenth-century text by pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux quoted in Paul Meyvaert, "The Medieval Monastic Garden," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elizabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 44.

[7] Claire Noble, "Spiritual Practice and the Designed Landscape: Monastic Precinct Gardens," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscape* 20, no. 3 (2000): 197–205.

[8] Linda E. Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," *Isis* 70 (1979): 260.

[9] There is evidence for physicians' gardens that combined various functions. For example, that of Westminster Abbey was also a utilitarian garden growing some, though not all,

location of these gardens within the bounds of a monastery, the ninth-century plan of the grounds of St Gall, for example, shows the *herbularium* with sixteen regimented beds of named medicinal herbs situated right next to the physician's abode, medicine store, and the infirmary rooms designated for the critically ill. This location was the opposite side of the monastery precinct, completely separate from the other gardens: the cemetery cum orchard, and the vegetable patch with livestock. The surviving plan of the waterworks at Christchurch, Canterbury from c. 1165 also shows a heavily fenced, private *herbarium* close to the house of sick brethren.[10] Claire Noble's reconstruction of the plan of Norwich Cathedral Priory distinguishes between seven different kinds of gardens as well as other types of yard and meadows.[11] Besides these graphic representations, the medieval and early modern accounts of the cellarers of Battle Abbey confirm the practice of cultivating separate gardens with different functions, and they also provide some additional insight into crops: both the infirmarer's and the cellarer's gardens included some pasture which produced a crop of hay.[12] Glastonbury's various gardens and the infirmary garden at Westminster were similarly left under grass to be grazed by sheep or horses or mown for hay.[13] Hay was no doubt in great demand not only as fodder, but also as bedding in the infirmary.

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of their food. The account rolls show that occasionally it grew a surplus beyond the needs of the infirmary, which was then sold producing a little revenue for the abbey. Fruits and other crops included apples, pears, (broad) beans, garlic, onions, hemp, hyssop, unspecified fruits and herbs, as well as felled elm trees sold for timber. John H. Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," *Garden History* 20, no. 2 (1992): 100, 105.

[10] Walter Horn, and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, vol. 1, *A Study of the Architecture & Economy of, & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 70; cited in Paul Meyvaert, "The Medieval Monastic Garden," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 41. More on Prior Wibert's plan for Christ Church in John Hayes, "Prior Wibert's Waterworks," *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 71 (1977): 17–26; Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 38–39.

[11] Mary's, St Helen's, Carnary, Infirmarer's, Hostillar's, Prior's and Chamberlain's garden. In Noble, "Spiritual Practice and the Designed Landscape," 199.

[12] *Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey 1275–1513*, ed. E. Searle and B. Ross (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967), 51, 57; cited in James Bond, "Production and Consumption of Food and Drink in the Medieval Monastery," in *Monastic Archaeology*, ed. by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston and Teresa Hall (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 65.

[13] I. Keil, "The Garden at Glastonbury Abbey," *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological & Natural History Society* 107 (1959–60): 96–101; Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," 98; cited in Bond, "Production and Consumption of Food and Drink," 65.

The layout of monastic herb gardens is a particularly tricky question. Most modern recreations suggest that the plants were arranged in raised beds laid out according to their medicinal qualities.[14] There are plenty of exciting modern reconstructions of such gardens across the British Isles, which demonstrate a pleasant diversity of herbs, spices and plants with purported or real medicinal value. The National Trust alone overlooks nine medieval gardens recreated in their original location, and there are countless other self-sustaining garden projects across the British Isles, which all take pride in the faithful recreation of the original gardens based on horticultural tradition, historical sources, and using heirloom seeds and methods where possible.[15] Eminent examples include medieval-inspired projects such as Dunstable Priory's recreation of the "physick border," Helmsley Walled Garden's inspiring community project in Yorkshire, or more contemporary creations like the Shrewsbury Quest (now closed), designed by horticulture expert Sylvia Landsberg for the fictitious twelfth-century detective Brother Cadfael, and the truly multifunctional Urban Physic Garden project dreamt up by Melinda and Heather Ring in London.

Medieval sources are more reticent and less visually suggestive than these recreated spaces and there is not much evidence to suggest the medically or humourally arranged layout often found in modern physic gardens.[16] Despite

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[14] More on this in Catherine Childs Paterson, *Mediaeval Gardens*, vol. 1 (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979), 54–57. Based on horticultural practice Tricia Harris of Helmsley Walled Garden suggests raised beds were probably formed using short willow hurdles. This way beds could be moved around, expanded or contracted easily. It also meant that if herbs started to fail in one area, that particular bed could be moved to a new area with plants growing in fresh soil. While this, due to the degradable nature of these features, cannot be supported by archaeological evidence, practice and tradition shows that movable raised beds were a very likely set-up for medieval gardens of this sort. Many thanks to Tricia Harris for her time and valuable comments on the horticultural aspects of this article.

[15] Alfriston Clergy House, East Sussex; Avebury Manor, Wiltshire; Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire; Buckland Abbey, Devon; Cotehele, Cornwall; Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire; Ightham Mote, Kent; Lavenham Guildhall, Suffolk; Stoneacre, Kent. See more on the National Trust website, accessed on September 17, 2017, https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/lists/where-to-see-gardens-with-medieval-features. Heirloom plants are old-time varieties: non-GMO, open-pollinated instead of hybrid, and saved and handed down through multiple generations of families. Garden Organic, formerly known as the Henry Doubleday Research Association (HDRA), is a UK charity which maintains the Heritage Seed Library to preserve vegetable seeds from heritage cultivars and make them available to growers. Accessed on September 17, 2017, http://www.gardenorganic.org.uk/search/node/hsl%20hsl.

[16] To put it simply, according medieval humoural (or Galenic) medicine, the human body was thought to contain a mix of the four humours (black bile, yellow bile, blood, and

the explicit intention of its creator whose rubric suggests that the plan was not a blueprint for a specific garden in the strict sense, the plan of St Gall is an important piece of direct evidence for possible layout.[17] It features neat rows of plant beds, which contain valuable, albeit somewhat scanty, information about the plants in a monastic herb garden: *saluia, sisimbria, ruta, cumino, gladiola, lubestico, pulegium, fenuclum, fasiolo, sataregia, costo, fenegreca, rosmarino, menta, lilium, rosas*.[18] To my knowledge there is no similar surviving plan for monastic herb gardens in England.[19] Reconstructing the physical reality of medieval *herbularia*, however, is

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phlegm). The balance of hot/cold and dry/wet defined the constitution or health of an individual, which was believed to be influenced, among others, by herbal remedies of hot/cold or dry/wet character. An example for medically arranged physic garden is the *herbularium* of the Urban Physic Garden Project, where the plants are grouped into wards according to the ailments they can be used for. Urban Physic Garden Project, accessed on September 17, 2017, http://www.wayward.co.uk/project/urban-physic-garden.

[17] Gozbert suggests that the purpose of the plan is to "exercise your ingenuity and recognize my devotion." Searchable and zoomable image of the plan as well as transcription and translation are available at http://www.stgallplan.org/.

[18] Herb garden: sage, watercress, rue, cumin, iris, lovage, pennyroyal, fennel, climbing beans, pepperwort, costmary, Greek hay, rosemary, mint, lilium, (garden) rose. As opposed to this set of plants, the annotation for the vegetable patch is as follows: Here the planted vegetables flourish in beauty / onion / garlic / leek / shallots / celery / parsley / coriander / chervil / dill / lettuce / poppy / pepperwort / radish / parsnip / poppy / cabbage / chard / fennel.

[19] Later works survive in greater number, which can be used to reconstruct Elizabethan gardens, for example the illustrated *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatise teachying how to dress, sowe, and set a garden* compiled by astrologer Thomas Hill in London around 1563. According to the fancy frontispiece of another one, *The Gardener's Labyrinth* (1586), the same Hill imparts "instructions for the choice of seedes, apt times for sowing, setting, planting, and watering, and the vessels and instrumentes serving to that use and purpose" and sets forth "diuers herbers, knots and mazes, cunningly handled for the beautifying of gardens." Borrowing from contemporary books of medical science and astrology Hill has a few words on the "phisicke benefit of ech herb, plant, and floure, with the vertues of the distilled waters of euery of them." More on early books of gardening in Ellen C. Eyler, *Early English Gardens and Garden Books* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963) and Rosemary Verey, "English Gardening Books," in *The Garden: A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening; Exhibition Catalogue,* ed. John Harris (London: Mitchell Beazley Victoria and Albert Museum, 1979), 117–22. Continental examples include more generous prescriptive texts, for example, the pruning, grafting and planting advice in "On small gardens of herbs," in Piero de' Crescenzi's *Liber ruralium commodorum* (1305–09). Translation in Johanna Bauman, "Tradition and Transformation: The Pleasure Garden in Piero de' Crescenzi's *Liber ruralium commodorum*," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 22 (2002): 99–141. It is notable that Piero's work deals with herb gardens as part of pleasure gardens. According to Sanecki, the English situation is somewhat different as

not rendered entirely impossible by the lack of blueprints. While the question of layout is an ideal task for experimental archaeology and horticultural experts working in real gardens, the plant selection can be inferred from various medieval sources, often tangentially reflecting on indigenous horticultural traditions and contemporary knowledge of herbal medicine.

Plant Composition: The Archaeological Evidence

Both archaeology and manuscript evidence can and do inform modern recreations of physic gardens. As noted previously, one of the greatest spurs for the use of garden archaeology has been the recent trend of historic garden reconstructions and experimental archaeology projects.[20] In theory, heritage and continuity in European monastic environments constitute a rich body of knowledge and resources. Continuity, however, is often an illusion. It is notable that these gardens, often considered as "living monuments," are frequently recreations themselves. For example, Le Jardin de Bois Richeux, southwest of Paris, the gardens are "not a restoration or an exact replica of a medieval garden but an interpretation of a medieval garden based on extensive research into early monastic gardens.[21] Archaeology proper, thus, is indispensable in the quest for medieval monastic gardens. However, as Judith Roberts notes, excavation, invasive and expensive, is only one of the techniques available to the archaeologist. "Garden archaeology" is now used as an umbrella term to illustrate a range of approaches, from "non-destructive" geophysical techniques which include electro-magnetometry, resistivity surveys and infra-red photography to paleobotanical techniques, such as pollen analysis. [22]

Perhaps the most salient and relevant archaeological studies of the plant content of medieval monastic gardens are based on the latter technique. Despite the obvious difficulties in detecting surviving material remains and in

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cultivating herbs seems to have been the prerogative of religious houses' physic gardens until the mid-fifteenth century. Aromatic herbs were normally found in herbaceous borders planted in enclosed gardens, but rarely mentioned in parks and pleasure gardens until the fragrant herb garden became a staple in early Tudor pleasure gardens in the sixteenth century. John Harvey, "The Medieval Garden before 1500"; and Kay Sanecki, "The Herb Garden," in *The Garden*, ed. Harris, 8-9 and 123–25, respectively."

[20] Judith Roberts, "What is Garden Archaeology?," *Context* 51 (1996): 31, accessed September 27, 2017, http://ihbconline.co.uk/cont_arch/?p=331.

[21] Jennifer A. Jordan, "Biodiversity and Collective Remembrance: Landscapes of European Memory," *History & Memory* 22, no. 2 (2010): 24–25.

[22] Roberts, "What is Garden Archaeology?," 31.

differentiating the herb garden evidence from the rest of the plant production and use within monastery precincts, valuable information has been gleaned about monastic herb gardens from plant remains.[23] For example, material excavated from the fifteenth-century drains at Paisley Abbey, Scotland, include medicinal plants which may have grown in the abbey's infirmary garden: greater celandine or tetterwort (*Chelidonium majus*), hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*), and opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*). Plants with both medicinal and culinary uses are monks' rhubarb (*Rumex pseudoalpinus*) and horseradish (*Armoracia rusticana*). Other vegetables are represented by types of onion, garlic and leek, cruciferous vegetables and cabbages, and dyer's rocket (*Reseda luteola*). Various apple trees and damsel plum trees would have been grown in the abbey's orchard, and the sample also attests to locally grown cereals such as black oat (*Avena strigosa*), barley (*Hordeum*), bread wheat and rye (*Triticum/Secale*), flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) probably grown outside, but widely used inside the abbey's grounds.

Archaeology also reveals medical and culinary needs that necessitated going beyond the abbey walls: the drain remains at Paisley show that the abbey certainly imported certain fruits and spices. Nut and wood fragments show the presence of walnut, for example, which could have been grown in the orchard but was more likely imported. More notably, according to Dickson, the presence of figs can only be explained with the import of dried fruit from the Mediterranean region. Mace came from Indonesia, probably purchased at fairs at Berry, Bruges and Antwerp and imported into Scotland.[24]

Plant Composition: The Documentary Evidence

Direct manuscript evidence that can be used to reconstruct the plant and herb composition of medieval gardens is few and far between. In fact, there are

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[23] As Bond explains, "major stratified concentrations of domestic refuse are rarely found in monastic houses, since kitchen waste was often recycled to provide compost for the gardens. Moreover, monasteries were particularly efficient in their methods of sewage removal, so the opportunity to study faecal deposits is even more limited," which leaves archaeologists to detect less evidence at the production stage and more on the storage and processing by identifying buildings and equipment. Bond also points out that it's not easy to distinguish spices used in the kitchen for flavouring from those intended for medicinal purposes, since many culinary spices were believed to have a medicinal quality. Bond, "Production and Consumption of Food and Drink," 56, 71.

[24] Camilla Dickson, "Food, Medicinal and Other Plants from the Fifteenth-Century Drains of Paisley Abbey, Scotland," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 5, no. 1 (1996): 25–31.

no medieval books about gardening per se: besides the truly unique *The Feat of Gardening*, a slim booklet written by Master John Gardener in around 1440 giving instructions for sowing, planting, tree grafting and herb cultivation, no other manuscripts survive.[25] Manuscript evidence, thus, is mostly indirect and heterogeneous, ranging from financial records found in account books to a handful of surviving plans and illustrations and medical literature.

Financial records mostly include shopping lists, itemizing plant and seed purchases for gardens. It is unclear why Westminster Abbey, which had its own large and well-tended *herbularium*, was in need to buy common herbs for medicines for the infirmary every now and then, but records show intermittent purchases of roots of lilies, roses, wormwood, polypody and butcher's broom, dill and endive, chamomile flowers, poppy, and other unnamed herbs.[26] While herb and crop purchase records show what did not grow (in sufficient quantities) in the given monastery, records of seed purchases reveal what did grow. Concatenating materials available about *herbularia* and other monastic gardens in order to shed light on the probable plant composition, Harley compares two surviving lists from the fourteenth century. The shopping lists of seeds purchased for the garden of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace and for the Abbot of Westminster's private garden at La Neyte show considerable similarities, no doubt governed by the realities of English climate and soil as well as horticultural/ medical tradition.

Common to both lists are borage, colewort (*semine olerum*), cress, hyssop, leek, lettuce, onion, skirrets, parsley and "spinach." At Lambeth, but not at La Neyte, seed was also obtained of cabbage (*caboche*), centaury (*centuragis*), clary (*clareye*), cucumber (*concombre*), cress (*touncressis*, i.e. *Lepidium sativum*) and gourd (*gourde*). La Neyte had beet (*betes*), chervil (*chirfill*), coriander (*kaliandre*), fennel (*grano feniculi*), hemp (*semine canabi*), langdebeef (*lingua bourn*), orach (*arach*), savory (*saueraye*), cress (*karsen*), violet and 'pepper' (*grano piperis*), which was probably either white mustard (*Sinapis alba*) or rocket (*Eruca sativa*), rather than black pepper

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[25] See J. H. Harvey, "The First English Garden Book," *Garden History* 13, no. 2 (1985): 83–101.

[26] J. H. Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," *Garden History* 20, no. 2 (1992): 105. According to Tricia Harris, the demand for seed supplies also depended on the type of plants cultivated: some of these are short-lived annuals, e.g. wormwood, which need to be dug up after their season and new seeds are planted in the next. Poppies, chamomile, dill and endive, on the other hand, are annuals so seed collection depended on the garden's yield. In certain years they may have had a terrible season and they were not able to collect enough seed or the plants were all used up due to to particular illnesses either within the monastery or in the local community.

as we know it.[27] Other sporadic references from across English abbeys, priories and monasteries suggest further herbs and plants in these gardens: ash and walnut trees, cooking and eating pears, hazelnuts, anise, rape, rue, flax, lavender, lilies, madder, mustard, peas, saffron and early peas, red and white roses, bay trees, rosemary and so on.[28] Similar to archaeological evidence, even though these lists do not strictly differentiate between garden types, their plant material gives the researcher a good idea about English gardening practice in the fourteenth century.

Exotic Plants in England: Evidence in Plant Lists

Late medieval medical recipe collections often contain abundant information on plants and herbs. Can they be used as indirect evidence about the actual plant composition of monastic herb gardens? Harvey talking about fourteenth-century surgeon John of Arderne's work, points out that "surgeons, who were not academics with university degrees but had trained by apprenticeship, were accustomed to finding their own drugs and herbs, and it is likely that their consultancy would extend to suggesting plants to be kept in the garden. Hence it is legitimate to suppose that any or all of the plants expressly mentioned in Arderne's works and actually illustrated in some manuscript copies, would be grown."[29] This observation is certainly true for other medical works as well, so this methodology can be extended beyond Arderne's medical works. In addition, due to the intertextual nature of this body of material, locating small differences and discrepancies also reveals important clues about knowledge and practice. Aderne's references to plants are mostly found in the *Liber medicinarum sive receptorum liber medicinalium*, parts of which can be found in various constellations

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[27] Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," 105.

[28] Plant list for seed purchase (*index seminae*) for the garden of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace: BL, Cotton MS Otho C.xi. 11o. Lambeth Palace Library, roll ED 545 (1321–22); Seed purchase for the Abbot of Westminster's private garden at La Neyte Westminster Abbey Muniment Room, 26873 (6 February 1327). Cited in Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," 105–6. Seed lists were the means of transferring both plants and information between botanical gardens. This system continues today, although more recently the focus shifted to the possibility of genetic piracy and the transmission of invasive species. Vernon H. Heywood, "The Changing Role of the Botanic Gardens," in *Botanic Gardens and the World Conservation Strategy*, ed. David Bramwell, and others (London: Academic Press, 1987), 11.

[29] Harvey, "Westminster Abbey: The Infirmarer's Garden," 107–12.

in different manuscripts, originally written in Latin but shortly translated to English.[30]

Within the context of medical literature perhaps the best starting point to understand monastic herb gardens through manuscript evidence is the so called *synonima herbarum*, frequently inserted into medical manuscripts to help the identification of ingredients called for by the recipes. An important pre-requisite of using these as evidence for the plant composition of monastic *herbularia* is the identification of the plants hiding behind the Latin or Middle English nomenclature. Even though the explicit purpose of these Latin-English glossaries was identification in the first place, it is often a daunting task to do so in modern Linnaean terms. Commonly found, well-known English plants and herbs are easy enough, but translation is the raison d'être of the *synonima* so these glossaries invariably contain exotic plant names too.

Garden historians have very different approaches to the presence of herbs, spices and plants whose cultivation is likely to have been problematic or impossible in England at the time of composition. There are two prominent assumptions in scholarship that affect modern botanical identification. On one hand, the caveat exists that the *synonima* contain obsolete and foreign material transmitted by mechanical copying, which makes them unreliable witnesses for horticultural practice in late medieval England. On the other hand, there is a compelling suggestion that some of the non-indigenous herbs and plants mentioned in the *synonima* and medical recipes could in fact be (and were) grown in medieval English herb gardens. As will be shown through a handful of examples taken from one specific plant list, these texts require a more nuanced look at the methodology of plant identification (both medieval and modern) to draw up informed conclusions about their relationship with actual living gardens.

Among others, Tony Hunt emphasises the bookish nature of these plant lists, suggesting that the compilers practiced "armchair botany" which had little bearing on practical horticultural knowledge of their time and place. Studying the sources they may have used, he suggests that these lists were attempts to reconcile local flora with classical plant nomenclature often unknown for the compilers.[31] In one form or another, Christian medical/botanical writers based their own works on mostly Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, originally written in Greek but widely

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[30] Peter Murray Jones, "Four Middle English Translations of John of Arderne," in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), 61–89.

[31] Tony Hunt, *Plant Names of Medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989).

circulated in Latin translation.[32] Other sources available for medieval compilers of medical and botanical texts included Pliny, Isidore of Seville, and Nicolaus of Damascus. Dioscorides's voluminous work, for example, contains over six hundred plant names, whose botanical identifications remain mere guesses even for modern researchers with more refined methods and resources at their disposal than an average English cleric in the Middle Ages. In this vein, it is not surprising that some of this herbal knowledge appears confused or cryptic in English plant lists. In addition, regional dialectal discrepancies as well as the continuity and discontinuity of vernacular names also often result in wildly different entries in various manuscripts. At the same time, as will be argued below, it was not all gobbledygook: viewing *synonima* in their own right instead of comparing them to classical antecedents or Linnaean modernity, their limited and relatively consistent nomenclature suggests that English authors and compilers possessed a more confident knowledge and firmer control over their material than what is normally attributed to them.

The other line of argument, focusing on the question whether exotic herbs and plants in the *synonima* were actually grown within the sheltered walls of English *herbularia*, certainly merits consideration too. An affirmative answer would dramatically increase the face value of these texts as witnesses to garden history and may even challenge our present ideas about the contents of medieval herb gardens. Although most Mediterranean and Near Eastern plants mentioned in these texts are not hardy enough to survive in England, some scholars argue that monastic gardens probably attempted and managed to acclimatize some of them. Avoiding questions of the availability of seeds and sufficient horticultural knowledge to nurture non-indigenous plants, English climate, specifically cold and windy conditions, seem to be the main concern of scholarship in this question.[33]

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[32] The author of the *Macer Floridus*, written in vulgar Latin hexameters c. 1120, was also indebted to Dioscorides of Anazarbos (fl. 40–65AD). Although almost entirely based on Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, it is also informed by *Medicina* by the second-century Roman historian and medical writer Gargilius Martialis, and on Dioscorides's *De materia medica*. Bruce P. Flood, "The Medieval Herbal Tradition of Macer Floridus," *Pharmacy in History* 18, no. 2 (1976): 63. Interestingly, the influence of another classical custodian of botanical knowledge, Theophrastus of Eresos, is largely out of the question because his works were not translated into Latin until the fifteenth century.

[33] Between the ninth and the thirteenth century northern Europe enjoyed a period when the annual mean temperature was several degrees higher and the amount of precipitation much less than later centuries. John M. Riddle, "The Introduction and Use of Eastern Drugs in the Early Middle Ages," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 49 (1965), 185–98; cited in Paul Meyvaert, "The Medieval Monastic

Various authors cite evidence for a rather long warm spell in England lasting for nearly five hundred years.

In addition, Linda Voigts also notes the importance of the walled monastic setting as an argument for the viability of cultivating non-indigenous plants in England: these were "pampered plants grown within the cloister walls that radiate heat and provide shelter from the wind – plants that are weeded, mulched, and watered, in many instances annuals, for which the question of winter hardiness is irrelevant."[34] In later centuries certain plants were indeed introduced from overseas, which continue to thrive on British soil, for example cedars imported in the seventeenth century. However, there is no firm evidence to ascertain that a great deal of the plants and herbs found in classical or Eastern sources was viable in the English climate or identifiable for the English reader in the Middle Ages.[35]

In the following, I present a brief selection of curious plants found in a fourteenth-century English manuscript, a professionally compiled medical volume now held in the Old Palace Library of York Minster, to demonstrate how manuscript studies may contribute to this essentially practical field. The scope of the present essay certainly does not allow delving into questions of linguistics, palaeography, and manuscript studies conducted across several hundred available manuscripts that contain similar plant lists. Instead, I will focus on a handful of "exotic" entries contained in a single manuscript in order to shed more light on the depth of medieval herbal knowledge, raise further questions, and prove that sometimes there was method in the madness. [36]

Garden," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 41.

[34] Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," 262–63. Based on horticultural practice, Harris confirms that the walls in any walled garden can raise the temperature around them by at least 3°C. Unless parked in a frost pocket, as is the case with Helmsley, plants in a walled garden would be spared the worst of frosts that might have more impact outside the walls.

[35] The Chelsea physic garden, founded in 1673, was responsible for the introduction of Lebanon cedars into the British Isles, having obtained seedlings from a professor of botany in Leiden. Matthews, "Medieval Physic Gardens," 9.

[36] Old Palace Library, York Minster, MS XVI E. 32. Hitherto unpublished manuscript, listed in Oliver Pickering and Susan Powell, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist*, vol. 6, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Yorkshire Libraries and Archives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), which lists the contents of the whole manuscript but fails to mention the plant list as a separate entity. The foliation is slightly different than the pencil foliation in the manuscript. The same manuscript is the subject of Rebeca Cubas-Peña, "'Every practitioner his own compiler': Practitioners and the Compilation of Middle English Medical Books, with Special Reference to York Minster Library, MS XVI

Exotic Plants in a Homegrown Plant List

The volume, often referred to as the Killingholme manuscript, contains a plant list or *synonima herbarum* on fols 113r–115r (in Quire 13), directly preceded by a treatise attributed to Galen on the regulation of the body in each month and followed by a hotchpotch of related material.[37] As noted before, this particular plant list, even the whole volume, is not a unique testament to its kind. Its value lies more in its non-uniqueness because it provides a good insight into the breadth of knowledge and practices of a no doubt learned, but probably not extraordinary, physician of the time, especially in terms of medical and herbal knowledge.[38]

According to the Old Palace Library's *liber donorum*, the Killingholme manuscript was acquired as the gift of Rev. Edward Churton, rector of Crayke in 1843. The volume itself is divisible into ten independent sections which were assembled together no later than 1500. The manuscript is named after William, *leche* (physician) of Killingholm, who either wrote, compiled or commissioned the volume, as it is worded on fol. 108: "this tretyse byfore wryten is compiled of þe tretyses of aristotel. Galyene and of ypocrase and of oþer leches of salerne" with the name Magister Willelmus Leche de Kylingholme added in blue ink by the main hand.[39]

E. 32," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, forthcoming. The betony poem contained in the manuscript has been published in Susan Powell, "Another Manuscript of Index of Middle English Verse No. 2627," *Notes and Queries* (1987), 154–56.

[37] A list of twenty-seven ailments with a choice of herbal remedies for each, a text on the various effects of Christmas Day falling on different days of the week, and poems on the virtues and uses of betony (bishopwort) and rosemary. Henry Daniel's *Rosemary* (fols 120r-121r) was originally written in Latin for the Countess of Hainault who sent the text to her daughter Queen Philippa of England. It was translated sometime after 1372 and composed in this form by Daniel c. 1425. It was very popular and survived in over 19 manuscripts. Martti Mäkinen, "Between Herbals *et alia*: Intertextuality in Medieval English Herbals," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2006, 56. This poem is a relatively certain *terminus post quem* for dating the volume, but not the various constituting sections themselves.

[38] Similar lists can be found in Ralph Hanna, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist*, vol. 1, *The Henry E. Huntingdon Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984), 64; and Ferdinand Holthausen, "Mittelenglische und altfranzösische Pflanzenglossen," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 100 (1898): 158–63.

[39] Killingholme is in Lincolnshire, ten miles northwest of Grimsby. The dialects detected across the various components comprising the volume are East Anglian (northwest Norfolk), Nottinghamshire, Shropshire or north Herefordshire, Leicestershire English (with signs of mixture), northwest Derbyshire. M. Claire Jones, "Vernacular Literacy

Not much is known about Magister William, but this invocation seemingly intimates that he was a member of the illustrious group of Salerno physicians which counted the much-esteemed Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates among its members. It is likely that William's affiliation with the University of Salerno was just as tenuous as Aristotle's – it was "glory by association" whereby their profession and knowledge tied them together in the mind of the author and his audience.[40] The book has marginal annotations to facilitate navigation in various later hands, as well as comments such as "a medysen for my wyffys hed ache provyd trew," which show that at least some of the remedies were used by grateful readers, and that it may have been a go-to reference book in medical questions.[41]

The plant list, which is written in two columns over nearly four folios, is separated from a Middle English version of Galen's *De phlebotomia* by the red rubric *hic sunt nomina herbarum* which seamlessly follows in the same line as the last words of the preceding text. Altogether 241 unique plants are listed in it.[42] The

in Late-Medieval England: The Example of East Anglian Medical Manuscripts," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2000, 246–47

[40] Jones, "Vernacular Literacy," 301. Jones also presents a range of very similar incipits from other manuscripts. As for the prestige and impact of Salernitan education at the time, it is notable that a generation or two before William's time, there lived a Maystyr Peers of Salerne in England, also known as Peter de Barulo, a physician possibly of Italian origin. His *Wyse Boke* became popular in England in the late fifteenth century and is very similar to the Killingholme manuscript's composition and subject matter. It contains a treatise on humours, the signs of death, blessings upon herbs, a book on salves, plasters and ointments, and so on. Especially the widely used recipe for "wound in the head" has been cited as an important link between various manuscripts, including MS XVI E. 32 (fol. 48r-v) and the *Wyse Boke* (MS College of Physicians of Philadelphia Med. Misc. 1, no. 3. Fols 1r-18v). Martti Mäkinen, "The *Wyse Book of Mystyr Peers of Salerne* and *Wound in the Head*: Notes on an Undetected Parallel," *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010), 31–34.

[41] Old Palace Library, York Minster, MS XVI E. 32, fol. 92r.

[42] Based on Hunt's glossary, the following identifiable plants were included in the *Synonima*: Agrimony, Alleluia, Aristolochia, Asarabacca, Asparagus, Balm, Betony, Birthwort, Bistort, Black Cumin, Black Nightshade, Bracken/Brake or Common Polypody, Bruisewort, Buck's-Horn Plantain, Bugle, Burdock, Calamint, Cat Mint, Caraway, Chamomile, Charlock, Chervil, Chaste Tree, Chicken Weed, Chicory, Clary, Clover, Corn Cockle, Comfrey, Common Centaury, Columbine, Consound, Coriander, Cow Parsnip, Cowslip, Creeping Cinquefoil, Cuckoo's-Meat, Daisy, Danewort, Dittany of Crete, Dove's Foot Cranesbill, Dragon Arum, Dropwort, Dwarf Elder, Earthnut, Elecampane, Felwort, Fennel, Feverfew, Foxglove, Frankincense, Galingale, Garden Cress, Garden Rocket, Gladden, Great Plantain, Great Water Dock, Greater Stitchwort, Gromwell, Ground Ivy, Ground-Pine, Groundsel, Hart's-Tongue Fern, Hazelwort, Hemlock, Hemp, Henbane, Herb Bennet, Honeysuckle, Horseheal, Horsemint, Horse Parsley, Hound's Tongue, Houseleek, Ivy, Jalap, Knotgrass, Lady's Mantle, Laurel, Leek, Lesser Periwinkle, Lettuce,

plant list is obviously compiled from several different sources and as a result there is a great deal of repetition, as well as entries where the same plants are listed under different names in different parts of the text. The format and content is inconsistent, the scribe's enthusiasm for order seems to have worn off rapidly, especially towards the end where the thus far fairly regular Latin/English name pairings (one herb per line) disappear. A block of nearly entirely Latin text (with only three English names interspersed) on fols 114v-115r is followed by yet another bilingual section, delivered in a less systematic way than in the beginning, albeit in the same hand (See *Fig. 1*).

Although the arrangement of the plants seems illogical, at certain points the list suddenly turns alphabetical, for example, the sequence beginning abruptly after a less orderly sequence on fol. 114r, col. b: "*Calaminta calamynt* / *Capillus uen[er]is mayde[n]her* / *Cameputo[n] lytyl wermot* / *Crassule orpyn* / *Tropule mari malue* / *Eupatori wyld sauge* / *Eruca whyt pepyr* / *Filipendula* / *Iris gladene* / *Liperat reddocke* / *Mat[er] saratri osimond* / *Marubu albi horhou[n]* / *Pulleg[ri]al puliol real*," and continuing on fol. 114v col. a. with "*Peritorie walgres* / *Papauer chasse* / *Pet[r]ocilli[um] pentasili* / *Raffam redcole* / *Ribia maior madyr* / *Sitidis bryan* / *Spergule douuefoot* / *Scelope[n]drie hu[n]dysto[n]g*."[43] In all probability, this block is a remnant of a shorter alphabetical list that was inserted into the Killingholme *synonima* unchanged, but missing the beginning (a-b) and end (t-z).

Although the logic may not be clear in every case, the punctuation and formatting suggest that the author/compiler meant to make the list as easy to navigate as possible. For example, most Latin names begin with red initials, except for a list of thirty-six lines inserted into the text on fols 114v-115r, where the individual plant names are separated by *amperagi* (Tironean "et" marks), and no

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Lily, Liverwort, Lovage, Male Fern, Madder, Maidenhair-Fern, Marjoram or Spignel, Marshmallow, Masterwort, Mayweed, Meadowsweet, Mistletoe, Mouse-Ear Hawkweed, Mugwort, Mullein, Mustard Seed, Nettle, Nightflowering Campion, Opium Poppy, Orpine, Pellitory of Spain, Pellitory-of-the-Wall, Pennyroyal or Wild Thyme, Peony, Petty Morel, Pignut, Polipody, Poppy, Pot Marigold, Purslane, Radish, Red-Veined Dock, Ribwort, Rose-gall, Rosemary, Royal Fern, Rue, St John's Wort, Sage, Sanicle, Savin, Saxifrage, Scabwort, Sengreen, Shepherd's Purse, Smallage, Small Nettle, Small Scabious, Snake-Root, Soapwort, Solomon's seal, Southernwood, Sowbread, Spignel, Spurge, Stinking Chamomile, Stinking Iris, Summer Savory or Winter Savoury, Sweet Flag, Sweet Woodruff, Teasel, Terebinth, Thyme, Toadflax, Trefoil, Turpentine, Valerian, Vervain, Violet, Walewort, White or Red Bryony, White Horehound, White Rocket, Wild celery, Wild Mustard, Wild Nep, Wild Strawberry, Woad, Wood Avens, Woodbine, Wood Germander, Wood Sage, Wood Sorrel, Wormwood, Yarrow or Milfoil, Yellow Flag.
[43] My emphasis to differentiate between English and Latin plant names.
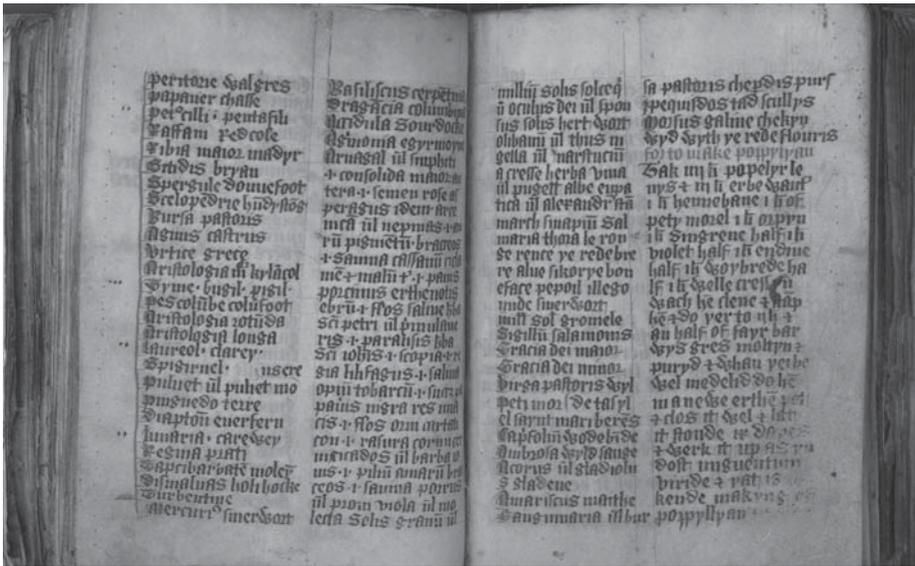
Fig. 1. Synonima herbarum *in the so-called Killingholme manuscript, Old Palace Library, York Minster, MS XVI E. 32, fols 114v-115r. © Chapter of York: Reproduced by kind permission.*

English equivalents are provided. Importantly, in another distinct block, a short bilingual sequence of a vaguely alphabetized list of plants, two marginal dots mark all lines that feature two plants instead of one, which, judging from the ink and penmanship, is the handiwork of the scribe himself, marked at the time of the composition.

In the following, three seemingly exotic entries will be examined to reveal more about the meaning of certain plant names for the scribe/compiler, as well as any information that may be gleaned about contemporary botanical knowledge or horticultural practice. Keeping in mind the two aforementioned suggestions with regard to the exotic, purportedly foreign content of English plant lists – either dismissing them as armchair botany or treating them as evidence for the English cultivation of exotic herbs and plants – these examples show that plant lists may also contain nuanced clues about the authors' pragmatic considerations of medieval English realities in more complex ways.

The previously mentioned largely monolingual block on fols 114v and 115r contains two interesting entries. The first one is "*olibanum uel thurible*," commonly known as the frankincense tree (*Boswellia thurifera*) whose aromatic resin gave the

world the unmistakable church scent from East to West, is indigenous to the Arabian peninsula and parts of North Africa. This plant, although widely known in England, was most certainly not cultivated in English gardens.[44] The resin, known as frankincense, is tapped by cutting the bark of mature trees and has been traded for more than five thousand years, along what is known as the Incense Road. Besides its use by the Church, a number of medieval recipes attest to its medicinal use in medieval England, which explains its presence in the *synonima*.[45] The same manuscript, for example, contains various recipes with frankincense elsewhere, including one for gout and one for "þe nase þat semes leprous."[46] It is, however, important to note that although these recipes call for "frankincense," at least one of them explicitly identifies this ingredient as *storax*. This is interesting as *storax*, sometimes also called *balsam*, is the sap extracted from sweetgum trees (*Liquidambar orientalis*), and is very different from the resin of frankincense trees.[47]

Certain variants of the frankincense tree are hardy enough and could in theory survive in the British Isles.[48] It is, however, hardly imaginable that the sensational news of a successful experiment to grow the source of such a sought-after and

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[44] Hunt, *Medieval Plant Names*, 190.

