ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU

1994 - 1995

Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest


CEU
Medieval
Studies

ERRATA

The editors would like to apologize to our contributors who were quite careful in their own proofreading. Due to a font-conversion problem encountered during typesetting, a few marks and symbols, in particular those of the Greek and Slavic languages, were missed or transposed into the wrong symbols. It has been technically impossible for the editors to adopt a proper transliteration for Arabic names.

We apologize to our readers as well, who might find individual references in the notes misleading or incomplete.

For the symbol ± , read ς; for è , read č ; and for ã, read ă.

Page 184: instead of "Bulgarin" read "Bulqarin"; note 5 on page 184: instead of "Peter (927-969)" read "Peter (927-969), King of Danube Bulgaria"; note 6 on page 184: instead of "Bohemia" read "Prague, Bohemia and Cracow respectively"; page 187: instead of "Qualiwi" read "the fortress of Qaliwi"; note 27 on page 187: instead of "Mashqa" read "Mashaqqah"; note 39 on page 190 has been inserted in the text erroneously.


CEU
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ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY

In 1994/95 the Central European University (CEU), a private graduate institution founded in 1991 by the American-Hungarian financier and philanthropist, George Soros, consisted of eight departments and nine programs with campuses in Prague (Economics, Sociology, International Relations, and European Studies) and Budapest (Environmental Studies, History, Business and Constitutional Law, Medieval Studies, and Political Science). (Since then, the Department of Economics has moved to Essex and Budapest, Sociology to Warsaw, and International Relations to Budapest.)

The total enrollment for this academic year was 420 students from 34 countries, instructed by more than 60 resident and visiting professors. All departments offer a first graduate degree (M.A. or equivalent). These, mostly one-year, programs have been accredited in 1994/5 or earlier, either by the New York State Board of Regents (where CEU is chartered) or by other degree-granting bodies in the USA or the UK. (For the information on the recently accredited Ph. D. program in Medieval Studies, see below). In January 1995, CEU was recognised by the Ministry of Public Education as an institution of higher education legitimately operating in the Republic of Hungary. CEU students from the former "socialist" countries—who constitute the overwhelming majority of the student body—receive full scholarship, including tuition, housing, and subsistence. Students from other countries are also welcome, and some of them may obtain a partial or full waiver of the tuition fee (presently USD 11, 000 per year).

During the 1994/95 academic year CEU prepared major moves and internal reorganisations. One significant step was the completion of the new downtown university complex (which opened in the Fall of 1995) and the Residence and Conference Centre (opened in December, 1995), both in Budapest. In late Summer 1995, the reorganised Department of Sociology (in cooperation with the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences) was opened in the Staszic Palace in Warsaw. Several basic documents on university administation and operation were approved in 1995 by the University Senate and the Board of Trustees, bringing CEU closer to becoming a firmly established institution and to obtaining a permanent charter (in contrast to the present five-year temporary).

Looking back on four years of operation, George Soros wrote in the prospectus of the university: "Although I have been reluctant in the past to establish permanent institutions, I am satisfied enough with the spirit and the accomplishments of the founding period to make an exception in the case of CEU." Soros has committed a minimum of $10 million a year for operating expenses for at least twenty years. CEU can thus look forward to becoming a major intellectual and research centre for the region in the spirit of Open Society, its founder's basic philosophy.


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Part I.

Report of the Year


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THE THIRD YEAR OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU

Gábor Klaniczay

It is always a strange experience to recall the events of a past year of academic activities while one is carried away by the flow of the present, new academic cycle with its new faces and new concerns. And, in fact, the planning for the year to come is already advancing with new admissions and, yet again, new projects to be initiated, new problems to be solved. On the other hand, the usefulness and the necessity of such recollections is beyond any doubt—not only to construct the historical record of our new department but also to become more self-conscious in our choices: where do we come from, where are we heading, what tasks had we designed for ourselves yesterday, and how do we see our results today.

In a certain sense, the beginning of the school year of 1994-95 was the first "routine" start of academic activities we could experience. After the successful first full round with forty-five MA students, which had the charms of a common experiment based on the principle of trial and error and the enthusiasm of constructing a completely new type of educational venture, we now had the possibility to design from experience, correcting some obvious mistakes, adding new ideas, and readjusting our expectations to the needs of the students.

The first important modification of the program was to begin the academic year with a common excursion to western Hungary. This provided the staff, the new students, and some of the still-present "old" students with the possibility of meeting one another in an informal manner. In addition, it presented the Central European "scene" of our medieval studies, a royal palace (Esztergom), a splendid collection of medieval paintings (the Christian Museum of Esztergom), a medieval city with Roman ruins (a good opportunity to begin a "continuity debate"), medieval friaries, synagogues, and, not the least, good wine cellars (Sopron), two medieval castles (Siklós, Nagyvázsony), a medieval village parish church (Csempeszkopács), and two medieval abbeys (Tihany and Pannonhalma).

After a series of language courses, tests, computer classes, introductory lectures, and thesis planning discussions, the new cohort of MA students had the chance to witness the public defences of the previous year's MA students. They could participate in our first commencement ceremo-

ny, which was held in the presence of George Soros, in September 1995. We still regret that the new funding regulations of CEU obliged us to relocate these defences to June, depriving the two groups of students (the finishing and the beginning one) of this useful and interesting meeting point.

This academic year was more routine because of several other factors as well. We could rely upon a larger faculty: two new members of our teaching faculty, Marianne Sághy and István Perczel, had just joined us. We also placed a much greater emphasis on tutorial assistance: we employed three academic tutors, Tamara Lynn Curreri, Krisztina Csapó, Carlo Di Cave, and an English language tutor, Lisa Stollar. In a general sense, we had more control of the whole teaching process than the year before.

The academic year had again quite a few memorable events, many guests, and some new unforeseen experiences. Just to exemplify, let me recall the hot and lively debates on the lectures of Gottfried Schramm, or the fascinating images presented by Ruth Mellinkoff (sometimes a bit disrupted by misbehaving slide projectors), or again the unexpected new common theme of conversion, crystallizing around the lectures of Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and the dissertation topics of several of our students.

The most exciting novel aspect of this second year was related to our new project, to the presence of ten second-year students. They were our first group of prospective Ph. D. students who had continued on from the previous year, working on their themes with the hope that they could present them ultimately as Ph. D. dissertations. János M. Bak, who spent the first trimester in the U.S. as a visiting professor at Rutgers University, used this opportunity to organize a "peer visit" for launching our Ph. D. accreditation with the New York Board of Regents. This obliged us to work systematically on our plans for the Ph. D., which were discussed and rediscussed. The visit of Giles Constable, Dale Kinney, and Paul Szarmach in February 1995 allowed us to put this project into final form and also to situate our experience in the framework of international expertise in the field. The close scrutiny, the detailed academic interest, and the collegial criticism of these distinguished American medievalists were unexpected rewards for our work. We were certain that their recognition would basically mean the acceptance of our Ph.D. proposal (which ultimately happened in February 1996).

Apart from the self-presentation for accreditation in February, the second and third trimesters of the academic year went on as usual with many distinguished guest lecturers and several colleagues who joined us for an entire term. Among the long list of memorable guest appearances, let me mention here only one, a brief but very intensive and unusual seminar given by Susan Reynolds and Jinty Nelson on conflict resolution in the

early Middle Ages. A close in-class reading and a lively debate of a series of documents propelled the enthusiastic group of students right back to the embittered quarrels of the ninth and tenth centuries.

There were again all kinds of events organized by the department—such as the workshop on Gender and History, the computer presentation by Manfred Thaller, and the debate at the City Hall of Budapest on the role of the historian "almost after the twentieth century" (with Natalie Zemon Davis, Stephen Greenblatt, Carla Hesse, Reinhard Koselleck, and Thomas Laqueur). And, meanwhile, our work went on with the students, always presenting new problems to be solved, new scholarly and human dimensions to be explored.

The recently introduced system of the long and well-funded research break allowed us to send our students on various useful research trips. Frequent discussions or sometimes even passionate debates with the students allowed us to learn more about democracy and taught us to be more attentive to their opinion. The new system of thesis writing workshops and the more intensive tutorial and linguistic supervision (where, besides the previously mentioned team, the significant help of Tamás Dobozy should be acknowledged) allowed the students to carry out what seemed rather doubtful in the beginning, to present, in a large majority, their theses by June 15.

At end of the year, public defences and commencement again. This second series, honoured by the presence of Patrick Geary (UCLA) and Simon Forde (Leeds), presented no less scholarly excitement than the first one: difficult moments and finally relief both on the side of professors and on that of the students. As a result, another group of twenty-six students was successful in earning an MA, another group of ten would join the ranks of our Ph. D. students, and an unrealistically big group of sixteen students and about eighteen professors, research fellows, and assistants celebrated the end of the academic year at the second medieval conference of Leeds.

At Leeds, we had our own exhibit, a permanent computer display of our visual resources. We organized five sessions and participated in others; some of our alumni, the Polish Ryszard Grzesik for example, presented their own sessions. Our well-attended reception featuring Hungarian wine which we provided for all the conference participants manifested a stronger Central European presence in this Anglo-Saxon milieu than anyone had ever seen over there before. And while on the plane back, we were studying the files of the future students of 1995-96, we had the feeling that the tree we had planted was indeed already bearing fruit.

ACTIVITIES IN 1994/95

1994

SEPTEMBER

2-4 Departmental Excursion to Western Hungary (Győr, Sopron, Tihany).
5 Academic year begins (preparatory period through September 29).
26-29 Graduation Week for the 1993/94 class and commencement in the Monument Preservation Institute, Budapest.

OCTOBER

11 Public lecture by Walter Pohl, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Universität Wien, on *"Early Medieval Ethnogenesis in Central Europe."*
15-21 Alain Boureau, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Participation in the *Hagiography* seminar of Gábor Klaniczay and an introductory lecture on *"Narrative Sources and Religion."*
26 Public lecture by Ruth Mellinkoff, Los Angeles, on *"The Devil at Isenheim: Reflections of Popular Belief in Grünewald's Altarpiece."*

NOVEMBER

4 Public lecture by Bernhard Töpfer, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, on *"Gesellschaftliche Aspekte der kirchlichen Lehre vom paradiesischen Zustand und vom Sündenfall."*
11 Public lecture by Christiane Baryla, École Française de Rome, on the *"Videodisc- Thesaurus Illuminations of the Vatican Library."*
17 Public lecture by Quentin Skinner, Cambridge University, on *"Moral Ambiguity and the Art of Eloquence."*
18-24 Sofia Boesch Gajano, Terza Universitá di Studi di Roma, Participation in the *Hagiography* seminar of Gábor Klaniczay; public lecture on *"Female Sainthood-Whose Construction? The Legends of Catherine of Siena,"* on November 23.