[45] The use of frankincense is not unique to this manuscript. Among others the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis* contains various remedies that contain frankincense. Mixed with red nettle, egg whites and white flour, frankincense is suggested to treat toothache. It is also listed as an ingredient in a rather complicated powder to be prepared to heal 'kankir' or festering ulcer. Margaret Sinclair Ogden, ed., *The* Liber de Diversis Medicinis *in the Thornton Manuscript (MS Lincoln Cathedral A.5.2)* (London: Early English Text Society, 1938), 16, 79.

[46] MS XVI E. 32, fol. 116r: "for þe nase þat semes leprous": take quicksilver and the grease of a boar and black pepper and storax that is called incense and stamp them all together and heat them all well together and anoint the nose therewith and keep the nose from the wind for three days. "For þe goute": take pitch and virgin wax and frankincense and sheep tallow and boil them well together, put it on a linen cloth and lay on the sore part.

[47] *Liquidambar orientalis* is a deciduous tree native to Asia Minor. Although the term frankincense may have been used for various resinous substances, it is evident that most sources were able to distinguish subtle differences and also attribute similarities to them based on the physical resemblance of their consistency. An interesting recipe in the *Liber de diversis medicinis* lists no less than fourteen "goummes" as potential remedy for "paralisi and all oþer calde passyouns": *mire, storax, olibane, mastike, opeponak, ammoniak, bedellium, seraphin, salbanum, terrebyntim, pixgreke, pixliquidum, euphorbe, castorium*. Sinclair Ogden, ed. *The Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, 66.

[48] In fact, there is a small shrub of *Boswellia thurifera* in the Princess of Wales conservatory at Kew, planted in a not particularly warm zone but one where the soil is free draining. I am grateful to Tricia Harris for this piece of information.

expensive substance would not make it into written sources or leave material traces. Similarly, growing sweetgum in English soil is a very recent development (and not entirely successful), so it is beyond doubt that *storax* was not produced in English gardens either.[49] This entry is intended as disambiguation providing the English equivalent for practitioners encountering *olibanum* in recipes, but it clearly cannot be considered as a clue for the plant composition of medieval physic gardens in England.

The next exotic item in the list, *nigella uel narstucium*, appears right after frankincense. There seems to be some semantic confusion here, which at first sight looks like plain ignorance but may ultimately point to a rather surprising piece of medieval medical knowledge. *Nigella* definitely stands for black cumin (*Nigella sativa*), indigenous in south and southwest Asia. As opposed to *olibanum*, this entry raises the previously discussed probability of cultivating foreign herbs and spices in English soil. Voigts, for example, quotes the ninth-century *Capitulare de Villis* to assert that there was a royal will in the Carolingian court to acclimatize southern and eastern plants, such as cumin, capers, and figs, which Charlemagne acquired through his dealings with Haroun al-Rashid.[50] However, besides fleeting mentions of some of these in medical recipes and plant lists such as this one, there is no indication of the success of this undertaking either back in the ninth century or later.[51]

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[49] In the wild, the largest trees can reach thirty-five metres in height but in the UK it remains an ornamental, small, bushy tree with yellow or red autumn colour. Although there are no pre-modern records of Liquidambar orientalis brought to England, it is known that *Liquidambar styraciflua* was introduced into Europe in 1681 by John Banister, the missionary collector sent out by Bishop Compton, who planted it in the palace gardens at Fulham in London. Sandra Morris, "Legacy of a Bishop: The Trees and Shrubs of Fulham Palace Gardens Introduced 1675–1713," *Garden History* 19, no. 1 (1991): 50.

[50] Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," 264–65.

[51] There is a similar debate about the Old English "equivalent" of this plant. The recently digitized British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C III, an eleventh-century illustrated manual to plant pharmacology, also appears to list cumin and licorice, which evidently did not grow in English gardens. Before any speculation whether their inclusion proves the cultivation of these plants in the British Isles, it must be pointed out that the manuscript also includes an illustrated entry about the mandrake and its "human roots" complete with the drawing of a dog, which is suggested to be used in mandrake harvest to avoid injury. It is an Old English translation of a text which used to be attributed to a fourth-century writer known as Pseudo-Apuleius, now recognized as several different Late Antique authors whose texts were subsequently combined. Alison Hudson, "Polonsky Digitisation Project: An Illustrated Old English Herbal," Medieval Manuscripts Blog, British Library, accessed September 28, 2011, http://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2017/04/an-illustrated-

The Middle English cŏmīn (also cumin, cumming), which comes with its own cloud of semantic uncertainty, would be expected to be paired with *nigella*, however, the other half of this entry is another Latin(ish) name: *narstucium.*[52] This is most probably a variant spelling of *nasturtium*, a genus of seven plant species in the cabbage family best known for edible cresses (e.g. garden cress, *Lepidium sativum*), widely available across the British Isles.[53] This is also confirmed by the author of the list who includes the common Middle English name *cresse* in the same entry. Elsewhere in the *synonima* (fol. 113v, col. a) *nasturcium* is plainly identified as *touncresse* and is listed among other well-known homegrown medicinal

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old-english-herbal.html. The manuscript is available in high-resolution online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/.

[52] The Old English word opens further questions regarding this plant, revolving around its identification with caraway, especially in light of the fact that both plants are referred to as types of kümmel in German – and thus presumably in the Germanic lexicon of Anglo-Saxons too. Editors and modern translators adopted different approaches. According to Hoops *cymen* was first used to denote *C. cyminum (cumin)*, later *C. carvi (caraway)*. Johannes Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1905), 602. In the *Leech Book*, "cymen, sūþerne" is used to refer to *cumin according to* Oswald Thomas Cockayne, ed., "Leech Book," in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England: Being a Collection of Documents, for the Most Part never before Printed, Illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest*, vol. 2, ed. Charles Singer (London: Longman, 1961). Deegan doubts this identification but gives no further explanation in Marilyn Deegan, "*A Critical Edition of MS. B.L. Royal 12.D.XVII: Bald's 'Leechbook',*" Ph.D. dissertation (University of Manchester, 1988), 231; Finally, Banham rejects that caraway and cumin share one name in Old English. Debby Banham, "The Knowledge and Uses of Food Plants in Anglo-Saxon England," Ph.D. Diss. (Cambridge University, 1990), 246. A succinct summary of variants and etymology of this word, as well as references to available secondary literature, can be found in the *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names*, an ongoing joint project by Peter Bierbaumer and Hans Sauer, available online at http://oldenglish-plantnames.org.

[53] It clearly cannot stand for the flowering annual, now commonly known as nasturtium (*Tropaeolum majus*), as that plant is indigenous in the Andes and was subsequently naturalized in North America. Brodin identifies *nascorium* as *Sisymbrium officinale*, known as hedge mustard in *Agnus castus*, where plain *nascorium*, *nascorium aquaticum*, *nascorium gallicanum* and *nascorium pratum* are described as similar but decidedly separate herbs. According to the *Agnus Castus*, nascorium, if eaten in excess can destroy sexual desire, "þe gret lykynge þat man haȝt to wymman," but may be used to cleanse the lung of phlegm. A poultice made with sourdough and cress heals wicked wounds, while the seeds mixed with grease can regrow hair. It also suggests dripping cress juice in the ear of the patient suffering from a toothache. Gösta Brodin, ed., *Agnus Castus: A Middle English Herbal Reconstructed from Various Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950): 185–87.

herbs: the gentle sage, coriander and horse parsley, and the murderous foxglove and hemlock.[54]

Although there seems to be no apparent botanical link between cress and cumin, this line should by no means be explained by the ignorance of the scribe who simply concatenated classical academic sources and medieval English botany. On one hand, the seed husks of certain varieties of cress are reminiscent of cumin in flavor and smell, so the seeds of the humble English cress could in fact serve as a substitute for the prohibitively expensive cumin. On the other hand, both were used in medical recipes.[55] Similarities in their medical properties were picked up by modern science: we are now well aware of the importance of linoleic acid, one of the most important polyunsaturated fatty acids in human food used in the prevention of certain vascular diseases.[56] The oil content of dried cress seeds and cumin is nearly identical, and linolenic acids comprised nearly 30% of primary fatty acids in both cress oil and cumin oil.[57] While the exact oil content and its beneficial qualities were obviously not part of traditional medical knowledge in the Middle Ages, the similarity of the seeds may have led to assumptions of similar medical properties. The possibility that the organizing principle of *synonima* was not purely linguistic, i.e. a simple dictionary, is certainly something to consider in the interpretation of the word pairs and complicates Hunt's statement that plants unviable in English soil appear in plant lists as uncritical borrowings from classical sources.

Seed lists and accounts books certainly attest to the fact that, with a few exceptions, most exotic herbs and plants, including types of cumin, continued to

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[54] In itself, *tun-* is not uncommon in Old English and Middle English plant names (e.g. toun-cresse; tun-hōve), where it presumably carries *tun*'s old sense of 'enclosure' – as in the common compounds leactun and wyrttun "vegetable garden." Alaric Hall, "Elleborus in Anglo-Saxon England, 900–1100: Tunsingwyrt and Wodewistle," in *Magic and Medicine: Early Medieval Plant-Name Studies*, ed. Carole Biggam, Leeds Studies in English N.S. 44 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2013), 82.

[55] One of the recipes in the Killingholme manuscript (fol. 117r) calls for the seed of towncress: "tak toun cresse sed [and] ʒif hym to drynk .iii. dayes [and] ʒif he scal sene it wyl hym staunche."

[56] Fahad Mohammed Al-Jasass and Mohammed Saud Al-Jasser, "Chemical Composition and Fatty Acid Content of Some Spices and Herbs under Saudi Arabia Conditions," *The Scientific World Journal* 2012 (2012): 1–5.

[57] Al-Jasass and Al-Jasser, "Chemical Composition and Fatty Acid Content," 2. For the discussion of the analgesic, antioxidant, antibacterial and anti-asthma use of cress in the context of medieval Persian medicine, see Ahmad Ameri, and others, "Medicinal Plants Contain Mucilage Used in Traditional Persian Medicine (TPM)," *Pharmaceutical Biology*, 53, no. 4 (2015): 618.

be acquired from merchants throughout the Middle Ages. However, with regard to the flavor and properties of both seeds, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the line *nigella uel narstucium* is more than a failed attempt to provide the better known name for black cumin. At the same time, it would be incorrect to cite this entry as direct evidence that cumin was grown in English herb gardens. As indicated above, the truth may be somewhere in between: the *nigella uel narstucium* entry may reveal a conscious effort to suggest a homegrown substitute for an expensive foreign spice. Entries like this may also shed light on the medieval knowledge of the medicinal/gastronomical properties of and possible local substitutes for non-indigenous plants.

The third interesting entry, *Aristologia minor uel kylancol,* also seems to be an unusual pairing of exotic plants. Elsewhere in the text *aristologia longa* and *aristologia rotunda* are also listed (fol. 114r), but without further explanation or English equivalent given to facilitate identification. At first sight, *aristologia* seems to refer to birthwort (*Aristolochia clematitis*), a member of the *Aristolochia* family.[58] Hunt, besides listing some other possibilities for *Aristologia minor*, also primarily suggests birthwort.[59] Birthwort is native to the Mediterranean region, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor, but its cultivation is possible in England.[60] In fact, sheltered monastic gardens are regarded as the source of their dissemination north of the Alps, in a wild variety that seldom forms fruit.[61] However, as Harvey suggests, species of the genus *Aristolochia* were actually unknown in England before 1538, which eliminates this possibility.[62]

Hunt's list of other possible candidates, based on a large number of plant lists and medical manuscripts, illustrate the extent of fluidity in plant identification:

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[58] Terrifyingly, its English name suggests its use to aid childbirth, even though its toxic properties causing kidney failure in humans are now recognized. A series of articles warn about the toxic and carcinogenic properties of this plant family, for example, Volker M. Arlt, Marie Stiborova, Heinz H. Schmeiser, "Aristolochic Acid as a Probable Human Cancer Hazard in Herbal Remedies: A Review," *Mutagenesis* 17, no. 4 (2002): 265–77.

[59] Hunt, *Medieval Plant Names*, 34.

[60] It seems that *Aristolochia* referred to a plant other than birthwort even in places where the latter was indigenous in earlier times. For example, Anderson disambiguates the illustrated reference to this plant citing the popular herbal of Apuleius Lucius, a native of Madurensis in North Africa. Frank J. Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 25.

[61] S.v. "*Aristolochia clematitis L.*: Common Birthwort," in Alfred Vogel, *Plant Encyclopedia.* Accessed February 27, 2017, https://www.avogel.com/plant-encyclopaedia/aristolochia_clemastitis.php.

[62] John H. Harvey, "Garden Plants of around 1525: The Fromond List," *Garden History* 17, no. 2 (1989): 124.

as far back as the fourteenth century *Aristolochia rotunda* was understood to be herb patience (*Rumex patientia*), but the somewhat similar native bistort, (*Polygonum bistorta*) was used as a substitute, as too was holewort or hollowwort (*Corydalis bulbosa*). Plants considered as *Aristolochia longa* seem to have also included soapwort (*Saponaria officinalis*) and madder (*Rubia peregrina, Rubia tinctorum*). In addition, based on medieval identification in various manuscripts, Hunt adds sweet galingale (*Cyperus longus*), albeit with a question mark, even though it is probably the most promising candidate for the plants paired in this instance.[63]

The line is clearly not unique: in certain lists *aristologia* does indeed stand for galingale even if this seems confusing for a Linnaean mindset.[64] The absence of the aforementioned two dots on the margin indicates that the entry is about one and the same plant: *aristologia = kylancol*. The exotic-sounding *kylancol*, however, is unlikely to be the expensive oriental galangal, although galangal rhizomes, harvested from the *Alpinia officinarum* plants in China, were known and used in ancient and medieval Europe for their medicinal properties and as a spice.[65] It is more likely that the entry does indeed refer to galingale (*Cyperus longus*). The assumption that the name similarity of galingale and galangal came about because both have crisp, fragrant roots with similar medicinal and culinary uses is not entirely unjustifiable, but the direction of the analogy is not possible without more detailed etymological study.[66] The exotic-looking *aristologia minor uel kylancol* entry, thus, boasts two plants that are unrelated at first sight. The marginal

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[63] Hunt, *Medieval Plant Names*, 34.

[64] *Synonima* in London, Sloane 3545, fols 5v-11r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1447, 205–16; Cambridge, Trinity College O. 8. 2, fols 6ra-10va; Cambridge, Trinity College R. 14. 32, fols 1v-65r.

[65] No recipe for galingal is found in MS XVI E. 32, even though other collections include it as an ingredient in potions and poultices. A very popular recipe for *aqua vite perfectissima*, found in many manuscripts across England, calls for so many exotic ingredients that one can be sure that the *quarteron of galanga* indeed refers to the overseas variety rather than the humble pondside sedge: "rotis of saxifrage, percell, alexander, ffenell, tyme, isope, piliall riall, rosemary, lavandir, prymerose, mynte, origanum, sawge, calamynte, avance, betonye, sawyn, galangal, blak peper, white pepir, lang peper, clowes, nutmewgis, canell, mace, quybibs, pelytory of Spayn" crushed and soaked in red wine. Paul Acker, "Texts from the Margin: Lydgate, Recipes, and Glosses in Bühler MS 17," *The Chaucer Review*, 37, no. 1 (2002): 72. German and English recipes for various jellies nearly always contain galingale among the required spices, identified as *Alpina galangal* in Johanna Maria van Winter, "Interregional Influences in Medieval Cooking," in *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson (New York: Garland, 1995), 45–60.

[66] According to the OED galingale was introduced into English from Old French, which in turn adopted it from Arabic, although it is originally Chinese: *ko-liang-kiang* named after

punctuation (or lack thereof) confirms that they were paired because they were one and the same plant and a closer look at them reveals that sweet galingale, not toxic birthwort or exotic galangal, is hiding behind the double entry. In this case, a seemingly foreign entry of fancy names actually stand for homegrown English herbs that were viable and potentially widely known in local herb gardens.[67]

Three plant pairings – three possible explanations for medieval interpretation strategies to identify "exotic" herbs. In addition, authorial idiosyncrasies and the potential variation across space (that of local dialect and regional flora) and time (language change and horticultural developments) may make the interpretation and comparison of these humble manuscript items a very complex task indeed. However, this complexity may be as rewarding as it is challenging: understanding that the *synonima* contain more information than simple glossaries, this widely available source type may reveal various layers of medieval horticultural and medical knowledge hiding behind the apparent simplicity of the genre and format.

Argumentum e silentio: The Cultural Heritage Aspect of Textual Evidence

There is no room to discuss all the herbs listed in MS XVI E. 32 or the interesting connections between the *synonima* and the recipes included elsewhere in the volume, but perhaps more can be gleaned from the texts if we turn the tables. In this article, the texts were probed to see if they talk about exotic herbs and spices that did *not* exist in medieval England. What is more interesting, however, is their curious silence about things that *did* exist. The certainly extant horticultural knowledge seems to be completely ignored in this particular manuscript, and (with one known exception) in medieval works in general.[68] Even though this essay briefly challenged Voigts's argument that exotic plants were indeed cultivated in medieval herb gardens, her note of various techniques of "pampering" rare plants,

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a prefecture named Ko + mild ginger. No notice is given to the relationship of galangal and galingale.

[67] A somewhat similar case is noted regarding *baca lauri* referred to as *laures croppan* (i.e. fruit), which suggests that the author identified *baca lauri* as cherry laurel in Bald's Anglo-Saxon *Leechbook*: M. L. Cameron, "Bald's Leechbook: Its Sources and Their Use in its Compilation," in *Anglo-Saxon England,* vol. 12, ed. by Peter Clemoe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 174.

[68] The exception is the above mentioned *Feat of Gardening*, written by Master John Gardener in around 1440, which gives instructions for sowing and planting as well as tree grafting. It also provides advice on herb cultivation, particularly useful for *herbularia*. See Harvey, "The First English Garden Book," 83–101.

raises an important question.[69] Despite their rich botanical and medical content, as well as detailed instructions about harvesting and using herbal remedies, none of the surviving books that contain plant lists and herbal medicines include practical guidance about cultivating these plants.

The necessary procedures of sheltering, weeding, mulching, and watering sensitive plants suggests that there was a body of horticultural skill and knowledge amassed that is simply invisible in medieval sources. Other essential information for day-to-day horticultural activities in the garden, for example, sowing and flowering times, knowing whether the plants are perennial or annual, their compatibility with one another, various ways to enrich the soil, pruning or cutting, fertilizing and keeping away pests and vermin, all seem to fall entirely outside the purview of medieval texts on herbs and herbal medicine. The absence of horticultural material in written sources points to the fact that the majority of learning and teaching of this type of knowledge mostly took place in situ and was transferred orally and in practice. While in agrarian communities much of this type of knowledge was received by practitioners in the domestic sphere from an early age, the specific skills and knowledge of cultivating and processing herbs, especially rare specimens, were certainly acquired on monastic premises under the guidance of the incumbent horticulturalist or infirmarer in charge. This promotes medieval monastic gardens from places of herb production and recreation to sites of experimental botany and knowledge transfer.

Returning to the question of plant composition, it can be concluded that plant lists obviously contain more plant names than what was actually cultivated in medieval English herb gardens. First, as shown above, some plants must be removed from the list due to their exotic nature. Secondly, some of the listed plants were no doubt either found growing wild in the forest and meadows of the surrounding countryside or cultivated in the kitchen garden within the monastic space. However, even after eliminating these, the variety of herbs and plants used for medicinal purposes, as attested to by these learned tomes, is impressive.

My study began with Aelfric Bata's Anglo-Saxon colloquies. Although the line "and there are a lot of other plants I can't name for you in English" was written centuries before the Killingholme manuscript, it reveals that the richness of monastic gardens no doubt surpassed the average herb gardens found in medieval villages or private gardens. It also underpins the idea that the plant composition of these gardens was curated and supervised by learned, bilingual members of

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[69] Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," 264.

the monastic community, or later, by itinerant physicians and surgeons, hired by monasteries with busy infirmaries, such as John of Aderne.

In the later history of physic gardens, the teaching and academic element became more pronounced. For example, as Hans Sloane wrote upon purchasing the garden of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries in Chelsea, the explicit purpose of the physic garden in the eighteenth century was that "their [the apothecaries'] apprentices and others may the better distinguish good and usefull plants from those that bear resemblance to them and yet are hurtful and other the like good purposes."[70] Desmond suggests that besides their usual setting – monasteries and religious houses with infirmaries – herb gardens were also found within the gardens of older universities.[71] As some of the most important botanic gardens in England were once physic gardens, Sloane's mission statement for a modern botanic garden can be seen as the continuation of the ethos of these humble but expertly cultivated monastic plots.[72] More than pretty scented sanctuaries for ailing monks, physic gardens were much like their successors: physical hubs of experimental science and medicine, botanical and horticultural learning and teaching. As such, they operated as sites of transfer and exchange not only of knowledge but also of physical plants and seeds, as well as herbal remedies, recipes, books and money – all generated within the boundaries of the infirmarer's redolent realm.[73]

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[70] Desmond, "Physic and Botanic Gardens," 129.

[71] Unfortunately the earliest reference to a physic garden in England comes from 1621, where the "physick" garden was established in Oxford, but it is not unlikely that they appeared earlier. Ray Desmond, "Physic and Botanic Gardens," in *The Garden: A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening; Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. John Harris (London: Mitchell Beazley Victoria and Albert Museum, 1979), 129.

[72] Chelsea, Oxford, and Glasgow, which all continue to play a leading role in plant preservation, education and research. Desmond, "Physic and Botanic Gardens," 130–31.

[73] As the aforementioned accounts books show, it is not unlikely that herb gardens managed to generate revenues even if their primary function was explicitly different. As Harvey notes, evidence is scanty, but lay gardeners (who formed their first professional guilds from the mid-fourteenth century onwards) may have begun to "lease monastic lands and even precincts, as market gardens and perhaps as nurseries … the production of orchard trees." John H. Harvey, "Medieval Gardens before 1500," in *The Garden*, ed. Harris, 10.

MEDIEVAL GLASS PRODUCTION AT POMÁZ-NAGYKOVÁCSI: THE FINDS AND HERITAGE INTERPRETATION OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

József Laszlovszky – Karen Stark

Introduction

> We also had painted, by the hands of many masters sought out in various nations, a splendid variety of new windows below and above…urging us onward from the material to the immaterial…[1]

So wrote Abbot Suger in reference to the numerous stained glass windows he had installed at the Abbey of St. Denis. Here and throughout his *De Administratione* the abbot, whose architectural work inspired later Cistercian structures, compares the brightness of the glass with the brightness of our minds and souls. Certainly then Cistercians appreciated the theological relevance of glass in their "architecture of light," but on a practical level they could also appreciate its lucrativeness as a craft and trade. Indeed this is the case at the Cistercian grange site of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, many miles away from St. Denis both in distance and function, located between the modern settlements of Pomáz and Pilisszentkereszt, about 20 km north of Budapest. Here Cistercian monks oversaw the production of glass in a series of workshop buildings – and even a re-purposed church – in the *medium regni* of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages. Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, as it turns out, is an ideal place for glass production; it was located in the forest, which provided the potash perfect for the production of *Waldglas*, and near the Danube River (which likely provided that other essential glass component – silica), and was also located between major royal and urban centers and, significantly, near major roads.[2]

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[1] Abbot Suger, *On what was done in his administration*, trans. Davis Burr, Medieval Sourcebook, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/sugar.html, accessed 14/02/2017.

[2] For the role and interpretation of *medium regni* see: Elek Benkő, "In Medio Regni Hungariae," in *In Medieo Regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások „az ország közepén"* (Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'In the Middle of the Kingdom'), ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2015), 11–26. On the role of the natural environment and resources in the context of *medium regni* see: Katalin Szende, "Természeti adottságok és városfejlődés a Duna-völgy magyarországi szakaszán

The discovery and excavation of a medieval glass production site is a rare thing in Hungary, even more so one connected to a monastic order, but this is the fortunate case at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, a site consisting of – at the most basic level – the ruins of a small church and three rectangular buildings. As early as the nineteenth century, the medieval ruins at Kovácsi were identified. The church, partially excavated in the early twentieth century, was later identified as the medieval village's parish church, probably built in the twelfth century. As charter evidence shows, in the mid-thirteenth century the village – and church – were owned by the Cistercian monastery of Pilis (today ruins near Pilisszentkereszt). The Cistercians established a grange at the site, for which the church served as a chapel, and sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries three structures or "wings" were constructed around the church.[3]

By the fourteenth to late fifteenth centuries, the site, as part of the Cistercian grange, was a producer of glass. This function is unique on several counts. It serves as one of the few examples of monastic glass production centers known from the Middle Ages in Central Europe. Indeed, medieval glass production centers, whether monastic or privately operated, are relatively scarce in the archaeological record, especially one that boasts standing ruins, kiln remains, and finish and waste products in such quantity. The incorporation of the former parish church

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a középkorban (Towns and the Natural Environment in the Danube Valley in Medieval Hungary)," in *In Medieo Regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások „az ország közepén".* (Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'In the Middle of the Kingdom'), ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2015),145–169.

[3] For more on the history of the site, its excavation and characteristics see: József Laszlovszky, Dóra Mérai, Beatrix Szabó, and Mária Vargha, "The 'Glass Church' in the Pilis Mountains: The Long and Complex History of an Árpád Period Village Church," *Hungarian Archaeology E-Journal* (Winter 2014): 1–11, http://www.hungarianarchaeology. hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Laszlovszky_E14T.pdf; József Laszlovszky, "Közép-kori épületegyüttes Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-pusztán" [Medieval Building Complex at Pilis-Nagykovácsi-puszta], in *Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok Évkönyv*, ed. Pál Kósa (Pécs: Talma Kiadó, 2014), 79–83; Ákos Török, Beatrix Szabó, and József Laszlovszky, "Stone Masonry Material of a Medieval Monastic Glass Production Centre, Pomáz (Hungary)," in *Engineering Geology for Society and Territory*, Volume 8, ed. Giorgio Lollino, Daniele Giordan, Cristian Marunteanu, Basiles Christaras, Iwasaki Yoshinori, and Claudio Margottini (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2014), 471–475; József Laszlovszky, "Ciszterci vagy pálos? A Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-Pusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása" [Cistercian or Pauline? Identification of the Medieval Architectural Remains Located at Pilis-Nagykovácsi-puszta], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában* [The Cistercian Order in Hungary and Central Europe], ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2009), 191–288.

into this glass production center was similarly uncommon, but archaeological excavation has demonstrated that this was indeed the case. Surrounding the church are workshops, probably originating from the same time the site became part of the grange, which were also used in the glass production process. Remains of kilns, glass waste, and finished glass products discovered during excavations confirm this. What follows is an overview of the finds that demonstrate that glass production occurred at the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi site.

The Workshop Buildings

The earthwork survey of the site has revealed two main structures. In the central part of the small hilltop is the medieval church, which was the first stone structure of the site. The parish church of the village of Kovácsi was transformed into the chapel of the grange, probably in the thirteenth century. The second complex is formed by the workshops, which are large rectangular stone buildings on the eastern, northern, and western sides of the church. Each of them are c. 28–30 m long and 8–10 m wide and are connected to each other at their corners. Three or four inner division walls separated the buildings into large or small rooms. They were probably built in different periods; at least two major construction periods can be identified in the case of the western wing. The workshops and the church are separated by an empty zone and in this way a courtyard surrounds the chapel. An enclosure wall probably connected the eastern and the western wing on the southern side of the church, creating a square-shaped, walled structure. Glass production activity has been identified in two workshop buildings and in the church. The short report written by László Krompecher on the first excavations in the 1930s indicates the presence of a glass kiln in the eastern wing. In his short report, he mentioned traces of a kiln excavated in a narrow trench. What is likely the excavation ditch can be still seen at the site, close to the western wall of the eastern wing. On the basis of his report this wing can be connected to glass production, a recent brick find belonging to a kiln also confirms this identification. The other glass production workshop was the western wing. The excavated annealing kiln and the destruction layers excavated in front of this building clearly indicate this function. At the same time, the sondage excavations of the northern wing have not yet produced any significant features or finds of glass production. Thus, this part of the complex must have had a different function. Archaeological features unearthed in the church have revealed unquestionable evidence for glass production in the nave of the chapel (*Fig. 1*). The explanation for this rather unique situation is one of the most problematic question of the archaeological interpretation at the site of Pomáz.
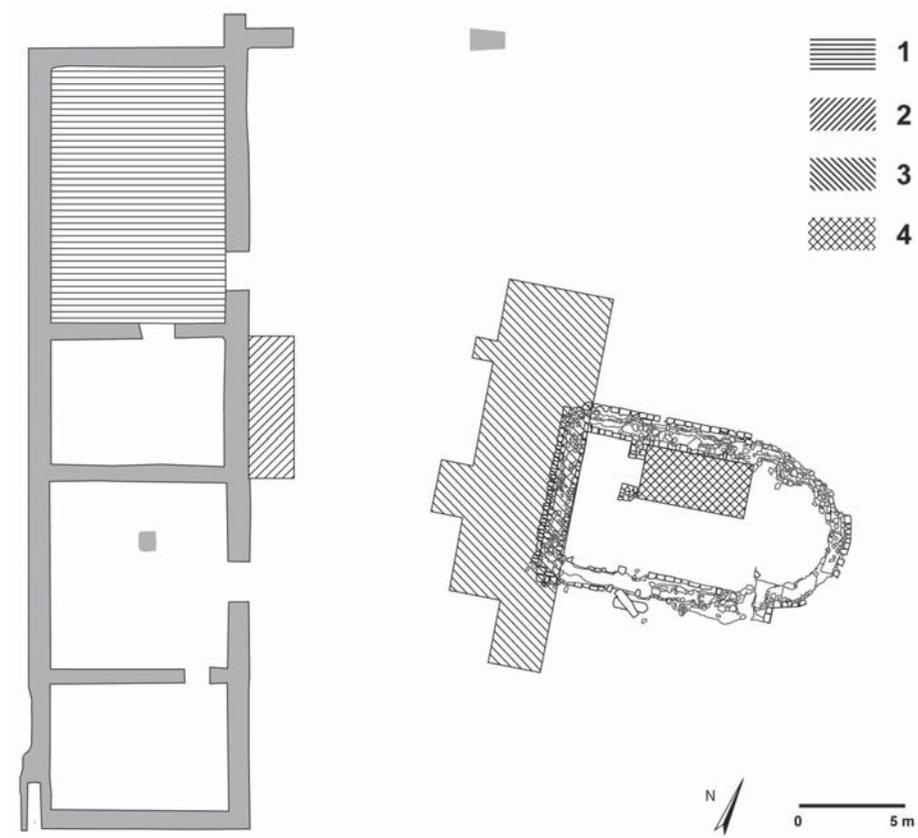
Fig. 1. Excavated areas with traces of glass production at the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi site.
Workshop buildings, chapel, and the courtyard of the grange. 1: Western wing of the
workshop complex, traces of kilns. 2: In front of the workshop building excavated remains
of an annealing furnace. 3: Deposit of a large number of fire-resistant whole bricks and
brick fragments, many with signs of burning, vitrification, and glass residue. They were
moved from the workshop building and deposited in front of the chapel in the courtyard of the
grange. 4: Traces of a kiln or oven identified in the church building. A burnt clay surface was
excavated below a soil layer full of glass finds in the nave of the chapel.

The Glass Kilns

A large number of fire-resistant whole bricks and brick fragments, many with signs of burning, vitrification, and glass residue, were discovered at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, clearly indicating the presence of more than one glass-making furnace. The assemblages represent at least two different kilns or furnaces – one assemblage discovered *in situ* was likely the annealing kiln and the other the main glass furnace in a secondary deposit position, probably because of the collapse of the kiln or other damage. Based on analysis of the diverse types of recovered bricks, the latter furnace was a ribbed, likely rounded or oval-shaped, structure.

Furthermore, some traces of a kiln or oven have been identified in the church building. A burnt clay surface was excavated below a soil layer full of glass finds in the nave of the church. A large fragment of a big crucible was also found close to this burnt surface. There were no archaeological finds (i.e., special types of bricks) indicating the structure of this kiln or oven in this part of the excavation, thus, we cannot reconstruct the kiln or oven situated in the church.

The main glass kiln or kilns at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi would have resembled the "northern furnace type," known in northern and central Europe including Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, England, and Sweden.[4] This furnace type had rectangular, oval, or, less frequently, horseshoe-shaped bases. The main furnace, which held the melted glass for working, and auxiliary furnaces, including the annealing furnace, would have been located next to each other either as wings extending from the main furnace or adjacent to each other. This is in contrast to the southern type (concentrated around the Mediterranean), which would have had a round base and in which the different furnace types would have been superimposed on each other.[5]

The reconstruction of the kilns can be based on the *in situ* archaeological features excavated at the site and on the different types of bricks found in a secondary position. While the foundation of the annealing kiln was excavated in front of the western workshop building, the different elements of the upper structure of the kiln have not yet been identified. Only one type of brick can be connected, hypothetically, to this structure. On the other hand, the foundation or *in situ* parts of the base structure of the main kilns have not yet been excavated in the workshop buildings, but their complex upper structure can be reconstructed with the help of different types of bricks and other building elements from

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[4] Heikki Matiskainen, Georg Haggeren, Jüri Kokkonen, et al., *Lasitutkimuksia - Glass research 6 : the bulletin of the Finnish glass museum* (Riihimäki: Finnish glass museum, 1991), 71.

[5] Matiskainen, Haggeren, and Kokkonen, *Lasitutkimuksia*, 71.

secondary positions. Furthermore, these brick types are closely connected to the excavated remains of glass kilns at Visegrád (*Fig. 2*), a contemporary site, which offers a solid basis for the reconstruction.[6]

As stated, the annealing kiln was discovered *in situ*, just outside the walls of the main workshop. Excavation revealed that the foundation was made of stones, many of them burnt, along with some repurposed bricks from the main kiln. Two parallel rows of bricks lie at the southern end of the foundation; the flue would have likely run between these. Based on contemporary parallels, the kiln would have been sheltered by a simple, lean-to-like structure. This structure would had posts that supported a likely tiled roof. This is confirmed by the presence of four post holes (two parallel pairs, one pair clearly representing a later rebuilding of the structure) on the eastern side of the kiln.

Because the main and auxiliary glass furnaces of the northern type would have been located quite near each other, it is likely that the main kiln would have been located inside the main workshop (the western wing of the building complex), probably somewhat near the eastern entrance so as to be close to the annealing kiln. This would also be logical because the main kiln's fragments had been discarded as close to the annealing kiln as possible, that is, immediately across from it at the western facade of the church, without getting in the way of workers. Furthermore, there are traces of kilns inside of the workshop that would support this assertion. This area has not yet been excavated, but excavation will surely clarify questions of kiln location and other details of the glass production process.

From the recovered elements of this kiln, its basic form can be reconstructed. The shape of the bricks that formed the walls and base of the structure, described in more detail below, indicate that the kiln was probably round or oval-shaped. A number of bricks that would have formed ribs were also recovered amongst the kiln elements. There is evidence in Cistercian architecture for this sort of brick-formed ribbed structure, the *Backsteingotik* or "brick gothic," though it is more widely noted amongst large, formal structures than small functional ones.[7]

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[6] Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, and Orsolya Mészáros, eds., *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), 145–147, 158–159.

[7] For similar architectural structures in Cistercian architecture see the excavated brick ribbed-vault elements from the Konversenhaus of Altzella, exhibited in the refectory of the monastery: Heinrich Magirius, Günter Kovacs, and Andreas Moosdorf, "Ergebnisse archäologischer Untersuchungen am nördischen Ende des Konversenhauses im Kloster Altzella," in *Altzelle. Zisterzienserabtei in Mitteldeutschland und Hauskloster der Wettiner*, ed. Martina Schattkowsky and André Thieme, Schriften zur Sächsischen Landesgeschichte 3 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002), 323–331, 394. Abb. 18.
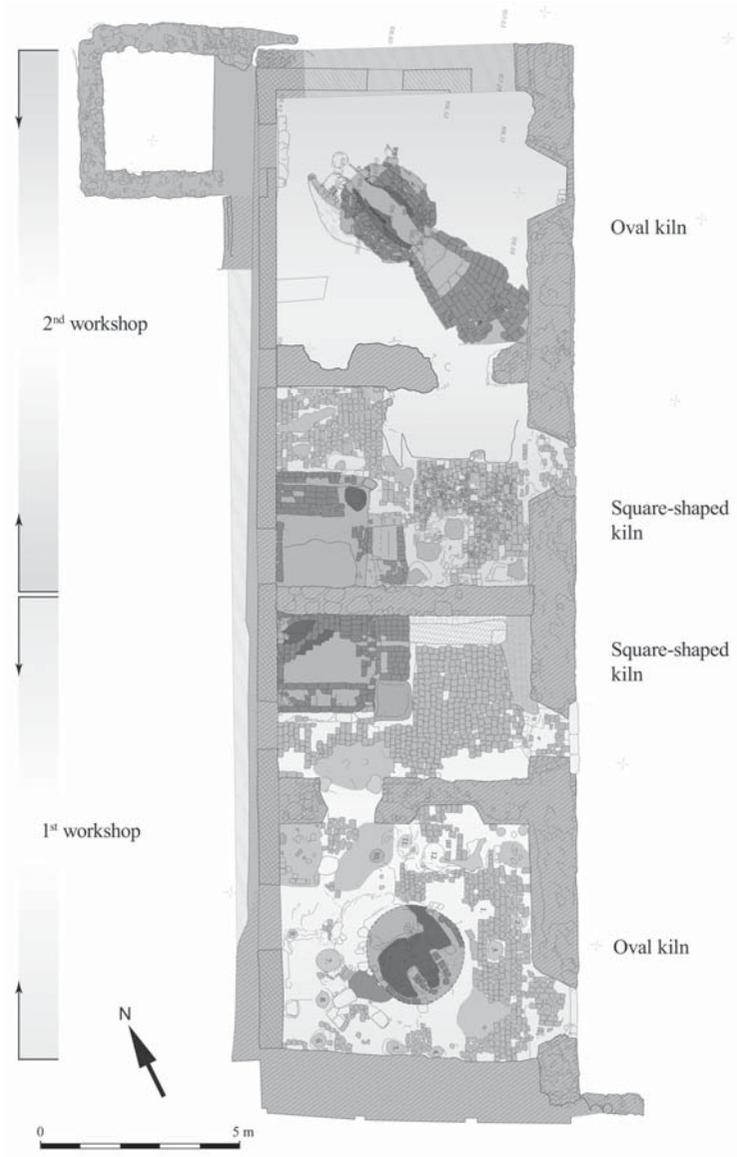
Fig. 2. Ground plan of the medieval workshop of glass production excavated at 5 Rév utca – Ferry street (No. 5) Visegrád. Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, and Orsolya Mészáros, eds., The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches *(Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), Fig. 66.*

Along with these ribs, openings would also have been present in the kiln. The upper portion of these small openings would have been rounded, and would have protruded slightly, similar to the ribs. As contemporary examples show, a shutter would have allowed the window to be closed or open, though none has hitherto been recovered from the excavation. The exact positioning of the ribbing and the number of openings is not yet known, though further reconstruction efforts and excavation will help in this process.

Typology

There were six basic types of bricks present amongst the kiln elements, categorized based on size, shape, function, and degree of burning or vitrification.[8] The first five types, the greatest in number, belong to the main glass furnace, and were made of the same yellowish-pink fabric, highly-fired clay. The final brick type was likely part of the annealing kiln.

1. Base

Amongst the kiln finds are a group of bricks that are flat on all sides and which taper at one end. The tapered end shows a great deal of burning and vitrification, significantly more than most of the other brick types. These bricks would have been closer to the fire within the kiln and thus formed the base of the furnace. The shorter, burnt edge would have been inside the kiln and exposed to the fire. The clay used for these bricks would have been highly-fired and fire-resistant, given its function. Mortar (fire-resistant tempered clay, similar to the fabric of the bricks) can still be seen on some of the fragments. The tapered shape of these bricks would have formed a rounded, probably oval base. The shape of these bricks is quite similar to those found at the Visegrád kilns.[9] They were parts of rounded main kilns, and the *in situ* elements of these kilns suggest a similar reconstruction for the Pomáz site.

2. Wall

The second group of bricks is composed of the same fabric as the first, but is more yellow in color and not as heavily built. These fragments are also not as

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[8] For the typology of similar brick elements of kilns see: Kinga Tarcsay, *Frühneuzeitliche Glasproduktion in der Herrschaft Reichenau am Freiwald, Niederösterreich,* Fundberichte aus Österreich, Materialheft A 19 (Horn: Berger, 2009), 76–83.
[9] Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, and Orsolya Mészáros, eds., *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), Fig. 66.

burnt and vitrified as the first group, and thus not as close to the furnace's heat source, although glass residue (along with mortar) is present on some fragments. For better adherence, deep, round indentations made by the potters' hands were impressed on the sides of some bricks. Some sides of the bricks were also impressed with parallel wavy or straight lines for sturdier construction. It appears that there was no functional difference between the patterns, as both patterns are sometimes present even on the same brick. Furthermore, these techniques seem to have been applied to most of the other brick types as well. The shape of these bricks indicate that they must have belonged to the vaulted upper parts of the kiln, not so much affected by the direct heat of the fire. The shape of the fragments – some asymmetric and some symmetric – also indicates that the kiln was vaulted, oval-shaped, and/or that openings in the furnace required the use of asymmetric bricks.

3. Rib Structure

A large number of a large, robust brick fragments of the same highly-fired clay as the above three types were also identified. However, their form, with three flat edges and a longer, curved outer edge indicate that they formed part of a rib. These large bricks would have been stacked one on top of the other to form multiple ribs as part of the kiln structure, adhered with clay. Here too finger indentations are found that helped to sturdy the structure. Again some of the bricks are asymmetric, signifying that they may have also been used to form oval-shaped openings. At the present time, it is uncertain exactly how the rib structure would have been constructed. Presently the shape of the rib fragments implies that the rib itself would emerge inside of the kiln, which is not concurrent with known contemporary kiln structures. Further research and reconstruction analysis is required to determine exactly how the ribs would have featured in the kiln structure.

4. Upper Openings

Several notable large, curved brick fragments were discovered during excavations. These fragments would have formed a single large, rounded piece that would have served as the top of a window or opening to the main kiln. This opening would have allowed the glass worker to either retrieve melted glass from the crucible with his pontil or blow pipe or would have allowed him to continue to heat the glass that is being worked.

Another possible interpretation of these fragments is connected to the vault of the kiln. The rim and inner parts of these fragments show some burning and

vitrification. The lower portion, about three times the width of the upper portion, is considerably less burnt and vitrified. Glass residue can also be seen on the rim part. Thus, this more burnt area would have protruded slightly inside the kiln, where it would have more direct contact with the fire. According to this second explanation, these fragments belonged to an opening inserted into the vault of the kiln and crucibles were placed into this round-shaped structure. These crucibles were used for the melting of the glass. This hypothetical reconstruction of the kiln structure should be confirmed by the identification of crucible fragments showing the same form and the same size as of the opening.

5. Lower Window

Below the aforementioned "upper opening" fragments, stacked bricks would have formed the vertical sides of the window or opening to the kiln. These lower window fragments would have one rounded short side that have protruded outside the kiln, so as to form an opening that was rounded at the top and that gradually straightened.

6. Repurposed Base

In the other brick deposit, where the annealing kiln would have been located, some large brick fragments were of the same fire-resistant, yellowish clay as the bricks that comprised the main glass furnace. These bricks appear to have been reused parts of the main furnace, which were used in the otherwise stone foundation of the annealing furnace. Many of these bricks are heavily burnt, further evidence that they were situated in the foundation, close to the heat source of the furnace. However, most of the annealing kiln was made of large bricks of a different clay.

Crucibles[10]

Crucibles, also known as melting pots, glass pots, or simply "pots," are amongst the most indicative signs of glass production at an archaeological excavation, and Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is no exception. The first such find was unearthed during the first excavations of the site in the 1930s, but their identification has created a number of problems. László Krompecher has described them as huge pots made of andesite (or volcanic tufa) with traces of glass residue and arcade-shaped

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[10] Thanks to Tiffany May for her work on the crucibles of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, and in particular for her development of the crucible typology, which is summarized here. For the typology of crucibles see also: Tarcsay, *Frühneuzeitliche*, 83–96.

decoration.[11] The author of the first complex study on the history of the glass industry in Hungary was rather skeptical about the finds at Pomáz, and was not convinced that glass production took place in the building complex. For example, he argued that this pot was not particularly big, as it was only 40 cm tall and its diameter was the same.[12] Based on this information, and on recently found similar fragments, this pot must have belonged to the largest group of crucibles made of tempered fire-resistant clay. The size and the fabric can be compared to similar finds from the recent excavations at Pomáz and from late medieval and early modern glass production sites in Central Europe. During the recent excavations of the site at Pomáz, a significant number of crucible fragments were recovered, amongst the largest amount of such artifacts to be excavated from a single site in the region. These finds were undoubtedly classified as crucibles because of their large and robust size, fire-resistant clay, and the presence of considerable amounts of glass residue found on many of the fragments. These ceramic pots, sturdily constructed to withstand the high-heat conditions of glass furnaces, held the molten glass within the glass kiln. Most medieval crucibles were large and simple, although smaller vessels called "piling pots," which usually held special, brightly-colored glass, were also used.[13] There is a great deal of diversity amongst the crucibles – of form, of fabric, and of degree of use.

At this point in the excavation, the majority of the crucible fragments have been recovered, not surprisingly, from trench 38, located just outside the western workshop. Here was found a mix of materials, likely discarded from the workshop, as well as one furnace (probably the annealing kiln) which was discovered *in situ*. A large number of fragments was also found adjacent to the western wall of the church. This collection of finds likely represents, at least in part, a collapsed kiln. Amongst the kiln were layers of crucible fragments that had been stuck together with molten glass, a result of the collapse of possibly the whole kiln, or perhaps only the internal structure. The distribution of crucible fragments amongst the rest of the excavated area is fairly regular.

The large number of crucible fragments recovered here is not unexpected; ceramics are prone to breakage and are typically amongst the most commonly recovered artifact on an archaeological excavation. Besides breakage due to long-

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[11] László Krompecher, "A pilisi apátság romjainak fellelése" [Finding the Traces of the Abbey at Pilis], *Technika* 15 (1934): 36–37.

[12] Lajos Sághelyi, *A magyar üvegesipar története* [History of the Hungarian Glass Industry] (Budapest: Budapesti Üvegesek Ipartestülete, 1938), 76–77.

[13] Sarah Paynter and David Dungworth, *Archaeological Evidence for Glass-Working: Guidelines for Best Practice*, English Heritage (Swindon, 2011), 18.

term use and reuse of the crucibles it is assumed that" the breakage of the crucible during the glass-making process was considerable. They were presumably not fired quite hard enough to withstand the pressure of boiling glass, whose rate of expansion was greater than the earthenware."[14]

Crucibles for glassmaking had to withstand temperatures of 1200° C and above, and thus special clays and materials from stones with good refractory properties were used to create them. While there is no explicit evidence regarding the mining of refractory clays in Hungary for this use during the Middle Ages, the geographical regions around Pomáz-Nagykovácsi contain deposits of common refractory materials such as kaolin, dacite, andesite, and marl clays. The northern regions of Hungary have coal seams with various underclays that have been mined in modern times, which are also rich in aluminum and silicates and known for their refractory properties.[15] Nevertheless, it is likely that clay had to be brought from outside the immediate area, then prepared and used at the site, as was the case in many glasshouses in Europe. It is uncertain at this stage, however, whether or not the crucibles were constructed on site, either by the glass-makers themselves or by a trained professional, or if they were imported, from where. Thus far no layers of ceramic powder, which would indicate crucible construction, have been revealed, but there is still much area around the workshops and church to be excavated that might reveal such layers. Further excavation and analysis of the distribution pattern of the crucibles will help answer these questions that remain.

Typology

The following text contains a typology of the crucible fragments and is divided into four sections: fabric, size, form, and glass residue.

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[14] Eric S. Wood, "A Medieval Glasshouse at Blunden's Wood, Hambledon, Surrey," *Journal of the Surrey Archaeological Society* LXII (1965): 68.

[15] Jessica Elzea Kogel, Nikhil C. Trivedi, James M. Barker, and Stanley T. Krukowsk, eds., *Industrial Minerals & Rocks: Commodities, Markets, and Uses* (Littleton, CO: Society for Mining Metallurgy, 2006), 408; Jakab Matyasovszky and Lajos Petrik*, Az agyag-, üveg-, cement- és ásványfesték-iparnak szolgáló magyarországi nyers anyagok részletes katalógusa* [Detailed Catalogue of the Mineral Sources for Ceramic, Glass, Cement and Mineral Paint Industries in Hungary] (Budapest: A Magyar Királyi Földtani Intézet kiadványai, 1885); György Szakmány, "Kerámia nyersanyagok, kerámiák a mai Magyarország területén a neolitikumtól a XVIII. század végéig" [Materials for Ceramics, Ceramics in the Territory of Present-day Hungary from the Neolithic till the End of the 18th Century], *A Miskolci Egyetem Közleménye A sorozat, Bányászat* 74 (2008): 49–90.

1. *Fabric*

The recovered crucible fragments are diverse both in color and temper; after analysis they can be categorized into five cohesive types, classified as types A, B, C, D, and E. However, grouping crucibles based on visual analysis of the fabric can be problematic, as crucibles were exposed to different temperatures and varying furnace environments (both oxidizing and reducing atmospheres), which can cause chemical reactions with visual results. Thus, the subsequent categorization of crucibles based on visual rather than chemical criteria is rather deductive;[16] though visual comparisons have been shown to be useful, as illustrated, for example, by a study of crucibles from a medieval site in the Weald, England.[17]

The first category, Type A, is the darkest and heaviest of the materials, resembling coarse, dark grey granite. The material used for Type A seems to be mainly crushed stone with large amounts of silica and different oxides. Type A crucible pieces are mainly thinner body fragments or rims with fairly well-defined curves, often with a wall width that decreases from the top of the rim down the side and displaying ridges made by the potters' fingers, which may have helped in managing the liquid glass.[18] The glass residue most often present on Type A crucibles is thin, shiny, and a dark brownish-grey color with white lines. Type A crucibles have thin layers of glass, suggesting that they were used for melting and/or for holding glass to be blown, although large lumps of glass and glass waste adhere to the surface of some of the Type A fragments. The color tones of Type A are mainly grey with some brownish hues.

The material used to create Type B appears to be less homogenous than the other fabric types, with fine sandy particles, small dark inclusions, and larger white particles, probably a type of silicate. The distinct red color, along with the variety of particle types, suggest that this material may have been the result of grinding up other refractory products (perhaps old crucibles) in order to produce crucibles with better refractory qualities. Another possibility, based on the red color, is that Type B may be a type of clay mixture of marl and/or andesite, which are known in Hungary and turn red when fired. Type B crucibles tend to have

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[16] In order to analyze the crucibles properly an archaeometric investigation is needed, such as that done on crucibles from Südel, Switzerland, see: Giacomo Eramo, "The glass-melting furnace and the crucibles of Südel (1723–1741, Switzerland): provenance of the raw materials and new evidence of high thermal performances," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 7, no. 4 (2006): 286–300.

[17] Wood, "A Medieval Glasshouse," 54–79.

[18] Wood, "A Medieval Glasshouse," 69.

less glass residue than Types A and C, although they do have more clay and other waste build up.

Type C is the most common of all of the material types. It is comparatively homogenous in color, ranging from a light, sandy tan to a more reddish-brown. These crucibles also have the widest range of glass residue and debris, suggesting that they were using for fritting and melting. Glass build-up is the thickest on Type C crucibles and tends to be a darker, oxidized glass, particularly on base pieces. Like Type A, some Type C crucibles have ridges from the potter's fingers.

Crucible Type D seems to be mainly made of kaolin clay and looks similar to the white "fireclay" described as being used by glassmakers in England. Many of the Type D fragments show visible signs of their production, such as indentations and impressions made by the potter's tools. Like Type A crucibles, Type D fragments mainly have dark brown or grey glass on their surfaces, yet most of the glass lacks the sheen seen on the glass of the former. Many of these fragments have very sparse glass residue, or none at all indicating that the latter were likely unused.

Only two pieces of Type E crucible have been identified in this sample, a wall fragment and a base, which is probably due to the fact that these crucibles are made with graphite, which was expensive and difficult to use. Since neither of the graphite pieces have any kind of glass residue, it is possible that these were broken parts of vessels which were actually not crucibles at all, or which may have been ground up and recycled in order to increase the refractory properties of the crucible material. Small crucibles with graphite are typical finds from late medieval assemblages in Hungary. These types of pieces were excavated at urban settlements, castles, or monastic sites and were usually connected to metal production or to goldsmith work. Thus, the pieces from the Pomáz site should be studied with the help of these parallels.[19]

2. Size

Overall, the melting pots have an average diameter of about 300 to 350 mm. The smallest pots, few in number, would have had a diameter of about 200 mm, while crucibles with diameters as large as 450 mm were also present. Rim widths varied between 10 and 30 mm and bases had a median width of about 40 mm.

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[19] Imre Holl, "Mittelalterliche Goldschmiede in Buda, Handwerk und Topographie," *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 7 (1991): 79–91.

3. Form

The melting pots of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi have a diverse array of forms from which a form typology could be created, of which a few forms are much more prevalent than the others. There are two basic types of rims – rounded and flattened. The rounded rims are primarily simple, straight-walled, and of even thickness [R0.1], however, rounded rims that are significantly thinner than the adjoining walls [R0.2] and rounded rims that are slightly pinched internally and externally [R0.3] were also identified. Flattened, thick, straight-walled rims are the most common rim type [R1.0]. Flattened rims too had variations: rims that slanted slightly inwards and then curved outwards [R1.1] and rims which were pinched internally and slightly externally [R1.2].

Base fragments were more homogenous. All bases were almost completely flat, a very common characteristic amongst crucibles to ensure stability. Base types at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi were typically of about even thickness from the base itself to the adjoining wall, though some had thicker, more robust bottoms. Bases either ascended at almost a right angle from the base to a nearly straight-walled body [B0.1], or sloped outwards more gradually to a slightly thinner body [B0.2].

These forms are typical for medieval and late medieval crucibles – thick bases with fairly straight walls and little ornamentation, if any. Such forms can be seen at glass production sites from medieval central Italy (here especially prevalent is form R1.2) to early medieval Solling in western Germany.[20] The largest crucibles from Pomáz are also similar to the finds from the early modern glass production site at Reichenau.[21] Compared to contemporary crucible finds from Hungary, the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi finds are not atypical. At a fourteenth-century glass production site at Diósjenő, Hungary, flat bases with both straight and rounded rims were identified.[22] However, the very straight, thick walls seen at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, as well as the site's diversity of rounded and flat rims, are missing from Diósjenő. Similar large crucibles were also excavated in the building complex of the late medieval glass production site at Visegrád. Crucibles with the

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[20] Maria Mendera, "Some aspects of medieval glass production in central Italy: Glass making at Gambassi (Tuscany)," *Annales du 11e Congrès* (1990): 303–315 and 313, fig. 9; Hans-Georg Stephan, *Der Solling im Mittelalter. Archäologie – Landschaft – Geschichte im Weser und Leinebergland. Siedlungs- und Kulturlandschaftsentwicklung. Die Grafen von Dassel und Nienover*, Hallesche Studien zur Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit 1 (Dormagen: Archaeotopos, 2010), Abb. 55.2, 135.

[21] Tarcsay, *Frühneuzeitliche Glasproduktion*, 84–90.

[22] Edit Mester, *Középkori üvegek* [Medieval glass], Visegrád régészeti monográfiái 2 (Visegrád: Visegrád Mátyás Király Múz., 1997), fig. 335, 117.

same type of characteristic features should also be compared with archaeometric data from these two sites, as these objects can be dated to the same period and technological similarities of the kilns are also significant.[23]

4. Glass Residue

Most of the crucible fragments possess some amount of glass residue on their exterior and/or interior surfaces. The glass residues are glossy or matte, opaque or transparent, and occur in thin or thick layers. Colors range from light forest green, typical for *Waldglas* and also probably representative of the original color of much of the glass produced at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, to dark blue and brown. The most common glass residue is dark olive to black with white streaks, which is also the most common color of glass fragment recovered from the site. Glass waste includes pieces of over-heated and raw glass, as well as tiny white pebbles and other waste material.

The character and thickness of glass residue is likely a result of how long the vessel had been used. If the crucible was poorly made it could break in the first melting, or some other accident may have caused the vessel to break after only a short period of use, and the resulting fragments would thus exhibit only thin layers of glass material.[24] High temperatures and direct contact with melted glass caused crucible bases and walls to vitrify, melt, and thin, which would account for the varying thickness and disintegration of the fragments from Pomáz-Nagykovácsi.[25] Some crucibles may have broken even before their first use and then were likely discarded or reused – either ground up and added to another batch of clay or for some other use. For instance, several pieces of a large unused crucible were found in the church near what was once an open hearth. Because

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[23] Orsolya Mészáros, "15. századi üvegműhely és környezete Visegrádon." [A Fifteenth-century Glass Workshop and its Environs in Visegrád], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon* (Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary), ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 675–689. For tools and crucibles used at the Visegrád workshop site see: István Kováts and Orsolya Mészáros, "Válogatás a késő középkori Visegrád város leletanyagából (Selected Finds from Late Medieval Visegrád," in *In Medieo Regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások „az ország közepén".* (Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'In the Middle of the Kingdom'), ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2015), 653–655.
[24] Heikki Matiskainen, *The Finnish Glass Museum, Lasitutkimuksi – Glass Research* VI (Vammala, 1991), 67.
[25] Matiskainen, *The Finnish Glass Museum*, 68.

crucibles were made from fire-resistant clay, it is possible that this large fragment of unused crucible was used as a plate or platform to place hot items on after emerging from the hearth.

As discussed above, there was a sizable number of fragments with no glass residue or other signs of use. The two fragments of fabric Type E are atypical and not representative of this category of unused fragments. More representative are two other fabric types. Most seemingly unused fragments are of fabric type D – nearly white with sandy, white particles, flattened rims, and visible signs of the potter's tools. The other variety is closer to fabric type C, but of a lighter, tan to pink color, and may in fact represent the unused version of fabric type C. The latter unused fragment type is distinct because of the presence of a layer of thin clay, likely a slip of some kind, on the external and internal surface. This slip also shows signs of the potter's tools and is flaking off of the surface of the fragments to varying degrees. These crucibles are typically thinner, and the walls slope inwards more dramatically, or in other words, are more bowl-shaped, than the majority of crucibles recovered from the site.

It is unclear if and how these lighter-colored, unused fragments would change after use, and if so, what temperatures would affect these changes and to what colors they would change to. It is additionally unclear why one type of crucible would have a slip, while another would not. It is possible that the slip was added for extra protection or to assist in the glass melting process in some way, but further research needs to be conducted to answer these questions. This further research can also shed light on the question of decoration or painting on crucibles, mentioned in the report of the first excavations by László Krompecher.

Tools for Glass Production

In addition to the remains of glass kilns, crucible fragments, and the glass products and waste themselves, remnants of tools used for glass production were also recovered from the excavation site. These tools are all ceramic and to date no metal tools have been identified. Evidence of the most ubiquitous glass-working tool – the blow-pipe – has, not surprisingly, not been recovered during excavation. While the first blow-pipes were made of clay, iron blowpipes were used in late antiquity and possibly earlier.[26] Certainly in the Middle Ages iron blow-pipes would have been used, and that would have been the case at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi. Metal fragments have been found at the site in the same stratigraphic levels where

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[26] E. M. Stern, ed., *Roman Mold-Blown Glass: The First Through Sixth Centuries* (Toledo, OH: The Toledo Museum of Art, 1995), 40–42.

evidence of glass production has been recovered, and while these could have originated from some glass-making tool – such as blow-pipes, pontils, shears, or tweezers – they are now so corroded or small that their original function could not be identified. However, this is a typical situation as metal tools were quite valuable and thus less likely to be lost or broken than ceramic tools, and old metal tools were usually recycled.[27] What has been identified from the excavation are ceramic tuyères and molds, clear indication that high-temperature kilns were being used to produce mold-blown glass vessels.

Nearly forty clay tubular fragments have been recovered during the excavation to date. These fragments likely functioned as a tuyère (also spelled tuyere), the mouthpiece of a bellows, which brought air into the kiln to regulate temperature. These tuyères, or mouth blowers as they were also known, were usually ceramic, while the bellows themselves were made of other materials such as leather and were used as early as the third millennium B.C. around the Mediterranean and throughout Europe.[28]

All fragments were made of the same red fabric, which contains some refractory materials and a predominately white temper. The interiors of these fragments are visibly more coarse than the comparatively smooth exterior. The diameters range between 40 and 50 mm. The average thickness of the fragments was 15.5 mm, slightly thinner at the end that would have been open nearest the furnace.

These fragments were found in two areas of the site: near the southwest corner of the church and near southern-most area of the western workshop structure. Both sites are areas where intense glass production occurred, but are not in the same two locations as where the glass kilns were excavated.

The discovery of two clay mold fragments at the site are among the most unique. The larger and more definitive fragment, recovered from the area around the southern part of the western workshop, is 74 mm high, nearly the full height of the original mold, and likely representing one-fourth of the original total mold. The base of the mold is nearly flat, and the three exterior walls are also smooth and flat. The fabric is light tan, nearly pink, in color. The fine temper is white, red, and dark grey or black in color, with a few larger inclusions. There is also some dark grey residue inside the mold, indicating that it had probably been used. The interior of the mold, showing the inverse form of the vessel that would have been formed, shows parallel, thin vertical ribs.

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[27] Matiskainen, *The Finnish Glass Museum*, 69.
[28] Matiskainen, *The Finnish Glass Museum*, 69.

A second, smaller mold fragment was also discovered, displaying the same ribbed pattern as the first. The pattern would suggest that the two fragments come from the same mold, however, the latter's fabric is grey-colored with some sparse refractory materials and very small multi-colored inclusions. It is possible that exposure to fire or soil conditions altered the color of the mold and they do in fact belong to each other. However, it is also possible that they are from separate molds, which would not be surprising as we would expect to find many molds of the same vessel in a commercial glass workshop. The latter is also more likely as this fragment was found in a different location than the former – the southwest corner of the church.

The vessel that would have been formed from this mold would have been a small ribbed bowl or cup, between 70 and 80 mm in diameter, although it is difficult to state a definitive number because the upper part of the mold, which would have formed the rim, is damaged. Parallels for such a vessel are numerous and is a well-known glass form from antiquity, which continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages.

The Glass: Products and By-Products[29]

The clearest evidence of glass production is, of course, the glass itself, and Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is certainly not short on this material – in fact the archaeological excavation of the Cistercian industrial grange has produced about 15 kg of glass material. Most of these finds are related to the production process (waste, byproduct, fritti, melted glass, or slag), but nearly 150 pieces of the glass products themselves could also be identified.

Most of these finds were unearthed in the context of a destruction layer of the glass production workshop, which was found in front of the western facade of the church. A significant amount of low quality, oxidized glass product was found here together with typical by-products of the glass production process. Another area of the archaeological site that has produced a significant number of glass products was the nave of the church. However, by-products or other typical finds of the production process were not found in this zone; most of the glass

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[29] The summary of the glass products and by-products is based on the research of Edit Megyeri, see: Edit Megyeri, "Üvegek a Visegrád Rév utca 5. szám alatt feltárt üvegműhelyből és Pomáz–Nagykovácsi lelőhelyről [Glass Finds from the Glass Workshop at 5 Rév Street Visegrád and at the Excavation Site of Pomáz–Nagykovácsi]," in *A múltnak kútja. Fiatal középkoros régészek V. konferenciájának tanulmánykötete / The Fountain of the Past. Study Volume of the Fifth Annual Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists*, ed. Tibor Ákos Rácz (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 75–88.

finds were oxidized shards of very fragmented glass objects. A relatively small part of the glass finds represent better quality pieces, which were transparent and survived in much better condition. Both previously mentioned excavation areas produced such finds as well, but they were much more dispersed in these zones, compared to the low quality, oxidized finds.

A substantial amount of the fragments of glass objects could be identified and could be divided into different groups of products based on their form, shape, size, and quality. Most of them belong to the category of container glass objects – lamps, phials, and various types of tableware. Round window glasses, also know as crown glass, with a diameter of 9–10 cm, were also found in smaller number.

The most characteristic type of container glasses recovered were bottles. These had a double conic rim with one or two rings, rings on the shoulder, and a conic (tapered) bottom portion with or without a foot ring.[30] Blue-colored, corroded bottle fragments decorated with parallel glass trails were also excavated. These fragments can be identified as parts of the mouth of "Angster" type vessels, bottles with an almost spherically-shaped lower body and a narrow neck.[31]

The other significant group of glass finds were prunted beakers, a quite typical type for the area and time, of which their decorative elements or decorated bases could be identified.[32] The applied prunts can be grouped into two categories, the larger pointed prunts and the smaller snail-shaped ones. An applied glass trail can also sometimes be found on the rim of the beaker.

Two glass beads, two lid knobs, and a handle of a jar or jug were also identified amongst the finds. Fragments with applied bands, either incised or imprinted, were also found, but the type of glass vessels to which they belonged cannot be identified. It should also be noted that no clearly identifiable fragments of goblets belonged to the assemblages.

The quality of the fragments also allows us to sort the glass into two distinct groups. The first includes colorless, good quality glass, with a thin irizating surface being the only apparent corrosion. However, most of the fragments belong to the "forest glass" category and are of lower quality. Due to this most are in fairly bad condition and have almost entirely lost their original color. Their surface is rarely shiny, more often opalescent, and small holes can be seen on their surfaces.

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[30] Katalin H. Gyürky, *Az üveg. Katalógus* [The glass. A catalogue] (Budapest: A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1986), X–XI.

[31] Gyürky, *Az üveg. Katalógus*, XVI, plate 1.

[32] Gyürky, *Az üveg. Katalógus*, XXV, plate 2.

Some of the bottles and prunted beakers were made of good quality, colorless glass, indicating that they were finely manufactured pieces. Melted glass finds or drops of a similar high quality were also found at the site. Some fragments of other vessel types also belong to this group, but the quality of manufacturing is not as good in these cases. For example, base fragments with prunt decorations show signs of hasty manufacture; in one case the base of a bottle shows a quite obvious pontil mark, indicating that it had not been ground or sanded off.

Fragments of pale green bottles were also found, though in smaller quantity, in addition to fragments of pale pink glass, which likely belonged to a beaker or small bottle. The color of these fragments suggests that manganese (commonly called brown stone) was added during the production process to make the products colorless, or at least more colorless in relation to the untreated glass.[33] It is possible, however, that the colorless or nearly colorless fragments may have belonged to broken glass vessels that had been collected for recycling and re-melting, commonly called cullet. It should also be noted that the majority of the fragments of glass vessels from Pomáz-Nagykovácsi are dark brown, blue, or green, and that the corrosion process can cause a significant alteration in color – in particular producing a dark brown, blue-green color.

The glass forms identified at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi – the double conic bottles, the "Angsters," and the prunted beakers – appear also among the finds of glass production centers in Hungary dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.[34] Some of the glass finds from the site can also be dated somewhat later – to the first decades of the sixteenth century – based on their form and decoration. This dating can be corroborated by the decoration of the prunted beakers,[35] by the twisted string decoration of the bottles, and by the double ring at the rim of some vessels.[36]

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[33] Katalin H. Gyürky, "Középkori üveghuta feltárása a Nógrád megyei Diósjenő közelében" [Archaeological excavation of a glass production center near Diósjenő in Nógrád County], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 119 (1992): 77; István Fórizs, "Üvegkészítés Magyarországon a kezdetektől a XVIII. századig" [Glass production in Hungary from the beginning until the 17th century], *A Miskolci Egyetem Közleménye A sorozat, Bányászat* 74 (2008): 128.

[34] Katalin H. Gyürky, *Üvegek a középkori Magyarországon* [Glass in medieval Hungary] (Budapest, 1991), 19–24.

[35] Mester, *Középkori üvegek*, 22, 46.

[36] Gyürky, *Az üveg. Katalógus*, 35, 45; Katalin H. Gyürky, "A váci Széchenyi utca üvegleletei" [Glass finds from Széchenyi Street in Vác], *Váci Könyvek* 5 (1991): 111–112.

Market Region of the Production Site

Archaeological research on medieval glass production in Hungary has indicated that a significant group of production sites can be found close to the Danube Bend region.[37] The two hilly areas on the two sides of the Danube, the Pilis and the Börzsöny mountains, offered favorable geographical conditions for glass production. Most likely the large woodland areas of these hilly regions were the most important factors in the site selection of these *Waldglass* production sites. At the same time, late medieval market factors should also be taken into consideration. Buda and Visegrád were the most important royal residences in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and other royal building complexes were situated at Óbuda. Esztergom was the seat of the archbishop, who was the primate of the Hungarian Church in the Middle Ages, while Vác was one of the most important bishopric centers. All these settlements were characterized by major towns with a significant concentration of Hungarian, German, and other groups in the urban population. From the beginning of the fifteenth century Buda became the real capital of the kingdom and together with Óbuda and Pest formed the largest urban complex in the center of Hungary. The *Medium Regni* was not simply the late medieval power center of the kingdom, it was also the most important area for urban craftsmanship and commerce. Therefore, the presence of the royal court, the urban residences of the aristocracy, the royal monasteries and friaries of the region, and the significant urban population created a large market for glass products. Although the highest quality of glass objects were imported to this region, local production centers found significant markets, particularly in the urban settlements. The Pomáz and Visegrád sites were obviously connected to these markets. While the former was an urban enterprise, the Pomáz site belonged to the monastic industrial production activity of a Cistercian workshop.

The archaeological investigation of the Cistercian abbey at Pilis has revealed a significant number of features and finds connected to different industrial activities. Large scale metal production using water energy and production of architectural ceramics were significant elements of the monastic economy in this period. Imre Holl, who studied the archaeological finds from this monastic site, was able to reconstruct the market region of one of these products. Decorated

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[37] Edit Mester, "Üvegművesség a középkorban és a kora újkorban. (Glass Art in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age," in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon.* (Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary), ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 643–674.

floor tiles were made with a particular technology, their decorative patterns can be compared from different sites. As waste pieces also belonged to these types of floor tiles from the monastic sites at Pilis, other similar objects from other sites can be directly connected to this monastic production site. On the basis of these investigations Imre Holl has identified products from Pilis. Floor tiles of these types were found in four churches at Esztergom: the Franciscan and Dominican friaries, and the parish churches of St. Ladislaus and St. Laurence. Furthermore, same type of archaeological finds were excavated in the palace of the archbishop of Esztergom, in a similar way to the chapel in the royal palace and the parish church at Visegrád. Monastic sites around the Pilis region can also be connected to the same market region. The Premonstratensian monastery at Zsámbék and the Pauline monastery at Klastrompuszta belong to this circle, while similar finds from the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island and one piece from the royal palace at Buda indicate that the products of the Pilis monastery had also reached this area.[38]

On the basis of our knowledge on the industrial production of the Pilis abbey a similar market region can be reconstructed for the glass objects. At the same time this hypothesis should be confirmed by other data, as the typology of glass objects cannot be used as direct evidence for the production site. Furthermore, the similarities between the Pomáz and the Visegrád glass production sites and their products raise another question: to what extent can a market division be observed between these workshops, if they were active in the same period? Both problems can only be solved with the help of systematic investigations using different types of archaeometric studies.

Interpretation and Heritage Management

A great multitude of finds have been discovered at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, helping us to form a picture of a unique and dynamic archaeological site – the question now is how to properly preserve, interpret, and manage the finds and the site itself. The site and what is has revealed are relevant and important on many accounts – for the study of monastic land management, medieval crafts and industry, and the history of glass blowing, to a name a few – and for many people – for the local community, Hungarians in general, and for international researchers and visitors. Much work related to the interpretation and management of the site has already been done and much more is in the works. Several institutions have

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[38] Imre Holl, *Funde aus dem Zisterzienserkloster von Pilis* (Budapest: Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XI, 2000), 58–66, 176, Abb. 118.

been involved – the Cultural Heritage Studies Program at the Central European University (CEU), the Association of Cultural Heritage Managers (KÖME), and the Danube-Ipoly National Park Directorate (DINPI) – and the private owner of the site (which now functions as a private goat farm) has also actively supported and contributed to the promotion of the site. Among the projects being conducted at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is the ongoing excavation of the site and the processing of artifacts led by József Laszlovszky, with the help of other archaeologists and students, and public cultural heritage events, such as the "Beyond the Glasshill" program organized by students of the Cultural Heritage Studies Program at Central European University in April 2016.[39]

A central element of the heritage interpretation of the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi site is the development of some sort of multi-functional space, a main structure providing all the elements necessary for hosting and educating visitors, students, and professionals. A "Heritage Interpretation and Training Center" has been proposed to fulfill such a role and a small neglected house just east of the site has been chosen to serve this role and is currently being remodeled to fulfill this purpose. As part of this project the archaeological excavation at the site would be developed into a sort of "study excavation," a place where students would receive hands-on training by archaeologists and other specialists, work with artifacts, and experience heritage interpretation first-hand (the site has served as an archaeological field school already for many years, but the development of the Training Center would help to expand and enlarge this function). The Training Center would serve as the classroom, accommodation, and social space for this purpose.

The building would both host heritage interpretation components – lectures, classes, exhibits – and serve as an example of heritage interpretation itself. The center would be designed as a best practices building in heritage interpretation, constructed to be environmentally friendly and in harmony with the ruins and surrounding wildlife.

In addition to this multi-functional space, a further goal in the interpretation of the site is the reconstruction of elements of the medieval glass production center into a working glass workshop together with an exhibit focusing on the history of the site, medieval glass production, and the recovered artifacts. A small museum would contain informative plaques, images, and artifacts aimed at the interpretation of the site from the beginning of its known usage in the early

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[39] Association of Cultural Heritage Managers (KÖME), Cultural Heritage Studies (Central European University) in association with Duna-Ipoly National Park and Fülöp Farm, "Glasshill," http://glasshill.eu/en/.

Middle Ages. A large portion of the museum would be dedicated to the site's use as a glass production site during the late Middle Ages. The exhibit would feature artifacts recovered during excavations including parts of the glass furnace and glass production tools and other evidence of glass production. Finished glass products from the site as well as reconstructions would also be featured. Thus, visitors would become acquainted with all stages of the glass production process – from the collection of raw materials to the finished product.

The ultimate goal would be to fully reconstruct the glass workshop, which would then be divided into three sections. The first section or room would be dedicated to a museum exhibition, the second would feature *in situ* artifacts focused on glass production, and the final a modern glass workshop. This reconstruction would be a long-term goal, but in the short-term a smaller workshop and exhibit area could be constructed. One of the many standing structures on the site could be renovated for this purpose, but a small structure built adjacent to the most western workshop would also be a good interim option. This small structure would be located over a previously excavated area, where the glass furnace was discovered, making it an appropriate area for its reconstruction. This structure would resemble the late medieval and early modern constructions often built over glass furnaces.