November 28 - December 4
Daniel Bornstein, Texas A&M University,
participation in the *Hagiography* seminar of Gábor Klaniczay, public lecture on *"Holy Women and the Pornography of Violence,"* on November 30.

During November recruitment trips to Bulgaria, Georgia, Macedonia, and Poland.

DECEMBER

9 Joint public lecture by Ian Wood, University of Leeds and Walter Pohl, Institut für Geschichtsforschung, Wien, on *"Continuity and Discontinuity in Post-Roman Europe."*

12 Public lecture by Ian Wood, University of Leeds, on *"Missionaries and Mission in Northern and Central Europe, 700-1000."*

1995

FEBRUARY

15 Public lecture by Peter Schreiner, Institut für Altertumskunde, Cologne, on *"Byzantine Historiography."*

17 Panel by Paul Szarmach, Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University; Dale Kinney, Bryn Mawr College and Giles Constable, Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, on *"Medieval Studies in the USA"*, in conjunction with the Collegium Budapest.

21 Public lecture by Michael Toch, Hebrew University, Jerusalem on *"Jews in Medieval Central Europe."*

27 Public lecture by Urszula Borkowska, Catholic University, Lublin on *"The Function of Ceremonial at the Jagiellonian Court in Poland."*

MARCH

17 Public lectures by Caroline W. Bynum, Columbia University, New York, on *"Was the Middle Ages Dualistic?"* and *"Ghosts, the Resurrection Body, and Dante's Divine Comedy."*

24 Public lecture by Robert W. Scribner, Clare College, Cambridge University, on *"Late Medieval Religious Change: Popular Beliefs and Images."*

27 Public lecture by Matthew Kempshall, St. Catherine's College,

Oxford University, on *"Some Ciceronian Models for Einhard's Life of Charlemagne."*

30 Public lecture by Neven Budak, University of Zagreb, on *"The State of Medieval Studies in Croatia."*

April 5 - May 5

Research Break

14 first-year students were awarded a sum total of 5,200 USD (CEU central research fund) and 9 second-year students were awarded a sum total of 3,100 USD (departmental research fund).

MAY

4-7 Participation in the 30th International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo.

6-14 Departmental excursion to Prague, Southern Bohemia, and Austria.

16 Public lecture by Herman van der Wee, Centrum voor Economische Studien, Leuven, on *"Economy and Crisis in the 14th Century."*

17-20 *Gender and History* Workshop, organized by the departmental "Women and Power" research program in conjunction with the Gender Studies Program, CEU.

19 Public lecture by Manfred Thaller, Max Planck Institute für Geschichte, Göttingen, on *"Archives for the 21th Century."*

25 Public lecture by Natalie Zemon Davis, Princeton University, on *"Women on the Margins."*

29 Public lecture by Evelyne Patlagean, Université Paris X - Nanterre, on *"Byzance: Un systéme féodal?"*

May-June

Admission interviews in Bulgaria, Georgia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia

JUNE

14 Public lecture by Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard University, on *"The Study of Byzantine Hagiography in the Last Half Century: Two Looks Back and One Look Forward."*

21 Public lecture by Patrick J. Geary, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, on *"Conflict Resolution in Medieval Society: Representations and Social Dramas."*

22 Public lecture by Maria Dobozy, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, on *"Re-membering the Present: The German Didactic Poets Establish Authority."*

26-29 Graduation week for 1994/95 class and commencement.

JULY

10-14 Participation in the 2nd International Medieval Congress, Leeds.

CALENDAR OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1994/95

PREPARATORY PERIOD, September 2–October 1

- Excursion–Western Hungary

LANGUAGES
- Advanced English (weekly 5x4=20 hours)
- Intermediary and Advanced Latin (weekly 2x2=4 hours)
- Advanced Greek (weekly 2 hours)
- Survival Hungarian (weekly 2x2=4 hours)

PROPEDEUTICS
- Libraries, Archives and Museum Collections in Budapest *Marianne Sághy*
- Museums and Collections in Budapest–*Ernő Marosi*
- Computers, Word Processing, Databases

INTRODUCTORY LECTURES
János M. Bak, Henrik Birnbaum, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky, Gerhard Jaritz

I. TERM OCTOBER 3–DECEMBER 17

M. A. THESIS SEMINAR (2 credits, mandatory)
Gábor Klaniczay with *István Perczel,*
József Laszlovszky with *Marianne Sághy*

THEORETICAL LECTURES (OCTOBER 6–NOVEMBER 17)
- Comparative History of Culture–*Gábor Klaniczay*
- Narrative Sources and Religion–*Alain Boureau*
- Iconography and the History of Images–*Ruth Mellinkoff*
- Economic and Social History–*Bernhard Töpfer*

- Material Culture in Archaeology–*József Laszlovszky*
- Computing for Medievalists–*Gerhard Jaritz*
- Geographical Names as Sources–*Gottfried Schramm*

EXCURSION SEMINAR (1 credit, mandatory)
József Laszlovszky, guest lectures by *Walter Pohl* and *Ian Wood*

SEMINARS (2 credits each)
- Hagiography–*Gábor Klaniczay* with *Alain Boureau, Sofia Boesch Gajano,* and *Daniel Bornstein*
- Monastic Architecture and Archaeology–*József Laszlovszky*
- Golden Ages and Utopias in Late Medieval Thought–*Bernhard Töpfer*
- Early Christian Monastic Traditions (East-West)–*István Perczel*
- Medieval Images of Outcasts and of Biblical Women–*Ruth Mellinkoff*
- Ethnogenesis in the Balkans and in Central Europe–*Gottfried Schramm* and *Walter Pohl*

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit each)
Mandatory, one of:
- Approaches to Medieval Philosophy and Theology–*György Geréby*
- Palaeography–*László Veszprémy*

Electives:
- Medieval Urban History–*Bernhard Töpfer* with *Balázs Nagy*
- Historical Demography–*Tamás Faragó*
- Social History of Late Antique and Early Medieval Christianity–*Marianne Sághy*
- Computer Databases for Historians I.–*Gerhard Jaritz* with *Tamás Sajó*

II. TERM JANUARY 16 - MARCH 31

M. A. THESIS SEMINAR (2 credits, mandatory)–thesis chapter discussions in two groups
Gábor Klaniczay, Gerhard Jaritz, István Perczel, János M. Bak, József Laszlovszky, Marianne Sághy

EXCURSION SEMINAR (1 credit, mandatory)
József Laszlovszky, Hana Hlaváčková, Vladimir Vavřinek, Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, Ferdinand Seibt, Urszula Borkowska

SEMINARS (2 credits each)
- Law and Custom in the Middle Ages–*János M. Bak*
- Jagiellonian Central Europe–*Urszula Borkowska* with *János M. Bak*
- Courtly Culture and Literature–*Ferenc Zemplényi*
- Greek and Latin Components in Medieval Platonism–*György Geréby* with *István Perczel*
- Images as Historical Sources–*Gerhard Jaritz*
- Urban Development in Dalmatia and South-East Central Europe–*Neven Budak*

READING COURSES OF TWO AND THREE MODULES (2 credits each)
- Byzantine East and Latin West
  Byzantine and Slavic History–*Vladimir Vavřinek*
  Byzantine Historiography–*Peter Schreiner*
- The Image of the Other
  Perceiving Foreigners in Late Medieval Cities–*Felicitas Schmieder*
  Strangers and Otherness in Medieval Cities–*Gerhard Jaritz*
  Jews in Central Europe–*Michael Toch*

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit each)
Mandatory, one of:
- Iconography and Genre in Late Medieval Central European Art–*Hana Hlaváčková, Ernő Marosi* and *Béla Zsolt Szakács*
- Medieval Archaeology–*József Laszlovszky*
- Introduction to Byzantine Studies–*Vladimir Vavřinek*
- Bibliography, Major Source Collections–*János M. Bak*

Electives:
- Methods in Ecclesiastical History–*Urszula Borkowska*
- Approaches to the History of the Body–*Gábor Klaniczay* and *Caroline Bynum*
- Medieval Urban History–*Felicitas Schmieder* and *Neven Budak*
- Late Medieval Political Theory–*Marianne Sághy*
- Computer Databases for Historians II.–*Gerhard Jaritz*

III. TERM MAY 15–JUNE 30

THESIS WRITING WORKSHOP
Gábor Klaniczay, István Perczel, János M. Bak, József Laszlovszky, Marianne Sághy

SEMINARS AND READING COURSES (2 credits each)
- The Papacy and Central Europe–*James Ross Sweeney*
- Byzantine-Slavic Relations on Medieval Balkans–*Sima Ćirković*

- Byzantine Hagiography–*Evelyne Patlagean* and *Ihor Ševčenko*
- The Crusade Experience in Literary Terms–*Maria Dobozy*
- Medieval Women–*Marcelle Thiébaux*
- Genealogy as Social History–*Szabolcs de Vajay*
- Crisis and Prosperity in the Economy of the 14th Century–*Balázs Nagy, Neithard Bulst,* and *Herman van der Wee*
- Medieval Legal Practice in Dispute Settlements–*Janet L. Nelson* with *Susan Reynolds*
- Pseudo Dionysius the Areopagite–*István Perczel* with *György Geréby*

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit, elective)

- Signs and Symbols in History–*János M. Bak*
- Papal Diplomatics–*James Ross Sweeney*
- Computer Databases for Historians III.–*Gerhard Jaritz*
- Literature as Performance–*Mária Dobozy*
- Historical Anthropology–*Gábor Klaniczay*
- Dreaming in the Middle Ages–*Marianne Sághy*
- Dusan's Code–*Sima Čirkovič*

PROGRAM OF THE DEPARTMENTAL EXCURSIONS

FALL EXCURSION SEPTEMBER 2-4, 1994

September 2, Friday

8.00 - Departure from Budapest

10.00 - 13.00 *Esztergom*
Visit to the former medieval capital, castle, palace, and the Museum of Christian Art, the Castle Museum, and the Cathedral

13.00 - 14.30 Lunch in Esztergom

16.00 - 18.30 *Pannonhalma*
Visit the Benedictine abbey, abbey church, monastery, and the archive

19.00 Arrival at *Győr*, overnight in the Hotel Senator

September 3, Saturday

8.30 Departure from Győr

10.00 - 18.00 *Sopron*
Visit to the former medieval county center and royal town, the Franciscan friary, the Roman and medieval excavations, medieval parish church, and the tower of the city

19.00 Arrival at *Sitke*, overnight in the Castle Hotel

September 4, Sunday

8.30 Departure from Sitke

9.00 *Csempeszkopács*, Medieval parish church

10.00 - 16.00 Medieval monuments of the Balaton region–medieval castle of *Sümeg* and *Nagyvázsony*, Benedictine abbey of *Tihany*

18.00 Arrival in *Budapest*

SPRING EXCURSION MAY 6-14, 1995

May 6, Saturday
Departure from *Budapest* Erzsébet Square, Bus Station
Travel through Bratislava to Brno
Brno–Cathedral and gothic church, old city and Great Moravian Museum
Telč–Castle and walk in the City
Night: Hotel Gustav Mahler, *Jihlava*

May 7, Sunday
Jihlava–Franciscan church
Kutná Hora–St. Barbara Cathedral, Italian Court, and the old city
Sazava–Benedictine Monastery (Lecture by Vladimir Vavřinek)
Český Šternberk–Castle
Night: CEU Prague

May 8, Monday
Prague–Castle Area, St. Vit Cathedral, National Gallery (Lecture by Hana Hlaváčková), Mala Strana, Charles Bridge
Night: CEU Prague

May 9, Tuesday
Prague–Výsehrad, Jewish Quarter, Staré Mesto, St. Agnes Monastery
Night: CEU Prague

May 10, Wednesday
Departure from Prague to Karlstejn
Karlstejn–Castle
Plzen–Exhibitions on Gothic Art in Western Bohemia
Night: Hotel Bílá Rúže, *Písek*

May 11, Thursday
Departure from *Písek*
Strakonice–Castle
Zláta Koruna–Cistercian Monastery and Church
Český Krumlov–Old city and the castle
Night: Hotel Krumlov in *Český Krumlov*

May 12, Friday
Departure from *Český Krumlov*
Ružmberk–Castle
Zwettl–Cistercian Monastery
Krems–Visit to the Institut für Realienkunde and Stein
Night: Kolpinghaus, *Krems*

May 13, Saturday
Departure from *Krems*
Kreutzenstein–Castle
Vienna–Walk in the city
Night: *Lindabrunn* Erholungszentrum

May 14, Sunday
Departure from *Lindabrunn*
Heiligenkreuz–Monastery
Arrival in *Budapest*

THE PH. D. PROGRAM

In May 1995 the Central European University, Budapest, applied for the accreditation of its program of courses leading to the Ph. D. degree in Medieval Studies and requested the amendment of the charter of CEU in the sense that the university received the right to grant the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (Ph. D.) to its graduate students after the completion of the course work and the submission of a dissertation. The application was approved by the New York Board of Regents on 20 February, 1996, the charter amended, and the Ph. D. in Medieval Studies accredited. The proposed system of curriculum, recruitment, supervision, and degree requirements—as submitted in 1995—will probably be refined in minor points during the first few years of the program, but in essence will remain the following:

The program is presently planned for four years. The first year is identical with the M. A. in Medieval Studies and ends with the defense of the thesis and granting of the first graduate degree

YEAR I – THE M. A. PROGRAM

The M. A. Program is a combination of formal course-work (classroom hours, 32 credits) and supervised individual research leading to a thesis (8 credits). Because of the number of courses to be attended (some prescribed, some elective) this type of degree is often referred to as a version of the "taught M. A." in contrast to those which are based primarily on a thesis and its oral defense. The type of M. A. is becoming widespread among universities in the Anglo-American world and usually implies a relatively short thesis: some 40-50 pages long. CEU theses of this size should be sufficient proof of the student's ability, the more so as they have to be written in a language which is not the author's native tongue. In 1996-97 we are introducing—for a trial period—a program of "M. A. without a thesis." In this alternative students will have to write a research paper for a seminar in both semesters and an additional final paper (in consultation with their supervisor) which will be discussed in a "colloquium"-type oral examination. The total amount of written assignment is not much less than a thesis, but the topics can cover a more

varied field and the timing may allow for a different economy of efforts. If this experiment proves successful, the two types of M. A. programs (with and without thesis) might become formally established.

The courses are described in the calendar published in Spring. "Credit" means the number of "points" earned for completing a course and serves mainly to calculate the amount of course-work a student can take and is expected to complete. One credit is equivalent to one hour (50 minutes) per week through a 12-week semester. Thus the "Fourty credits" requirement in the M. A. program means the following:

(1) THE CORE CURRICULUM (EXPECTED TO BE TAKEN BY EVERYONE):
- Research Methods Courses, 2 semesters, 10 credits total;
- Academic Writing Course, 1 semester, 1 credit;
- Translation Seminar, 1 semester, 1 credit;
- Field Trip, 2 credits;
- M. A. Seminar, Thesis Writing Workshop and Thesis, 8 credits:

— adding up to 22 credits.

(2) THE REMAINING 18 CREDITS ARE TO BE EARNED IN ELECTIVE COURSES:
- students can freely choose from Seminars (usually 2 credits each, but 3 if one writes a research paper of 10-15 pp.);
- participate in at least three Reading Courses of the Spring Session (1 credit each)
- additional "methods" courses (usually 2 credits each);
- and advanced language courses (at most 4 credits per year).
- There is also a possibility to take courses in other departments of CEU Budapest (early modern and modern history, law, political science, and economics)—if approved by the departmental advisor.

Students have thus significant latitude to select courses within the department's offerings. Faculty (incl. the tutors/counsellors) will assist them to make a selection that is best suited for both their specific field of research and the program's aim of interdisciplinary training. A tentative program for the entire year is discussed and designed in September for everyone. Naturally, minor changes, e.g., because of new interest on the part of a student, are possible. At this point, students may opt for the alternative M. A. (without thesis). However, if they wish to change their minds, or those, who planned to write a thesis but found that the alternative would better suit them, can change from the one form to the other by the beginning of the second semester, the latest.

Research Methods Courses are aimed at offering an orientation on major tools of research. They begin with an introduction to bibliographical tools, the major source collections and the most important reference (handbook) literature for different fields of medieval studies. In addition, students are expected to select methods' courses from a number of offerings, such as Palaeography, Archaeology, Historical Anthropology, Iconography, Prosopography, Computer Assisted Analysis as well as on various approaches to and aspects of medieval studies, e.g., Literature, Philosophy, Art and Architecture, etc..

The *Academic Writing Course* is aimed at helping students to acquire the necessary skills for presenting their research to the international scholarly community, beginning with the M. A. Thesis.

In the *Translation Seminar* problems of medieval texts (written in Latin or Greek or in a medieval vernacular) are discussed in small groups, line by line, with special emphasis on establishing a common vocabulary in English regarding technical terms.

The *Field Trip* credits imply the preparation for the May field trip to important archaeological and cultural monuments of the region (usually 6-7 days) and include the presentation of a background paper on one of these sites or related problems as well as the participation in compiling a field trip guide (ground plans, literature, major dates etc.). Every student is also assigned some scholarly task during the excursion.

The *M. A. Seminar* is conceived of as the central activity of the whole year. It opens with lectures on approaches to research (October), and continues with discussions of the outlines of the planned theses (November-December). During the second semester the sessions are devoted to the presentation and discussion of draft chapters of theses-in-progress (preferably the ones on "source" and research strategies). The seminar transforms into small Thesis Writing Workshops (in May).

Seminars (which have 6-12 sessions on a single topic) are usually introduced by a few weeks of informative lecture or orientation by the instructor, followed by sessions in which students present their research results for discussion. It is important that as many students as possible participate in these discussionins. Presentations should be based on a specific written or iconic (image) source. A brief summary or bibliography must be submitted for credit, but those who choose to write a substantial paper, can obtain extra credit (see above).

Reading courses consist of a concentrated series of lectures on research problems, recent scholarly literature and controversies of a special field, combined with a discussion thereof. These course are usually offered during the Spring Session.

Language requirement in regards to English, good reading, writing, and understanding of spoken language is a basic prerequisite. The prescribed TOEFL score of 550 constitutes the minimum, and experience shows that those whose English is not better than that have a difficult time in accomplishing the program's targets.) In September, a three-week immersion course is given, ending with an examination. Those falling below the expected level are obliged to take additional English and pass an examination in early December.

It is expected that all students have a working knowledge (i.e., ability to read texts) of at least one medieval language (preferably Latin, but in specific cases Greek or Old Slavic will also be accepted) and read as well as have some oral (speaking, listening) fluency in one modern language besides their own and English (preferably German or French, or, under certain circumstances, one of the region, such as Hungarian). For those who need it, basic courses (without credit) will be offered.

The M. A. Thesis has the purpose to demonstrate that the student is able to handle both primary source material and scholarly literature critically, independently, and in the context of up-to-date international scholarship. The thesis should be built upon a specific set of sources (manuscript or printed sources, archaeological material, images, etc.), and must contain a brief review of the relevant scholarship, analysis of the source, and a supported conclusion. The latter may also contain unresolved problems and suggestions of further research. The format (proper annotation, notes, bibliography, etc.) is also of great importance, as such conventions are vital for everyone who wishes to enter the international professional scene.

In addition to research conducted during the semesters, students will have a few weeks Research Break before the Spring Session. This time is to be used for completing the study of sources and literature. There will be research fellowships available for travel and supplies – on a competitive basis.

Following the research break, a Spring Session (three weeks) is held during which reading courses - many of which are offered by distinguished guests - can be attended for widening one's outlook on special problems in Medieval Studies. There is also possibility to complete eventual leftover Research Methods requirements and prepare for language examinations during this session. The Field Trip takes place usually immediately after this Spring Session. The last three weeks of the academic year are set aside solely for writing. During this time the entire faculty will assist the students in the completion of their theses. These three weeks are sufficient for the task only if the necessary research has been completed long before and a good final draft is ready. The refining and polishing of the text can be accomplished in the Thesis Writing Workshop's small tutorial groups.

The theses (to be submitted by 15 June) are sent out to an external reader and – if accepted by that scholar and a departmental committee – will be defended orally during the last week of June. The defense is public, chaired by a scholar from outside CEU. After the submission of the theses, during the weeks while they are read and adjudicated, students will participate in an Interdisciplinary Workshop, held on a central theme with the participation of scholars from all around the world. In June 1996 the Workshop will be on "The Year 1000 A.D.", in 1997 on "Urban Culture in East Central Europe." These week-long events allow students to get in close contact with well-known scholars and also to present, if they wish, their own research results for discussion.

Admission to the Ph. D. Program

Students of the M. A. course at CEU can apply for acceptance to the Ph. D. program by the begining of the Spring Session by submitting a detailed research proposal for their doctoral work, a brief CV and a recommendation from their supervisor for the M. A. thesis. The department submits the applications to the Admission Committee consisting of members of the faculty and the Advisory Board which decides about provisional admission will be passed after the student's obtaining the M. A. degree.