In addition to the exhibit, traditional glass-making demonstrations and classes would be planned. For this, a glass-maker trained to blow and work with glass in the medieval fashion (which is, quite honestly, not that different from modern glass-blowing practices) would demonstrate for audiences the process of blowing and forming medieval glass forms such as prunted beakers, wine glasses, jugs, and flasks. Glass blowing lends itself to such performances, as the glass maker's movements must be fluid and graceful and the forming of liquid glass into defined shapes is visually fascinating.

This proposed exhibit and "living" museum has successful precedents. Demonstrations and samples of the famous Venetian glass are available at Murano near Venice, the Corning Museum of Glass in Corning, NY gives demonstrations of glass-making from various historical periods, as well as providing classes in the same, and at the Bohemian Glassworks of Skalice, Czech Republic, replicas of *Waldglas* are faithfully produced. However, Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is unique in that it is an actual site of historical glass production, and the artifacts that would be on display were excavated from the site itself. Thus this site has a three-fold appeal: as an archaeological excavation, a museum, and a working historical workshop.

The overall goal of these projects is to develop the site into an educational platform (with elements of entertainment by way of engaging, hands-on, and

interactive exhibits and demonstrations) for the public on a local, national, and, hopefully, international scale. We are fortunate that the excavation of the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi site has revealed such a rich array of artifacts – from the remains of glass kilns to the finished glass products themselves – clear evidence that the site served as a glass production site during the Middle Ages. Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is indeed a fascinating and important site, and the interpretation and heritage interpretation projects that are being conducted at this site will ensure that the site is preserved for future generations.

A NEW MONOGRAPH ON A ROYAL MANUSCRIPT

Zsombor Jékely 🔽

Review of: Béla Zsolt Szakács: *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Central European Cultural Heritage Series, Volume I). Budapest: CEU Press, 2016 (350 pages, 142 color illustrations, ISBN 978-963-7326-25-7. Translated by Lara Strong.)

The long-awaited English edition of a monograph on the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, written by Béla Zsolt Szakács, has finally been published by CEU Press in Budapest (*Fig. 1*). This is the first volume in a new series, the Central European Cultural Heritage series, which was launched in cooperation with the Cultural Heritage Studies program of CEU Budapest. This beautifully produced
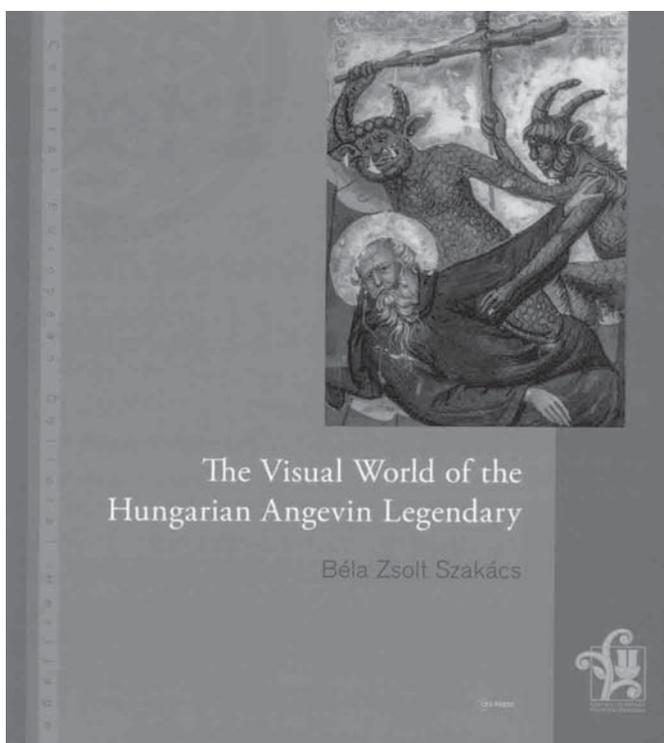

Fig. 1. Cover of the book

book is the first English-language monograph on the Hungarian Angevin book of legends, called a legendary, which is perhaps the most important illuminated manuscript connected to the fourteenth-century Angevin rulers of Hungary. It is a pictorial legendary, which in its current fragmentary state presents 58 legends of saints (including Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary) on lavishly illuminated pages. Each page contains four scenes from the lives of the saints with short captions accompanying the images. The largest part of what remained of the codex was bound together in the eighteenth century, at the time of Pope Benedict XIV, in a volume housed in the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 8541). Other pages of the manuscript, often incomplete, have found their way into collections from the United States to Russia – most of the pages being preserved at the Morgan Library in New York. As of today, altogether 142 leaves from the Legendary (some of them fragmentary) are known in six different collections around the world. Szakács identifies three main groups of material surviving from the codex, which was split up at the latest by the early seventeenth century: the bound volume consisting of 106 intact folios preserved at the Vatican; 24 cut-up pages, the images of which were individually mounted in a small booklet made by Giovanni Battista Saluzzo in 1630 (the booklet and the reconstructed pages are now in the Morgan Library, Ms. M.360.1-24); and at least sixteen further individual pages, the margins of which were cropped, that are scattered in various collections.[1] As six leaves of this last part of the material are still missing, it is possible that further pages may still come to light. Based on the full reconstruction of the codex, Szakács calculates that originally it must have contained at least 176 folios – of which 160 survive at least partially or their content can be reconstructed.

Since the digitization of codex Vat. lat. 8541 by the Vatican Library in 2015, images of every known page can be found online, making the study of the manuscript much easier than previously. This, of course, was not the case when the author started working on the subject – this book has quite a long history. Béla Zsolt Szakács, whose primary research focus is Romanesque architecture, started dealing with the Hungarian Angevin Legendary over twenty years ago. The Department of Medieval Studies at CEU had just been established and Szakács, together with another art historian, Tamás Sajó, was in charge of putting together a collection of visual resources for medieval art. This was before the time of the

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[1] The Morgan Library acquired two of these pages, Ms. M..360.25-26; the others are in the following collections: St. Petersburg, The Hermitage, MSS E 16930-16934; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.516; Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library, Special Collections, MS UCB 130: f1300:37; Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, RF. 29940.

internet, when large image databases such as the Marburger Index or the Index of Christian Art only existed in physical copies, meaning index cards and drawers full of photos, which naturally were only accessible on site. CEU acquired copies of some of these databases – at that time this meant microfiche editions. The new collection of visual resources also started compiling digital resources – I distinctly remember the laser disks of Vatican Library manuscripts (which did not include the Angevin Legendary). The first volume of the *Annual of Medieval Studies* as well as the volume edited by Szakács on visual resources in Central Europe describe the early stages of this collection of visual resources.[2]

With the active participation of Béla Zsolt Szakács, the department also embarked on a digitization campaign and the creation of its own databases. The first pilot project – started in 1994 – was the digitization of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, universally regarded as one of the most important Central European manuscripts from the fourteenth century. The starting point for the digital edition of the Angevin Legendary was Ferenc Levárdy's facsimile edition published in 1973, which was the first attempt to collect and organize all of the surviving folios and images of the dispersed manuscript. Although the project was completed and presented on numerous occasions, the planned CD-ROM edition of the codex was never published officially due to copyright issues.[3] In the time since, the ongoing digitization of medieval manuscripts at major libraries and museums has made the idea of a CD-ROM edition somewhat obsolete as today anyone can find good images of every single leaf of the manuscript online.

During the course of this project, Szakács became aware of several problems with Levárdy's reconstruction of the codex. First, during the 1990s, several new folios of the manuscript turned up and entered public collections such as the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Second, Levárdy made some mistakes concerning the numbers and arrangement of the scattered leaves at the Hermitage and the Morgan Library. Szakács thus embarked on a new reconstruction of the codex and his work culminated in his doctoral dissertation, which was completed in 1998. The dissertation, in turn, was published as a

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[2] Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 1 (1993–1994): 237–250, on the Angevin Legendary database, see 242–243 (or see online at https://ams.ceu.edu); Béla Zsolt Szakács, ed., *Guide to Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe* (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2001), 104–106.

[3] See Gábor Klaniczay, Tamás Sajó, and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "*Vinum vetus in utres novos:* Conclusioni sull'edizione CD del Leggendario Ungherese Angioino," in *L'état angevin. Pouvoir, culture et societé entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Actes du colloque international, Rome-Naples, 7–11 novembre 1995* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), 301–315.

Hungarian-language book in 2006.[4] The present book is the updated English edition of the Hungarian language publication. The main text is essentially a straightforward English translation of the Hungarian version without major revisions – a task carried out by Lara Strong. Bibliographic references were updated and minor mistakes in the Hungarian edition were corrected, but no new developments in the field forced Szakács to rethink his original argument. The presentation of the material, however, is greatly improved; the Hungarian edition had only 32 plates of illustration at the end of the volume, mostly in black-and-white. The English edition is thoroughly illustrated in color, with a total of 116 figures (although the Vatican Library only gave permission for the inclusion of images of 14 pages, as noted on p. 313).

I have dealt with this history in such detail because the origin of the book gives an explanation of its focus, which is the organization of the material included in the manuscript. The monograph provides a detailed analysis of the image cycles contained in the dispersed manuscript and provides a full reconstruction of the original manuscript. The bulk of the book focuses on the selection and arrangement of the legends in the book and also covers the structure and significance of individual narrative cycles. Another part focuses on image types that recur in the lives of several saints and the system of using these types to build up specific narratives.

Szakács's monograph is constructed like a detective novel; through a careful analysis of the evidence, he aims to answer the question of "whodunit." The first step in this quest is the survey of the surviving material of the codex. Great advances have been made in this field since Ferenc Levárdy carried out the first reconstruction of the manuscript in 1973. New pages have turned up (Berkeley, the Bancroft Library; Paris, the Louvre; New York, the Metropolitan Museum), and some confusion needed to be cleared up, primarily in connection with the leaves held at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and at the Morgan Library in New York. Szakács was able to study personally not only the bulk of the codex in the Vatican, but also the leaves in New York and Paris, and his careful investigation led to a new, more precise, reconstruction of the original codex. He is thus able to tell quite clearly how much of the original codex can be considered lost. This new reconstruction – which can be studied at a glance thanks to the illustration on page 24 – assumes that the original manuscript consisted of 22 quires and thus 176 illustrated pages, with four miniatures on each (the codex consists of folios painted only on one side of the parchment, so as the pages were turned

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[4] Béla Zsolt Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* [The pictorial systems of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006).

two empty pages were always followed by a double page of miniatures). Of these 176 pages, at least portions of 160 are known today (or at least their content can be identified with certainty), so the reconstruction can be quite specific. The codicological reconstruction also makes it possible to reconstruct the legends included in the codex; together with the story of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, a total of 58 legends survive at least partially, which were originally arranged in a hierarchical structure following the system in the Litany of the Saints.

Szakács proceeds with an analysis of the illustrated legends themselves, pointing out the main source for the image cycles, the Golden Legend compiled by Jacobus da Voragine, while also discussing the use of different textual and visual sources. This is a particularly interesting topic when it comes to saints venerated primarily in Hungary, such as St. Gerard, St. Emeric the prince, and King St. Ladislas. The legend cycle of the latter is one of longest in the codex (24 images) and also the most original, relying on different textual sources in addition to the legend of St. Ladislas. For the first time, Szakács has reconstructed another highly original cycle in the codex – the cycle of St. Francis (*Fig. 2*). Spreading to four pages – each of which is in a different collection – some of the sixteen images have very few analogies in the early pictorial tradition of St. Francis. Not surprisingly, the analysis of this cycle is one of the most extensive parts of the book (p. 136–151).[5]

The reconstruction of the codex and the analysis of its image cycle already shed some light on the potential motivations and desires of the makers and commissioners of the manuscript. This investigation is continued at a deeper level in Chapter IV, where the different image types used by the illuminators are discussed. The common visual language of the miniatures arcing through the codex is analyzed with respect to scenes of public life, images of the virtuous life, scenes of miracles, images of suffering, and finally, images of last rites and burials.

Based on this careful analysis and reconstruction, Szakács is able to draw new conclusions about the manuscript in the final section of the book. First, he comments on the process of creating the codex, including technical aspects of production, but more importantly, conceptual aspects. In the first contemporary interpretation of the images, Szakács establishes that the images were painted first and then the numbered *tituli* that accompany each image were added, to provide a contemporary interpretation of these images. He concludes that the selection of image cycles as well as the use of images within these cycles points to a group

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[5] See also a separate study: Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Saint Francis of Assisi in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary," *Iconographica* 12 (2013): 52–68

Fig. 2. Leaf from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, with scenes from the
Life of Saint Francis of Assisi. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.516.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin L. Weisl, Jr., 1994.

of high-ranking ecclesiastics who devised the program of the codex. I will come back to this point below.

Two questions arise concerning the manuscript. The first is the part dedicated to the Holy Kings of Hungary. This (fragmentary) unit can be considered one of the most significant parts of the manuscript from an iconographic point of view because it preserves early illustrated versions of legends which are otherwise quite rare. It is unfortunate that the legend of St. Stephen is missing from the surviving parts of the codex and can only be imagined based on contemporary images painted for a decretal commissioned in Bologna by the Hungarian cleric Miklós Vásári in 1343.[6] The four images in the Vásári Decretal probably correspond with the beginning of a more extensive cycle of uncertain length. With the loss of these pages from the Angevin Legendary, the Vásári codex remains the earliest illustrated cycle of the Life of St. Stephen. In the case of St. Emeric, the Legendary provides the earliest narrative cycle of his life. The case is a bit more complex with the third member of the Holy Kings of Hungary, St. Ladislas (ruled from 1077 to 1095), who was canonized in 1192 (Szakács has also treated the issue in a separate article).[7] The extensive cycle of his life contains scenes and events told in his legend as well as stories preserved in Hungarian chronicles. The elements of his legend are, for the most part, illustrated here for the first time and can be regarded as actual illustrations of the text. Six scenes of the cycle tell the story of the battle of Kerlés that Ladislas fought in 1068 against the pagan Cumans (also called Petchenegs) in which he rescued an abducted Hungarian girl.[8] This story – known from fourteenth-century chronicles – was also illustrated in numerous fresco cycles throughout the Kingdom of Hungary. The earliest examples of

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[6] Bonifacius papa VIII. *Liber sextus Decretalium, cum apparatu Joannis Andree* (Padua, Biblioteca Capitulare) A 24.

[7] Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Between Chronicle and Legend: Image Cycles of St. Ladislas in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts," in *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 149–175.

[8] The story begins when upon hearing of the invading pagan Cumans, Prince Ladislas and the Hungarian army set out for battle. As the army reaches the Cumans, a tumultuous battle begins, usually depicted in a wide, swirling scene, with Ladislas at the center of the action. During the battle, Ladislas notices a Cuman warrior who has abducted a Hungarian girl and chases him on horseback. The Cuman is shooting arrows back at Ladislas, who is pursuing him with his lance in hand – but cannot reach or harm him. In the climax of the narrative, the heroes dismount, and fight a duel with bare hands: they pull at each other's belts and grab each other's shoulders, to no avail until the Hungarian girl intervenes and cuts the Cuman's tendon with an axe or sword. Together the king and the girl then decapitate the Cuman and in the concluding scene Saint Ladislas rests under a tree with his head on the girl's lap, as she touches his hair.

these fresco cycles date from the first decades of the fourteenth century and are thus a bit earlier than the creation of the manuscript (which is usually dated to the period between 1330 and 1345). Quite remarkably, however, the images in the manuscript do not reflect this pictorial tradition. It seems that, similarly to the way scenes from the Legend of Ladislas were illustrated, the illuminators also tried to follow the text closely, trying to solve the problem of illustration as best as they could. This was not always successful; the girl, for example, is shown cutting the Cuman warrior's tendon when he is already on the ground (image XII of the cycle). Thus, it seems that although the creators of the image cycle knew the textual sources of this story and were also aware of its importance (dedicating 6 scenes to it out of 24), they did not have a pictorial model for it.

I have argued elsewhere that the story of St. Ladislas and the Cuman depicted on countless wall paintings was likely propagated by the Angevin court, in fact, the pictorial cycle itself must have been created in the environment of the Neapolitan Angevin court, with its visual elements based on thirteenth-century French pictorial models.[9] It appears that these pictorial models were not available to the Bolognese workshop responsible for the decoration of the codex. This raises an important question which Szakács leaves open: Did this workshop work on the codex in Bologna or in Hungary? As Szakács surveys in the introduction (p. 7–9), the exceptional nature of the codex can be well illustrated by two divergent scholarly traditions: Italian and Anglo-Saxon researchers tend to locate the place of its creation in Hungary, while Hungarian scholars favor a Bolognese origin. This is because the codex cannot be neatly placed in either tradition. I would like to argue that given their lack of knowledge of the pictorial tradition of St. Ladislas and his battle with the Cumans, Bologna seems the more likely option, as by around 1330 (the earliest date proposed for the manuscript) the fresco cycle had already appeared in various parts of Hungary, consistently depicting the three crucial and central scenes of the story[10] (which are a bit jumbled in the Legendary). In my opinion, the Bible of Demeter Nekcsei, another manuscript

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[9] Zsombor Jékely, "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of Saint Ladislas," *Hortus Artium Medievalium – Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages* 21 (2015): 62–74.

[10] The three scenes are the pursuit of the Cuman, the foot combat or duel, and the beheading of the Cuman. In longer cycles, these three central scenes are always present, so apparently they were essential for the narrative and were the key elements for identifying the story.

for a contemporary Hungarian commissioner which is stylistically closely related to the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, was also executed in Bologna.[11]

Szakács discusses the potential commissioner of the codex, connecting its creation to the ruler, Charles I. The quality of the execution and its sheer size indicate that the manuscript must have been a royal commission, and its iconography – rich in Hungarian and Angevin saints – suggests it was created for the court of the Hungarian Angevin kings. Szakács also accepts an earlier proposal made by Tünde Wehli that the image program of the codex was designed by a group of highly educated prelates, finally proposing that it may have been intended as a gift to Coloman, the illegitimate son of Charles I, who became bishop of Győr in 1338. Prelates in this group – such as Csanád of Telegd, archbishop of Esztergom, James of Piacenza, royal doctor and bishop of Csanád and later Zagreb, and Miklós Vásári, who also became the archbishop of Esztergom, had close ties to Italy and had access to the Bolognese miniature workshop of the period.

This, then, brings me to the second point I would like to raise. Szakács wrote a very careful analysis of how the manuscript was created, from the selection of the saints and their stories, to the actual construction of the picture cycles and the use of visual topoi in formulating them. One thing missing from this analysis, however, is a look at workshop practice and, more broadly speaking, style. The book was illustrated by a group of Bolognese painters (most likely in Bologna) who must have had great expertise in illustrating unfamiliar stories. Another case in point from the same period is an illustrated fragment of the Latin translation of the Bohemian Chronicle of Dalimil, likely also illuminated in Bologna.[12] I believe that there is room for further analysis, specifically into questions of style, workshop connections, and workshop practice, along with an examination of the individual illuminators of the manuscript. If this examination is carried out in a Central European comparative framework, including a survey of Bolognese manuscripts created for commissioners in Austria and Bohemia as well as Hungary, it could lead to conclusions about the still-unresolved issues surrounding the creation of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. Béla Zsolt Szakács' book certainly provides firm ground for such further inquiries.

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[11] Zsombor Jékely, "Demeter Nekcsei and the Commission of his Bible," In *Bonum ut pulchrum – Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Lívia Varga, Pál Lővei, Imre Takács, Anna Jávor, and László Beke (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 2010), 197–212.

[12] Prague, Národni knihovna, sign. XII E 17. The fragment is dated to 1330–1340, and was shown most recently at the exhibition *Emperor Charles IV, 1316–2016* at the National Gallery in Prague in 2016.

Faith and Power:

Undergraduate conference papers

PREFACE

The Undergraduate Conference held in August 2016 at CEU, entitled *Faith and Power*, was organized by the Department of History, the Department of Medieval Studies, and supported by the Cultural Heritage Studies Program, the Center for Religious Studies, the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, and the Specialization in Political Thought. This was the second time such a conference was held at CEU after the successful 2015 humanities initiative.

This year, the three-day scholarly gathering was centered on the relationship between religion and forms of power. As we see every day in the news, modern politics has by no means become entirely secular – but what does this tell us in terms of historiography? Lately, a new sensitivity has emerged focusing on the relations between religion and politics, between motives of faith and motives of power, between religious heritage and modern society. The conference aimed to explore this aspect of studying the past. Almost 70 papers were presented at 19 panels, by students from 23 countries, on a wide variety of topics from present conflicts in the Middle East, medieval sacred kingship, and the political view of martyrdom to religion in art and literature, the politics of patronage, and faith and contemporary political thought.

This block of the *Annual* features the three papers of the Best Paper Award winners that deal with the Middle Ages. Indre Douglas (Lithuania) studied at the University of Leeds; his paper explores the early hermitic tradition through St. Antony's case, especially in the light of classical hero-cults. Daniel Elkind (USA) studied at Princeton, and presented a paper on Amandus of Maastricht, the seventh-century Merovingian bishop, and the connections between mission and politics in his pursuit of a new Christian universalism independent of local frontiers. Mariia Diatlova (Russian Federation) studied at Moscow State University; her paper discusses ecclesiastical and state symbols of power and their iconographic schemes in medieval Rus, especially the sword and the act of enthronement. The other winners of the Best Paper Award in 2016 were: Mwangi Thuita (Kenya), with the paper "Christianity and Nationalism During the Inter-war Years in Kenya, 1920–1939"; Anna Dobrowolska (Poland), who presented "Solidarity, Religion and Gender – an Ambiguous Relation?"; and Caroline Fernelius (United States), with her presentation "Wartime Invocations of the

Divine: Walt Whitman and America's Civil War." We congratulate all of them and hope that they will successfully continue their studies of complex questions of our past.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF HERMIT SANCTITY:
THE CASE OF ST. ANTHONY

Indre Douglas[1] 📥

> There would be no merit in the hero confronting death, choosing it and making it his own. There can be no heroes if there are no monsters to fight and overcome.[2]

At least one work compares the construction of a Christian holy figure with that of the classical model of a hero. Ellen Bradshaw Aitken compares Christ as an ascetic model in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to the portrayal of classical heroes such as Odysseus and Herakles.[3] This paper is something of a first attempt to offer an alternative voice in the all-but-one-sided debate regarding the construction of hermit sanctity, using the *Vita Antonii* as a primary source.

There is no shortage of skeptical views about discussing whether St. Anthony's construction should be compared to that of the classical hero. Traditional analyses of St. Anthony have focused on his being a monk or a hermit; Marilyn Dunn, for instance, suggests that Athanasius portrays St. Anthony as an exemplary figure for a specific purpose: to be duplicated in order to spread the monastic movement.[4] Most scholars do indeed tend to interpret St. Anthony's asceticism in a direct and literal way; Peter Brown[5] and David Brakke[6] both argue that Anthony's practice of *askesis* should be understood as a process of self-exploration and self-perfection. Brown explicitly differentiates the ascetic saint from a hero, defining them instead as spiritual guides and teachers[7] and leaving no room to seek similarities between the depiction of classical heroes

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[1] University of Leeds.

[2] Jean-Pierre Vernant, "Death With Two Faces," in *Reading the Odyssey: Selected Interpretive Essays*, ed. Seth L. Schein (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 58.

[3] E. B. Aitken, "The Hero in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Jesus as an Ascetic Model," in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols*, ed. D. H. Warren, An Graham Brock, and David W. Pao (Boston: Brill, 2003), 180.

[4] Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 13.

[5] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 83.

[6] David Brakke, "The Making of Monastic Demonology: Three Ascetic Teachers on Withdrawal and Resistance," *Church History* 1 (2001): 22.

[7] Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London: Faber, 1982), 59.

and hermit saints. Following this interpretation, scholars treat demons as either psychological factors or metaphors for pagan entities falling from grace in the wake of Christianization.

Brown and Brakke both maintain that early hermit saints and similar ascetic types should be understood as fathers of monasticism and not much else; in the case of St. Anthony, his infamous demonic adversaries, described in both his own *Letters of St. Anthony* and in the hagiographical text *Vita Antonii* (with which this paper is primarily concerned), are psychological in nature – that is, these demons represent little more than St. Anthony's own mental struggles against pagan deities and beasts.[8]

These pagan entities must of course be stamped out to pave the way for Christianity and the aforementioned scholars think that *Vita Antonii* was primarily intended as an instructive text for new monks.[9] At most, these scholars have suggested that Athanasius wanted to use St. Anthony's struggle with demons to convince people to relinquish any residual pagan beliefs or superstitions and to fully embrace Christianity in place of those beliefs.[10]

Yet this literal reading of the *Vita Antonii* overlooks the construction of St. Anthony's sanctity. He is no longer viewed as a phenomenon in his own right and the history and practice around him are emphasized. The literal reading is consequently too narrow, resulting in an interpretation of St. Anthony only as an ascetic, which has precipitated insignificant questions regarding the authenticity of the saint's existence and of Athanasius's hagiography. The answers to such questions fall short of telling anything about the actual construction of St. Anthony or the conceptual framework of his time. Only by comparing St. Anthony to pre-Christian practices is it possible to observe how the cult of saints and the picture of St. Anthony as a holy desert father emerged from the hero-cults of classical antiquity.

In this paper, I will examine some of the features and properties that happen to be shared by both the construction of St. Anthony as a hermit saint and by classical heroes in the works of such authors as Homer and Aeschylus. I will question why leading scholars on the topic of early hermit saints should brush off these remarkable similarities as coincidences. Using a more modern and more sophisticated approach, borrowing from structural anthropology,[11] I

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[8] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7.
[9] N. H. Baynes, "Antony and the Demons," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954): 8.
[10] David Brakke, "The Making of Monastic Demonology," 21.
[11] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 207.

will demonstrate that anthropological readings can prove fruitful for this topic. I will demonstrate that the construction of hermit sanctity should be considered a continuation of the pre-Christian construction of a hero.

St. Anthony as an Exemplar and an Athlete

Brown suggests that individual classical heroes, being exemplary and powerful men who could endure hardships and battles, were transformed into martyrs as the earliest form of Christian holiness – replacing the existing hero cult of power.[12] When Brown talks about martyr saints, he refers to them as "athletes" due to their labors, victories, and competition.[13] Brian Brennan develops this argument in his work, suggesting that St. Anthony should be treated as a "daily martyr," an athlete through his practice of *askesis*,[14] where Brown rather sees ascetics as philosophers who sought to perfect themselves rather than fighting and dying for something as a martyr does.

Brown suggests that the exemplary feature of early saints is essential to them and is the reason why the hero cult was replaced by the cult of saints. Despite the fact that Brown does not make any direct connections between the construction of an early holy man – martyr or ascetic – he identifies the nature and essence of an early saint as being an example through his works, thoughts, and views of the world.[15] If the essence of an early saint is his exemplariness through his deeds and his personal morality, it is quite clear that this essence still borrows from a heroic model.[16]

A further response to skepticism regarding classical influences in St. Anthony's construction is provided by David Brakke. Though tending to side with Brown, Brakke suggests that St. Anthony and ascetic monks in general should be understood as martyrs of a new kind: "In his 'Life of Antony,' however, Athanasius portrayed the monk as the new martyr, who preserves his Christian faith and virtue in the face of opposition from the pagan gods [the demons] ..."[17]

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[12] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," 94.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Brian Brennan, "*Vita Antonii*: A Sociological Interpretation," *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 212.

[15] Averil Cameron, "On Defining the Holy Man," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 34.

[16] I. S. Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman and Early Christian Ideas* (London: Routledge, 2005), 206.

[17] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk*, 6.

By this metaphorical reading, Brakke means that St. Anthony should be held as a "new martyr" due to the belief and imagery of the "cosmic war," which, in the case of *Vita Antoni*, refers to the battle against evil.[18] Brakke's version of St. Anthony invites one to think of an ascetic as a martyr, enduring labors and fighting for a cause, living to die a little every day. This rendition of the ascetic thus gives a means for thinking of the ascetic as a continuation of the classical hero, given that Brown connects the martyr to a classical hero as the consequence of a transformation.[19]

Another way in which the construction of St. Anthony can be seen as echoing the tradition of the classical hero is through his physical body. The narrator observes the physical appearance of St. Anthony in *Vita Antonii* on multiple occasions, channeling the impressions not only from his own perspective, but also from the perspective of St. Anthony's followers. The most striking of these observations is the description of St. Anthony emerging from the fort after twenty years of solitude and demonic encounters:

> Then for the first time he was seen outside the fort by those who came to see him. And they, when they saw him, wondered at the sight, for he had the same habit of body as before, and was neither fat, like a man without exercise, nor lean from fasting and striving with the demons, but he was just the same as they had known him before his retirement.[20]

Thus, quite evidently, in this passage of the *vita,* St. Anthony can be perceived as an athletic figure who trained his body; indeed, St. Anthony is even referred to explicitly as an athlete.[21] Richard Valantasis argues that St. Anthony's overall practice of *askesis* denotes the training of his physical body.[22] This supports Brown's argument that an ascetic is focused on self-perfection, but contrary to Brown's assertion, Valantasis does not indicate a divergence from classical heroism. Athleticism and superiority of body were not simply common features of most classical heroes; for Homer, they were crucial in the definition of heroism, as can be seen in Nestor's speech to Achilles: "Ah, if only I were still as young, and with all my powers intact … There was not a man to match me there …" (Book XXIII)[23]

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[18] Ibid., 10.

[19] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," 81.

[20] Athanasius, *The Life of St. Anthony*, 14, http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-antony.asp [accessed July 16, 2016].

[21] Ibid., 12.

[22] Richard Valantasis, "Daemons and the Perfecting of the Monk's Body: Monastic Anthropology, Daemonology, and Asceticism," *Semeia* 58 (1992): 70.

[23] *Homer: The Iliad*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950), 412.

and further: "I am delighted you always realize how well disposed I am to you, and never pass up the chance of paying me the respect I am rightly owed among the Greeks" (Book XXIII).[24]

Rather than being satisfied with having once been a heroic figure, Nestor actually laments that he is now too old to achieve heroism – while still affirming that he is due a great deal of respect for the heroism he achieved in his past through his physical superiority. Though St. Anthony did not wrestle with his peers in games, he did wrestle with demons, and Brown accepts that he should be considered someone seeking to perfect himself.[25] Valantasis's interpretation of this self-perfection as bodily improvement reaffirms St. Anthony's resemblance to classical heroes, who in many cases were defined principally by their superior physical condition; seldom would such a hero lack enhanced strength or constitution.[26]

St. Anthony as an Intermediary between the Mortal and Divine

Brown may not be able to rule out the similarity between classical hero and desert saint, at least in the case of St. Anthony, on the basis of self-perfection alone; Brown, however, also expresses skepticism regarding the relationship between the mortal and divine in St. Anthony's case, which he asserts is totally different in the case of the hero and in the case of the saint. He maintains that the saint's relationship with the divine constitutes a much more intimate and reciprocal relationship.[27]

In *Vita Antonii*, St. Anthony is portrayed as an intermediary figure between the mortal and divine, thus playing a role of intercessor – a word that is almost synonymous with the term "saint" today. In the text, St. Anthony not only wrestles with demonic forces and beasts, but also interacts frequently with God. At the very beginning of the hagiographical text, after the tragic death of his parents, Anthony finds his connection with God: "... and it happened the Gospel was being read, and he heard the Lord saying ...".[28] St. Anthony hears God speaking through the words of the Gospel, and this particular moment marks the advent of St. Anthony's intermediary role and it is already shown that this connection

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[24] Ibid., 413.
[25] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," 83.
[26] Richard Valantasis, "Daemons and the Perfecting…," 70.
[27] Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy*, 6.
[28] Athanasius, *The Life*, 2.

is intentionally made by God: "Antony, as though God had put him in mind of the Saints ...."[29]

An analogous intermediary role and reciprocity with the divine can be observed in cases of classical heroes. Although they are not deities, heroes are distinguished from ordinary mortals because they are characters with strength or even powers which exceed those of mortals, and this is a feature which saints – including St. Anthony – share.[30] In Homer's *Iliad*, the epitome of classical literature dealing with heroism, there is a strict social hierarchy in which humans and divine beings are divided into strata (Book I).[31] The divine beings are at the top of the hierarchy – crucially, the heroes are also at the top.

Achilles stands out most of all in this epic poem; Achilles, more than any other character, can interact and recognize the divine, even trespassing the normal barriers between mortal and divine, and thus his relation with the divine can be said to be more intimate. A clear case is when Athena and Poseidon come as allies to Achilles to comfort him and fortify him against his mortal angst (Book XXI).[32] It would seem from this episode that this hero does not struggle to recognize the divine, neither does he struggle to find support from the gods (Book XVIII).[33]

Each of the classical heroes –Achilles in *The Iliad* and Odysseus in *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad* – is favored by an individual divine being. Achilles is personally protected by many gods because of his mother; Odysseus is favored by Athena (Book II).[34] Even Orestes, of the Aeschylian tragic trilogy, is protected by Apollo and Athena.[35] Generally speaking, all of these heroes have divine support to some extent. It is clear, then, that saints are not differentiated from classical heroes by virtue of their divine favor alone.

This comparison might break down if the divine hierarchy were different in the case of early saints like St. Anthony, but St. Anthony is also controlled and manipulated by the divine just as heroes are in classical literature. As with cases of classical heroes, in the case of St. Anthony the saint is dependent on the divine. One of the passages worth noting is when God comes to help St. Anthony in his struggle with the demons: "...he saw the roof as it were opened, and a ray of light

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy*, 134.

[31] *Homer, Iliad*, 3-20.

[32] Ibid., 371.

[33] Ibid., 324.

[34] Ibid., 25-26.

[35] Philip Vellacott, "Aeschylus' Orestes," *The Classical World* 3 (1984): 149.

descending to him ...."[36] Firstly, this divine power that appears to Anthony does not reveal itself, which seems to be usual case with a classical hero when under the control of a divine entity. Secondly, in this passage of the *Vita Antonii* God clearly states to St. Anthony that he has proven to be worthy, therefore, God will make him known: "... and will make thy name known everywhere...."[37] Similarly, the classical hero has to prove himself in order to be worthy of divine aid, which can be detected in the Homeric narrative. In the *Odyssey,* the main character, Odysseus, is approved by many gods due to his good reputation and success in his doings.

St. Anthony's dependence on God is also evident during another battle with demons. In *Vita Antonii*, the narrator reveals to the reader that St. Anthony's victory was due to God's intervention: "... or rather this victory was the Savior's work in Antony ...."[38] This episode can be read in two ways: David Brakke[39] and Peter Brown[40] suggest treating such episodes of the *Vita Antonii* as St. Anthony's internal conflicts with himself and that this internal conflict reflects St. Anthony's self-perfection and self-acknowledgment. This would mean that the power St. Anthony possesses is that of his faith and that the demons are metaphors for incumbent pagan gods.[41]

This skeptical reading, however, is not entirely plausible; as was mentioned above, a direct and literal interpretation of the construction of St. Anthony as a hermit saint only limits one's observations. In this case, such a reading stands at odds with what seems to have been the prevailing view at the time that demons were believed to be tangible creatures[42] and were feared as monsters in the Late Antiquity in Egypt.[43]

Therefore, contrary to David Brakke's and Peter Brown's arguments, St. Anthony is an intermediary between the mortal and the divine in a manner comparable to that of classical heroes, because while St. Anthony shares a reciprocal relationship with God, Brown and Brakke overlook the fact that classical heroes can also share similarly reciprocal relationships with divine powers, especially Achilles and Odysseus. St. Anthony is largely encouraged, empowered,

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[36] Athanasius, *The Life*, 10.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Athanasius, *The Life*, 7.
[39] David Brakke, "The Making of Monastic Demonology," 22.
[40] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man ," 83.
[41] David Brakke, "The Making of Monastic Demonology," 49.
[42] G. A. Smith, "How Thin is a Demon?" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (2008): 504.
[43] Ibid., 485.

and positioned by God against demonic forces; he communicates with God in spite of the division between divine and mortal beings in this conceptual scheme.

Conclusion

Traditional readings about St. Anthony are inherently limited when dealing with the construction of early saints. An implication of this investigation of the classical influences and parallels between St. Anthony and classical heroes is the potential for alternative and anthropological readings to shed new light on topics such as the emergence of early saints and the pre-Christian influences on Christianity.

One such alternative reading which both supports my hypothesis and also stems from continued research in this field using anthropological techniques has been developed by Ingvild Saelid Gilhus. She considers the classical hero-cults of Herakles and Orpheus; these heroes were renowned and admired for conquering beasts, and one should thence understand the conquest of beasts as a metaphor for living in a virtuous or righteous way.[44] Gilhus applies the same approach when interpreting the demons in *Vita Antonii*, depicted as beasts and animals, and she concludes that a parallel between the hero-cult understanding of a beast slaying and the construction of St. Anthony as a warrior against monsters can be seen.[45]

According to Gilhus, one should view the demons in *Vita Antonii* as analogues to the dangers that a classical hero must face and overcome, and St. Anthony as a representative of righteous, virtuous societal norms due to his construction as a heroic figure.[46] Thus, it appears that in *Vita Antonii* St. Anthony's construction as a holy man corresponds to being constructed as a role model, and he consequently resembles a classical hero. Continued expansions upon such approaches to the understanding of early saints and renewed research into this topic will make it possible to achieve a much deeper understanding of how Christianity itself emerged from pre-Christian practices and belief systems.

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[44] I. S. Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans*, 206.
[45] Ibid., 208.
[46] Ibid.