Students from other universities are welcome to the Ph. D. program, but – because of the special orientation and format of the program – will have, normally, to attend a year at CEU before being accepted finally for the Ph. D. program. (Their advance placement may result, of course, in a shorter than two years' research and thesis-writing period and may also secure them a place as teaching or research assistants.)

Year II and III – Curriculum of the Ph. D.

During the second and third year Ph. D. candidates attend some research seminars and related courses—at CEU or elsewhere—while the last (fourth) year is reserved for writing up the dissertation. Some Ph. D. students in their fourth year may be offered positions a s teaching assistants for the first-year students and may—if necessary—be granted an extension of 3-6 months on the completion of their dissertation.

During their second or third year, Ph. D. candidates will be encouraged and assisted in spending one or two semesters abroad at an university or research institute suitable to their topic. CEU's exchange arrangements and scholarships can cover the cost of travel and subsis-

tence for these periods, to be decided in consultation between students and supervisor in the beginning of the second year.

As a rule, Ph. D. students are to earn 16 credits during their second year. The Ph. D. Seminar (with discussions on dissertation projects and topics of general interest) is held during both semesters (2 credits each, 4 per annum). The rest of the credits can be earned by attending seminars, research methods courses, advances language classes (max. 3) or individual reading courses (usually 2 credit each), designed in consultation between student and supervisor. Those who, for whatever reason, spend part or whole of their second year abroad will have to discuss the value of their "credits" earned there for the program at CEU.

Field Examination

At the end of the second year, Ph. D. candidates have to pass a comprehensive field examination. The purpose of this examination is to ensure that every Ph. D. student has a professional expertise in Medieval Studies in general, with the appropriate linguistic and methodical skills. Having passed the field examination, the candidate can concentrate on the dissertation and its specific field of study. The field examination consists of two parts and language exams. Part I of the examination is an essay test on a general theme of medieval studies (approaches, philosophy of medieval studies, major methodical debates), Part II is an oral examination on three fields of medieval scholarship, at least on of which has to be "far away' from the candidate's dissertation topic and the other two only related or tangential to it. The essay for Part I is an in-class exercise of ca. 2 hrs. For Part II students submit a reading list at least half a year before the examination, containing those titles which they have studied or intend to read during their preparation. These lists will be discussed with and approved by their supervisors and count as the basis for the oral "colloquium" of ca. 60-70 minutes usually held in the presence of two or three faculty members.

The language requirements are appropriately higher than for the acceptance in the M. A. program: the Toronto Latin Test has to be taken on the Ph. D. level (same preparation and arrangement as above), and the modern language exam will also include a test of the ability to understand a lecture or professional discussion in the chosen language. All parts of the examination can be repeated once, the language tests indefinitely. No permission to start writing the dissertation (and grant of third and forty year scholarship) will be given before completing these examinations.

DISSERTATION

The Ph. D. dissertation (to be written during the third and fourth year) has to conform with the generally accepted standards of scholarship in the field. In brief, it has to be based on primary evidence, constitute a contribution of new knowledge to the field of inquiry and has to reflect the author's critical familiarity with the most recent research in the subject. While no exact volume can be prescribed, dissertations will usually run into 150-250 typewritten pages, and should not exceed 400 pp. including appendices (tables, inventories, illustrations etc.).

Adjudication and public defense of the dissertation will also follow international standards. At least one external expert, a scholar not involved in any stage of the research, will be asked to assess the work. Members of the supervisory committee or other scholars will be asked to supply a second commentary. Based on these, the dissertation will be discussed in a public meeting, chaired by a neutral person, giving the candidate a chance to reflect on the experts' criticism and present the important findings of the research completed. Dissertation defenses usually last for an hour and are followed by a deliberation of the examiners. The committee has three choices: it may propose to the Senate to grant the Ph. D. degree, or that the degree be granted after major revision (with or without a second public defense) or refuse to accept the dissertation.

SCHOLARSHIP, DIPLOMA

As far as scholarships are concerned, presently only the four years of study are covered. For this period the arrangements of the "student welfare package" are identical with that of M. A. candidates, with the exception that doctoral candidates have a free choice of living in the Kerepesi residence or requesting cash subsidy for their rented accommodation (presently USD 150.00 per month). Regardless of the financial support, a person who had passed the field examination successfully, has the right to submit a dissertation for adjudication at a later date as well. As a rule, late dissertations will be accepted within five years following the field exam.

For the time being, the final diploma for CEU graduates is issued by the "Regents of the University of the State of New York," a degree-granting authority in the United States, where CEU is chartered. Within a few years, CEU will receive the right to issue its own diplomas. The Ph. D. in Medieval Studies was accredited by the Board of Regents on 20 February, 1996. The first Ph. D. degrees will probably be granted in 1997 (to students who continued their studies after the first year of the M. A. program in 1993/94).

COMPARISON

The Board's questionnaire for institutions abroad included a question on comparison to U. S. programs and degrees. We wrote the following:

Our M. A. program is comparable to other one-year Master's programs, typically offered in the U. K. more widely than in the United States. We had planned and designed the curriculum in consultation with sister institutions in Britain, above all Leeds, Leicester, and King's College, London. The course load and the research expectations as well as quality of the theses are also similar to those expected in M. A. programs at American universities.

Students applying at CEU for graduate studies towards the M. A. in Medieval Studies must have completed four years of university training. In eastern and central Europe after 8 semesters (4 years) of study, most universities grant students a degree that is either formally called a "magister" (e. g., in Poland and the Czech Republic) or is otherwise increasingly regarded as equivalent to an M. A. This is understandable, considering, on the one hand, that in all of these countries secondary school graduates must acquire the basic skills and knowledge in the humanities before passing the old style European *baccalaureate (matura)* in academic high schools *(gymnasium, lycée)*, and because universities usually have strict admission criteria for first year undergraduates, on the other. Thus, both in formal terms and in terms of educational experience, our entering students are in some respects better trained professionally than a student with an average North American B. A.. (One might compare their initial standing to "B. A. Hons."-type degrees.) However, their training is usually much narrower than our program necessitates. Experience indicates that they are well prepared in their specific field (e.g., history, history of art, or linguistics), but have had little exposure to problems outside their specialization. Moreover, their training tends to be rather conservative, with all the advantages and disadvantages thereof. They have acquired a solid mastery of the historical data and basic skills, in which they are usually superior to comparable "western" students, but lack experience in asking new, "unorthodox" questions or considering innovative approaches, which is, of course, the point of departure for any original research. Therefore, it is by no means superfluous for them to attend a one-year M. A. course, even if in a certain sense they are overqualified for it.

The doctoral program is based on the usual requirements of a Ph. D. course in a North American university. Several members of our Academic Board and resident faculty have many years of experience in supervising Ph. D. candidates in the U.S., Canada, or Western Europe,

and intend to enforce standards completely compatible with degrees in other countries. While at the Master's level, we cannot help being somewhat flexible in regard to written English formulation (although we are tightening our standards every year), we do not intend to be flexible on the doctoral level. Only dissertations presented in a form equal to any other English-language (or, in exceptional cases, German-written) dissertation, both in contents and style, will be accepted.

The programs' central purposes are to assure interdisciplinarity within medieval studies, to spread recent methods of research and analysis, and to acquaint participants with current concerns of the wider discipline in an international context. A major purpose of both M. A. and Ph. D. programs is to foster research and discussion of medieval studies in this region, free of parochial and national prejudices. In the doctoral program we intend to place particular stress on the specialities of the region and, above all, on the issues of eastern and western (Latin and Orthodox) cultural and political interaction, which is going to be, in the long run, the main area of research and instruction in the program.

SUMMARY

In the closing remarks of our Ph. D. application handed in for the "Regents of the State of New York," we summarized the place of the planned program as follows:

There is no, even remotely similar program anywhere "east of the Elbe." While there are doctoral (either still of the Soviet-type "aspirantura" or newly transformed and westernised Ph. D.) programs at several universities in the region, all of them are strictly limited to one discipline (history, literature, art) and usually to one national region or state. Moreover, as mentioned above, most of them tend to be very traditional, fact-oriented, and uninformed by more recent trends of research and debate. There is no modern, interdisciplinary, and extra-regional program anywhere that would concentrate on that sizeable part of (medieval) Europe which lay between the two empires, the Holy Roman and the Byzantine (later Russian). CEU has a unique opportunity to offer such a program as it is free of any national (governmental) interference and has extensive contacts in all countries of the region as well as in Western Europe and North America. The Budapest site is quite advantageous as Hungary is located near the center of the region, and the universities, research institutes, and libraries of the city concentrate an impressive human and material resource for the intended course of study and research. Additionally, thanks to opportunities for Hungarian scholars to study abroad ever since

the late 1970s (much of which was supported by the same sponsor, the New York businessman and philanthropist, George Soros, who had founded CEU and secures its financial backing), there are many experts here who can participate in the work of an English-language institution.

Considering the unique position of the program as a bridge between eastern European and western European/American scholarship, the Ph. D. course would become a focal point for innovative, interdisciplinary research in the region. Graduates of the program, visitors and outside experts will, so we hope, develop into a network fostering modernisation of this field of studies. There is much to catch up with because the scholarly pursuit of pre-modern history and culture (especially in its intellectual and ecclesiastical aspects) was seriously and neglected in the past 40 years of Communist rule. Scholarship in medieval studies had achieved a very high level before WW II in the countries of eastern and central Europe. However, scholars were then already quite burdened by national prejudice and limited in their scope by one-sided, fact- and text-oriented approaches. Thus, more than just the post-war disadvantages have to be corrected if the scholarship of the region wishes to join the international community.

This proposed Ph. D. program will in the coming decades fulfil the task of bridging the gap between medievalists in eastern Europe and in the "West" in several ways. It will prepare young scholars from the region to join the international community of medievalists (a) in terms of current methods and approaches, (b) by introducing them to appropriate scholarly contacts and forms of exchange, and (c) by training them to communicate orally and in writing in the ever more general lingua franca of our days, English. We believe that this kind of "midwife" function for the birth of a scholarly community in our part of the world will be necessary for quite a few years to come.

Once this task becomes less central—when, namely, other universities in eastern and central Europe will themselves be able to prepare their graduates in the same way—our program will shift its emphasis to the problems of medieval interaction between East and West, a special field that we are just presently developing. Our resources and location are excellently suitable for that prospect.

Finally, another unique function of this program, now and in the future, will be to enable students from other parts of the world to study the region's medieval civilisation in situ and to establish collegial and professional contacts with their peers from eastern and central Europe in an English-speaking environment. The ability to earn the Ph. D. degree at CEU in Medieval Studies will considerably enhance our chances for recruiting talented students from beyond the region.

CLASS OF 1994/95

The following list provides information on our graduate students in the following order: name, country, undergraduate university, title of M.A. thesis, TD=thesis director, EE=external examiner, thesis result.

APHONASIN, EVGENY (Russia)
Novosibirsk State University, 1987-1991
The Ninth Letter of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in Church Slavonic Translation: A Study on Symbolic Theology
TD: István Perczel, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Herman Goltz, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg
accepted

BÁLINT, ANNAMÁRIA (Romania)
Babes-Bolyai University-Cluj, 1987-1992
The Visions of Georgius of Hungary and Laurentius de Tar
TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Ferenc Zemplényi, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest and Vladimir Kajlik, Marianské Lázne, Czech Republic
accepted

BÁRÁNY, ATTILA (Hungary)
Kossuth Lajos University, Debrecen, 1990-1995
The Rozgonyi Family: Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Hungary 1387-1437.
TD: János Bak, CEU and Pál Engel, Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
EE: Patrick Geary, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA
accepted

BENYOVSKY, IRENA (Croatia)
University of Zagreb, 1989-1993
Public Space in Trogir in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies and Neven Budak, University of Zagreb
EE: Ludwig Steindorff, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
accepted

BOUSQUET, PÉROLINE (France)
Université Lyon II, 1988-1994
Papal Provisions in Hungary, 1305-1370
TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU and Pál Engel, Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
EE: Werner Maleczek, Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz
accepted with distinction

BRZEZINSKA, ANNA (Poland)
Catholic University, Lublin, 1990-1994
Accusations of Love Witchcraft in Central European Royal Courts
TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: György Endre Szőnyi, József Attila University, Szeged
accepted

CALLEWAERT, AUGUSTIJN (Belgium)
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1988-1992
Artistic Consciousness in the Poetry of Early Troubadours
TD: Ferenc Zemplényi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
EE: Edina Bozóky, Université du Littoral, Boulogne-sur-Mer
accepted with distinction

CSEH, GÁBOR (Hungary)
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1989-1994
Change and Continuity in the Dark Ages: Britannia and Pannonia Compared
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Walter Pohl, Institut für Österreichsche Geschichtsforschung Universität Wien
accepted

DŽIDROVA, LJUBINKA (Macedonia)
Sv. Kiril i Metodij University, Skopje, 1982-1986
Late Antique Towns in the Territory of the Republic of Macedonia during the Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Miklós Takács, Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Sima Čirkovič, University of Belgrade
accepted

FAZAKAS, EMESE (Romania)
Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, 1990-1994
Reconstruction of the Concept of Time in the Linguistic World-model Based on Hungarian Documents of the Late Middle Ages
TD: László I. Komlósi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
EE: Csaba Pléh, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
accepted

FELSKAU, CHRISTIAN-FREDERIK (Germany)
Freie Universität, Berlin, 1989-1993
Die Franziskaner in Prag. Apokalyptische Erwartung, Armutsauffassung und Kirchenkritik im ersten und letzten Drittel des 14. Jahrhundert
TD: Gábor Klaniczay, CEU and František Šmahel, Instutite of History, Česká Akademie Ved
EE: György Székely, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
accepted

GIGINEISHVILI, LEVAN (Georgia)
Tbilisi State University, 1990-1994
The Harmonisation of Neoplatonism and Christianity in the Gelati Monastic School of Twelfth-century Georgia
TD: István Perczel, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Ben Schomakers, Amsterdam
accepted with distinction

GOGILTAN, ANCA-MONICA (Romania)
Babes-Bolyai University-Cluj, 1985-1989
The Sacristy Portal of Saint Michael's Church in Cluj
TD: Ernő Marosi, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies; Gyöngyi Török, Institute of Art History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
EE: János Eisner, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
accepted

GRAŽYITÉ, SKYRMANTÉ (Lithuania)
Vilnius University, 1990-1994
Law and Custom in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Paul Knoll, University of Southern California
accepted

IVANOVSKA, RASMA (Latvia)
Latvia University, Riga, 1990-1994
Comparisons Between the Apple Tree and Woman in Latvian *Dainas*
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Linda Degh, Folklore Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington
accepted

JÉKELY, ZSOMBOR (Hungary)
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1989-1994
Examinations of the Iconography of Fourteenth-century Church Interiors in the Territories of the Szeklers
TD: Ernő Marosi, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Terézia Kerny, Institute of Art History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
accepted

JURKOVIĆ, IVAN (Croatia)
University of Zagreb, 1982-1987
The Fate of Refugees in Medieval Croatia during the Ottoman Invasion
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: James Ross Sweeney, Penn State University and Neithard Bulst, Universität Bielefeld
accepted

KALLING, KEN (Estonia)
Tartu University, 1988-1993
Post-crusade Urban Population in Tartu, Estonia
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU and Kinga Éry, Institute of Archeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
EE: Neithard Bulst, Universität Bielefeld
accepted

KARSLIAN, NARINE (Armenia)
Yerevan State University, 1985-1989
Judas Iscariot's Image in Late Medieval Austrian and Bohemian Art
TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
thesis not yet submitted

KOSTOVA, ROSSINA (Bulgaria)
University of Veliko Tarnovo, 1987-1991
The Silent Communication: Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna, Bulgaria
TD: Gerhard Jaritz, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Herta Mandl-Neumann, Anisa Society, Austria and Aksinija Džurova, Research Center for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, Sofia
accepted with distinction

MIKOLAJCZYK, RENATA (Poland)
József Attila University, Szeged, 1989-1994
Universal Grammar and Related Concepts in Thirteenth-century Modistic Theory
TD: György Geréby, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Zenon Kaluza, CNRS, Paris
accepted with distinction

MISHIN, DMITRIJ (Russia)
Moscow State University, 1988-1993
The Slavs in Islamic Geographical Literature (8-10th centuries)
TD: Sándor Fodor, Dept. of Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
EE: István Nyitrai, Dept. of Iranian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
accepted with distinction

MITALAITÉ, KRISTINA (Lithuania)
Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, 1988-1993
The Theology of Light in the Writings of Abbot Suger
TD: György Geréby and Etele Kiss, Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest
EE: Marteen Hoenen, Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen
accepted

NACHKEBIA, MAIA (Georgia)
Tbilisi State University, 1984-89; Komensky Universitet, Bratislava, 1989-93
Images of Women in Georgian Hagiography
TD: Marianne Sághy, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
thesis not yet submitted

NIKOLOV, STEPHAN (Bulgaria)
University of Sofia, 1987-1992
Arguments and Communicators in the Papal Policy towards Bulgaria and Croatia
TD: István Perczel, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies and Jame Ross Sweeney, Penn State University
EE: Andreas Schwarz, Institut für Geschichtsforschung, Wien
accepted with distinction

OKOLIS, STANE (Slovenia)
University of Ljubljana, 1985-1990
The Church State of Berthold of Meran in Aquileia
TD: János Bak, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
thesis not yet submitted

PACZOS, JOANNA (Poland)
Catholic University, Lublin, 1987-1992
The Image of the Cross in Late Medieval Central European Art
TD: Ernő Marosi, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
thesis not yet submitted

PROZOROV, VADIM (Russia)
Moscow State University, 1988-1993
The Councils of Split in 925 and 928: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach
TD: Neven Budak, University of Zagreb and James Ross Sweeney, Penn State University
EE: Ludwig Steindorff, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
accepted

RANDLA, ANNELI (Estonia)
Tartu University, 1988-1993
The Architecture of the Dominicans in Livonia
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: Lawrence Butler, University of York
accepted

ZATYKÓ, CSILLA (Hungary)
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1988-1993
A Morphological Study of Hungarian Villages: Two Case Studies
TD: József Laszlovszky, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies
EE: John Blair, Queen's College, Oxford
accepted

ABSTRACTS OF THE M. A. THESES

THE NINTH LETTER OF PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE IN CHURCH SLAVONIC TRANSLATION: A STUDY ON SYMBOLIC THEOLOGY

Evgeny Aphonasin (Russia)

Completed in the age of the full bloom of Byzantine theology, the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was predestined for rebirth wherever theological thought began its evolution in Christian society. It was the writing of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite that attracted the attention of the brilliant thinker of the ninth century, John Scot Eriugena. Five centuries later, the Slavonic theologian, *Starets* Isaiah, undertook the translation of the *Corpus* from Greek into Church Slavonic. Slavic culture at the time of Isaiah was undergoing quick development and finally took Christian shape by incorporating the traditional values of Christendom. Both the monk Isaiah and his creation took a part in this process. This new Church Slavonic version of the Corpus makes it possible to look at the writings of the unknown Christian author from a different point of view and is worth investigating not only as such but also for the sake of a better understanding of the text of Dionysius since it contains things which depend not upon particular linguistic expression.

My thesis is dedicated to one of the possible points of view, namely, the theory of symbolism and its place in the philosophy of Pseudo-Dionysius, analysed on the basis of the Church Slavonic version. The lost or fictitious treatise, the *Symbolic Theology,* which was supposed to have examined the application of perceptible images to divine things and to have interpreted the anthropomorphism of certain biblical passages, would have been the most voluminous among the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. However, it seems possible to assume that such a text never existed since we possess neither a fragment of it nor a single allusion to it in the textual tradition. Therefore, the *Ninth Letter* of Dionysius, being a short summary of this proposed treatise, attracts the attention of those who search for a better understanding of the theory of symbolism. Besides this *Letter,* certain chapters of the *Celestial Hierarchy* are also of value for any study on the place of symbols within the theological and philosophical synthesis made by the unknown thinker.

The theory of symbolism developed in the *Corpus Dionysiacum* can be read as follows: the light of ineffable knowledge reveals itself in illuminated images and symbols which are the last link of the chain connecting the heavenly and earthly hierarchies. The human soul contemplates the true light of knowledge only through perceptible images which have grown around it, and it must strip these images off in order to see this light itself. Only after this, the human soul may ascend from sacred symbols to the simple and transcendent divinity. As the connecting link, symbols, at the same time, reveal and conceal. On the one hand, they reveal similarities in things, and on the other hand, they are quite different from them. So this latter manifestation of dissimilarities is preferably

applied to the invisible. The dissimilarities and even absurdity of things both in Scripture and in the world are the best gifts of God because they impress the soul, wake it up, and help it to turn away from the everyday materialism of the world toward the superb light. My thesis gives an analysis of this psychological nature of symbols.