AMANDUS OF MAASTRICHT'S SLAVIC AND WASCONIAN MISSIONS, CA. AD 628–638

Daniel Elkind [1]

The seventh-century Merovingian bishop, Amandus of Maastricht (d. ca. 675), is generally recognized as a central figure in the development of Christian "universal mission." For Wolfgang Fritze, it was Amandus who intertwined the Columbanian concept of *peregrinatio pro Christo* (self-exile for Christ) with the new missionary framework of Pope Gregory I and his successors.[2] For Peter Brown, the *Vita Amandi* captured a transitional moment when Merovingian religious policy and missionary activity were still dedicated primarily to shoring up frontier zones but moving towards a more expansive, less border-restricted vision.[3] For Ian Wood, Amandus' hagiography marked a turning point after which missionary endeavors began to supersede miracles and other works as the defining features of a saint's career and reputation.[4] Wood has characterized Amandus as "by far the most impressive" evangelist of the early- to mid-seventh century, with "some claim

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[2] See Wolfgang Fritze, "*Universalis gentium confessio*: Formeln, Träger und Wege universal-missionarischen Denkens im 7. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969): 84–98. Fritze's article set the terms for subsequent scholarship on Amandus and the role of the papacy in the emergence of "universal mission." Both Stefan Esders and Ian Wood open their discussions of Amandus with a summary of Fritze's core arguments. See Stefan Esders, "*Nationes quam plures conquiri*: Amandus of Maastricht, Compulsory Baptism, and 'Christian Universal Mission' in Seventh-Century Gaul," in *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honour of Peter Brown*, ed. Jamie Kreiner and Helmut Reimitz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 269–272, as well as Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 39.

[3] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 259: "In Merovingian times, the old Roman *limes* had remained a firm, notional barrier in the back of the minds of kings and bishops…. There was to be no room in Gaul for lawless zones… Saint Amandus (d. ca. 684) was allowed to preach to the Basques of the Pyrenees… But across the *limes*, in central Europe, where law and order were not at stake, Dagobert had been happy to be a hegemonial overlord in the more relaxed, old style."

[4] Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 42.

to being the most important of all the Merovingian saints."[5] And yet, despite the wide awareness of Amandus' significance, no attempt has been made to thoroughly contextualize two vital passages in Amandus' hagiography – one in which Amandus crosses the old Roman *limes* of the Danube river to preach to the Slavs, and the other in which Amandus evangelizes the Wascones of the Pyrenees.[6] These are the two instances in Amandus' *Vita* in which the missionary passes beyond the Frankish borders to the sorts of far-removed areas that later hagiographies (such as Alcuin of York's late eighth-century *Vita Willibrordi*) would associate with the "real," more intimidating pagans.[7] Nevertheless, the Slavic and Wasconian chapters have been addressed in near-complete isolation. In what follows, I will consider these two passages in tandem, as parts of the same overarching phenomenon. I will try to demonstrate that Amandus' travels to the Slavic and Wasconian territories coincided exactly with the Frankish King Dagobert I's invasions of these two regions circa 630–33 and 637–38, respectively. Amandus' entrenchment in Merovingian court life (highlighted by his baptism of Dagobert's son, Sigebert III, in 630–31) makes it probable that both of Amandus' beyond-the-borders expeditions were conceived as part of Dagobert's project of expansion and control – and perhaps even initiated on instructions from the king.

If any of this is accurate, Amandus' proselytization of the Slavs and Wascones affords a striking new glimpse at the interplay of conversion and control during the Merovingian period. Amandus' missions would allow us to rethink the degree to which royal policy acted as a catalyst for the emergence of early medieval Christian universalism. Furthermore, the case of Amandus would clarify the ways in which Merovingian rulers deployed churchmen in support of political (even expansionist) aims.

To put Amandus' Slavic and Wasconian missions in their proper contexts, we must arrive at a reliable chronology for the events recorded in the *Vita*. Recovering accurate dates is a notoriously difficult task when dealing with

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[5] Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994), 178 and 245, respectively. Similarly at 191: "The greatest evangelist of the period… was Amandus."

[6] *Vita sancti ac beatissimi Amandi episcopi et confessoris* [*Vita Amandi prima*]. In Monumenta Germaniae historica SS. rer. Merov.: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum [MGH SS. rer. Merov. 5], ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover 1910), 395–449. I use the English translation in J. N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 137–48.

[7] Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 178, 191, repeatedly mentions the Slavic and Wasconian missions as evidence of Amandus' importance and impressive vision. For Willibrord, see the discussion in Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 10th ed. rev. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 415–418.

Merovingian hagiographies, and the *Vita Amandi* is no exception. However, we have at our disposal a resource that previous scholars who worked on Amandus' hagiography (particularly Bruno Krusch and Édouard de Moreau) did not.[8] In 1976 Josef Riedmann unearthed fragments of an earlier *Vita Amandi* designated the *Vita Amandi antiqua* – in an eighth-century manuscript in Innsbruck.[9] The *Vita antiqua* is clearly the account from which the author of the *Vita prima* worked. Building on Riedmann's discovery, Adriaan Verhulst and Georges Declercq demonstrated that the *Vita antiqua* had been paraphrased closely in the fourteenth century Toulouse inquisitor Bernard Gui's *Speculum sanctorale*.[10] By looking at the *Vita antiqua* (via Bernard Gui), we will be able to get closer to the actual details of Amandus' life – and to reconstruct the process of composition and revision that shaped the *Vita prima*.[11]

The Slavic and Wasconian Chapters: Their Place in the *Vita Amandi prima*

To start, it is important to stress the abnormality of the Slavic and Wasconian chapters.[12] They are distinguished not only by their cross-border settings (Amandus' other activities occured *within* the Frankish kingdom), but by their startling emphasis on the saint's lack of success, or on the near-complete unreceptiveness of beyond-the-border pagans to the Christian message. It does

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[8] Édouard de Moreau, *Saint Amand, apôtre de la Belgique et du nord de la France* (Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1927) remains the most complete biography of Amandus – and one of the few attempts to place the events of the *Vita Amandi* on a proper timeline.

[9] Josef Riedmann, "Unbekannte frühkarolingische Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 84 (1976): 262–289. See also Riedmann, "Die ältesten Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Museum Ferdinandeum," *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseeum Ferdinandeum* 56 (1976): 129–140.

[10] Adriaan Verhulst and Georges Declercq, "L'action et le souvenir de saint Amand en Europe centrale. À propos de la découverte d'une *Vita Amandi antiqua*," in *Aevum inter utrumque: Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders, professeur émérite à l'Université de Gand*, ed. Marc Van Uytfanghe and Roland Demeulenaere, Instrumenta patristica 23 (Steenbrugis: In abbatia S. Petri, 1991), 504–515 in particular.

[11] Throughout this paper I use the version of Bernard Gui's text on pp. 1267–72 of Patrologia Latina [PL] 87 (1863) (under the heading *Sancti Amandi episcopi vita*). There is no standard, edited version of Gui's work. The principal manuscript of the *Speculi sanctoralis quarta pars* (used by Riedmann and Verhulst/Declercq) is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 5406, which was apparently used as a presentation copy by Gui himself.

[12] The Slavic and Wasconian episodes appear in chapters 16 and 20–21 of the *Vita Amandi prima*, respectively.

not take Amandus long to realize he has no hope of success among the Slavs, and when he moves on to the Wascones a *mimilogus* (or jester) laughs in his face at the prospect of conversion. These reactions appear surprisingly neutral when set against Amandus' experiences *within* the Frankish realm, which are shot through with actual and potential violence. One might expect that the pagans beyond the frontier would react *more* savagely, *more* violently to Christianity than communities inside Francia, but just the opposite is true. The possibility of martyrdom looms over Amandus' activities inside the Frankish kingdom, whereas it is explicitly ruled out in the territories of the Slavs and the Wascones.[13] What is more, the Slavic and Wasconian chapters provide little insight into why, at the height of his missionary career and his ties to the court, Amandus would suddenly move from within the kingdom, where much evangelical work remained to be done, to areas past the frontier. This rather simplistic picture of Amandus' movements jars with the normal pattern of Merovingian rulers' pressuring missionaries to remain *inside* the Frankish realm. In the early-seventh-century *Vita Columbani*, for instance, almost every king Columbanus encounters urges the holy man not to settle beyond the frontiers.[14] Taken together, all these observations should make us question, on its face, the *Vita Amandi*'s account of its protagonist's cross-border movements. But is it possible to build up a more concrete case that the hagiography does not tell the whole story?

Contextualizing Amandus' Slavic and Wasconian Missions

The case for the 630–633 dating of the Slavic mission is rather clear-cut; that for the 637–638 dating of the Wascones mission is less straightforward, but still convincing. To begin with, it is well-known that the chapter immediately preceding

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[13] Among the pagans of the Frankish peripheries, martyrdom is nearly always close at hand. The *Vita* (ch. 13) describes the pagan- and apostate-dominated *pagus* of Ghent (part of the kingdom) as a far more dangerous and more savage land than the Slavic territories or Wasconia. The Ghent *pagus* is a place where no one had "dared to proclaim the word of God." Before Amandus goes there he has to cast aside "fear… for his life;" he ventures "intrepidly forth." "Who could do justice," the hagiographer proclaims, "to the tale of the injuries he [Amandus] suffered for the name of Christ, how often he was beaten by the inhabitants of the land, how he was repulsed, with insults, by the very women and rustics, often, even, thrown into the Scheldt [river]?" The *pagus* of Ghent was an internal pagan region, but it is presented in much more negative terms than either the Slavic or Wasconian lands.

[14] See chapter I.6 of the *Vita Columbani*, in MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum [SS. rer. German.], Ionae vitae sanctorum: Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1905), 148–224.

the Slavic episode in the *Vita* records events of 628–629: Dagobert is named as the king of territories which he did not inherit until 628, and, as Stefan Esders has shown, the chapter's mention of forcible baptism in the *pagus* of Ghent fits best with a 629 context.[15] These details yield a *terminus post quem* for Amandus' Slavic mission. The chapter following the Slavic journey narrates Sigebert's baptism; as this definitely occurred circa 630–631, the most likely scenario is that Amandus began proselytizing the Slavs around 629–630.

With this in mind, we can ask whether there was a turn-of-the-630s context that could have accounted for Amandus' attempted evangelization of the Slavs. Sure enough, the *Chronicle* of Fredegar attests that Dagobert was occupied with a conflict against the Slavs in the very same years when Amandus ventured across the Danube to spread the Gospel.[16] Esders has determined that a 629 agreement between Dagobert and the Byzantine Emperor, Heraclius, settled a joint policy of expansion and conversion for the Slavic territories between the borders of the Frankish kingdom and the Eastern Roman Empire – precisely the zones where Amandus preached.[17] The 629 plan put Dagobert on a collision course with the Slavs, and it did not take long for war to break out. In 633 the Franks suffered a disastrous defeat at Wogastisburg, after which Dagobert adopted a purely defensive border policy.[18]

It is worth noting that the outcome of Dagobert's invasion – the Frankish withdrawal following Wogastisburg and the ruler's return to a defensive frontier policy – provides an explanation for the way Amandus' proselytization efforts

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[15] Stefan Esders, in "Amandus of Maastricht," makes a convincing case that Dagobert adapted the practice of forcible baptism from eastern Roman policy right around 629, when, according to the Fredegar Chronicle (ch. 62), the king concluded a *pax perpetua* with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. A central impetus for this treaty was Christianization.

[16] Throughout this essay I use the standard edition of the Fredegar Chronicle: *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS. rer. Merov. 2, (Hanover 1888), 1–194. I also use the English translation in J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, trans., *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, with Its Continuations* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960). Fredegar's discussion of Dagobert and the Slavs appears between chs. 58 and 77.

[17] Esders, "Amandus of Maastricht," 286–87. See also Stefan Esders, "Herakleios, Dagobert und die beschnittenen Völker. Die Umwälzungen des Mittelmeerraums im 7. Jahrhundert in der fränkischen Chronik des sog. Fredegar," in *Jenseits der Grenzen. Studien zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. A. Goltz, Harmut Leppin, and Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 239–311, esp. 307–8.

[18] For instance, when a Slavic contingent entered Thuringia in 633 Dagobert agreed to relieve the Saxons of their customary tribute if they would serve as a buffer against Wendish aggression (Fredegar, ch. 74).

panned out. Chapter 16 of the *Vita* makes it clear that Amandus had little chance of success among the Slavs and that he withdrew without persevering for too long. These somewhat awkward details, which might seem at odds with the spiritual arguments of the hagiography as a whole, become far more comprehensible if we match up Amandus' mission with the political and military events replayed in the Fredegar *Chronicle*. The *Vita*'s implication that the Slavs were simply a lost cause could provide an *ex post* rationale for a failure really tied to the expulsion of the Franks in the early 630s.[19]

Amandus' Wasconian journey (chapter 20) poses greater problems than the Slavic episode. Some scholars have assigned the Wascones mission to a mid- to late-630s context, whereas others have pushed it as far forward as the 650s and 660s. The principal source of confusion is that chapter 18, which precedes the Wasconian section and records Amandus' investiture as bishop of Maastricht, almost definitely did *not* happen under Dagobert, but circa 647–649. If, as I am arguing in this paper, the Wascones mission really did occur in the late 630s (and not the 650s–660s), something must be out of sequence in the *Vita*.

There is abundant evidence, in both the *Vita* and additional sources, that the Maastricht section is misplaced – that is, while Amandus was appointed to his seat in Maastricht around 647–649, the hagiographer mistook the Maastricht investiture for an event from Dagobert's reign. To begin with, the wording of chapter 18 leans heavily towards Dagobert as the *rex* who elevated Amandus.[20]

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[19] There is a precedent for the *Vita Amandi*'s treatment of the Slavs in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* (I.27). Columbanus considers preaching among the Wendish Slavs but is reminded by an angel of the Lord that it is not worth his effort, as the Slavs are beyond redemption.

[20] Bruno Krusch was entirely convinced that the phrasing of the *Vita prima* placed the Maastricht episode within Dagobert's rule, not the late 640s; this was the main reason why Krusch doubted the passage's historicity. Even Moreau, who believed that Amandus' installation in Maastricht occurred after Dagobert had died, conceded that the *Vita prima* passage reads as though the unnamed *rex* was, in fact, Dagobert. Moreau suggested that the hagiographer might well have made an error: "Mais il est très possible que le biographe, ou bien ne sache pas exactement quand Amand devint évêque de Tongres [Maastricht], ou bien croie erronément qu'il le devînt sous Dagobert. La tradition orale lui a fourni sans doute bien peu de précisions chronologiques dont, vu son but, il se souciait d'ailleurs assez peu" (Moreau, *Saint Amand*, 41). Throughout the rest of the *Vita*, the hagiographer is diligent about naming the king whenever a new one succeeds to the throne. Whereas the hagiographer identifies *Dagobertus rex* in chapters 13 and 17 and takes care to specify that Childeric II had become ruler by chapter 23, in which Amandus obtains royal support for a new monastery at Nant (… *Amandus ad Hildericum adiit regem…*), he offers no indication that power had changed hands before Amandus was appointed bishop of Maastricht. If

Second (and most persuasively), Bernard Gui's *Speculum sanctorale* indicates that the *Vita Amandi antiqua*'s baptism scene, explicitly set in Dagobert's court, came *after* Amandus' appointment as bishop of Maastricht and *after* Amandus' trips to the Slavs and Wascones. In other words, the *Vita antiqua* hagiographer situated both the Maastricht episode and the Slavic-Wasconian missions during the period of Dagobert's rule. Finally, a chapter after the Wascones journey in the *Vita* (ch. 22, Amandus' foundation of Elnone abbey) gives a likely *terminus ante quem* for the Wascones mission: there is strong evidence that it was Dagobert who donated the lands for Elnone prior to his death in 639.[21]

If one accepts the misplacement of the Maastricht episode (an accident attributable to the influence of the *Vita antiqua*), the chronology of the *Vita prima* falls into place. The *Vita prima* notes a delay of four to five years between the end of Amandus' mission to the Slavs (633, the Battle of Wogastisburg) and the start of Amandus' mission to the Wascones, leaving a date of 637–38 for Amandus' Wasconian mission. This would work well if the Elnone section is assigned a date circa 639.

As with the Slavic mission, the chronology of Amandus' journey to the Pyrenees aligns exactly with events in the Fredegar *Chronicle*. Fredegar (ch. 78) relates that the Wasconian territory had been lost by Charibert and that Dagobert initiated a reconquest operation in 637–638. The *Chronicle* leaves no doubt as to the massive scale of Dagobert's invasion: "ten dukes and their forces" came along, and Dagobert had relatively little trouble bringing Wasconia under firm

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ever there were a place to acknowledge a royal succession, this would be it: the Maastricht passage follows right after the baptism scene, which celebrates the Amandus - Dagobert relationship.

[21] The evidence is laid out nicely in Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962), 35–37. In a famous 642 letter to abbots Waldebert and Bobolenus (the dedicatory preface to the *Vita Columbani*), Jonas of Bobbio remembers having collaborated with Amandus at the confluence of the Scarpe, Scheldt, and Elnone rivers (the location of Elnone abbey) already by the end of the 630s: *Vita Columbani*, 61. Later sources seem to confirm that Elnone was founded under Dagobert, although one must keep in mind the proliferation of forgeries and false claims regarding Dagobert's rule. The ninth-century Elnone monk Milo, who edited Amandus' *Vita*, was under the impression that it was Dagobert who had handed down the abbey's privileges; Milo expressly names Dagobert in a sermon devoted to the monastery's patron (MGH SS. rer. Merov. 5, 471). Likewise, Charles the Simple declared in a *diploma* of 899 that Dagobert had provided for the defense and immunity of Elnone's brethren. The text is reproduced in Platelle, *Le temporel*, 37. An additional twelfth-century source indicates that the Elnone community celebrated Dagobert's birthday every year.

control. "The whole of Gascony was overrun… [and] in the end the Gascons were overcome and subjugated."[22]

Fredegar's account of the fighting confirms the magnitude of Dagobert's operation. The Wascones were mountain-based bandits who launched raiding sorties down from their secure positions in the Pyrenees to the neighboring plains. Since the Roman period, the convention had been merely to cordon off such dangerous mountain territories as internal frontier zones – not to venture too far in. It was common knowledge that invasions of highland areas could result in catastrophe. And yet, Dagobert's forces "followed them [the Wascones]" to their hiding places "among inaccessible rocks." As with the Slavs, Dagobert was not interested in simply securing the status quo; he meant to achieve absolute control. Roger Collins rightly refers to this as "the most systematic attempt to impose order on the Basques since the beginning of the Roman period…"[23]

It is no stretch to imagine that such a total effort at control and integration had a religious dimension. Dagobert sought to bring Wasconia under Frankish rule for good, so it would have made sense for him to mobilize missionaries (particularly those closely connected to his court, like Amandus) to try and *convert* the Wascones as a way of reinforcing their submission. That Dagobert continued with this policy regardless of its failure against the Slavs in 630–633 suggests that the king was strongly committed to linking control and conquest with conversion. There was a natural place for missionaries in such initiatives.

In the baptism scene of the *Vita prima*, Dado and Eligius are said to have advised Amandus that "thanks to his familiarity with the king he might more easily obtain permission to preach *in his kingdom or wherever he chose* [*in regno ipsius, vel ubicumque eligeret*], and that, through royal favor, he might conquer many nations for Christ" (emphasis added).[24] In fact, Amandus' trips to the Slavs and Wascones probably involved much more than just permission from the king; Amandus' two cross-border missions were closely associated with royal policy in the wars of 630–633 and 637–638. Nonetheless, the exact relationship between Amandus' missions and Dagobert's operations remains an open question; the evidence is

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[22] The Frankish army was so formidable that as soon as Dagobert threatened to redirect his forces against the Bretons, the Breton king (Judicael) personally hurried "at once to Clichy with a quantity of gifts to ask pardon of King Dagobert," Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle of Fredegar*, 65–66.

[23] Roger Collins, *The Basques* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 96.

[24] … *per hanc familiaritatem liberius in regno ipsius, vel ubicumque eligeret, haberet licentiam praedicandi, seu et nationes quam plures per hanc gratiam se posse conquiri fatebantur.* MGH SS. rer. Merov. 5, 441.

nowhere near detailed enough to get at a ground-level view of how conversion and control were actually put together. Did Amandus literally accompany the Frankish army? Was he simply *inspired* by political and military circumstances to choose the Slavs and Wascones as targets for evangelization or was he instructed by the king to join in the initiatives of the Merovingian state?

At this point I will turn to a close reading of the *Vita*: Why did the hagiographer present the Slavic and Wasconian episodes as he did? What do the Slavic and Wasconian passages reveal about broader conceptions of politics and mission during the Merovingian era (the formative period for Christian universalism)?

Tension and Obfuscation in the Slavic and Wasconian Chapters

So long as Amandus is operating *within* the Frankish borders, the *Vita prima* goes into exceptional detail about the missionary's collaboration with and service to the king.[25] In most contemporary hagiographies scholars have detected a much greater reticence to acknowledge secular authorities' roles in saints' successes "in local life."[26] In between the Slavic and Wasconian chapters, the scene of Amandus' baptism of Dagobert's son (ch. 17) provides a highly structured, almost performative argument for the holy man's connections to the king

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[25] The *Vita Amandi prima* records, for example, that Amandus received permission to forcibly baptize the pagans and apostates of the Ghent *pagus*: Amandus "obtain[ed] letters" from Dagobert through the intermediary Acharius of Noyon, and "provided with power from the king and blessing from the Church the man of God Amand went intrepidly forth" (ch. 13). "Royal munificence" is also mentioned in chapter 15, in which the revival of a hanged man motivates pagans around Ghent to demolish their old temples and seek "heavenly mandates" from Amandus. On top of this royal support for Amandus' evangelization around Ghent, the *Vita* highlights the role of the king in elevating Amandus to the rank of bishop (and installing him in Maastricht) (chs. 8 and 18), stresses Amandus' baptism of Sigebert III at King Dagobert's request (ch. 17), and specifies that "the king [Childeric II] gave him [Amandus] the place named Nant" (ch. 23) as a site for a monastery ("Amand went to King Childeric [II] and humbly asked him to give him a place in which to build a monastery"). All of these references, spread throughout the hagiography, add up to an exceptional portrait not only of the prestige Amandus acquired through his connections with the court, but of Amandus' reliance upon royal favor in many of the key achievements of his career.
[26] Esders, "Amandus of Maastricht," 278–79. Esders has called attention to the *Vita Amandi*'s openness about the missionary-king association and has asked "why the author of a saint's life should mention the king's support in the process of Christianization, for this could diminish his hero's glory, who ideally should have achieved his aims solely with God's support by preaching and his ability to work miracles." Ibid., 274.

and engagement in "secular affairs." Amandus is initially reluctant to baptize Dagobert's son: "The man of God vehemently refused for he knew the Scripture says: 'The soldier of God should not be involved in secular affairs' (2 Timothy 2:4). Having decided (on scriptural authority) not to perform the royal baptism, Amandus leaves the presence of the king. Yet Dagobert remains determined that it should be Amandus who baptizes the royal heir and sends Dado (Audoin) and Eligius, "who were then living in the royal palace in secular dress but who later… became bishops," to urge the saint to reconsider. Dado and Eligius not only repeat the king's plea that Amandus carry out the baptism and educate the ruler's son in divine law, but propose that "if the man of God did not refuse to do this, thanks to his familiarity with the king he might more easily obtain permission to preach in his kingdom or wherever he chose, and that, through royal favor, he might conquer many nations for Christ." Amandus is eventually "worn out" by the prayers of Dado and Eligius, and he agrees to baptize the king's son. That Amandus has done the right thing is confirmed by a miracle that celebrates the increase of proper spiritual conduct among members of the court (including the king himself): when none of the crowd attending the baptism answered "Amen" to Amandus' prayer, "the Lord opened the [only forty-day-old] boy's mouth and everyone heard him clearly answer *Amen*." All are overjoyed, and Amandus names the boy Sigebert (III).

Given the text's portrayal of missionary-ruler collaboration *inside* the Frankish territories, it is notable that the *Vita* remains completely silent on the political dimensions of Amandus' Slavic and Wasconian expeditions. As noted above, the hagiographer insists that Amandus' trips to the Slavs and Wascones were triggered purely by the saint's own personal spiritual ambitions. Moreover, while the pagans across the border are entirely unreceptive to Amandus' preaching, they do not resist him with the same intensity or violence as many pagans *within* the Frankish kingdom. Since the Slavs and Wascones were conceptualized as enemies of the Franks, it is surprising that the hagiographer did not portray the two groups as *more* vicious, *more* adversarial to the representative of Christianity.

To try and understand why the Slav and Wasconian passages of the *Vita Amandi prima* appear as they do, we can go back to their antecedents in the late-seventh to very early-eighth century *Vita antiqua* (via Bernard Gui). Like the *Vita prima*, the *Vita antiqua* appears to have said nothing about the connection of the Slavic and Wasconian missions to the ruler. In fact, the *Vita prima* hagiographer seems to have left the *Vita antiqua*'s Slavic and Wasconian passages more or less untouched (aside from stylistic features) in his revision, possibly indicating that

he did not know enough about the two episodes to supply any further details.[27] It is in the *Vita antiqua*, therefore, that we should look to see how the Slavic and Wasconian chapters took shape.

A separate passage from the *Vita antiqua* (recorded by Gui) shows that the hagiographer envisioned a sharp opposition between the ideal of *peregrinatio* and service to the king (or involvement in "secular affairs" more broadly):

14) One day of the Lord [Sunday] while holy Amandus was preaching to the nobles of the court, he celebrated the sacred mass at the request of the bishops and King Dagobert. When the prayer had been concluded, he demanded a private conversation with the king, and he began to denounce the king for his pernicious sins. Out of pride the king was unwilling to hear the words of the man of God and angrily ordered him to depart from the borders [of the kingdom]. However, the servant of God Amandus, filled with joy, hastened from the range of vision [*conspectus*] of the king, desiring to come upon the harbor. He meant to cross the *mare Britannicum* to the Saxon people, in order that he might preach the Gospel among them; he was planning to persevere in *peregrinatio* for all the days of his life.

15) Afterwards, the king, seized by fevers and recognizing the error which he had committed against the man of God Amandus, hastily sent for him in order that he [Amandus] might return to him [the king]; he humbly implored that Amandus might indulge him and baptize his son Sigebert, who had [recently] been born…[28]

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[27] The Slavic chapter from Bernard Gui: "9) *Deinde trans Danubium ad Asclaborum terras, ubi Christus non nominabatur, predicare perrexit ad martirii palmam animo preparatus. Ubi libera voce evangelium salutis predicans aliquos ad baptismi gratiam adduxit, sed adhuc peccatis exigentibus alii verbum Dei audire noluerint,* " PL 87, 1269. The Wascones chapter: "11) *Post spatium vero temporis, visitatis fratribus quibus per diversas provincias monasteria et ecclesias regendas commendaverat, audivit esse quamdam gentem ferocissimam errore deceptam, quae nunc Vasconia appellatur. Quae gens per saltus Pyranaeos, per aspera et invia diffusa est loca: quae crebris eruptionibus, pugnandi agilitate, Fracorum fines longe lateque vastando contrivit. Illuc itaque causa praedicationis accessit, ut eos ab idolatria et rapinis et a fallacia hujus mundi eriperet. Cum quadam autem die praedicaret, surgens unus ex eis, verbis risui aptis, Evangelium Christi et servum Dei Amandum detrahendo irrisit, et populum post se illa vana laetitia attraxit. Eadem hora, divina ultione, angelus Satanae miserum invasit, statimque omnia membra ejus contraxit, et inter poenas confitens quod ideo patiebatur, quia servum Dei Amandum irriserat, miserabiliter exspiravit. 12) De finibus autem Vasconum egrediens, dum ad civitatem quamdam venisset…*" PL 87, 1270.

[28] 14) *Quadam die Dominica dum sanctus Amandus Palatinis proceribus praedicasset, rogatus ab episcopis et a rege Dagoberto missarum solemnia celebravit: finita vero oratione, privatim colloquium*

The prerequisite for Columbanian *peregrinatio*, in the *Vita antiqua*'s account, is the total renunciation of political life. When the king recalls Amandus to court later in the passage and Amandus and Dagobert mend ties, the future plan of *peregrinatio* and of spreading the Gospel among the Saxons is no longer a possibility. The hagiographer's stark opposition of politics and *peregrinatio* might help explain why there is absolutely no mention of the political context of Amandus' Slavic and Wasconian expeditions. The Slavic and Wasconian journeys are the two episodes in which Amandus comes closest to Columbanian-style *peregrinatio*. Since the *Vita antiqua* hagiographer thought of court life and *peregrinatio* as incompatible, he might have imagined that acknowledging any connection to Dagobert would detract from the legendary, Columbanian character of Amandus' missions. We may well be dealing, in the Slavic and Wasconian chapters, with a case of deliberate obfuscation.[29]

In fact, the alterations made by the *Vita prima* hagiographer to chapters 14 and 15 (the exile and baptism scenes) of the *Vita antiqua* indicate that he, too, struggled with the tension between *peregrinatio* and politics. This is further evidence that the political role of a missionary beyond the borders was a complex issue which could generate much distortion of facts. To begin with, the *Vita prima* hagiographer greatly condensed the story of Amandus' exile and Saxon proselytization hopes, merging it with the baptism chapter and essentially reducing it to a brief parenthetical note. This is the only passage from the *Vita antiqua* that he did not expand. The hagiographer removed all of the crucial details: the Saxons (Amandus' particular target, whom he must reach by crossing the *mare Britannicum*) are generalized into some unnamed "pagans" in "remote places."

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a rege secretius expetiit, ipsumque regem de capitalibus criminibus arguere coepit. Rex vero typho superbiae clatus, verba viri Dei audire noluit, sed iratus de finibus ejus exire jussit. Cumque servus Dei Amandus gaudio repletus a conspectu regis… ad locum maritimum navem invenire volens perrexit, et mare Britannicum transire voluit ad gentes Saxonum, ut eis Evangelium praedicaret, et in peregrinatione cunctis diebus vitae suae permanere volebat. 15) *Post haec rex correptus febribus, culpam quam in virum Dei Amandum commiserat recognoscens, misit celeriter pro eodem ut ad se rediret: rogans humiliter, ut sibi indulgeret, et filium Sigebertum, qui ei natus erat, baptizaret.* PL 87, 1270. The translation is mine.

[29] One can only guess whether the hagiographer knew the circumstances of Amandus' cross-border expeditions or whether he was working from oral reports that left the missions' political dimensions out. Nevertheless, both possibilities are intriguing. In the former case we would be looking at a deliberate decision to cut out the missionary's role in the conquest and control operations of the king. In the latter case the politics of Amandus' missions to the Slavs and Wascones would have completely faded from the collective memory over less than a century of handing down stories about the saint's career.

Whereas the *Vita antiqua* claims that Amandus never actually realized his plans, the *Vita prima* suggests that Amandus *did* spend some time among far-away pagans before returning for Sigebert's baptism. In other words, the king's summons did not entirely stymie Amandus' idealistic goals and Amandus got the best of both worlds. The *Vita prima* hagiographer seems to have been uncomfortable with the notion that the holy man had to choose one or the other, devout self-exile or obedience to the king. He removed any trace of *peregrinatio* from the exile episode. Additionally, in presenting the argument for the missionary's involvement in "secular affairs," the *Vita prima* author added a number of scriptural quotations, as if to lend additional, much-needed authority to his case.

Conclusion

A major question in Merovingian scholarship is when, over the stretch of the late-sixth and early-seventh centuries, conversion activity turned from the closing of internal frontier zones (peripheries just within the borders of the Frankish kingdom) to the pursuit of a new Christian universalism "independent of local frontiers."[30] The Slavic and Wasconian episodes have frequently been cited as evidence for the breadth of Amandus' missionary plan and for the emergence of Christian universal mission more generally. The fact that Amandus' missions to the Slavs and Wascones appear to have been motivated largely by the initiatives of the king begs the question: Is there a political history to the rise of Christian universalism? To what degree did royal policy (or the state) contribute to the development of new missionary ideas? Perhaps, by carefully cross-checking hagiographies (spiritual histories) with political histories – as this paper has done with the *Vita Amandi* and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar – scholars can move towards a more concrete, more ground-level view of the relationships between mission and politics, conversion and control during the Merovingian period.

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[30] See Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 414–416.

THE CROSIER AND THE SWORD:
ON THE INTERCONNECTIVITY OF
CHURCH AND STATE SYMBOLS OF POWER IN MEDIEVAL RUS'

Mariia Diatlova[1]

The sphere of political rituals is a familiar topic for Western historians. Political rituals, or in a broader perspective, political symbolism, are perceived by medievalists as a form of public communication in which power relations are expressed or, in the opinion of some scholars,[2] even established. For a long time, however, this topic remained (and in some cases still remains) a kind of terra incognita in Russian historiography and consequently in the history of medieval Rus'. This paper is an attempt to bridge this gap and analyze political rituals and their meaning in pre-Mongol Rus', i.e., in the Rurikid state during the period from its emergence in the ninth century to its fall during the Mongol invasion in 1237–1240. This study focuses on the ritual of enthronement and its semantics, in particular in the case of the enthronement of Prince Constantine in Novgorod in 1206.

In this research Old Russian political symbolism is compared with symbols of Church power. The inspiration for this comparison was a number of miniatures from the Radziwiłł Chronicle in which one can find parallels between depictions of temporal and spiritual authorities. An abbot in a monastery is likened to a prince at his court; when "on duty" both sit on thrones, holding a crosier (the abbot) or a sword (the prince). These objects, the crosier and the sword, are also represented in the miniatures using a similar gesture; a man standing behind the bishop holds his crosier with an outstretched arm (fol. 178),[3] as does a man with the sword standing behind the prince (fol. 118v). What is more, sometimes princes hold their swords perpendicular to the earth, which makes them look

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[2] Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 22–26.
[3] Hereafter the links refer to the Arabic foliation of the Radziwiłł Chronicle. Facsimile edition of the manuscript: Радзивиловская летопись: Текст. Исследование. Описание миниатюр, [The Radziwiłł chronicle. Text, study, description, miniatures], ed. [M. V. Kukushkina] М. В. Кукушкина (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences Library, 1994), vols 1–2.

like a kind of crosier (fols 149v, 181v, 202). Thus, in terms of semiotics, the two authorities, spiritual and temporal, are represented with the same syntax.

The crosier is widely known as a symbol of the Church hierarchy and is still used today in some liturgical ceremonies. But what about the sword? Was it really a symbol of princely authority? If so, where did this symbolism come from? In addition, why was it so clearly associated in the mind of a medieval artist with church symbolism?

The topic of political symbolism has become popular in history as an academic discipline quite recently, mainly since the fall of the Soviet Union when it it became necessary to design new state symbols with some historical background. A large amount of work has been done in the field of signs and attributes of principalities,[4] as well as in the analysis of particular political rituals such as enthronement,[5] cross

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[4] [N. A. Soboleva] Н. А. Соболева, *Знаки княжеской власти Киевской Руси I Исследования по источниковедению истории России (до 1917 г.): Сборник статей* [Marks of princely authority in Kievan Rus'; Studies on the source study of the history of Russia (before 1917): Collected papers for the eightieth anniversary of corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1996), 4–25; [R. V. Novozheev] Р. В. Новожеев, "Формирование и развитие атрибутов власти Древней Руси (вторая половина IX – середина XIII вв.): Сравнительно-исторический аспект" [The formation and development of attributes of power in ancient Russia (the second half of the ninth to the middle of thirteenth century; the comparative-historical aspect], PhD dissertation (Moscow, 2005); M. Bartnicki, "Atrybuty władzy książąt ruskich XIII w. jako element prestiżu" [Attributes of Russian priorities in the thirteenth century as elements of prestige], *Socium: Almanach of Social History* 8 (2008): 21-31; [V. V. Puzanov] В. В. Пузанов, "Княжеские 'клобуки' и 'венцы': к спорам о древнерусских инсигниях" [Princes' "hoods" and "crowns": on the disputes on old Rus' insignias], in *Actes testantibus: ювілейний зб. на пошану Леонтія Войтовича* [Anniversary collection in honor of Leontius Voytovych], ed. [Mykola Lytvyn] Микола Литвин (Lviv: Institute of Ukranian Studies, 2011), 569–581.

[5] [A. L. Horoshkevich] А. Л. Хорошкевич, "Поставление князей и символы государственности X – начала XIII в." [The formation of the ancient Russian state and its first ruler], in *Образование Древнерусского государства: Спор. проблемы: Тез. докл.*, ed. [A. P. Novoseltsev] А. П. Новосельцев (Moscow, 1992); Andrzej Poppe, "The Enthronement of the Prince in Kievan Russia" in *Christian Russia in the Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 190–191; [K. S. Gvozdenko] К. С. Гвозденко, Церемония княжеской интронизации на Руси в домонгольский период [The ceremony of principles of intelligence in Russia in the Domongolsky Period] Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики 35 (2009): 17–20; Alexandra Vukovic, "Enthronement Rituals of the Princes of Rus' (twelfth-thirteenth centuries)," *Forum: University of Edinburgh Postgraduate Journal of Culture and the Arts* 17 (2013): 1–11.

kissing,[6] reconciliation,[7] council,[8] and others. No one has noted this similarity among them so far, however, and moreover, hardly a single word is mentioned in the historiography about swords as symbolic attributes of princes. Thus, the purpose of this essay is to clarify possible symbolic meanings of the sword as well as to provide an explanation for similarity in the ways of depicting temporal and ecclesiastical authority.

Sources

The Radziviłł Chronicle, the miniatures of which provoked the research questions, is logically one of the main sources. The manuscript dates to the last decade of the fifteenth century and is the oldest Russian illustrated chronicle, with over 600 miniatures. Critiques of the text, however, argue that the manuscript had two prothographs that were copies of one another. The oldest of them was illustrated in 1205 (the last year mentioned in the Chronicle) at the demand of Grand Prince Vsevolod of Vladimir, and the second one is a copy from the fourteenth cenury. All in all, the Radziviłł Chronicle indirectly reproduces the images of the early thirteenth century and is therefore a source for the history of pre-Mongol Rus'.