The paper begins with a brief introduction to the problem and deals with several general points: the structure of the *Corpus Dionysiacum;* the problem of its origin and its destiny in Latin and Greek philosophy and theology; the manuscript tradition of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, the Greek text and its medieval translations.

The first part of the work deals with the Church Slavonic translation of the *Corpus* by the Serbian monk Isaiah in the fourteenth century and the history of the Church Slavonic translations of the *Corpus*, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The second part is dedicated to the interpretation and partial translation of the *Ninth Letter.* A passage from the *Ninth Letter* (1108A—1108B) concerning the human soul is considered in the first chapter of this second part. The second chapter is devoted to the theory of "dissimilar images," based on another passage from the *Ninth Letter* (1104C—1105A) and from the second chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy.* The third chapter deals with the language of Dionysius and its adaptation into Church Slavonic in Isaiah's translation. Passages from the *Corpus* which are translated and commented upon here are connected with the theory of "mystical tradition", which can be expressed only in a symbolic manner. Last of all, a further passage from *Ninth Letter* (1105CD) is taken into consideration.

Finally, the third part is a *Greek-Church Slavonic Index* to the entire *Ninth Letter* where all the words and their Church Slavonic translation can be found.

The conclusion discusses the possible ways for further developing the problems touched upon in the present research.

The Visions of Gregorius of Hungary and Laurentius de Tar

Annamária Bálint (Romania)

This paper examines two late medieval texts: the *Visiones Georgii,* and the *Memorabilia* about the pilgrimage of Laurentius de Tar. Both belong to the genre of literary visions, as opposed to the mystic vision, and are linked to the pilgrimage site of Saint Patrick's Purgatory. The two texts describe pilgrims as entering another world and experiencing visions of heaven and hell in their bodily form, while similar accounts of visions in former literature are about out-of-body experiences. The two visions are described in relation to the individual pilgrims, one of whom can be identified historically (Laurentius de Tar). Neither of them is a member of the clergy.

The *Vision of Gregorius* compiles written sources, and also in the *Memorabilia* it is stated clearly that the author knew former visions which occurred at Saint Patrick's Purgatory. We can conclude, therefore, that the visions all follow certain thematic patterns; however, there are some elements specific to the individual pilgrims which reveal originality. Comparing these texts with former otherworldly visions, it turns out that their individual motifs do not coincide precisely nor can direct quotations be found, although a considerable textual influence can be supposed, and a significant stability of the structure of the texts can be observed. This analysis shows that similar motifs of the

visions are submitted to historical changes, and the moral system and events projected in the afterlife change in connection with contemporary historical processes.

The *Vision of Gregorius*, following contemporary scholastic debates about the nature of penance in the other world, is a composite text, systematically interpreting everything seen in purgatory in reference to theological authorities. The text includes several treatises: notably, the first known version of the vision of Lazarus of which the original text is no longer extant; a treatise about heaven by Matthias Molendinator; and a treatise about the levels of corporeality by Iohannes de Lana. *The Visiones Georgii* divides the space of penance according to moral principles, which coincides in time with the rise of moral literature.

In conformity with the concept of purgatory developed in theology as well as in artistic and literary representations, the texts break with the traditional ascensive cosmogony and introduce a hierarchical otherworld where changes in time are nevertheless possible in an eternal frame.

As real vehicles for conceptualising life after death, according to the social and spiritual changes in that historical period, the *Visiones Georgii* and the *Memorabilia* of Laurentius de Tar are documents of the era of lay reform. They reflect the emerging self-awareness of the nobility, and they open the new dimension of autobiographical salvation.

The Rozgonyi Family: Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Hungary, 1387-1437

Attila Bárány (Hungary)

The subject of my thesis is the change in the relationship between royal power and aristocracy in the first half of the fifteenth century, which is revealed through the rise of one of the noble families of northeastern Hungary, the Rozgonyi. I am largely concerned with the possibilities of social mobility, especially emphasizing the role of royal patronage in the formation of baronial power. The question is how the Rozgonyi family became one of the greatest of the *barones regni.*

The present work is part of a broader project on the comparative aspects of late medieval aristocracy in Hungary and England because there were similar features in the creation of new nobilities. Most significant, however, is the attitude of the upstart nobility to the royal power, namely their loyalty which is manifested in various fields of royal service. In addition, the relationship itself is the most conspicuous element of the comparison: the attitude of the monarch to his *homines novi.* However, the outline of the similarities between England and Hungary in the making of a new aristocracy is only an initiation for approaches in comparative research.

I tried to get an insight into the chances of a family rising to prominence in the service of the monarch through the study of family-career as reflected in the relationship to the Crown. King Sigismund did not only raise *homines novi* to high positions but mostly rewarded men he preferred, including the Rozgonyi, who were connected to his person as being royal "favourites." Thus, the new elite seemed a kind of informal group of supporters, the "men around the monarch." In the case of the Rozgonyi, I am examining the phenomenon of "being in the proximity of the king."

I attempt to prove the hypothesis that it was conscious royal policy to surround himself with reliable and loyal men in order to balance his rule against the "traditional" aristocracy. The Rozgonyi clearly represented the type of royal favourites set above: they came to be the closest advisors of the king; they were "men around the monarch. The

peculiarity of their status at court was that they were charged with commissions in diverse fields such as defence, diplomacy, local governments. There was a huge administrative and governmental network concentrated in the hands of the Rozgonyi family. In 1437, they held 23 castles, 7 counties *(ispánság)*, 2 bishoprics, 3 royal cities, and 8 towns under their control. In 1437, the Rozgonyi family held the greatest number of governmental functions in their hands after the Tallóci family, who are regarded, and introduced in this work, as the only possible Hungarian counterpart of the Rozgonyi. Since they were ranked as the favourites of Sigismund, it could be easily concluded from these facts that the Rozgonyi were to become oligarchs and that they established territorial power in their estates. This was simply not true: this was a paradoxical situation in that they were rewarded with only very few estates by hereditary right.

On the basis of only their hereditary possessions, the Rozgonyi family was ranked only in the second line of magnates. Each member of the family was regarded as being among the baronage and was addressed as *magnificus*, even though he did not hold a real baronial office. Contrary to this fact, the increase of their properties did not keep pace with the rapid upward movement in their political careers and their close relationship with the king. Their aristocratic status as well as their exclusive prominence was not grounded in hereditary holdings but in the enormous number of royal properties which King Sigismund mortgaged to them and by holdings given *pro honore*. The family initially had only *pro honore* possessions, and the wave of pawns came later in King Sigismund's reign. In the anarchic years of the late 1430s and early 1440s, the Rozgonyi were nearly showered with donations by the kings, probably in order to retain their loyalty. Generally, the mortgages they had received from King Sigismund were transferred into hereditary status after 1437 by King Albert or King Wladislas I.

In the case of the Rozgonyi, authority and influence did not grow in accordance with their private possessions. It seems that King Sigismund deliberately employed these methods in royal patronage. He decided not to give the newcomers considerable hereditary estates in return for their services, as was usual in Hungary, but to find exceptional, substitutive means of reward: for instance, on the one hand, offices *pro honore, durante beneplacite regis*, holdings donated *usque vitam* or mortgages; on the other, informal, almost undetectable, channels of patronage. He did not want to "spoil" his supporters by giving too much at one time. His policy was to bind them to himself in order to "have them around" in the government and retain their service at court. It was the threat of them leaving the king that prevented the king from granting them hereditary estates.

When investigating the fifteenth century, one has to abandon the old concepts of the interdependence between power and property. Influence and wealth were not so dependent on one another as they had been in the previous centuries. The boundaries of the layer of *barones* changed. One could easily get into the circle of the greatest royal dignitaries without being formally entitled *baro* or *vir magnificus*. Royal patronage was largely dependent on the favour of the king. The ruler decided whom he wanted to patronize in order to raise that person to the level of an informal, exceptional, and temporary membership of the barones, that is to have the right to take part in the meetings of the Royal Council. There were even special offices created by the king in order to bring his favourites into the Royal Council; for example, the members of the Rozgonyi family were made *commensalis, consiliaris specialis*, and *vicarius*. In this way, the king could counter-balance the predominance of the "traditional" aristocracy in the government.

In regard to the comparative aspect of this thesis, there can also be raised analogies for this kind of exceptional royal patronage in England. The same channels of royal reward policy can be observed in England under the reign of Edward III and Richard II. Thus, the main issues of the relationships of Crown and nobility in late medieval England and Hungary are the defining factors in relation to the spheres of comparative analysis.

PUBLIC SPACE IN TROGIR IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Irena Benyovsky (Croatia)

In this work I tried to define public space in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Trogir. I attempted to illustrate its organisation, characteristics, and prescribed functions as well as to indicate its practical usage.

The Statutes of Trogir from 1322 and the subsequently added Reformations show attempts by the communal authority to organise life in the commune. Notarial documents from the thirteenth and second half of the fourteenth century present many aspects of everyday life in the town as well as the development of administration and legislation before the Statutes. I also used two seventeenth-century chronicles written by two Trogir citizens, Pavao Andreis and Ivan Lučić. Both authors used thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents in their work, some of which are not preserved today. These documents were sometimes the only information used as evidence; therefore, they were carefully evaluated in comparison with other sources. Archaeological evidence was used as well; unfortunately, excavations were not systematically carried out, and much evidence was not precisely dated or defined.

Correlation between the building process, the system of legislation, and the social and commercial environment influenced the transformation of public space. This inquiry could answer several questions: how public space was organised and regarded by the communal authorities and how it was used and perceived by the inhabitants. The control of communal space was transmitted gradually to the hands of the secular authority in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Secular needs demanded the construction of public buildings in order to conduct the official secular activities. This change influenced the characteristics of public areas, especially and specifically evident in the case of the main square. Its appearance changed significantly in the period of several decades and assumed new characteristics. The Statutes' regulations indicate the control of public space inside the town as well as of extramural public areas. The regulations regarding public buildings and the main square in the Statutes show communal attempts to keep order in other parts of the town as well as to maintain cleanliness.

Notarial documents offer information from which we can deduce relations between public and private space, especially in the streets of the residential quarters. The encroachment of private space on public streets, for example, show citizens' need for space inside the town, which resulted very often in the overlapping of the private and public world. Private buildings on public land had to be authorized by communal officials; the width of the street was prescribed as well. It seems that this compromise between the private and public spheres was handled more according to the interests of neighbors and unwritten customs than clearly defined official control. The boundary between private and public spaces was still unfixed and flexible.

Commercial and social factors determined the usage and functions of public space in the town. The marketplace on the main square, organised and controlled by the Statutes, was the commercial hub of the town. Extramural areas were important for commercial activities needing larger open areas, such as the cattlemarket and fish market. Slaughterhouses were banned outside the eastern walls and tanneries near the northern

bridge as such activities were too disturbing to be placed inside the town. The port was of great significance as a commercial and militarily important point.

Some patterns of the organisation of public space in Trogir are typical for medieval towns in general. Many factors were determined by the geographical position of the little island and its previous urban development. However, the above mentioned factors and their correlation influenced the characteristics and transformation of public space as well. Further elaboration on this topic requires the study of private space in the town as well as the study of systematic archaeological results. However, I attempted to indicate those factors which would illustrate characteristics of what was defined as public space: open areas as streets and squares and, according to their accessibility, the "public buildings."

Papal Provisions in Hungary, 1305-1370

Péroline Bousquet (France)

The present study is devoted to the distribution of papal provisions to Hungarian chapters from the pontificate of Clement V to that of Urban V (1305-1370). My work relies on a database containing the letters of provisions and requests for benefices found in the main published sources on papal administration, that is the register of requests pertaining to Hungary edited by A. Bossányi and the registers of common letters of the popes published by the École Française de Rome. Since no one has undertaken a study of the benefice policy of the Avignonese popes in Hungary before, it was necessary to answer the most basic questions concerning papal policy in Hungary, such as calculating the number of provisions and describing their distribution among the diverse chapters and types of benefices found in Hungary. The conclusion of this study shows that the papal distribution of benefices in Hungary differs from the pattern observed in Western Europe in two major aspects, namely, that provisions were far less numerous in Hungary than in France or England and that the number of curialists (Italian and French) among those taking advantage of the papal provisory right was especially limited. From the total number of provisions (around seven hundred in sixty-five years), I conclude that the impact of papal policy was not sufficient enough to bring about protest and resentment in Hungary as it did in other kingdoms, and from the scanty interest shown by curialists in Hungarian benefices, the distribution of provisions was an almost internal affair of the kingdom with few interferences from the international body of the Church.

Another striking feature in the distribution of benefices is the overwhelming place occupied by royal clerks among provisors. The royal court played the most important role in the practice of papal provisions not only because a fifth of the provisors belonged to the entourage of kings and queens but also because royal embassies to the Holy See proved to be the main channel through which requests for benefices reached the Curia. This means that papal policy in Hungary served the interests of the court and did not conflict with the possible benefice policy of the rulers. In my view provisions did not increase the control of the papacy over the Hungarian church as much as it increased that of the kings'.

The clerics who benefited from the papal grants were recruited in episcopal

palaces and royal entourages, and I describe them as "administrative" clerks, who based their ecclesiastical careers not on religious prerogatives but on involvement in the secular government of dioceses and the kingdom. These provisors could provide the basis for a study of the role of canons in state administration on the model developed for other countries under the coordination of Hélène Millet (*I canonici al servizio dello stato in Europa nei secoli XIII-XVI*, Hélène Millet ed., Ferrara, 1992). These provisors were a rather well-educated and influential group in possession of richly endowed benefices and had reasonable hopes of rising to the highest positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Among them, we find a significant proportion of foreign clerks from Central Europe and, to a smaller extent, from Italy, who immigrated to Hungary to serve the kings and some bishops. These clerks signify either the lack of high ranking and skilled Hungarian administrators or the distrust of the Angevine kings towards them as well as the international connections of the Angevine court. The place of Bohemian and Polish provisors is especially striking and deserves a study of its own.

Thanks to the documentation at my disposal, I tried to identify the clerics and groups of clerics who helped maintain relations between Hungary and the Curia. My study emphasises the role of the few French curialists, especially Cardinal William de la Jugie, who received benefices in the kingdom thanks to a papal grant. The very practical question of how relationships were maintained in the Middle Ages between countries or institutions thousands of miles away from one another brings about questions which have not only a technical interest but also give some clues about the more or less "underground" networks of influence which need to be uncovered. Papal provisions are an excellent basis for shedding light on the nature of such communication networks in medieval Europe.

In conclusion, my study attempts a thorough analysis of the nature of papal provisions and their effects in medieval Hungary for this particular period of the Avignonese papacy. Due to the limited space available, some questions regarding the relationship between the kingdom of Hungary and the Curia were not treated substantially and would need further development.

Accusations of Love Witchcraft in Central European Royal Courts

Anna Brzezińska (Poland)

The resistance and probably also the significance of love magic accusations in the courtly culture increased in the late Middle Ages, in the period which preceded the witch-persecutions, and, most likely, they were wielded for principally political purposes. My paper attempts to contribute to the discussion concerning the influence of magic beliefs on courtly culture at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (15th—16th c.) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. I examine closely several cases of love magic suspicion at the Jagiellonian court (concerning Elisabeth of Granow, Catherine of Telnicz, Catherine Radziejowska, Barbara Radziwill, Barbara Gizanka, and Susan Orlowska) in order to identify their associations with the tradition of misogyny, the popular practices of love magic, and demoniac theory and

investigate the social and political frame, which determined the usage of gossip. My conclusion is that love magic accusations at the royal courts of the Polish-Lithuanian state were basically of political significance, though, certainly, I do not deny the importance of other factors such as personal strains, different systems of value, or intellectual framework.

It is important to note that none of these women, who were mostly rulers' mistresses or wives, was charged at the court; instead, the accusations against them should be perceived rather as a part of courtly intrigue. However, as the reputation, especially of the female, was easily ruined, gossip seemed to be almost as efficient as formal accusation pamphlets.

As the courtly gossip was secret, the bulk of the evidence comes from pamphlets, correspondence, poems, and remarks in the chronicles. Therefore, due to the lack of data, the reconstruction of such accusations is a hazardous undertaking, especially if we take into consideration that a lot of gossip was never recorded or that written evidence may have been lost.

The first chapter of my paper gives a short overview of Polish love magic (the practices of popular love magic, the records of witches' trials, and literary inspirations) which set the context of love magic suspicions at the courts. In the second chapter, I present three cases for love magic accusation - all of them connected with the court and the person of Sigismund Augustus (1520—1572) - and investigate their connection with the stereotype of the witch and with practices of popular magic. In the third chapter, I examine the cases (Elisabeth of Granow, Catherine of Telnicz, and Catherine Radziejowska) which did not focus on love magic but rather on the tradition of misogyny and precepts regarding female appearance and conduct. It seems obvious that these prejudices not only preceded the great witch-hunts but also established a mental frame which associated women with evil and witchcraft. The last chapter gives an account of the relation between love magic accusations and the political theory which regulated the rights and duties of kingship and queenship.

An analysis of love magic gossip in courtly intrigues demonstrates clearly that the accusations were applied with the purpose of compromising political enemies. Slander concerning love magic performed a double function: on one level, it was used to indicate the king's misconduct and charge him with a disrespectful attitude towards his position, and, on the other hand, it helped to explain the passionate love which made the king forget his royal duties and put the blame on a woman whose behaviour was stigmatized. However, if necessary, love magic accusations also allowed the king to be exempted from guilt. His love was considered to have originated by devilish arts which temporarily twisted his reason and sense of kingship. Therefore, even though it was the man who succumbed to desire and neglected his royal duties, the blame was primarily put on the females, who provoked lust. Hence, the discontent with the ruler, who was considered to disdain his duties, was passed onto a scape-goat, who, because of certain features, such as sexual misconduct, bad fame, or nonconformist behaviour, was more vulnerable to accusation. From this angle, courtly intrigue against females associated with the ruler was both safer (as usually even the queen was less powerful and, consequently, less dangerous than the king) and did not ravage the institutional foundations and the doctrine of kingship.

Artistic Consciousness in the Poetry of Early Troubadours

Augustijn Callewaert (Belgium)

Troubadour poetry has rarely been connected with the notion of "subjectivity." Indeed, since the emergence of troubadour scholarship in the early nineteenth century, critics seem to have unanimously embraced the idea that troubadours cannot be conceived of as "individuals" separated from their work. Very often, scholars have been led to this evaluation by what could be called an "autobiographical assumption." Their judgment appears to have been particularly strong as far as the first two generations of poets are concerned (from William of Aquitaine to Bernart de Ventadorn).

In my paper I wanted to approach the problem of the "I" in the poetry of the early troubadours from a different perspective by drawing a picture of artistic consciousness rather than a (feigned) autobiographical self-representation, which the majority of the troubadours display in their songs. To that end I did not focus on the "passages" where the poet refers to the circumstances of the creation of his song.

In the first chapter, I examined the poets' concern with the quality of their artistic production. The troubadours under study intended to profile themselves as "masters of poetry." They all claimed to be perfectly skilled in the *art de trobar*, capable of combining words, melody, and "reason" into a powerful composition. However, they did so in many different ways, thus developing the idea of a more or less personal recognisable style. Marcabru reveals himself as the champion of the *trobar naturau*, Bernart de Ventadron and Piere Rogier can be considered as outstanding defenders of the *trobar leu*, and Piere d'Alvernhe is known not only for his *trobar clus* but also for his boast on the *vers entier*, which provoked Bernart Martí to write his own view on the question.

The second chapter, dedicated to the poets' preoccupations with the performance and the transmission of their songs, dealt with the hesitant emergence of the notion of "authorship." I argued that the early troubadours were aware of the fact that their songs were likely to undergo various modifications in the process of transmission. Numerous references to the performer "not to change a single word" show that they wanted to control the transmission of their poetry in order to preserve its "authentic" form. To this purpose, certain troubadours seem to have found recourse in a complex metrical structure (Marcabru) or in an intentionally hermetic style (Peire d'Alvernhe). Whether the early troubadours actually managed to stop *mouvance* is another question. However, not the results but their attempts and, ultimately, their intention to counter "text-mutilation" can be considered indicative of their artistic self-awareness.

In the third chapter, I showed how the preoccupation with the reception runs like a thread through the poetry of the first and second generations of poets. The question as to whom they addressed their songs was not immaterial. Numerous statements make clear that their poetry was designed to be sung for an exclusive group of listeners who had the ability to understand the song, the *entendedor.*

The notion of *entendre* has to be taken in its double sense. On the one hand, it referred to those who "listen well," that is, to those who were sensitive to the poem's literary qualities, the intertextual allusions, and the hidden levels of meaning. But on the other hand, *entendre* also referred to those listeners who were initiated into the ethics of courtly love and who were familiar with its implications, its values, and its contradictions. As a result,

entendemen became the principle of cohesion between the "pocchissimi eletti" among the members of courtly society.