Archeologists have remarked on the ancient character of the Radziviłł Chronicle as well; A. Arzikhovsky concluded that many artifacts and practices reflected in its miniatures went out of use by the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Art historians relate these pictures to a range of rare illustrated Byzantine chronicles

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[6] [P. S. Stefanovich] П. С. Стефанович, "Крестоцелование и отношение к нему церкви в Древней Руси" [Coronation and the attitude of the church in Ancient Russia to it] Средневековая Русь 5 (2004): 86–113; Petr S. Stefanovič, "Отношения правителя и знати в Северо-Восточной Руси в XIV – начале XVI в.: крестоцелование как клятва верности?" [Relations between the ruler and the nobility in north-eastern Russia from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century: Christening as a vow of fidelity?], *Cahiers du Mond Russe* 46, nos 1-2 (2005): 277–284; [A. I. Filyushkin] А. И. Филюшкин, "Институт крестоцелования в Средневековой Руси" [The institution of baptism in medieval Rus'], Клио 2 (2000): 42–48; Yu Mikhailova and D. K Prestel, "Cross Kissing: Keeping One's Word in Twelfth-Century Rus'," *Slavic Review* 70, no. 1 (2011): 1–22.

[7] Stefan Rohdewald "'i stvorista mir': Friede als Kommunikationselement in der Rus' (10.-12. Jh.) und im spätmittelalterlichen Novgorod," in *Wege der Kommunikation in der Geschichte Osteuropas*, ed. Nada Boškovska, Seraina Gilly, Rudolf Mumenthaler, and Christophe von Werdt (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), 147–172.

[8] [A. S. Shavelev] А. С. Щавелёв, "Съезды князей как политический институт Древней Руси" [The princely council as a political institution in old Rus'], in Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы*, 2004 г.* (Moscow: Center for Eastern Europe in the Ancient and Medieval World, 2006), 266–278.

such as the Madrid Sciliza and the Bulgarian Manassia Chronicles. The Greek influence on art and architecture produced under the reign of Prince Vsevolod is well known. This is why a connection between the Radziviłł prothograph and some Byzantine samples seems quite possible.

Another group of sources are Old Russian chronicles. Usually they are extant in copies from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, but still they may contain material from earlier epochs. The "multilayer" character of Old Russian sources leads to questions about their reliability, making it necessary to verify their data where possible.

The Sword as a Symbol of Princely Authority

The statement that swords have a prestigious or symbolic function in medieval culture long ago became a commonplace in historiography. Miniatures confirm this idea: the sword is often shown in non-military scenes, sometimes even without any clear function. For example, on f. 107 it is simply leaning against the throne, and on f. 77 it is hanging under a *bunchuk* (a banner on a pole) in the tent of Prince Gleb. The most common type of image represents a prince on a throne with a sword in his hand or on his belt. Sometimes a sword is shown in the arms of a person from the court circle (usually an ambassador or military leader, i. e., people empowered in some way).

Among over 600 miniatures there is one type of iconography that deserves special attention in the case of swords. These pictures show a sword being handed over to a prince. A. Arzichovsky has found three images of that type and he considered them a reflection of the investiture ritual.[9] Modern historians repeat such an opinion.[10]

1. 1015 (fol. 73) – Prince Vladimir the Saint sending his son, Prince Boris, on a campaign against Pechenegs. The text above reads: "And the Pechenegs went to Rus', so he sent Boris against them." Vladimir is giveing a sword to Boris.

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[9] [Artsikhovsky], 34.
[10] [Novozheev], "Формирование и развитие атрибутов власти," 137; [I. G. Ponomareva] И. Г. Пономарёва, "Об обряде инвеституры: Русь, Россия," in Средневековье *и* Новое время, vol. 3, Третьи чтения памяти академика РАН Л. В. Милова [On the ceremony of investiture: Rus, Russia; Middle Ages and early modern times, vol. 3, Third collection of papers in the memory of L. V. Milov, member of the Russian Academy of Sciences] (Moscow: Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова Исторический факультет, 2013), 48–50; Bartnicki, "Atrybuty władzy," 21–31.

2.   1120 (fol. 157v – *down*) – Prince Vladimir Monomakh sending his son, Andrei, to rule in Vladimir-Volynsky. The text above: "The same year Volodimir sent his other son Andrei to rule in Vladimir." Vladimir is giving a sword to Andrei.

3.   1139 (fol. 171) – Prince Vsevolod Olgovitch sending his younger brother, Svjatoslav Olgovitch, to rule in Novgorod. The text above: "The same year Novgorod citizens dismissed Gorgevitch and sent their people to Vsevolod, saying: 'Let Svjatoslav come to us.' And he sent Svjatoslav to rule." The senior prince is giving a sword to the junior prince.

Two other miniatures, according to Arzichovsky, depict handing over a sword as a symbol of the surrender of a city.

1.   1068 (fol. 101v) – enthronement of Izyaslav Jaroslavitch in Kiev. The text above: "Kiev dwellers accepted their prince and Izyaslav sat on his throne." One of the citizens is giving a sword to the prince.

2.   1088 (fol. 120v) – a prince with an army is moving towards a city; a man is looking from behind the walls and holding out a sword, as if giving it to the prince. This miniature is not absolutely clear because in the previous abstract there are two passing pieces of information: "The same year Svjatoslav went from Novgorod to live in Turov. The same year the Bulgars seized Murom." Arzichovsky suggests that this miniature depicts Murom. The first case seems more likely, however, because in the representation the city voluntarily accepts its new governor in the same way as on fol. 101v.

Indeed, these miniatures depict the handing over of a sword to a prince in a very particular way, but a detailed study of the manuscript shows that this gesture can be expressed in other iconographic forms. In eight of the miniatures[11] swords

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[11] The enthronement of Yaroslav Vladimirovitch in Kiev in 1019 (fol. 83); petition by the inhabitants of Kiev to Svyatoslav Yaroslavitch of Chernigov and Vsevolod Yaroslavitch with a request to rule in Kiev in 1068 (fol. 101); Vladimir Monomakh sending his son Roman to rule in Vladimir-Volynsky in 1119 (fol. 157v); Yuriy Vladimirovitch Dolgorukiy's wish to send his brother Vyatcheslav to rule in Kiev and sending him to Vyshgorod due to the insistence of the boyars in 1149 (fol. 186); Yuriy Vladimirovitch Dolgorukiy sending his son Gleb on a campaign against the Polovtsy in 1154 (fol. 197v); enthronement of Yuriy Vladimirovitch Dolgorukiy in Kiev in 1154 (fol. 200v); a delegation of the inhabitants of Novgorod to Andrei Yuryevitch of Vladimir with a request to send a prince to them, and their choice between two candidates in 1160 (fol. 204); a delegation of the inhabitants of Suzdal to Mikhalko Yuryevitch with an entreaty for pardon and request for him to return to Suzdal; enthronement of Mikhalko Yuryevitch in Suzdal in 1176 г. (fol. 221).

are shown in the hands of those whose office it is to hand it over or of those who are receiving it, but without the actual gesture of giving the sword being represented. Nevertheless the meanings of these pictures remain identical.

In this context, the sword seems to be not just an object of investiture or a sign of surrender, but a stable symbol of princely power in the broadest sense. From this point of view, the symbolism of swords in battle scenes becomes clear; usually only one sword is shown for the whole army, which corresponds to the uniqueness of the prince in this group and marks his presence. One instance of this practice is the sword depicted in the miniature on fol. 118v, where it is presented using the same gesture as with the bishop's crosier on fol. 178, as mentioned above.

Swords in Rituals

No study of political symbolism would be complete without mentioning political rituals. This form of public communication can help explain the origin and meaning of the symbols which are found in the pictures.

In Old Russian chronicles there are two mentions of the ritual of handing over a sword. One of them comes from the fifteenth century; the Simeonovskaya chronicle reports that Vasiliy II the Dark made a princely visit to Novgorod and sent his son Yuriy to Pskov with the intention of enthroning him there. "The Grand Prince went to Novgorod in peace. From there the Prince sent his son Yuriy to Pskov the dwellers of Pskov accepted him with great honor, and seated him on the throne in the Holy Trinity Cathedral, and put the sword of Prince Damant in his arms."[12] Thus, this is reliable evidence of the tradition of handing over a sword during enthronement rituals in the fifteenth century at least.

Another testimony is more relevant to the research here due to its pre-Mongol origin. The Lavrentyevskaya Chronicle reports that Grand Prince Vsevolod of Vladimir sent his son Constantine to rule in Novgorod in 1206. This unusually long and frankly laudatory entry, the first in Constantine's section of the chronicle, describes in detail the ritual of enthronement and conveys the idea of princely authority with great color.

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[12] "Chronicle 436," in Полное собрание русских летописей [The complete collection of Russian Chronicles], vol. 18, ed. [A. E. Presnyakova] А. Е. Преснякова (Saint Petersburg: Типография Эдуарда Праца, 1913), 437. Damant or Dovmont was a saintly prince from Pskov who ruled at the end of the thirteenth century. His sword became a relic in the Trinity Cathedral.

Grand Prince Vsevolod sent his son Constantine to rule in Velikiy Novgorod, and again the apostle said he is God's servant, a punishment for evil. If you do not want to be afraid of authority, do not do anything evil, and he will praise you. If you do anything evil, be afraid, because he does not wear a sword in vain. So his father gave him a sword and a cross, saying: 'This is to guard and to help you, and the sword – to save you; they are for you to shepherd your people and guard them from the adversary.' So he came to Novgorod on 20 March, on the day of Saint Nikita on Sunday, and the people came out to meet him, bearing crosses, and met him with great honor with Bishop Mitrophan, and there was great rejoicing. He came to the cathedral of Saint Sofia, and they seated him on the throne, they bowed to him and kissed him with honor. And from there he went to his house, gave presents to the men of Novgorod, and let them go."[13]

The ritual is conveyed here in accordance with the tradition of princely enthronement that was brilliantly studied by K. Gvozdenko. The inhabitants of the city met the newly arrived prince outside the city, then there was a ceremony in the cathedral, then the prince went to his court, where he held a feast and distributed presents. Nevertheless, the meaning and the details of each part of the ritual remain rather vague. Comparing the episode of the chronicle about Constantine's enthronement with churchly rituals permits understanding the nature of the rite a bit better.

The Rite of Enthronement

Historians, such as A. Poppe, A. Tolochko, A. Khoroshkevitch, M. Bartnicki, A. Vukovich and K. Gvozdenko, have examined different aspects of the rite of enthronement in its.[14] The most problematic part of the ceremony is the church service. What was it like? Where was the famous "stol" (throne) located, which appears in almost every entry in the chronicles? Tolochko and Poppe suggest that in the pre-Mongol era the "stol" was moved from the princely court to the cathedral so after approximately 1150 the most important point in the ceremony was the moment of enthronement in the cathedral. Gvozdenko disputes their

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[13] Полное собрание русских летописей [The complete collection of Russian Chronicles], vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg: Типография Эдуарда Праца, 1846), 421–423.

[14] [A P. Tolochko] А. П. Толочко, Князь в Древней Руси: власть, собственность, идеология [The prince in ancient Russia: Power, property, ideology] (Kiev: Наукова Думка, 1992), 138–149. The other works have been mentioned above.

conclusions. She argues that the formula "he sat on the throne ("stol") in Saint Sofia/ Trinity/...." was nothing more than a short description of the ritual and the ecclesiastical ceremony consisted of nothing more than simple reverence of local relics. The central point of the ritual, according to Gvozdenko, was the occupation of the princely court, which was the real sign of the assumption of princely authority.

The description of the ritual in the entry of 1206 does not correspond to the conclusions of Gvozdenko about the formula "he sat on the throne ("stol") in Saint Sofia." Here it is quite clear that the enthronement itself took place in the cathedral and not at the court. Thus, even if the occupation of the court was an act of special importance, the "stol" as a symbol of princely authority was located in the cathedral.

Based on this conclusion it seems logical to compare the enthronement of princes and bishops, as the bishop's throne was also called a "stol", and occupying it was referred to as "nastolovanie (taking the throne).[15] It is rather hard to prove this connection, however. The most ancient Old Russian liturgical source concerning "nastolovanie" is a fourteenth-century manuscript which contains only some parts of the rite,[16] but as a whole it copies a Byzantine prothograph of the tenth or eleventh century, which was in fact the period of the baptism of Rus. A. Neselovsky, the author of a unique monograph on the rite of chirotony (extending the hands in bestowing a blessing) in the Orthodox tradition, wrote that "nastolovanie", or enthronement, has been a specific element (as well as election, the Creed, and so on) of the ceremony of chirotony since apostolic times. The ritual took place during the liturgy after the reading of the Gospel. All the bishops present kissed the candidate, "so expressing, indeed, a brotherly attitude to him,"[17] and then he was seated on the throne.

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[15] See, for example, "настолованъ въ велицѣмь и богохранимѣмь градѣ Кыевѣ" ["I was enthroned in the great and blessed city of Kiev"] in Иларион [Hilarion], "Слово о законе и благодати" [Sermon on law and grace], in Библиотека литературы Древней Руси, vol. 1, ed. [D. S. Likhachev] Д. С. Лихачев (Saint Petersburg: Наука, 1997), 60.

[16] [Zheltov Mihail] Желтов Михаил, "Чины рукоположений по древнейшему славянскому списку: Рукопись РНБ. Соф. 1056, XIV в" [The rites of ordination according to the oldest Slavic list: MS РНБ. Соф. 1056, XIV в.], Вестник ПСТГУ 1: Богословие и философия; Труды кафедры Литургического богословия 14 (2005):147–157.

[17] [A. Z. Neselovskiy] А. З. Неселовский, Чины хиротесий и хиротоний: Опыт историко-археологического исследования [The rites of the laying-on of hands and of chirotonies: Findings of a historical archaeological study] (Kamenec Podolsk, 1906), 222.

In the entry of 1206 there is also a mention of kissing as a part of the ritual. Thus, some elements of the ritual of enthronement in both church and state contexts were connected, such, as the common name for both thrones – "stol". The connection between the two rituals might have occurred due to the need to create a new public image of the Christianized state authorities. Princes simply borrowed Christian symbols and rituals that were close at hand and therefore easy for society to understand and accept.

The ritual of handing over the sword to a prince, however, should not be considered purely as a reproduction of the ritual of handing over the crosier to a bishop. The very idea of handing over an object of symbolic significance to someone who is being invested with authority is of Roman origin and the use of the sword as such a symbol in Old Russian culture goes back beyond even this thirteenth-century ritual. Nevertheless, the common origin of both insignia explains why they are so easily confused; in other words, why images of both spiritual and temporal authorities are based on the same symbolic syntax.

Conclusion

Thus, according to my observations, the sword was a princely insignia, or, in a broader perspective, a symbol of princely authority. In that sense it had a similar meaning to that of the bishop's crosier for spiritual authority. Both insigniae are handed over to the people being invested during the enthronement ceremonies; the princely rite copies the bishop's "nastolovanie". In light of this conclusion, the coincidence in the iconographic schemes which artists used to depict princes and bishops seems both natural and even typical for medieval artists; both symbolic languages use the same syntax.

PART 2
Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2015-2016

Daniel Ziemann

Like every year, it is a pleasure to present an overview of the events and developments of the last academic year. It was the last year of my headship and I am glad to see the department in such good shape. Our students produced – once again – high quality MA theses; our colleagues continued their successful research and teaching activities, the department hosted interesting conferences and workshops, heard fascinating public lectures, and welcomed many guests from all over the world. The student and alumni evaluations confirm the excellent quality of our classes. Many of our alumni who are continuing their studies at other prestigious universities or have successfully developed their careers at private or public institutions testify to the high quality of our work.

As to the academic programs, the department continued to put some modifications in place in order to meet successfully the challenges of a demanding academic environment. I enjoyed serving as the head of the Department of Medieval Studies for the last three years. These years were often very busy and demanding, but at the same time exciting and inspiring. It was great to lead a group of wonderful students and colleagues and to be able to put ideas and plans into practice. I was moved by the warm words, the wonderful presents, and the wine tasting that my colleagues organized at the end of my term as Head of Department. I am happy to pass the baton to Katalin Szende, who is already doing a tremendous job. I wish her all the best for her term and I am sure that under her leadership the Department of Medieval Studies will continue its successful way long into the future.

General Developments and Outstanding Events in Our Department

The department increased its efforts to meet the challenges of the current situation in the academic world. Universities and other institutions of higher education offer a broad range of programs, many of them in English; the market for medieval studies is limited and our department has to compete with the best

universities. In order to tackle these challenges, we not only have to maintain what we have already achieved, but improve and develop further the excellent quality of our academic work. Despite the competitive market in the field, the specific profile of our programs is – to a certain extent – unique. In order to continue to attract students interested in the late antique, medieval, and early modern world, we have kept on broadening our scope and increased our efforts in developing the field of Early Modern Studies together with the Department of History at CEU. We have also intensified our cooperation with the research centers of the university, the cross-departmental specializations, and the very successful Cultural Heritage Program. Many colleagues from our department have taught classes in the Cultural Heritage Program and co-organized lectures and events. We have also increased our efforts in the field of digital humanities, a rapidly expanding field that offers great opportunities for late antique, medieval, and early modern studies as well. Marcell Sebők and other colleagues applied successfully to the "Humanities Initiative at CEU" for a "Digital Humanities Initiative." It started as an 18-month preparatory project "for mapping, taking inventory, and exploring existing digital humanities projects within CEU, and thinking through ways of strengthening such capacities in the future." In a first step, in spring 2016, the Digital Humanities Initiative established contacts among those already practicing forms of the Digital Humanities. From September 2016, the initiative organized a series of public conversations with specialists in methodologies, workshops, and small grant competitions (2016-2017) to develop this community and envision its trajectory. The Digital Humanities Initiative is a broad institutional collaboration between the Medieval Studies Department, CEU Libraries, the Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives, and the Center for Media, Data and Society at the School of Public Policy.

Since our dear friend and colleague, Professor Niels Gaul, left CEU in 2016 to take up the inaugural A. G. Leventis Chair in Byzantine Studies at the University of Edinburgh, the department conducted a job search for the position of Assistant Professor of Byzantine Studies. The search committee consisted of six members. As an external member, we were happy to invite Professor Margaret Mullett OBE, the former director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C. and Professor of Byzantine Studies and Director of the Institute of Byzantine Studies at the Queen's University of Belfast. The internal members were professors Tijana Kristić, György Geréby, Gábor Klaniczay, Volker Menze, and myself. After examining thoroughly the materials of all the candidates, the committee agreed on a short list of five candidates who were invited for job talks on December 8

and 9, 2015: Dr. Aglae Pizzone, Dr. Foteini Spingou, Dr. Floris Bernard, Dr. Dirk Krausmüller, and Dr. Alexander Riehle. All of them delivered excellent lectures and it was extremely difficult to decide among these outstanding scholars. At the end of a highly competitive and complex process, we were pleased that the rector appointed Dr. Floris Bernard to the position of Assistant Professor of Byzantine studies, "one of the shining lights of a young generation of new Byzantinists, bringing fresh energy, dynamic vision, and impressive sophistication to the area of Byzantine literature, and Byzantine studies more broadly," as one evaluator put it. Professor Bernhard joined our department in March, 2016. He had an excellent start, took over his position with great enthusiasm, and is already deeply involved in teaching and supervision. We are proud to have, once again, an internationally renowned scholar and an excellent representative of Byzantine Studies in our department.

We are also proud of our faculty member, Professor Gábor Klaniczay, for being awarded the International Prize for History by CISH, the International Committee of Historical Sciences, (an international association of historical scholarship established as a non-governmental organization in Geneva in 1926), which he received for the excellence of his work. He will receive the award during the General Assembly of the CISH in September, 2017, in Moscow.

Two of our colleagues are involved in large research projects. Professor Tijana Krstić's project, "The Fashioning of a Sunni Orthodoxy and the Entangled Histories of Confession-Building in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries" (Ottoconfession; Project ID: 648498), is funded by a highly prestigious grant from the European Research Council (ERC), awarded in 2015. As a replacement for Professor Krstić while she began her project during the fall term 2015/2016, we had the pleasure to host Dr. Grigor Boykov from the University Kliment of Ohrid in Sofia, Bulgaria, as a visiting professor. At the same time, Professor István Perczel started as a collaborator in another ERC project, "Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean" (JEWSEAST) led by Alexandra Cuffel from Ruhr-University Bochum.

In August 2015, the Department of History and the Department of Medieval Studies jointly organized the first undergraduate conference for students, generously funded by the university. The topic was "Empire and Nation," held August 6 to 9, 2015. The conference aimed at rethinking the role of empires and nations in history. The conference was very successful; undergraduates from all over the world presented papers and engaged in lively discussions with their colleagues. The feedback from participants was extremely positive and encouraged

us to continue with this effort. As a result, we organized a second conference from August 4 to 7, 2016, on the topic of "Faith and Power," which once again turned out to be a great success. We are publishing three prize-winning papers about the medieval period as a section in this volume of the *Annual*, as we did in the previous volume.

The department has developed and expanded its international contacts. The newly established cooperation with Beijing Normal University became more intensive as scholars from our department were invited to Beijing to give public lectures. I had the pleasure of giving two lectures at Beijing Normal University on April 7 and 8, 2015. We also prepared, together with our colleagues from Beijing, a conference in Beijing which took place during the present academic year 2016/2017.

Within the framework of the "Medieval Central Europe Research Network" (MECERN), contacts with colleagues from Central and Eastern Europe were intensified by supporting the second MECERN conference that took place between March 31 and April 2 in Olomouc (Czech Republic). The activities of MECERN have been managed very successfully by Dr. Nada Zečević during the last academic year.

Other projects such as "Communication and Knowledge Transfer in Medieval Monastic Networks" continued their work with regular workshops and PhD student exchanges. The Medieval Radio kept up its successful programming, which attracts numerous listeners all over the world. This is a good moment to thank all our donors for all their contributions, which we used to support the radio as well as other activities.

The Department was pleased to welcome Ms. Johanna Tóth and Dr. Kyra Lyublyanovics, who have joined our team as coordinators. Both of them work with enormous dedication and perform outstandingly. The department is extremely grateful for their tireless work as well as for their inspiring ideas and professional handling of their tasks. Johanna and Kyra replaced our long-term colleague and dear friend, Annabella Pál, who reduced her working hours and then left CEU in 2017 to engage in other projects. There are no words to describe all her merits and qualities and to praise all the great work she has done for so many years, for the numerous projects, events, and conferences she has planned, organized and coordinated. She was part of the heart and soul of our department and successfully managed our academic MA programs and a broad range of events. With her professional attitude, her outstanding organizational skills, her friendliness, and her humor, she kept crucial areas of our department working smoothly. Students and colleagues remember her as a cheerful, friendly,

and helpful person who dedicated many more than her working hours to our department. She will always remain our close friend and we wish her all the best in her future projects.

This is a good opportunity to mention that the manifold departmental activities are not possible without our coordinators and I take the opportunity here to express my deepest thanks to the whole team, which includes, apart from the persons I already mentioned, our helpful and hard-working librarians, Ms. Petra Verebics and Ms. Ágnes Havasi, as well as our close friend and colleague, Ms. Csilla Dobos, who manages, in a fantastic and outstanding way, PhD issues, job talks, the budget, and too many other things to list here.

The Programs

All four of our programs, the PhD program in Medieval Studies, the two-year MA program in Comparative History, the one-year MA program in Medieval Studies, and the cross-departmental two-year MA program in Cultural Heritage continued their successful work. Students from all over the world enrolled in our programs and produced excellent results. The number of applications to these programs has been rising, which testifies to their popularity. We have modified our curricula slightly to incorporate some ideas and initiatives suggested by the students.

Eleven students were accepted into our one-year MA program; nine students defended their theses successfully in June 2016. The topics included "Memory and Authority in the Ninth-century Dalmatian Duchy," "Royal Penance: Narrative Strategies of Ritual Representation in Ottonian Historiography," "The Cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries," "Waste Management in Medieval Cracow 1257–1500," "Nicholas of Ilok's Kingship in Bosnia 1471–177," "The Introduction of Venetian Jurisdiction in the Former Margraviate of Istria (1420–1470)," and "A Network Analysis of Ennodius of Pavia's Letter Collection (A.D. 500–513)." A complete list with abstracts can be found elsewhere in this volume. The quality of the theses and defenses was very high according to the external evaluators as well as the supervisors and defense committee members. Some of the students who defended in 2016 applied to our PhD program. All of them were strong candidates with excellent applications. For the current academic year (2016/2017), 33 students applied to the one-year MA program, which is a significant raise in application numbers. We decided to accept fourteen applicants.

Concerning our two-year MA program, thirteen students started the program in 2014 and were in their second year during the academic year 2015/2016. Unfortunately, several students had to postpone their defense or take leaves. Finally,

six students from the second and final year of the program defended their theses successfully. The range of thesis topics covered – once again – a broad field, from "Deviant Christianities in Fourth- to Seventh-Century Britain" and "Medieval Deviant Burials from Bulgaria (Seventh-Fourteenth Centuries)" to the "MS Cairo Syriac 11: A Tri-lingual Garshuni Manuscript," "The Roman Myth: Constructing Community in Sixteenth-Century Lithuania," and "Communities Empowered: Developing Institutional Identities at Quedlinburg and Gandersheim under the Ottonians." The evaluations of the supervisors, the committee members and the external evaluators recognized the high quality of the theses.

We accepted twelve students in 2015 for the two-year MA program. They finished the program in 2017. One student switched from the one-year to the two-year MA program. All thirteen students in the first year of the program successfully defended their prospectuses in June 2016 and could therefore continue their studies. Our recruitment efforts for this program resulted in a rise in application numbers with thirty-three applicants for the academic year 2016/2017. We decided to accept eleven.

We had three PhD defenses during the academic year 2015/2016, Ágnes Drosztmér (Hungary), Tamás Kiss (Hungary), and Andrea Bianka Znorovszky (Romania). All of them achieved good results and delivered dissertations with high degrees of accomplishment. After a process of revision, all of them will certainly be published. They all made important contributions to the field besides fulfilling the requirements and meeting the expectations for a PhD from a prestigious institution like CEU.

We had 31 applications for the PhD program in 2016 to fill seven places. The high quality of the applicants made it difficult to decide and, regrettably, we had to reject some good and promising candidates, but we are convinced that those who were selected will continue their studies successfully and produce very good dissertations in the end.

The department was happy once again to invite prominent scholars for its spring session. This year, financed by the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Professor Christoph Neumann from the Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich taught a course on "Ottoman Law in Early Modernity and Modernity." Sara Nur Yildiz from St. Andrews University and the Orient-Institut Istanbul chose to offer "Christianity and Islam in Medieval Anatolia" as the topic of her course. Ottó Gecser, senior lecturer from Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Social Sciences, dedicated his course to "Plague in the Middle Ages."

For the MA defenses in June 2016, we were happy to welcome five prominent chairs: Nancy van Deusen, Claremont Graduate University's Louis and Mildred

Benezet Chair in the Humanities; Claudia Rapp, Professor of Byzantine Studies, University of Vienna and Director of the Division of Byzantine Research/ IMAFO at the Austrian Academy of Sciences; Marianne Birnbaum, Professor emeritus of the University of California; Benedek Láng from the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Department of Philosophy and History of Science; and finally Patrick Geary, Andrew W. Mellon Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

The field trip in spring 2016 that took place from May 21 to 26, 2016, organized by József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács, and Dóra Merai, took us to Croatia, more precisely, to Zagreb and Dalmatia. We visited many interesting sights, museums, and historic towns. After a visit to the Pauline monasteries of Lepoglava and Remete as well as the castle of Čakovec on the first day, we continued our way to Zadar on the second day, visiting an archaeological site at Velika Gorica, an example of vernacular architecture in Donja Lomnica, churches in Gora (Petrinja) and Glina, a Cistercian abbey, fortifications, and a thermal bath in Topusko, and finally a Pauline monastery in Petrova Gora. The next day was dedicated entirely to the medieval town of Zadar with its many beautiful sights. On May 24, 2016, we went to Nin, Pridraga, Vrana, and Biograd. The following day we passed the island of Rab and had a closer look at the beautiful town of Brinje before we finally arrived in Zagreb. On May, 26, after a long visit to the manifold sights in the Croatian capital, we returned to Budapest.

Workshops and Conferences

Like every year, many interesting workshops, conferences, exhibitions, and other events took place at the Department of Medieval Studies. I will start by mentioning some of the workshops. Balázs Nagy and József Laszlovszky co-organized a workshop together with the Department of Medieval and Early Modern European History at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) on "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interactions," held on November 27, 2015 (see the section in this volume dedicated to papers given at the workshop). From November 30, 2015 to December 2, 2015, our department hosted the second international workshop of the project on "Communication and Knowledge Transfer in Medieval Monastic Networks." The project is led by professors József Laszlovszky and Gábor Klaniczay from our department and the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte (Research Centre for the Comparative History of Religious Orders) in Dresden. The workshop dealt with "Knowledge Transfer: Forms and Material Evidence." Many colleagues and students from both institutions participated and presented papers. As a part of the workshop,

we enjoyed a public lecture on December 2, 2015, by Emilia Jamroziak, Professor of Medieval Religious History at the University of Leeds. She talked about "Late Medieval Cistercian Communities and the Cult of Saints as a Trans-European and Regional Phenomenon."

One of the highlights of each academic year are the Natalie Zemon Davis lectures. In the academic year 2015/16, the guest was Leslie P. Peirce, Silver Professor of Ottoman and Middle Eastern History at New York University. Her topic was "Aspects of Captivity in the World of the Ottomans.". The three lectures took place on December 4, 7 and 8, 2015, and focused on "Desirable Bodies," "Captivity as Opportunity," and "A Captive Queen." These lectures looked at captives and their captors across a broad spectrum, from elite slaves who sustained the dynastic family to petty brigands and their victims to domestic servants owned by the empire's subjects.

Public Lectures and Other Events

Besides conferences and workshops, the department was involved in a broad range of public lectures, mostly organized by colleagues within the framework of centers, programs or seminars. The list of events started on October 14, 2015, with a book presentation of two edited volumes by three Croatian scholars. Gordan Ravančić's book, *Our Daily Crime*, and Irina Benyovsky Latin's and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić's book, *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages* were presented by Katalin Szende and Gerhard Jaritz.

The Faculty Research Seminar with its Wednesday afternoon lectures once again offered a broad range of interesting topics. On October 21, 2015, Robin Nadeau, a Humanities Initiative Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, presented a lecture with the title "Persian Chicken in Ancient Greece and Rome: A Modern Myth of Origins," where he challenged the view that the chicken came from ancient Persia. On November 4, 2015, Dr. Nada Zečević, managing editor of a Companion to Medieval Central Europe and Associate Professor of Medieval History at the University of East Sarajevo, discussed ways to apply social network analysis in her talk "Caught in a Web? A Medievalist Researching Networks." On November 18, 2015, Dr. Grigor Boykov, a research fellow at the Center for Regional Studies and Analyses at the Department of History of the University of Sofia, who temporarily replaced professor Tijana Krstić, presented "The Power of the Numbers: Observations on the Demographic History of Bulgaria during the Ottoman Period."

Our alumna, Dr. Divna Manolova, at that time a postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of

Bucharest, continued the series with her talk on "Knowledge Unlimited: Intellectual Curiosity and Innovation in Byzantium" on November 23, 2015. On December 1, Professor George Maat from the Department of Anatomy at the Leiden University Medical Center gave a lecture on "The First Members of the Nassau Dynasty in the Netherlands. Identification and Paleopathology of the Ancestors of William I the Silent, Prince of Orange." The 2017 lecture series began on January 27 with Ottó Gecser, our own alumnus and senior lecturer (docent) at the Department of Sociology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, who presented "Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Patronage at the End of the Middle Ages." On February 17, another alumna of our department, Dr. Svetlana Tsonkova, gave a talk "On the Interconnectivity of Supernatural Figures in Verbal Magic – The case of Bulgarian Verbal Charms." On March 1 our department, together with the Jewish Studies program, organized a lecture by Tamás Visi from Palacky University, Olomouc, Czech Republic, on the "Jewish 'Renaissance' in Byzantine Italy." Another alumnus and Assistant Professor at the Department of History at the University of Zagreb, Trpimir Vedriš, followed one day later with a talk on "Framing Old Croatian Art in a Modern National Context: The Baptismal Font of Duke Višeslav." On Friday, May 13, 2016, Richard W. Unger, professor emeritus at the University of British Columbia, gave a talk on "Energy Consumption and the Black Death." On May 18, our alumna Eszter Spät presented on "Yezidi Ritual Heritage in Iraq: Between Militant Islamism and Modernization," which was co-sponsored by the Cultural Heritage Program.

Together with the Center for Arts and Culture at CEU, we organized an exhibition of oil paintings by one of our students, Kelechi Ahunanya. During the opening ceremony on June 9, 2016, we enjoyed a dance performance by Faisal Mohammad Usman, a student in the Cultural Heritage program. This annual series of events started with a book presentation and closed with one: on June 23, 2016, we celebrated the book launch of *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* by Béla Zsolt Szakács, discussed further in this volume by Zsombor Jékely from the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts.

As in previous years, the Cultural Heritage Program contributed to the offerings of public lectures and other events with a great variety of topics. I cannot list all of them and will mention just a selection. The series of events started on the occasion of the European Heritage Days 2015. Central European University opened its doors and welcomed visitors to learn more about its campus complex in the heart of Budapest. From September 19 to 20, 2015, CEU, in collaboration with the Cultural Heritage program, offered guided tours and organized a podium discussion.

Students from the Cultural Heritage Studies Program at CEU launched the Cultures in Danger (CiD) initiative. Its goal is to share information about disappearing cultures, their values and traditions, and to present currently important issues of preserving cultural identity in today's political, social, and economic conditions. The first program of the initiative was Sami Culture Week, organized at the CEU campus, from October 5 to 9, 2015. On December 14, Professor Knut Paasche, archaeologist, researcher and the head of the Norwegian part of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Archaeological prospection and Virtual Archaeology spoke about "Best Practices in Heritage Management Based on High Quality Archaeological Surveying, Efficiency and the Use of Newer Non-intrusive Methods."

On January 11, 2016, the third lecture of the master's course in "Integrated Utilization of Advanced Technology in Archaeology and Heritage Preservation Today" was dedicated to the "Preservation and Re-use of Archaeological Data." The speaker was Julian Richards, Professor of Archaeology at the University of York. It was followed by the fourth lecture on January 25 with Richard Hodges, the President of the American University of Rome, who talked about "A Career in Ruins. Cultural Heritage Practice (& Failures) in a Pivotal (Digital) Age." On February 8, 2016, Sorin Hermon, Assistant Professor in Digital Cultural Heritage from The Cyprus Institute, followed with the fifth lecture entitled "Are We There Yet? 3D as a Research Methodology in Archaeology: Prospects and Future Challenges." The series was closed on February 29, 2016, by Adrian Olivier, former Heritage Protection Director and Head of Profession for Archaeology at the English Heritage organization. His topic was "Integrated Heritage Management: Challenging Values – Changing Attitudes."

The public lectures organized by the Cultural Heritage program continued. On March 10, 2016, Christoph Brumann, the head of the research groups "The Global Political Economy of Cultural Heritage" and "Buddhist Temple Economies in Urban Asia" at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle (Germany) talked about "Peace in the Minds of Men and Women? The North-South Divide in the UNESCO World Heritage Arena." On March 21, 2016, Gergana Georgieva, Associate Professor at the Faculty of History, University of Veliko Tărnovo (Bulgaria), presented a lecture on Arbanassi, a village located in the very center of the Balkan Mountains. On the following day Alexandra Kowalski, Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, talked about "Ubiquity of the List: Registers, Inventories, Catalogues, and the Political History of Heritage." On March 29, 2016, László Munteán, Assistant Professor of Cultural Studies and American Studies at

Radboud University Nijmegen, followed with "Plaster Archaeology: Architecture, Materiality, and Unclaimed Heritage in Budapest."

The chain of events was not limited to lectures. On April 23, 2016, the Cultural Heritage Program co-organized an Earth Day program at the archaeological site of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta with a rich program including information as well as entertainment under the headline "Beyond the Glasshill: Unearth Culture in the Heart of the Pilis Mountains." On May 5, 2016, Enikő Nagy, a social pedagogue and international expert for UNESCO gave a lecture where she presented how her book "Sand in my Eyes: Sudanese Moments" is an example of cultural resistance.

The Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS) also continued with its lecture series and was – once again – able to invite renowned scholars as well as promising young researchers from all over the world. The series started on September 24, 2015 with John-Paul Ghobrial, Associate Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College. He gave a lecture entitled "Hard Times: Teaching Arabic in Seventeenth-Century Europe." On October 15, 2015, Josiah Ober, Constantine Mitsotakis Professsor in the School of Humanities and Sciences (Departments of Political Science and Classics) at Stanford University, followed with a lecture on "Democracy before Liberalism." One week later, David Hovhannisyan, director of the Center of Civilization and Cultural Studies at Yerevan State University, delivered a lecture on "Sunni and Shia Adaptation Mechanisms and Tools to the Modern Civilizational System." On November 12, 2015, George Hatke, Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of Vienna, and Jack Tannous, Assistant Professor of History at Princeton University, jointly presented "South Arabian Christianity: A Crossroads of Late Antique Cultures." On December 3, 2015, David Thomas, Professor of Christianity and Islam Nadir Dinshaw Professor of Interreligious Relations, delivered a lecture on "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and Early Islamic Religious Thought." One week later Mischa Meier, professor at the University of Tübingen, followed with "A Contest of Interpretation: Roman Policy towards the Huns as Reflected in the 'Honoria Affair' (A.D. 448/50)."

The new year, 2016, was opened by Marc Edwards, university lecturer in patristics at the University of Oxford, who gave a talk on "What is at Stake in the Doctrine of Creation Out of Nothing?" On February 4, 2016, Yoav Meyrav, a doctoral candidate in the School of Philosophy at Tel Aviv University, presented challenges and innovation in "Themistius' Paraphrase of Aristotle's Metaphysics XII." One week later, Maren Niehoff, Max Cooper Professor of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, dealt with "Philo of Alexandria on

Religion and Politics in the Roman Empire." In collaboration with the Romanian Cultural Institute, Ileana Burnichioiu, lecturer at the History, Archaeology and Museology Department of the University of Alba Iulia, Romania, followed with a lecture on "East-West Interaction in Medieval Art and Architecture: The Case of Bizere Monastery (Romania)" on March 3, 2016. This year's guest for the Anna Christidou Memorial Lecture on March 17, 2016, was Nikos D. Kontogiannis, who works as a Byzantine archaeologist at the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia). His topic was: "'For Where your Treasure is, There Will Your Heart Be Also:': Treasures and Hoards in Late Byzantium, the Chalcis Case."

On April 7, 2016, the "Ottoconfession" project of Tijana Krstić in association with the Center organized a lecture by Kristina Nikolovska, an ENTE (Europe Next to Europe) research fellow at the New Europe College in Bucharest, entitled "From 'Son of Perdition' to 'Tsar': South Slavic representations of Ottoman Sultans in Church Slavonic Paratextual Writings (1350-1750)." "No more need for Greek?: The Cultural Role of Cicero's Philosophical Translations" was the topic of the lecture on April 14, 2016, by Georgina White, who is CEU's current CEMS Postdoctoral Teaching and Research Fellow in Classical Studies with a focus on ancient political thought. Scott Redford, the Nasser D. Khalili Professor of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, presented the "Excavations at Medieval Kinet (Turkey): A Medieval Port Town" on April 21, 2016. On April 28, 2016, Valentina Arena, Reader in Roman History at the University College London, delivered a lecture on "The Notions of Popular Power in the Late Roman Republic." Ilaria Rameli, Full Professor of Theology and Bishop Kevin Britt endowed Chair in Dogmatics-Christology at the Graduate School of Theology at Sacred Heart Major Seminary of the Thomas Aquinas University (Angelicum) in Detroit, spoke about "The Theory of Apokatastasis: Research Conducted, in Progress, and Planned" on May 5. One day later she continued, together with Professor István Perczel, with a special seminar on "Origen's Heresy or *par excellence* Christian Philosophy?" Christopher Neumann, professor of Turkish studies at the Ludwigs Maximilian University in Munich, dedicated his lecture on June 2, 2016 to "Rakı Consumption and Production in Istanbul in the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries." "Outracing Ignorance: Preserving Manuscripts Threatened by War and Cultural Trafficking" was the topic of the last lecture, on June 7, 2016, by Columba Stewart OSB, a Benedictine monk of Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, USA, and professor of theology at Saint John's School of Theology and Seminary.

All of these fantastic events, the lectures, conferences, and workshops are the result of the tireless and dedicated work of all the members of the department and colleagues in other departments as well as our friends and colleagues from outside CEU. Students and colleagues in our department worked hard on their research projects and were able to present outstanding results that contribute significantly to their respective fields. I would like to thank everyone who participated in the work of our department and especially our students, who are at the core of our academic activity. I would also like to thank all our supporters who served the department in many ways, as donors, guests, evaluators, advisors, and friends. It is thanks to your work that we were able to keep up the excellent quality of our research and teaching, which is acknowledged by scholars in all parts of the world. However, the environment of our department as well as of CEU has to face challenges and difficulties. More than ever, we rely and count on your support. With our joined effort, I hope we can succeed and continue our work in the future.

MECERN ANNUAL REPORT 2015–2016

Nada Zečević

MECERN (Medieval Central Europe Research Network) is an international network of scholars focused on medieval Central Europe. Founded in March 2014 at the Medieval Studies Department at a conference entitled "A Forgotten Region? East Central Europe in the Global Middle Ages" and supported by the Humanities Initiative Grant of the Central European University from 2015, the network currently gathers more than 200 active individual and institutional members from Central Europe and beyond.

In 2015–2016, MECERN was present at several important regional and international events that focused on medieval studies. Between March 31 and April 2, 2016, the network held its second biennial conference on *Unity and Diversity in Medieval (Central) Europe.* Organized in Olomouc (Czech Republic), in collaboration with the network's local partner, Palacký University, and the co-organizing University of Ostrava, the conference hosted near one hundred regional and international medievalists focusing on Central Europe and its medieval structures. The opening plenary lecture by János M. Bak (CEU, Budapest) reflected upon the past and present perspectives on studying the comparative history of medieval Central Europe, after which the conference continued discussions in 16 sessions focusing on issues connecting studies from archaeology and art history to social and political history, exploring the region's medieval urban communities, mentalitiés, borders, elites, and art representations. A comparative dialogue on the region and among scholars from various disciplines and at different stages in their careers was established through two roundtable sessions organized by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady (University of London) under the titles *What Decisions were Made by Late Medieval Noble Assemblies – and How?* and *Coherence and Disruption in Legal Practice in Medieval Southeastern Europe.* The conference was closed by Miri Rubin of the Queen Mary University, London, whose plenary lecture, *The End of Solidarity? Medieval Cities in the Fifteenth Century,* addressed changes in late medieval urban relations.

At the Olomouc Biennial Conference, MECERN also announced the winners of its first pilot project, an essay competition on the image of historic (medieval) neighbors in the schoolbooks of the Central European region. Developed in co-operation with the Georg Eckert Institute for International Schoolbook Research in Braunschweig (Germany), this project assembled students and teachers of history, art, archaeology, and literature. They were asked to reflect critically on the

treatment of the people and countries of medieval Central Europe ("from the Baltic to the Adriatic") in their national schoolbooks. Twenty-five senior and junior scholars, secondary-school history teachers, their students, and representatives of professional associations from twenty countries participated in the competition. Their papers were evaluated by an international jury consisting of Anna Adamska of Utrecht, Rune Brandt Larsen of Lund, Vasco La Salvia of Rome, Robert Maier of the Eckert Institute, and János M. Bak from CEU as the jury chair. The awards, generously offered by a grant from the Central European University's Humanities Initiative, went to five participants from Croatia, Estonia, Moldova, and Bulgaria. Two papers from Romania and Russia received honorary mentions.

On May 27 2016, MECERN arranged a visit to the exhibition "On Common Path – Budapest and Kraków in the Middle Ages" on display in the Budapest History Museum, co-organized with the Cracow City Museum. The participants were guided by two of the exhibition's curators, Judit Benda and Virág Kiss.

MECERN hosted a successful round table session on *Migration, Borders and Refugees in Medieval Central Europe*, where the question of how similar crisis situations can be traced in the area during the Middle Ages was addressed. The same issue was also discussed at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds (UK), July 4-7. Network members discussed the research challenges connected to understanding how medieval history has been used to legitimize modern migration or anti-migration tendencies (Felicitas Schmieder) as well as global perspectives on current research (Balázs Nagy). The roundtable also discussed a variety of potential research resources (Emilia Jamroziak, Emir Filipović) and comparative and interdisciplinary methodological approaches (Dorottya Uhrin, Nada Zečević).

The end of the year 2015–2016 was marked by MECERN preparations for hosting the "Centennial Workshop –Erik Fügedi, a Central European Historian," which took place on September 22 to commemorate the 100-year anniversary of the birth of this prominent Hungarian historian. In these preparations, MECERN collaborated jointly with the Medieval Studies Department and its local partners in Budapest, ELTE (Eötvös Loránd University), BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola (Doctoral School of History, ELTE), KSH Könyvtára (Library of the Central Statistical Office), and the Magyar Történelmi Társulat (the Hungarian Historical Association). Connecting the places of Fügedi's work and its influences, this event was held in the Teaching Hall of ELTE's Doctoral School of History and the CEU's Október 6 st. Conference Hall. The participants, all colleagues, close collaborators, and students of the great Hungarian historian, spoke about Fügedi's legacy in economic and social history and the methods and resources

he has handed down to modern scholarship about medieval Central Europe as a whole. The conference was closed by the presentation and round table discussion on the recent publication *Medieval Buda in Context*, edited by Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Throughout the year, MECERN also focused on its long-term project, the *Research Companion to Medieval Central Europe.* This project is intended as a research handbook that will serve as the starting point for new in-depth studies of medieval Central Europe. It will contain a comprehensive and critical review of regional resources and results of up-to-date modern research centered on the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia as well as the surrounding areas with which these kingdoms interacted intensively. Edited by Daniel Ziemann (editor-in-chief), the volume will include twenty thematic chapters written as studies situated in recent scholarship and contributions on various aspects of regional medievalia spanning disparate subjects and ranging from spatial organization through elites, religious practices, economic cooperation and everyday life, to intellectual and artistic expression. The manuscript of the volume is planned for completion by 2018.

During the summer, network members from Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Russia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina prepared two proposals for international projects on migrations in medieval Central Europe and discussions related to the network's long-term project, the *Research Companion to Medieval Central Europe.*

To join the network and learn more about recent project developments and upcoming conferences and other events, please visit

http://mecern.eu/.

REPORT ON THE SRITE PROJECT:
THE SYRIAN/MAPPILA CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY
IN SOUTHWEST INDIA

István Perczel

The original topic of this project was to survey, digitize, and catalogue the manuscript collections of the Indian Syrian Christians to lay the foundations for a new history of the Syrian/Mappila Christian community. The word *māppila* means the "son of the maternal uncle" and, thus, the ideal bridegroom for the matrilineal exogamous castes of the Kerala Hindu society. This designation shows that the Mappila communities were formed through the intermarriage of West Asian merchants and women of the local matrilineal castes, eminently the Nairs, which was the land-tenant and warrior caste of Kerala. The local Christians are called "Syrian" because of their liturgical and literary language, Syriac, although their mother tongue is Malayalam, shared with the neighbouring Hindu, Jewish, and Muslim communities.

The topic of the research has changed to a complex study of three Mappila communities in Southwest India, based on, but not restricted to, the manuscript archives. Seventeen years of fieldwork in India have led to the elaboration of complex methodologies that were previously unknown in the study of Indian history as well as to the creation of funding, institutional, and scholarly networks that permit expanding the research to other areas than manuscript studies alone: artworks, architecture, anthropology, and to other communities: Mappila Jews and Muslims. We are at planning to start a project to digitize Muslim archives in northern Kerala. In fact, there are thousands of unexplored Muslim manuscripts written in Arabic and Arabic Malayalam.

Background of the research

The original aim of the project was to explore the manuscript archives of the Syrian/Mappila Christians of India, who are a community that settled in India or was converted to Christianity as early as in Late Antiquity. This community, together with their Jewish and Muslim counterparts, played a key role in the spice trade connecting India to West Asia and the Mediterranean. As the manuscript archives of the community were partly unknown and partly in abominable condition, and as their history is shrouded in legends, the original aim of the project was first, to initiate the digital and material preservation of the manuscripts and, then, to

uncover hard evidence on the history of the community and to found a new discipline: the evidence-based historical study of the Mappila Christians.

Even before this project started, the Kerala ecclesiastical collections had acquired the reputation of preserving valuable copies of well-known Syriac texts from the Middle East whose originals had become of difficult if not impossible to access because of tensions and unsafe conditions in western Asia. The value of the Syriac archives as a source for the history of the Indian Syrian Christian community was virtually unknown.

The project was first funded intermittently by CEU from 2000 onwards, then by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* via the University of Tübingen between 2004 and 2009, and by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML) continuously from 2007. At present it is being funded by an ERC grant in collaboration between Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany and CEU: "Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean".[1]

Main scholarly results

Our team has been able to access altogether 61 large and small manuscript collections in Kerala that hold manuscripts written in Classical Syriac (an Aramaic language that was used as the main literary language of Asian Christians), Neo-Aramaic, Malayalam (a Dravidian language spoken in Kerala), Tamil, Latin, Portuguese, and English. Among the collections accessed are the largest and most important collections known in Kerala, such as the Chaldean Syrian collection in Thrissur, the Konat collection in Pampakuda, and the collection of Saint Joseph's Monastery in Mannanam. The collected material amounts to 347,293 files, corresponding to 228,895 manuscript pages, occupying 5,260 TB memory (without the Konat collection in Pampakuda, the files of which are in custody of the HMML). Among the digitized material there are 1176 Syriac and Malayalam Garshuni[2] manuscripts, 67 Malayalam paper manuscripts, over 60,000 palm leaf documents arranged in 629 bundles, 29 Malayalam literary palm leaf documents (*granthas*) and thousands of archival documents shedding light on the history, the

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[1] The JewsEast project: see https://www.jewseast.org/ and https://medievalstudies. ceu.edu/projects/jewseast-jews-and-christians-east-strategies-interaction-between-mediterranean-and-indian.

[2] Garshuni Malayalam is the local Malayalam language written in Syriac script enriched with 8 Old Malayalam and a changing number of Modern Malayalam letters. For the most up-to-date description see I. Perczel, "Garshuni Malayalam: A Witness to an Early Stage of Indian Christian Literature" in the bibliography, below.

political relations, and the daily life of the communities. The cataloguing of this material is fairly advanced.

This immense new material gathered – the dates of the manuscripts range from 1290 to the present – constitutes a major breakthrough 1) in the study of the history and culture of the Indian Syrian Christians; 2) in understanding the relationship of the Indian Christians to Oriental Christianity in general and 3) in Western (Portuguese, Dutch, British) colonial and missionary history. Moreover, 4) our material opens new perspectives on a much-discussed colonial and post-colonial problem, namely, the question whether the "Indians" had ever had historical consciousness or had been engulfed in a mythical world view; also, 5) it provides a basis for an unprecedented socio-economic study of the Christian churches and village communities in Kerala. Finally, 6) we are pioneering in the study of a hitherto almost entirely unknown literature, that written in Garshuni Malayalam, an old script for writing Malayalam used exclusively by the Christians, based on the Syriac alphabet and antedating the presently used Malayalam alphabet.

The new picture emerging about the Kerala Syrian Christian communities is that of an Indian caste (even two endogamous castes) equally belonging to their local Indian community and to their fellow Syrian Christians in western Asia, to whom they were strongly connected through trans-Arabian-Sea trade. The Portuguese and the subsequent colonizers stepped into this framework. They were first received enthusiastically by the Indian Christians and, from this interaction, an incipient new syncretistic Euro-Indian culture began to take shape. This culture, which flourished in the sixteenth century, was destroyed, however, by the aggressive behaviour of the Europeans and the later history was of passive resistance and the creation of new secret and open contacts with the West Asian mother Churches. The preservation of archives as a gauge of Syrian Christian identity in India was part of this resistance and fight for survival.

None of the new fields of study initiated by this research was even conceived of before this project. They are as follows:

Classical Syriac as an Indian lingua franca

This research has revealed the importance that the Classical Syriac language had attained in India before and during the colonial period (from the late fifteenth to the early twentieth century). This language was the one that local Christians used to communicate with their West Asian co-religionists and, later, with European missionaries. This resulted in the production of diverse genres of local literature in Syriac, a phenomenon that was unknown until this research. Publishing the

corpus of Indian Syriac literature is an ongoing project. Among the new discoveries of the research are a rich sixteenth-century literature written in Syriac by Jesuit authors for the use of their Indian missions, the poetic oeuvre of Kadavil Chandy Kattanar, a hitherto almost unknown Indian poet writing in Syriac in India in the seventeenth century, scientific treatises combining local Indian, Middle Eastern, and Jesuit knowledge, and historical correspondence among the local elite, Middle Eastern, and European missionaries.

Christian Malayalam and Garshuni Malayalam

The literary documents that we have collected show clearly the peculiarities of a Christian Malayalam "religiolect" (a dialectal variation of a language, used by a given religious group), a parallel to Jewish Malayalam and Arabic Malayalam, and also diverse stages as it evolved from an early form that could be called a "Syriacized southern Malayalam" dialect, in contradistinction to the Jewish and Arabic Malayalam dialects that are of the Northern type.[3] The Christian Malayalam "religiolect" underwent superficial Latinization in the seventeenth century and massive Sanskritization in the eighteenth century. Christians also had their own old script, Garshuni Malayalam, based on the Syriac alphabet, with a number of additional letters adopted from Old Malayalam and Modern Grantha (the predecessor of modern Malayalam script). Garshuni Malayalam is a phonetic script that reproduces a language with archaic features close to Tamil in a Semitic script that has been adapted to the rules of Dravidian alphabets. Examining the documents written in this script, publishing and analyzing them, is another important objective of the project. Recently an extension of Syriac fonts for Garshuni Malayalam has been elaborated by Anshuman Pandey (University of California, Berkeley) and been accepted by the Unicode Consortium so that the newly created fonts will be published by Unicode in 2017. The encoding was largely based on my work and was made with my active contribution.

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[3] This classification is due to Ophira Gamliel. For the concept of religiolect see Benjamin Hary and Martin J. Weil, "Religiolinguistics: On Jewish-, Christian- and Muslim-Defined Languages" in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 220 (2013): 85–108; on the Jewish Malayalam religiolect see Ophira Gamliel, "Fading Memories and Linguistic Fossils in the Religiolect of Kerala Jews" in Erich Kasten, Katja Roller and Joshua Wilbur (eds) *Oral History Meets Linguistics* (Fürstenberg/Havel: Verlag der Kulturstiftung Sibirien, 2017), p. 83–105.

A new body of literature

Garshuni Malayalam studies are uncovering a sunken continent of local Indian literature, including books on history, the first scholarly dictionary of the Malayalam language antedating the famous 1870 dictionary by Herman Gundert by c. 250 years, which was hitherto thought to be the first, the first interfaith dialogue written in Malayalam between a Jewish rabbi, a Jew, a Hindu, a Christian, and a Muslim, all from Kerala, the original acts in Garshuni Malayalam of Church synods held by local archbishops or the Portuguese.

Church economies and the social networks of the Christian communities are studied through palm leaf manuscripts that have been saved and digitized. Older churches were and partly are conserving their daily economic and judicial records in palm leaf manuscripts. When I first visited Kerala, these palm leaves were considered to have no worth. In the best case they were slowly decaying, in the worst case they were being actively destroyed. We reversed this process, showed the value of the palm leaf manuscripts and have digitised over 60,000 of them. Now they are being used by my collaborators to write the modern social and economic history of the Christian community in particular and of Kerala in general (see below). These studies reveal slave-holding in the Christian churches up to the nineteenth century, their taxation of dowries, the social position of women in the community, and the intricate relationships between the Christian and the Hindu communities.

Public echoes and social impact

The work of our team has been followed closely by the Indian media. Several articles have been published in English and Malayalam in *The Hindu*, the *New Indian Express*, *Malayala Manorama*, *Matrubrhumi*, and others. Indian government circles are helpful and sympathetic to our endeavour, which has triggered an entire archives' preservation movement in Kerala.

News about the project has been spread most efficiently through the blogs and interviews of one of the most famous Indian novelists, Amitav Gosh.[4] The lasting social impact of the project is most important. It was planned as an explicitly non-colonial endeavour and it also aimed at training or contributing to the training of local experts who are continuing the work in situ. Thus, the Rev. Ignatius Payyappilly, archivist of the Ernakulam-Angamaly Archdiocesan

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[4] See Mahmood Kooria, "Between the Walls of Archives and Horizons of Imagination: An Interview with Amitav Ghosh," *Itinerario* 36, no. 3 (2012): 7–18, DOI: 10.1017/ S0165115313000028. See also http://amitavghosh.com/blog/?p=5950.

Archives, not only received much support from the project but was encouraged to go to Liverpool and earn an MA in Archives Management, after which he enrolled in a PhD program at the Indira Gandhi Open University New Delhi and earned his degree based on a thesis on the palm leaf material collected by the project. He has been instrumental in rearranging and modernizing many church archives, as well as in conserving thousands of manuscripts and rescuing many artworks that otherwise would have been lost to decay or to the black market. As one of the best trained archivists in India, he was appointed advisor to the archives of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore and also to Christy Fernandez, former Secretary to the President of India. He is publishing books and articles on the results of the project.

Dr. Susan Thomas, now Associate Professor at Sree Sanaracarya University of Kaladi, has written ground breaking articles on the palm leaf material and was recently granted one of the two prestigious UGC (University Grants Commission, New Delhi, India) National Research awards for post-doctoral research on "Historicizing Church and Community: Syrian Christian Community in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Kerala" for the years 2015–2017. She is using the palm leaves especially for writing women's history. Anaz Abdulkareem, who served as cataloguer of the project until 2009, is now lecturer in History at Farook College, Calicut, and helps extend the project to the Mappila Muslim community.

A new stage of the project

In August 2016, I made a preliminary field trip to Calicut and Ponnani (Kerala) to explore the possibility of starting a digitization project of Muslim manuscripts. The preliminary deliberations have shown that there are thousands of hitherto unknown, uncatalogued and unstudied Muslim manuscripts written in Arabic and Arabic Malayalam and that access might be possible. My collaborator, Dr. Anaz Abdulkareem, has started a survey of the collections, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library is ready to provide the necessary funds and technical support, thus this new stage of the project is underway.

Project output

The most important publication will be the online publication of the digitized copies of all the manuscripts, which will be available in the online Reading Room of Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/). The first cataloged collection that will be available online is the

Chaldean Syrian Church of Thrissur with 121 manuscripts. 99 manuscripts of the collection have been uploaded to the online reading room and are already accessible. Radu Mustaţă, PhD student at the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, and I will add the catalogue descriptions.

Digital publications

Some preliminary publications are available at www.srite.de, although this page will be closed and a new one constructed at the CEU website, using funds provided by CEU's Humanities Initiative. The website will be designed so that pdf files, photos, and multimedia material can easily be uploaded. The www.srite.de contains:

> István Perczel. "The Saint Thomas Christians in India from 52 to 1687 AD"
>
> István Perczel. "A Short Presentation of the Manuscript Collections in Kerala"
>
> István Perczel. "Thrissur, Chaldean Syrian Collection"
>
> István Perczel. "Pampakuda, Konat Collection"
>
> István Perczel. "Ernakulam, the House of the Major Archbishop"
>
> István Perczel. "Piramadam, Gethsemane Dayro"

Documentary film (French and English)

Fabian da Costa (director) and István Perczel (head of the fieldwork, scholarly advisor and narrator), *Sur les pas de Saint Thomas: Avec les chrétiens du Kérala en Inde/On the Footsteps of Saint Thomas with the Christians of Kerala, India*, 77 minutes, available at the Film Documentaries website (http://www.filmsdocumentaires.com/films/1449-sur-les-pas-de-saint-thomas and http://www.filmsdocumentaires.com/films/1451-in-the-foosteps-of-saint-thomas). This will also be transferred to the new webpage at www.ceu.edu and free access made available.

Preliminary material for the Garshuni Malayalam Unicode fonts

Anshuman Pandey, "Preliminary Proposal to Encode Syriac Letters for Garshuni Malayalam," http://www.unicode.org/L2/L2015/15088-syriac-malayalam.pdf.

István Perczel, "Feedback on the Alphabetization of the Syriac letters for Garshuni (Suryani) Malayalam," http://www.unicode.org/L2/L2015/15166-garshuni-alpha.pdf.

Project publications (in alphabetical and chronological order)

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———. "Accommodationist Strategies on the Malabar Coast: Competition or Complementarity?" In *The Rites Controversy in the Early Modern World*, ed. P. A. Fabre and Ines Zupanov. Leiden: Brill, in press.

———. "Some Early Documents about the Interactions of the Saint Thomas Christians and the European Missionaries." In *Malabar in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. Michael Pearson and Mahmood Kooria. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, in press.

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ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2016

Transfer of Authority: The *Traditio Legis* Motif on Christian Sarcophagi in Fourth-Century Rome
Kelechi Johnbosco Ahunanya (Nigeria)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Volker Menze
External Reader: Galit Noga Banai (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

This thesis focuses on the *traditio legis* motif as found on fourth-century sarcophagi in Rome. Scholars previously interpreted this motif as the replacement of the old Mosaic Law by the new Law, which Christ gives to the Apostle Peter in the presence of the Apostle Paul. Thus, it has also been called "the Lord gives the Law" scene. However, the assessment of this motif in the context of the debates and events of the fourth century, especially in Rome, reveals that it might rather express primarily the establishment and the transfer of authority from Christ to Peter and, hence, the establishment of the apostolic lineage.

I approach the idea of the transfer of authority by analyzing other motifs that are found alongside the *traditio legis* on Roman sarcophagi. I also analyzed scriptural topoi and narratives to clarify this notion. A significant scene is the ascension of Elijah, during which he hands over the mantle of leadership and authority to his disciple, Elisha. Other motifs currently used on Roman sarcophagi are Moses receiving the Law and eschatological scenes. For these reasons, I argue that although the *traditio legis* expresses the transfer of a new law, its primary interpretation might be the divine origin of power and its transfer to humans.

Justice in Flux: The Introduction of Venetian Jurisdiction in the Former Margraviate of Istria (1420–1470)

Josip Banić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Darko Darovec (Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy)

The thesis analyzes an important aspect of the changes that the introduction of Venetian jurisdiction brought to the communes formerly under the margraviate of Istria. Since Venice functioned as a jurisdictional state, administration of justice was the most important element of the Venetian government in both their Terraferma and the Stato da Mar communities. This feature is at the center of this study and the changes the new government introduced to the local legal systems are approached from several mutually complementary theoretical frameworks. Trial records from fifteenth-century Buzet, the central Istrian commune of the former margraviate, are analyzed in detail through both normative and processual approaches as advocated by the postulates of legal anthropology. By comparing various medieval statutes of the northern Adriatic communes, it is concluded that Venice made no changes to most of the local statutes following incorporation into the Venetian domain. These law codes were, however, used rarely as the source of law since the delegated rector regularly prescribed more lenient fines. The old public tribunal, the *per adstantes* trial, was completely abolished and a new judicial ritual, one that marginalized the role of the local elite, was introduced. Analyses of specific cases showed that there was no transplantation of the Venetian *ius proprium*. Although the introduction of Venetian jurisdiction made the administration of justice a more mechanical process and brought the local legal systems closer to Damaška's hierarchically structured ideal, judicial ritual retained its primary purpose of preserving peace and the balance of power.

Waste Management in Medieval Krakow: 1257–1500

Leslie Carr-Riegel (USA)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Dolly Jorgensen (Luleå University of Technology, Sweden)

This thesis outlines the wastes produced in medieval Krakow – animal, industrial, and domestic – and the efforts made to control them from the date of the city's incorporation under Magdeburg law in 1257 up to 1500. Chapter 1 covers the city

government's often insufficient attempts to control waste build-up in Krakow that led to the continued rise of the city's street levels until the sixteenth century. The chapter compares Krakow's waste management with those of other polities and shows that although the city developed impressive infrastructure, civic leaders failed to implement sufficient legislation, enforcement, and public services to keep it clean. In chapter 2, industrial waste is discussed focusing on the most noxious trades – metallurgy, tanning, meat processing, and textile manufacture – detailing efforts to manage the harmful effects of these activities. Chapter 3 focuses on domestic waste showing how residents dealt with rubbish in everyday life.

Maces in Medieval Transylvania between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
Andrei-Octavian Fărcaș (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Adrian Andrei Rusu (Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Scholars have ignored medieval mace heads and many artifacts of this type lie unpublished and sometimes unknown in various museums even today. In some countries, such as present-day Hungary, Poland, and the former USSR, archaeological research into these weapons has been undertaken to understand their use and origin. Currently there are two typo-chronologies in use, but both are limited to certain geographical areas. A survey of research on maces held in Transylvanian museums revealed that scholarship on this topic is scarce and mace heads are often left in collections with incorrect or no dating.

In this thesis I created a new typo-chronology for Transylvanian mace heads based on existing scholarship and analogies, comparing the results with research from other regions. I conclude that Transylvania was among the few regions with a large number of mace heads which, at least after the twelfth century, included types that are rare elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe. Aside from the importance of the typo-chronology for dating new artifacts, the thesis's main contribution to scholarship is the compilation of the first catalogue of almost all presently known mace heads now held in Transylvanian museums.

Reception of the Plague in Transylvania
Sabina-Maria Ganea (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Marcell Sebők
External Reader: Ottó Gecser (Eötvös Loránd University [ELTE], Budapest, Hungary)

In Transylvania, as in other parts of Europe, the plague received a variety of discursive approaches. Physicians and laymen wrote volumes about the causes and the treatment of the plague with the discourse relying on the tradition of medical treatises and their religious affiliation. At the same time, preachers were writing sermons about the proper Christian way of confronting death and the plague. The religious and medical discourses have similar approaches as a result of an ideological collaboration between them, which was ultimately reflected to a certain degree in the administrative measures applied to plague-stricken Transylvanian towns. This thesis presents an analysis of a selection of medical treatises and plague or funeral sermons collected from all the religious denominations officially recognized in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Transylvania – Lutheran, Calvinist, and Orthodox. The thesis also covers the few Jesuit letters which mention the plague, as well as a statement of the main administrative measures taken against epidemics. The goal is a comprehensive image of the reception of the plague in Transylvania and the main discourses elaborated when facing it.

Royal Penance: Narrative Strategies of Ritual Representation in Ottonian Historiography
Iliana Kandzha (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz, Daniel Ziemann
External Reader: Gerd Althoff (University of Muenster, Germany)

This research belongs to the sphere of studies of political rituals and images of power, although here only one type of ritual practice is analyzed, namely, royal penance as represented in historiographic sources from the Ottonian age (919-1024). Acts of repentance performed by Ottonian kings and emperors have always been approached as historical events, "moves" between powerful magnates in the political game of the kingdom. This perspective, however, often neglects other dimensions of royal penance, such as the political agenda, commemorative needs, and literary traditions, all of which led Ottonian authors to reflect upon the repentance of kings in their writings, much more often than writers from

the Carolingian or Salian periods. Royal penance is perceived here primarily as a narrative in historical discourse which was created to memorialize a historic event when penance was believed to have been performed.

In this light, royal penance was used by Ottonian authors as a stable narrative pattern which appeared in certain specific literary circumstances such as battlefields, the establishment of a diocese, and family conflicts. Each author had his or her own reasons for evoking, creating or erasing memories of royal penance, but several common functions of a "narrated" royal penance can be revealed: Establishing a useful past for the needs of a specific community, a retrospective legitimatization of political acts, establishing a relationship between royal power and local ecclesiastical authorities, and implicit *Kaiserkritik*. I also touch upon literary prototypes of royal penance and possible ways of categorizing this ritual between imposed penance and the self-humiliation of a king.

The Cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia in the
Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
Ines Ivić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Marianne Sághy
External Reader: Lovro Kuncević (Institute for Historical Sciences, Dubrovnik, Croatia)

At the present time in Croatia, Saint Jerome has a special place among humanists and among the national saints as the patron saint of Croatia, but no detailed study has been done on the development of his cult in Dalmatia. This thesis deals with the formation of a regional cult of the saint through three phases of development: the implementation of a Slavic cult, the transformation of the humanist cult in the fifteenth century, and the ethnic appropriation of the saint in the writings of Dalmatian humanists in the sixteenth century. Based on archival material and artworks preserved in Trogir and Dubrovnik, the focus of this study is on the manifestations of worship in these two cities. These manifestations are seen through the perspective of the private and official worship, identifying the major promoters of the cult and commissioners of the art depicting Saint Jerome: the Cipiko and Sobota families in Trogir and the Gozze and Gradi families in Dubrovnik. The major contribution of this work is interpreting the regional cult of Saint Jerome in the light of the establishment of Venetian rule in the Dalmatian communes after 1409. This study explains how the implementation of a centralized government and the restriction of the autonomy of the Dalmatian communes contributed to the formation of the notion of togetherness on the

territory of Dalmatia, expressed through the figure and the patronage of Saint Jerome.

Diplomatics of Russian Judicial Charters (c. 1400–1550)
Angelina Kalashnikova (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: Balázs Nagy
External Reader: Anna Adamska (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)

In this thesis I examine Russian judicial charters from the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century which represent protocols of land court procedure. By focusing on precise details of judicial charters such as formulae, text layout, seals, and signatures, this study aims to explore features of the Russian judicial system. I apply classical diplomatic analysis to compare formulae of charters surviving from various northeastern Russian principalities, and I show that competitive state formations such as the grand duchy of Moscow and the grand duchy of Ryazan issued judicial charters in the same form. This indicates that the judicial procedure of these duchies was quite similar and that there were few difficulties incorporating local judicial practices in the Muscovite judicial system. Detailed analysis of the external features of judicial charters also reveals that court protocols were not written in the process of litigation, but after it. Thus, judicial documents were not just an accurate record of the "real" procedure, but a post-representation of it with possible distortions. The direct speech of the litigants and witnesses was hardly ever exactly recorded, but consisted of formulae common in many trial records.

Trading Letters: A Network Analysis of Ennodius of Pavia's Letter Collection (A.D. 500–513)
Daniel K. Knox (New Zealand)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Volker Menze
External Reader: Ralph W. Mathisen (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA)

This thesis is a network analysis of the letters of Ennodius of Pavia: aristocrat, intellectual, churchman, and letter writer of the early sixth century. This study examines the structure of Ennodius's network to the extent that it can be reconstructed from his extant published letter collection. Three questions are

the focus of the thesis: who were the most structurally important actors in Ennodius's network? Which influential individuals and groups did Ennodius seek to attach himself to and why? And how did Ennodius maintain the ties that he had made? By answering these questions I aim to provide a better understanding of how Ennodius' social network functioned. I argue that Ennodius was what network scientists call a "sociometric superstar": a well-connected actor within his network who facilitated the communication and connectivity of the other actors within the network. This status is based on Ennodius's ties to a number of influential individuals in Ostrogothic Italy — chiefly the senator Faustus Niger. Considering Ennodius's letter collection in the light of the social network that it represents it is clear that a key purpose of the text was to promote Ennodius's ties to the most influential members of his society and his extensive participation within it.

Memory and Authority in the Ninth-Century Dalmatian Duchy
Marino Kumir (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Daniel Ziemann
External Reader: Trpimir Vedriš (University of Zagreb, Croatia)

The eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea underwent a dramatic process of transformation in the late eighth century. Evidence of this change was most apparent in the material culture. A surplus of luxury items became available to the elites of the duchy, who then started depositing them in graves. But this change in the burial rite was as brief as it was dramatic. By the second quarter of the ninth century it was already disappearing from most sites. This rite was replaced by church building, which provided the elites with new symbolic access to memory and authority. They memorialized their status and position within the society by putting inscriptions on the stone altar fences inside their churches. Unlike burials, building churches enabled the elites to express their power and authority by permanent and visible interventions in the landscape.

The elites could also re-interpret the past by carefully choosing the location where their churches were to be built. The anonymous donor who was buried in the sarcophagus at Biskupija-Crkvina constructed his memorial basilica on top of a row-grave cemetery that was used by his ancestors for at least half a century. This act of re-appropriation of the past was a two-way process. It gave the donor access to his ancestral past and it also included the ancestors themselves into the new Christian context.

Medieval Deviant Burials from Bulgaria (Seventh-Fourteenth Centuries)
Petar Parvanov (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: Andrew Reynolds (University College London, UK)

This thesis deals with the archaeologically known medieval deviant burials from the territory of Bulgaria. These deviant burials have long received the attention of archaeologists, but this is the first systematic collection of the evidence from the Bulgarian lands. This study examines the characteristics of mass graves, prone (face-down) burials, binding the body, decapitations, and mutilations in long-term perspective. Various aspects of these phenomena are discussed, including chronology, spatial distribution, associated grave goods, and correlations among the deviant burial practices. Special attention is paid to the interpretative issues of deviant burial rites. The traditional explanation as anti-transfiguration or anti-vampire rites is critically evaluated and more balanced interpretations are offered. Their significance as material manifestations of a legal culture and social complexity are particularly emphasized.

Ms Cairo Syriac 11: A Tri-Lingual Garshuni Manuscript
Ester Petrosyan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel
External Reader: Hidemi Takahashi (University of Tokyo, Japan)

This thesis deals with MS Cairo Syriac 11, a seventeenth-century tri-lingual (Syriac-Arabic-Armenian) manuscript dictionary. The manuscript was written by a scribe from the Mesopotamian city of Gargar and contains the Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Eliyah of Nisibis (975–1046), supplemented with a third column containing the Armenian equivalents of the words. Both the Arabic and the Armenian words are written in Syriac characters in the dictionary. The manuscript has the potential to prove a unique source for many interdisciplinary studies, such as Armenian and Arabic Garshuni studies, Syro-Armenian lexicography, Armenian dialectology, Syro-Armenian intercultural historical studies and relations. The methodology is multi-faceted, including paleographic, codicological, and philological analyses as well as comparative textual criticism.

I study the manuscript from linguistic and historical perspectives. From the linguistic angle, my work aims at reconstructing the principles of transcribing the

Armenian words used in the manuscript as well as reconstructing the Armenian dialect whose vocabulary the manuscript records. From the historical angle, I attempt to reconstruct the context in which Armenian and Arabic were recorded in Syriac script instead of their natural alphabets.

Communities Empowered: Developing Institutional Identities at Quedlinburg and Gandersheim under the Ottonians
Paige Richmond (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Marianne Sághy
External Reader: Käthe Sonnleitner (University of Graz, Austria)

Quedlinburg and Gandersheim abbeys were two of the most important monastic institutions throughout the Ottonian period; that they were female houses paradoxically enhanced their prestige. While an immense number of studies focused on Quedlinburg and Gandersheim have been produced, none have dealt with the overarching characters of the institutions themselves. This study unites several distinct but tangentially related components of activity in order to identify consistent elements of their respective institutional identities. It is broken down into three primary categories: intellectual activity, memorial responsibility, and the joint but distinct political and monastic characteristics of each institution. These three elements are treated separately in the main body of the thesis, but are in reality inextricably intertwined with one another. The conclusion unites them, allowing for a final assessment of identity-relevant activity at Quedlinburg and Gandersheim. By combining the specific modes and expressions of the categories of self-perception and identity creation, a great deal can be said about the important characteristics of each institution. The synthesis of these elements provides a unique glimpse into institutional self-perception and the consequent development of corporate identities at each institution. The attempt to assess these institutional identities likewise provides a first comprehensive comparison of these institutions based upon their self-perception and institutional identities.

An Interesting Episode: Nicholas of Ilok's Kingship in Bosnia 1471–1477
Davor Salihović (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Balázs Nagy
External Readers: Tamás Pálosfalvi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary), Stanko Andrić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, Croatia)

The Ottoman invasion of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463 marked the end of the rule of the local Kotromanić dynasty whose members ruled Bosnia both as bans and kings for more than two centuries. However, the Bosnian polity continued to exist under intensified Hungarian control after King Matthias initiated a counterattack in the same year and recaptured Jajce and other important Bosnian fortresses. Initially under the control of bans, in 1471 this territory was given to Nicholas of Ilok (Miklós Újlaki), who was simultaneously made king of Bosnia.

By challenging the conclusions of previous scarce scholarship on this issue and by reinterpreting the sources and introducing sources never consulted before, this thesis analyzes the historical preconditions which allowed for Nicholas's kingship to take place. Furthermore, the source information is contextualized within the contemporary political-historical framework to offer a detailed analysis of the nature, causes, administrative, and archontological implications of Nicholas's rule. The historical context itself is questioned, since the author demonstrates that Bosnia did not lose its royal identity after 1463 as was thought previously.

The analysis presented in the thesis largely refutes the claims of previous scholarship by showing that the kingship was a result of several long-standing factors, on both the personal and broader political levels. The kingship emerged from a decade-long agenda planned by the two close allies, King Matthias and Nicholas of Ilok, who were brought together by their mutual political interests within the Kingdom of Hungary. The thesis evaluates Nicholas's kingship as a real and firm rule over the Bosnian territory handed to him, albeit Hungarian-appointed and very specific.

Deviant Christianities in Fourth- to Seventh-Century Britain
Robert Sharp (UK)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Volker Menze
External Reader: Peter Heather (King's College London, UK)

This thesis attempts to define the position of deviant Christianities in the narrative of early medieval Britain. By seeking to understand the transformation of the likes of Arianism and Pelagianism from movements that started as religious disputes within the Roman Empire into indicators of separate identity in the post-Roman world, this study offers insight into the political benefits of deviation from the Nicene form of Christianity. The thesis uses a close analysis of the surviving textual evidence related to deviant Christianities, primarily the works of Gildas and Bede, to establish an argument for the presence of Arianism and Pelagianism in Britain. It also attempts to situate this analysis in relation to the recent scholarly debate concerning the extent to which Christianity endured in post-Roman Britain with a discussion and assessment of the archaeological evidence for Christianity in Britain before AD 597. The thesis targets an area that has largely been neglected in historical scholarship. Despite the limited number of sources and the problematic nature of those relevant sources that do survive, this thesis makes the argument that the impact of deviant Christianities on Britain between the fourth and seventh centuries is worth further consideration and most definitely further investigation.

The Roman Myth: Constructing Community in Sixteenth-Century Lithuania
Miraslau Shpakau (Belarus)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Daniel Ziemann
External Readers: Oleg Łatyszonek (University of Białystok, Belarus), Julia
     Verkholantsev (University of Pennsylvania, USA)

This study is dedicated to an analysis of the Roman myth contained in the *Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Samogitia* composed in Lithuania in the sixteenth century. It aims to demonstrate the identity-creating role of the myth and reveal the nature of the collective identity it constructed. Narratological analysis and the contextualization of its results in the framework of the newest theories of ethnicity and nationhood are used to describe the structure of the

collective identity reflected in the myth, classify it, and determine the social groups which shared this identity. The conclusion is that the myth reflected one of the models of Lithuanian ethnic identity widespread among the multi-lingual and multi-confessional elites of Lithuania proper.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2015–2016

Images of Distance and Closeness:
The Ottomans in Sixteenth-Century Hungarian Vernacular Poetry
Ágnes Drosztmér (Hungary)

June 14, 2016
Committee: Supervisors Endre György Szőnyi (CEU Departments of Medieval Studies and History) and Marcell Sebők (CEU Department of Medieval Studies); defense committee chair László Kontler (CEU Department of History); Tijana Krstić (CEU Department of Medieval Studies)

External Readers: Pál Ács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Literary Studies); Mária Dobozy (University of Utah, Department of Languages and Literature)

This dissertation is an analysis of references concerning the presence and campaigns of the Ottoman Empire in vernacular Hungarian literary discourses in the sixteenth century. The "Turks" often appeared in various forums of cultural discourse and public discussion as the archetypes of enemy, nourished by religious texts (both Protestant and Catholic) and historiographical sources. At the same time, descriptions of campaigns of the constantly expanding Ottoman Empire provided new kinds of information and experience. Further, under Ottoman rule there were long periods when the Ottomans and Hungarians lived together through necessity in a balanced, but not explicitly peaceful, relationship. In these more or less peaceful periods – for instance, between the "fortress campaign" of Suleyman (1549–66) and the Long Turkish War (1593–1606) –, the everyday interactions of Ottomans and Hungarians were determined by a peculiar mix of rivalry and curiosity towards each other in both military acts and cultural encounters.

    This novel experience resulted in novel perceptions. The representations of the Ottomans varied along several axes: they were dependent on the cultural and

social context; on the author who created or mediated the image, on the audience for whom the image was made; and on the subject depicted. The goal of this dissertation is to recover the features, similarities and differences that different authors presented for different audiences. Due to transformations of language and literacy and other developments such as the spread of the printing press and Protestantism, the second half of the sixteenth century corresponds to the period in Hungarian cultural history when vernacular literature was established in written form and its specific forms and rules evolved. An analysis of the representational patterns of Ottomans and their contextualization has the potential to help reconstruct this process.

The research maps traditions followed and representational patterns created in sixteenth-century Hungarian poetry produced under Ottoman rule. I attempt to answer the question: to what extent did the literature of the era follow traditional patterns of depicting the Ottomans or to what extent did it create new ones? The investigation also covers various social and cultural aspects of language and the progress of the transition from orality to written culture that was both the result and the means of reflecting decisive events of the era.

Approach

In order to research in Hungarian sources on the representations of the Ottomans, one must take into consideration the particularities of the contemporary source material and its context, along with current scholarly approaches. As the first systematic recordings of literature in the vernacular emerged in this era, texts are connected to oral traditions by a myriad of ties – irrespective of their actual manner of composition. It is self-evident that all that is left from the literature of the era exists only in writing, and one can make only assumptions regarding contemporary oral traditions, the structures of mediatory forms between solely oral and written texts or preceding versions of sources that were finalized in a written form. Still, the investigation of the source material focusing on oral and literate features of the sources offers insight not only into processes of the formation and establishment of vernacular literary forms, but into a genealogy of concepts of reflecting the "other," and literary reflections on a massive military presence. The Ottoman expansion and events connected to it indeed marked an epic moment in the development of vernacular literature in both senses of the term. The textualization of events had a foundation that relied on orality, but this form was actualized in a manner that was also shaped by new media (printing) and new conceptual frameworks (reformed religious ideas).

The source corpus of the research shows transitional features between orality and literacy: texts were composed in writing, but especially in the case of popular works, they were based on oral traditions (using thematic and linguistic formulas; texts have multiple variations), their transmission might have occurred based on aural reception, but also by silent reading and the performer was often even able to provide the audience with a printed version of the text. In order to grasp methods of transition from oral traditions to written culture and the modes of coexistence of the two types of traditions, various levels of repetitions and their corresponding formulas and themes are examined. The purpose is to trace repetitions and formula types in the corpus, and if possible, to sketch a script, a structure that could be filled with a set of elements. As the functioning of works was built on the repetition and variations of known elements, formulas provided the aesthetic value of the works as well. In this manner, the use of formulas was becoming more than merely a set of techniques: it became a style that determined the development of written culture.

Structure

In order to understand the processes of the particular discourses about the Ottomans in Hungary, certain aspects of the religious, military, and cultural contexts have to be introduced first. The second chapter investigates the representational practices of Ottoman rulers, putting emphasis on the most representative example of a sultan, Suleyman the Magnificent, who consciously created a strong political-artistic campaign mediating his claims to universal rule. At the same time, he was the leader of campaigns in Hungary that resulted in decisive, grand-scale events such as the battle of Mohács and the mid-century fortress campaign. The role of the sultan as the protector of tributary states was also emphasized in Hungarian works and is analyzed in this chapter.

The next focus is connected to the various aspects of religion: reflections on Islam as a religion and the interpretative strategies for evaluating the presence and military successes of the Ottomans. This chapter surveys the roles and ratio of existing influential traditions such as the Wittenberg view of history and eschatological ideas, and maps new patterns that were formed in vernacular narratives. The discourse on religion was strongly interconnected with medieval and humanist discourses on the role of countries bordering the enemy, involving topoi of the "scourge of God" and *propugnaculum Christianitatis*, which played a determining role in the early development of the concept of nationhood.

The last chapter focuses on military encounters, investigating the representational practices of active and less active phases of military interactions

between Ottomans and Hungarians. The brunt of the discussion falls on the features of existing literary practices that greatly influenced methods of narrating military events, addressing formulaity and its function in event poetry. Large-scale campaigns, sieges, and battles are examined as they are narrated in various genres, and most representatively, by event poetry. The course of the discussion follows the guideline for reflections of large-scale military events through decisive battles and sieges, to finish with narratives that deal with small raids and person-to-person combat. This discussion is followed by an analysis of narrating success and defeat, representations of the protagonists of the two sides of military encounters, and development of the concept of the ideal soldier. Finally, the chapter discusses the toolkit of reflections concerning activities and persons who crossed military borders.

The Sultans

The most important results of the investigation of references to the Ottoman sultans show that under the four-decade-long rule of Suleyman and his intense military presence in Hungary, a literary structure came into being that was based on both oral and written traditions. This structure applied various formulas to organize knowledge for the audience in a manner that was suitable to mediating both recent and distant events. The analysis of the descriptions of landmark events and the designated roles of the sultans in these situations demonstrate that in addition to the image of the sultan as a distant powerful ruler, his personal emotions and reactions likewise played a determining role in the development of military decisions. The complex image, at the same time, includes elements that are present in general – topos-like references to the Turks such as unreliability, arrogant pride, selfishness, and the "scourge of God" imagery. Event poetry as a genre focuses on affairs that were based on first- or second-hand eyewitness observations, thus these narratives clearly lack a personal image of the sultan. He is depicted as a distant figure, although he is positioned to determine ongoing events in the vast majority of sources, taking an established place in the plot. This system of representations has strong ties with oral traditions, applying numerous elements of its apparatus such as formula-type expressions and various topoi. The system often lacks in-depth information about the inner political mechanisms of the Ottoman Empire and focuses mostly on attempts to explain the Ottoman presence and the losses of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Representations in Religious Narratives

The presence of the Ottomans in Hungary generated a variety of religious reflections with two fundamental perspectives: one is directed towards "us," the subjects of the Ottomans and their situations, while the other dimension is reflections of the Turks themselves and discussions of their perceived or supposed religious affairs. Despite the coexistence of Christians and Muslims from the foundation of the Hungarian state, there were no nuanced reflections on Islam in religious narratives. Discussions of religious affairs did not differentiate between "new" and "old" Muslims nor did they reflect confessional transitions within the Ottoman Empire. Extant religious discussions relied on medieval traditions, declaring Islam heretical, Mohammed the Antichrist, and Muslims unfaithful. These traditions influenced references to the Ottoman Turks, who were often represented as a punishment sent by God and appeared in the context of Christian apocalyptic imagery. The narratives are ruled by conflicting dimensions of unity and division; the strong interference of the Ottoman expansion and the Protestant cause as well as fears emerging from their attributed political and religious similarities are present along with attempts of the Catholic Church to mediate the self-image of *unitas christiana*. The process of the formation of particular confessions (Konfessionsbildung) and their influence on the systems of culture and politics (Konfessionalisierung) are fundamental factors in building national identities. Such a system of identity-formation was destined to be jaundiced, and as a consequence, cultural division and hostility, at most competition, were more common than cultural exchange between the forming confessions.

Military Interactions

As a conflict zone throughout the sixteenth century, Hungary had to defend its shifting borders continually; waves of intense campaigns and peaceful periods were interspersed. Constant ethnic and military rearrangement necessitated constant adaptation to new circumstances, and even to change as a condition. Literary traditions also underwent rapid evolution in the century, developing new forms of literary activities while reflecting on events on the military, political and religious scenes. The social and ethnic diversity of the armed forces that comprised the military scene likewise resulted in manifold reflections in the narratives.

Frequent contacts in the border zone resulted in differentiated practices illustrating most of the topoi inherited from medieval and humanist traditions that were related to the Ottomans. Event poetry and religious narratives show

parallel features in concentrating more thoroughly on self-oriented perspectives and neglecting detailed descriptions of the actual experiences with the Turks. The type of narrative that seems to be an exception from this tendency is event poetry, which discusses smaller scale events such as minor sieges and raids. As the narratives give evidence, texts were produced to mirror the perspectives of soldiers or were intended for them as an audience. Frontier ideology characterized accounts of campaigns, especially in narratives that were part of some of the existing literary traditions such as chronicles or crusading literature. Interactions in the borderland area, however, were recorded in a literary form that was based on and supposedly continued to exist in oral traditions, allowing for the development of national and historical identities.

Conclusions

The analysis of narratives that reflected the presence of Turks was conducted to grasp the relationship of the sources to oral and written traditions. The analysis of this literature demonstrated that the occurrence of certain plot formulas or themes is a frequent phenomenon in event poetry narratives. Although the exclusively oral origins of these grammatical and plot formulas cannot be confirmed, these constructions organize knowledge to suit the horizon of expectation of an audience with a predominantly oral background. The study of the organization and functions of formulas and themes led closer to an understanding of literary discourses in practice. Repetitive and recurring elements may be present at any level of the narratives and their sequence; a script provides a framework that is responsible for maintaining the working mechanism of the texts. This script invoked certain characteristics of oral cultures, attributing importance to structural stability instead of formal variability. However, the presence of each and every formulaic element is not obligatory for all the narratives, and elements could be varied to quite a high degree.

With regard to the primary concern of this work – the practices of representing the Ottomans in vernacular literature – the narratives confirm a complex synchronism of religious and confessional, military and political affairs. The sources also attest that literary discourses used appropriate forms and formulae to present the varieties of interconnected forms of these attitudes. Actual dialogues with Ottomans, both religious and political, were rare; instead, dialogues often took other forms than actual discourses. Raids, taking captives, and other forms of military rivalry were common methods of interaction which subsequently found their ways into religious and military narratives. At the same time, the narratives were heavily dominated by the perspective oriented

towards "us": the search for answers to essential questions of the period, such as the political takeover and military successes of the Ottoman Empire. The disintegration of the Hungarian Kingdom often resulted in self-accusation, and in blaming other Christians or compatriots for the current situation. As a result, the term "pagan" – as the Ottomans were widely called – came to be used to cover religious, political, and legal categories alike. As a consequence of the self-oriented perspective of the literature, a complex system of lamentations developed that reflected miseries from the personal to congregational levels and was used in both religious and military contexts, while its literary formulations played a significant role in establishing new patterns that allowed for expressing individual and lyrical content.

All in all, the investigation of representational strategies necessitates the consideration of multiple dimensions of European-Ottoman, Hungarian-European, and Hungarian-Ottoman settings. In the sixteenth century, early Hungarian literature had to create its own representational conventions and patterns relying on medieval, humanist, and oral traditions combined with firsthand experiences. This literary practice created representations of the Ottomans that reflected Ottoman and European patterns, but at the same time, a particular practice evolved that facilitated the creation of proto-nationalist identities and discourses and the development of a new literary language.

Cyprus in the Ottoman and Venetian Political Imagination, c. 1489–1582
Tamás Kiss (Hungary)

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This dissertation draws on a variety of Venetian and Ottoman visual, architectural, narrative, and poetic sources to shed light on how groups and individuals in these two imperial polities imagined the political significance of conquering and possessing Cyprus. The period under scrutiny is between the island's Venetian annexation in 1489 and the aftermath of its Ottoman conquest in 1571. In investigating the ways in which different Venetian and Ottoman actors attached historical, mythological, political, and eschatological connotations to Cyprus or exploited the already-existing ones for their political ends, I pick apart various early modern discursive threads about the Venetian and Ottoman occupations of Cyprus and then study how they were entangled within and across religious and political boundaries in the early modern Mediterranean and beyond. The result is the only cultural study of how the two major sixteenth-century Mediterranean empires contested the island and what it meant for their respective imperial projects.

The Venetian annexation of Cyprus had a decisive influence on Venetian imperial identity and, consequently, state iconography. The Ottoman attack on Cyprus increased apocalyptic fears throughout the wider Mediterranean region and, after a devastating series of hard-won battles, resulted in one of the last Ottoman major territorial gains in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the formation of a long-awaited Holy League in the West. In 1571, the league, as is well known, defeated the Ottoman navy at Lepanto, thereby inaugurating the Battle of Lepanto as a major theme of literary, artistic, and historical works produced across Europe. Yet, the Veneto-Ottoman contestation of Cyprus has so far received almost no attention from cultural historians.

Modern scholarship typically cites pragmatic reasons for the Ottoman attack on Cyprus in 1570: the newly inaugurated Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-74) needed a

military success to prove himself, and the fact that the sea routes between the Ottoman capital and Syria and Egypt were repeatedly disrupted by pirates taking refuge in Venetian Cyprus made this island a logical target. However, as this dissertation posits, already in the early modern period Cyprus became enveloped in a variety of symbolic discourses and narratives about the conquest by both Venetians and Ottomans that make this story much less straightforward. I single out four topoi that appear both in early modern and modern scholarly narratives of what taking and keeping Cyprus may have "meant" to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetians and Ottomans. These four are: Queen Caterina Cornaro's supposed gracious ceding of her kingdom to and her adoption by the Venetian state in 1489; the ambiguous *casus belli* of Sultan Selim II; the Selimiye mosque's supposed ideological relationship to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus; and a performance at Prince Mehmed's circumcision festival in 1582 that allegedly re-enacted the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus.

Notwithstanding their frequent appearance in the literature, as this dissertation demonstrates, ideological claims embedded in these topoi prove unfounded upon closer inspection. I argue that these topoi could survive from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the modern day only because they have come down to us as parts of dominant Western historical narratives. The Venetian state's mythology was ultimately more powerful than the Cornaro family's narrative about the state's forceful seizure of the crown of Cyprus that rightfully belonged to Caterina Cornaro. The topos of the drunkard sultan's craving for Cypriot wine and other fictitious causes of war discussed in early modern Western sources were more relatable than the complex diplomatic machinations behind the attack and internal political debates related to it that have to be reconstructed from Venetian and Ottoman archival sources. Similarly, Western sources affirming a Western misreading of the purpose of the oddly located (as in, not in the capital) and awe-inspiring Selimiye mosque in Edirne were inevitably better circulated than Ottoman sources revealing the original, eschatologically-inspired purposes of building that mosque. Western first- and second-hand accounts circulating throughout Europe about a mock battle at an Ottoman festival staged to exasperate the Venetian guests were plausible from a Western point of view and more readily available to modern historians than the sources which could have disproved them. In this dissertation, I go behind the façade of these dominant historical narratives by untangling the discursive threads that they are made of and decode their central themes through a dialogue of Venetian/Western and Ottoman sources. Consequently, in Chapter 1, I unravel the cultural and political context of the Venetian state forging a narrative about its annexation of Cyprus

against the narrative of the Cornaro family; in Chapter 2, instead of perpetuating the rumors about Selim's craving for Cypriot wine and his advisor Joseph Nassi's aspirations for the Cypriot crown, I examine the diplomatic negotiations that preceded the War of Cyprus and the Ottoman *casus belli* that sought to justify the war to the enemy on the one hand, and to the Ottoman public on the other; I challenge Western "misreadings" of the Selimiye mosque and offer a cultural historical context within the framework of a shared Christian-Muslim imperial and eschatological tradition lending a rationale for both the construction of the mosque and the Ottoman attack on Cyprus in chapters 3 and 4; and in Chapter 5 I investigate the narrative and demonstrative purposes of the performance in 1582 that has been interpreted by both contemporaries and modern historians as a re-enactment of the conquest of Cyprus.

While political imagination about Cyprus in the Ottoman Empire seems to have been used to legitimize Sultan Selim II's rule, and later to augment the late-sixteenth-century styling of the House of Osman's messianic profile, imagining Cyprus for political ends was, in Venice, part of a debate about the very political identity of the republic and its elites. Therefore, in this dissertation I examine how representatives of the city-state, by imagining the political significance of annexing and possessing Cyprus, handled the problem of Venice's dual political identity through various commissioned artworks, and how the patrician victims of Venice's imperial expansion responded to it. I also investigate what the specifics of this communication imply about the ways early modern Mediterranean empires operated.

The early modern "myth of Venice," or the idealized attributes of "Venetianness" and their expression in various art forms and literary genres was incompatible with the myth of one of Venice's "equal" patrician families, the Cornaros, holding royal titles and practicing monarchical rights. By flouting the Venetian ideals of modesty and equality, the Cornaros and other patrician families, like the late fifteenth-century Barbarigo doges (Marco and Agostino), attempted to refute the myth (or follow a counter-myth) of Venice. They looked to the resplendent lifestyles of their Roman and Florentine peers who displayed quasi-monarchical power. The ensuing contradictions between political identity and the practice of power were addressed by the Venetian state, the doges, and the Cornaro family through allegorical imagry of their direct or symbolic association with Cyprus. The messages through which the representatives of the Venetian state and the city state's patrician families expressed these political imaginations were aimed predominantly at a domestic audience. Thus, even though these messages were inevitably picked up by Western interpreters (and critics) of

Venice's prosperity and political as well as social stability, the senders and receivers of these messages shared a dominant meaning system (i.e., a coherent network of shared ideas, values, beliefs, and causal knowledge – that is – ruling ideas).

In parallel with the Venetian examples, I also analyze the ways in which Ottoman individuals imagined Cyprus for their own political purposes, including Selim II, who followed in both Mehmed II's and Süleyman's footsteps in legitimizing his power by fashioning himself through the construction of his sultanic mosque as the Emperor Justinian I (r. 527-65 CE) of his time as well as the messianic ruler whose association with Cyprus on the eve of the Apocalypse had been foretold by so many oracles. However, at the same time, I also observe what communicating these imaginations tells the modern historian about the dynamics of late sixteenth-century Mediterranean empires. Just as with the previous Venetian example, some messages containing Ottoman political imaginations about Cyprus were aimed at a domestic audience—although perhaps not exclusively. Regardless, Western visitors to the Ottoman Empire and resident authors alike interpreted these messages with confidence. As a result, the "authorial intent" of Sultan Selim II's mosque in Edirne was ill-decoded on the Western receiver's end. These misreadings receive special significance for discussing inter-imperial communication.

By borrowing from Stuart Hall's "Encoding/Decoding" theory I argue that misinterpretations were possible because there was an asymmetry between the Venetian and Ottoman actors' "meaning structures" which determined the possible "dominant," "negotiated," and "oppositional" readings of messages. In contrast to his theoretical forerunners like Saussure and Jakobson, Hall's model is not about interpersonal but mass communication, which emphasizes the importance of active interpretation. Although originally proposed as a model for television communication in 1973, Stuart Hall's theory is highly relevant for my analysis of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century intra- and inter-imperial communication. Firstly, all of the cases discussed in this dissertation involve imperial messages aimed at large audiences, that is to say, instances of early modern mass communication, even where interpersonal communication intervened. (Take, for instance, the Ottomans' testing their tentative *casus belli* on the Venetian bailo Barbaro in Chapter 2.) Secondly, Hall's theory helps explain why some messages containing political imaginations were correctly decoded by the intended audiences while ill-decoded by others. Thirdly, by allowing the notion of "culture" to be bypassed, it helps avoid essentialist explanations such as blaming the different degrees of (un-)successful interpretation on "cultural differences," which would make little sense in analyzing communication in an early modern imperial setting.

Hall's theory opened the way for a semiotic approach to communication models such as the cultural semiotic model of Yuri Lotman. According to Lotman, the semiosphere, one of the key concepts of cultural semiotics, is a set of inter-related sign processes (semiosis) with social, linguistic, and even geographical delimitations, outside which "meaning" cannot exist. Consequently, decoding (i.e., translating) a message from outside (or even, in fact, from a different code within the semiosphere) will generate a message different from the original one. Thus, essentially, both Hall and Lotman argue that translation not only happens between two codes ("languages") but also between the socially, geographically, ideologically (etc.) determined and confined mechanisms within which the "sender" created the message and the "receiver" interprets ("consumes") it.

Recently, E. Natalie Rothman has argued that the linguistic, religious, and political differences between Venice and the Ottoman Empire were continuously re-created, to a large extent by "trans-imperial subjects," who played a vital role as boundary-makers between the two polities. One of the boundary-making processes was "institutionalized" translation—both linguistic and socio-cultural. Regarding translation as boundary making, Rothman focuses on the dragomans as the specialized professional intermediaries of a slightly later period, whereas in two of my studies (in chapters 3 and 5), I show that toward the end of the sixteenth century the differences between the individual Venetian and Ottoman spheres of meaning were perhaps not as clearly recognizable as they later became (from the 1630s onward). Some Western recipients of (assumed) Ottoman messages seem to have underestimated the limitations of interpretability. On the one hand, I argue that the partial overlapping of spheres of meaning between a Venetian (or another Western European, although Venetians were overall much better informed about Ottoman ways than other Europeans) and an Ottoman did not allow the former to decode correctly Ottoman politically infused "messages" where there was a lack of a social and intellectual common ground (i.e., imperfectly matching meaning structures) or a well-informed interpretation by a trans-imperial intermediary. On the other hand, I hypothesize that confident (and false) interpretations of Ottoman messages as references to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus were perhaps possible due to the Western actors' assumption that the meaning structures on the Ottoman sender's end were not very different from theirs and thus direct decoding was possible. After all, the Ottoman Empire was integral to and resonant of the past and present politics and culture of its Western partners or rivals. In turn, Venetian arts, learning, and material culture were influenced by the Ottoman Levant, while its political establishment was attentive to Ottoman politics. Consequently, the partial overlapping of semiospheres was

not only responsible for ill-decodings, but it also made ill-decoded messages seem sensible, and not only in their own time. Some of the topoi discussed in this dissertation have survived in scholarship as widely accepted facts even to our time.

The possibility of partially overlapping semiospheres also allowed some political imaginations or politically infused messages about Cyprus to cross the political boundary while retaining their intended meaning without difficulty. In exploiting Cyprus's eschatological connotations shared by Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean region (the eschatological connotations of Cyprus had been well known to the peoples of the Mediterranean region since late antiquity), Sultan Selim II and his ideologues produced messages about the new sultan's reign as that of the last universal monarch before the Last Judgement. Because of the intertwined medieval apocalyptic traditions of the monotheistic religions, and their early modern (re-)interpretations, the clash between Christians and Muslims on the island of Cyprus was recognized in Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and even in far-away Spain as one of the foretold harbingers of the Apocalypse (see Chapter 4). Unlike the aforementioned ill-decoded messages, some of which were not meant to be interpreted by foreigners, the Ottoman court's messages based on the island's inter-religious eschatological connotations were intended for, besides a diverse domestic audience, a foreign, predominantly Venetian, audience. Consequently, the Ottoman eschatological contextualization of the 1571 conquest of Cyprus was readily picked up on by various individuals and communities across the Mediterranean region regardless of their religious or political affiliations.

In this dissertation I refer frequently to the Venetian state's manipulation of its public image or the Ottoman court's orchestration of its own cultural historical contexts. However, imagination is always an activity done by individual actors or groups. If this dissertation is about communication, it is also about the individuals, members of political factions and political bodies in Venice and the Ottoman Empire who shared in communication as either senders or receivers of messages.

In Venice, all of the actors discussed in Chapter 1 were members of the patriciate and, naturally, held the highest posts in the city-state's political system. Although the members of the Cornaro family imagined Cyprus in their political self-fashioning differently from the Barbarigo doges or the members of the Council of Ten, the ways they imagined Cyprus were not so different from each other after all. All of these actors expressed their interpretation of the inconsistencies of Venice's image as a republic as well as empire and imagined a direct or symbolic

association between themselves and the island to propagate their own position in the duality of Venice's metropolitan and *stato da mar* establishment. In Chapters 2 and 5, the actors who misinterpreted Ottoman visual messages imagined that the Ottoman court was sending them political messages across the boundary. They believed that with the building of the Selimiye mosque and a performance enacted at the 1582 circumcision festival the Ottomans were communicating to them their superiority as colonizers. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the recently inaugurated Sultan Selim II and his ideologues, on the one hand, and the receivers of their messages all over the Mediterranean, on the other, shared in a communication exchange about the eschatological importance of Cyprus. The foretold apocalyptical clash between Christians and Muslims on the island allowed for creating an image and interpretation of Selim II as the Last (World) Emperor. Furthermore, Western interpreters of a performance at Prince Mehmed's 1582 circumcision feast still believed that they were presented with the woeful sight of the War of Cyprus. These and all of the political imaginations discussed here tell the modern historian less about late fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Cyprus than about the ways early modern individuals in the Mediterranean region, especially in Venice and Istanbul, engaged with and read imperial mechanisms of power. For all the postulation of "cultural" boundaries between the Ottoman Empire and Venice that necessitated mediation, this thesis shows that there were many individuals and publics in both empires who believed that messages sent across imperial boundaries could be decoded directly and assumed a universally intelligible language of imperial power.

Between Mary and Christ:
Depicting Cross-Dressed Saints in the Middle Ages (c. 1200–1600)
Andrea Bianka Znorovszky (Romania)

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Between Mary and Christ: Depicting Cross-Dressed Saints in the Middle Ages (c. 1200–1600) applies a comparative approach to the visual and textual sources of a group of holy virgins in disguise, namely, Saints Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Margareta Pelagius, and Marina the Monk. Their lives, in a nutshell, concentrate on stories of women who wore men's clothes, fled the world to follow Christ, and joined monasteries or sometimes retired to solitary places.

This dissertation demonstrates that in visual and textual sources of the Late Middle Ages holy women in disguise are viewed as women, in contrast to previous research, which emphasized gendered, theological, patristic or intertextual interpretations. The research here focuses on an analysis of visual and textual sources covering four centuries – c. 1200–1600 – and aims at demonstrating the way this group of saints is presented in the sources themselves.

The two parts of the dissertation center around the image-text relationship antithetically, first, by analyzing the textual in order to re-interpret and re-evaluate the visual; several images of holy women in disguise were compared to only one text, that of the vita; second, by focusing on the construction of visual source(s) in relation to multiple hagiographic texts: poems, liturgical sources, vitae, inscriptions etc. These two parts correspond to two types of visual sources: manuscript illumination, which is closely connected to the text, and the art products created for various types of recipients and displayed in various contexts.

In both cases the image-text relationship indicates that the image follows the narration (the text) while the text incorporates certain thirteenth-through-fifteenth-century hagiographic developments that helped re-interpret the image and view the protagonists as holy women who employed disguise in order to live a life dedicated to Christ as *sponsae Christi*. Generally the insertion of these

hagiographic topoi occurs in the entrance-exit episodes that emphasize the construction of these hagiographic characters as holy women. However, this does not exclude the existence of other types of patterns which re-emphasize and contribute to their construction as women in disguise. Disguise, both visual and textual, became the key focus when depicting these saints in illuminated manuscripts as it is mostly included in all the important episodes of their lives.

Holy women in disguise are constructed as female hagiographic/visual characters due to the flexibility of their lives and to the assimilation of patterns of female sanctity as follows:

1. Patterns of Female Mystics and the Mystical Lexicon

Hagiographic patterns are inserted at the beginning and the end of these lives, which contributes to a symmetrical construction emphasizing that these women evolved from *sponsae*-to-be to *sponsae* meeting the Groom.

2. Models of Sanctity

My research shows that holy women in disguise, in this case Saint Euphrosyne, turned out to be models for new emergent saints such as Saint Catherine of Siena. Fourteenth-century lives of Euphrosyne circulated prior to the canonization of Catherine in 1461 (which adds to the possibility of influence) and share common elements with her life: an intention to imitate Euphrosyne, an intention to run away and live according to her model: lack of consent, refusal of marriage, and seclusion in a cell.

3. Marian Influences: Apocryphal and Iconographic Patterns of the Virgin Mary

Fifteenth-century Northern influences on the German(ic) sources coincide with apocryphal (France) and iconographic insertions (France and Italy) in the visual and textual sources on women in disguise.

3a). Apocryphal and iconographic patterns of the Virgin Mary in French sources

The insertion of apocryphal patterns into the textual sources occurs mostly in the entrance-exit episodes similarly to the patterns of female mystics. In this sense the variety of patterns that are inserted contribute to their clustering around these episodes, emphasizing from the very beginning that it is women saints' lives that one is being familiarized with.

The iconographic patterns of the Virgin with the Child in her arms and the Virgin teaching the Christ Child to read are reflected in the visual representations of Saint Marina, who is depicted in similar situations. I conclude that Saint Marina assimilated from Marian piety/iconography the pattern of intimacy with the child which became one of her iconographic attributes (France, Italy, Spain).

3b). Iconographic patterns of the Virgin Mary in Italian and Spanish sources (Saints Marina and Eugenia)

The pattern of the Virgin with the Child in her arms was assimilated in Venetian paintings of Saint Marina, whose iconography developed in such a way that Marina became a mirror image of the Virgin and Child. The pattern of the Virgin with the Child in her arms was transferred from miniatures into panel paintings (and statues, frescoes, etc). Even more, my analysis indicates that this pattern circulated in both milieus at the same time in various regions: Italy, Spain, and France. What all the panel paintings, frescoes, and statues have in common is that they depict Saint Marina, generally, together with the child. A regional imprint occurs when the depiction is connected to Marina's local cult.

In Saint Eugenia's case it is important to underline the continuity in her representation as a martyr saint. In early fifth-through-seventh century mosaics she is one of the virgins accompanying the Virgin, while in fifteenth-century frescoes (Rome, Bagnoro, Siena) she is depicted next to the Virgin. In her Spanish representations subtle textual references suggest similarities with the Triumph of the Virgin while her clothes can be viewed as a symbol of triumph over evil, embodied by Melanthia.

4. Positioning and Iconographic Attributes

Holy women in disguise are paired according to hagiographic themes such as disguise in the *Speculum historiale* (Marina, Euphrosyne), inserted into groups of women in the *Legenda Aurea* (Marina, Margareta Pelagius) or into groups of men (less frequently). The insertion of women in disguise among holy penitents underscores their gender. This is valid also when they were inserted among holy men (Germanic sources).

5. Cult, Crusades, and Iconographic Confusion

The promotion of these saints implies a high degree of dissemination among some recipients. These saints acted as models for communities of both genders. Marina was a model not only for the male monastic community of Ardea, promoted by

Doge Andrea Gritti in Venice, but also for women, as seen in French registers that indicate women offering religious objects to a Church of Saint Marina. Saint Eugenia again was promoted by Cardinal Bessarione in Italy. In France and Spain she became not only a model for male religious communities, but also for mixed groups of pilgrims. The case of Saint Euphrosyne is a bit different, as she was a model for a female religious community and promoted for pilgrimage by the same religious establishment after being transferred from the Holy Land to France.

When speaking about Saint Marina's cult it is important to bring the crusader context of her transfer into the discussion. As my sources indicate, Saint Marina the Monk was much venerated in the Near East. Consequently, around the twelfth or thirteenth century various individuals transferred her "several times." I conclude that there were at least two phases of development in Marina the Monk's iconography in Venice. In the first phase, Saint Marina the Monk's iconography seems to have been influenced by that of a homonymous saint, namely, Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch. This confusion can be explained in several ways: a confusion of names which determined a confusion of relics and a confusion of iconography and of attributes (the cross, for instance). However, in my opinion all this designates Marina as a specifically female saint.

PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE NEW EVIDENCE, NEW APPROACHES (4TH–8TH CENTURIES)
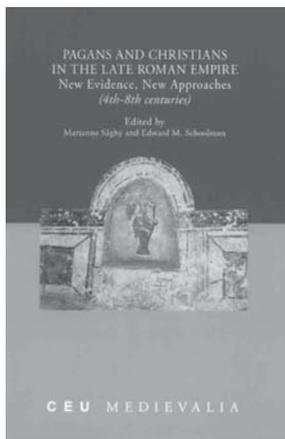
Edited by
Marianne Sághy, Central European University, Budapest
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Do the terms 'pagan' and 'Christian,' 'transition from paganism to Christianity', still hold as explanatory devices to apply to the political, religious and cultural transformation experienced Empire-wise? Revisiting 'pagans' and 'Christians' in Late Antiquity has been a fertile site of scholarship in recent years: the paradigm shift in the interpretation of the relations between 'pagans' and 'Christians' replaced the old 'conflict model' with a subtler, complex approach and triggered the upsurge of new explanatory models such as multiculturalism, cohabitation, cooperation, identity, or group cohesion.

This collection of essays inscribes itself into the revisionist discussion of pagan-Christian relations over a broad territory and time-span, the Roman Empire from the fourth to the eighth century. A set of papers argues that if 'paganism' had never been fully extirpated or denied by the multiethnic educated elite that managed the Roman Empire, 'Christianity' came to be presented by the same elite as providing a way for a wider group of people to combine true philosophy and right religion. The speed with which this happened is just as remarkable as the long persistence of paganism after the sea-change of the fourth century that made Christianity the official religion of the State. For a long time afterwards, 'pagans' and 'Christians' lived 'in between' polytheistic and monotheist traditions and disputed Classical and non-Classical legacies.

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