The major artistic preoccupations of the early troubadours, that is to say, coincide with a basic, threefold scheme of literary communication: production, transmission, and reception. On every single level, the poets I discussed appear to have been desirous of claiming their artistic singularity. By means of constant interventions in their poems, the troubadours of the first generations aimed at communicating more than "just love." Indeed, behind the poetry of emotion and feigned autobiography, the voice of the author is at work in shaping his song into a kind of *Kunstlyrik,* that is, poetry which is primarily concerned with its own form, its own structure, its own style—with its own creation.

Change and Continuity in the Dark Ages: Britannia and Pannonia Compared

Gábor Cseh (Hungary)

In my M.A. thesis I examine the way in which the Roman heritage survived and was absorbed by different kind of peoples in Britannia and Pannonia. This analysis is based on the assumption that forms of continuity are determined by late Roman levels of Romanization as well as by the post-Roman political history of a certain territory. The study intends to show that some aspects of continuity in Pannonia and Britannia allow for the conclusion that, regardless of differences in the Dark Ages' political history, similarities in the details as well as the overall picture of continuity suggest either a similar level of Romanisation for the two provinces or similar patterns for the transition from Late Romanism to Barbarianism.

Britannia and Pannonia were situated at the two ends of the Western Roman Empire. They both came under Roman control around the beginning of the first century, and neither gained real importance within the politics or economy of the Empire during the four hundred years of Roman rule. Both provinces found themselves outside the Empire at the beginning of fifth century as a result of the mounting pressure of Barbarian tribes and the inadequacy of the military as well as economic organization of Rome. When and how did Roman rule come to an end? To what extent did Roman forms of life and thinking penetrate local society? And finally, how much was preserved of *Romanitas* when a new society came into being in the once Roman province?

The present thesis shows that a comparison of some aspects of continuity reveals more than plain coincidence. The two aspects chosen to be elaborated to a greater extent are the continuity of towns and Christianity. The survival of Roman towns in early medieval Europe has always been a cornerstone of continuity research. Both Hungarian and British historians once argued for an absolute continuity of town life from Roman to early medieval times. However, archaeology has shown that towns in both provinces were in fact left to decay during the fifth century. Towns gradually became deserted or served other purposes besides residential, as farming sites or as graveyards for example. The fate of towns seems to be similar in the two provinces. There seems to be a little continuity though of proper medieval towns in Britain as well as Pannonia although the gap in time between late-Roman and medieval is far larger in Pannonia. The interesting fea-

ture is that the two provinces witnessed similar urban decay that lasted approximately two hundred years after the break of Roman rule, and thus the pattern of continuity is similar in the two cases, despite major differences in political history.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the case of the survival of Christianity. We can assume that there were no substantial differences in the way Christianity was adopted in Britain and Pannonia. Interestingly, neither witnessed the survival of the organized church until the Middle Ages. Britain shows the very same limited continuity as Pannonia although the differences in later development are fairly evident. The Anglo-Saxon church was organised mostly independently from what we call the British church. The continuity of the church, or more precisely the lack of continuity, shows that this aspect as well as the survival of towns is less influenced by the political history of the Dark Ages as by the nature and quality of what is thought to survive.

The examination of evidence that would give direct information about the survival of population only shows that, at the moment, there is no way to determine what proportion of the later population was made up of descendants of late-Roman provincials. In the case of Pannonia, there is evidence of the survival of an autochthonous group of provincials who preserved much of their Roman character until as late as the eighth century. This example, however, does not allow us to generalise, and, therefore, it can only be taken as a hint at what one should expect to find if the survival of population is examined.

The conclusion of the comparison is that the two provinces witnessed different events during the two centuries following the end of Roman rule, but the similar pattern of limited continuity of some aspects of Romanized life suggests that regarding Roman continuity more attention should be paid to the characteristic of Romanization rather than to the details of the events that brought an end to Roman development. This conclusion contradicts the generally accepted theory of Endre Tóth that places Pannonia outside the group of Western provinces, claiming that the differences Pannonia shows in political history to all of the Western provinces make all comparisons impossible and meaningless as Pannonia shows an early manifestation of a genuinely East-Central European form of development that should be examined separately. This thesis suggests that Pannonia and Britannia have common phenomena in the field of Roman continuity due to their similar positions and roles in the framework of the Roman Empire. It also suggests that Britannia and Pannonia were peripheral to the same extent, and this was what ultimately resulted in similarities in continuity. Further investigation that I intend to do about other provinces may show that there is a characteristically peripheral continuity pattern shared by a number of territories within Europe and possibly even North Africa.

Late Antique Towns in the Territory of the Republic of Macedonia during the Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages

Ljubinka Džidrova (Macedonia)

My choice of the topic was motivated by the lack of historical information in Byzantine studies on the end of antiquity in the central Balkans. The primacy of the great political and cultural centres of early Byzantium, mainly located in the Near East, such as

Alexandria, Antioch, Nicaea, and Constantinople, together with their easier accessibility for archaeological excavation and far more numerous literary sources, have resulted in a high level of historiographical study. Conversely, the Balkans, with its fewer important political centres of lesser dimension, such as Sirmium, Thessalonica, Dyrrachium, and with a history burdened by numerous Barbarian intrusions from the second half of the second century obtained a secondary importance. This is especially true for the large urban settlements far from the coast, with their lesser involvement in commercial transactions and, therefore, lesser importance for the central government during late antiquity. Still, their location on important continental roads, on the internal provincial borders, or as centres of provinces throughout antiquity indicates their importance.

To illustrate this, I have studied three important towns in the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia: Bargala, Heraclea Lyncestis, and Stobi. Bargala was a town on the oft-changing border of *Dacia Mediterranea* ascribed to its territory in 371, but according to the acts of the ecclesiastical synod of Halcedon in 451, it fell under the administration of *Macedonia prima*. Heraclea Lyncestis was a town of strong Hellenistic traditions on the *Via Egnatia* under the administrative rule of *Macedonia prima*. Stobi, located to the north of the diocese *Macedonia* at the intersection of two *via militaria* was probably the capital of two provinces appearing at the turn of the fifth and the sixth century, *Macedonia salutaris* and *Macedonia secunda*.

The historical and archaeological data from these three sites denote three major periods of change in their cultural development, coinciding with major administrative reorganisations. The first appears at the turn of the fourth century after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. The case of Heraclea Lyncestis indicates that the crisis of the second half of the third century needs detailed reconsideration, suggesting an uninterrupted continuation of life. The second period of change appears during the rule of Theodosius I (378-395), when the growing importance of the central Balkan region was indicated by the formation of the province *Macedonia salutaris*. The third period is suggested by the appearance of the second short-lived province, *Macedonia secunda*, as recorded in the *Synecdemos* compiled by Hierocle at the turn of the sixth century. Its disappearance around 645 is indicated in the CXXXI *Novella* of Justinian I.

These periods of stronger political interest in the region are reflected in a reconstruction of the urban centres, their enlivening and rapid growth. The pattern of change, however, indicates natural disasters as the dominant cause of urban transformation. Archaeological investigations performed until now have not managed to locate major damage caused by Barbarian assaults. Only the case of Heraclea Lyncestis indicates a destruction probably caused by the rage of Theodoric and his Goths in 479.

The records from the ecclesiastical synods prove the early formation of ecclesiastical organisation in the territory. The first bishop of Stobi appears at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. At the Council of Serdica in 347 there appears a bishop of Heraclea Lyncestis, while at the Council of Halcedon in 451, the presence of the bishops of Stobi and Bargala is recorded. The latest appearances of the bishops of Stobi—Ioanos and Margaritus—at the Sixth Ecumenical Synod in Constantinople in 680 and at the Trullan Synod in 692 are the latest written proofs for the existence of the town. Their activity is usually regarded as fictitious, but the numerous indications of posturban existence in the territory of the town give reasons for reconsidering existing archaeological information and undertaking further research on its early medieval existence.

Reconstruction of the Concept of Time in a Linguistic World-model Based on Hungarian Documents of the Late Middle Ages

Emese Fazakas (Romania)

The purpose of my paper is to reveal the major metaphors in Old Hungarian by which human cognition understands time in order to see how the concept of time is reflected in language. I started from the premise that language, above all, reflects human conceptualisation of the world, on which human behaviour is also based. In my former research I worked with the category of time in modern Hungarian and as several of my questions still needed to be answered, I started to work on Old Hungarian materials.

The paper opens with an exposition of the objectives of my research, the questions to be answered, and the problems related to the sources examined. Then a brief introduction to cognitive linguistics follows, in order to give some basic information about this relatively new field of knowledge, and the changes which occurred in its methodology. The main part of my work consists of an analysis of the following principal metaphors of the concept of time: Time as Object and Resource, Destined Time, Time as a Person, Time as Container (the In[side]-Out[side] relation), and Time as a Road. First, I treated the less complicated group of metaphors and then proceeded to the more complex ones. The thesis ends with a conclusion and an appendix which includes the spelling rules of Old Hungarian, a table presenting names of localities that appeared in different texts or in the references, which have been changed, and a statistical table about the gathered and used material.

Concerning my methodology, I took as a model categories already established. However, while trying to systematize the new material, I came to the conclusion that the criteria I used previously reveal the problem only partially and might lead to wrong conclusions, because I had analysed the gathered material mostly from a semantic point of view. Applying the principles of cognitive linguistics has not proved to be incorrect, but I failed to place enough stress on grammatical analysis. In order to understand better the abstract situations or notions, one should include grammatical relations into the semantical analysis. Moreover, I came to the conclusion that in this case, it would be necessary to investigate first the "grammatical" relations of Hungarian language, the conditions of their observation, and the manifestation of these observations in language, before continuing the study of an abstract notion or a situation. Concepts are sometimes expressed in very various ways and often develop indirectly, so that, without the knowledge of our complex experiential basis reflected in grammar, it is difficult to determine their place within the group of metaphors.

In the case I investigate, an abstract notion, namely time is expressed and thus conceptualised by the most basic domains of our experience which are rather more material than abstract. While organising the material, I tried to take into consideration these basic experiences, reflected in grammar, by contrast to the formerly used structuring around oppositions, poles of value, and spatial orientation. In fact, exaggerating a little, I can say that in my former research I used extra-linguistical categories to describe language, instead of investigating more attentively the language itself, whereas drafting this thesis, I tried to reveal first the major experiential basis by a semantical analysis of grammatical categories and then, to establish the groups of metaphors. In this way we can have a more adequate view on the notion of time within the Old and even the modern Hungarian lan-

guage. However, my major result consists in recognising that one should not start by analysing a concept, but first, one should make a detailed semantic analysis of all grammatical relations of the language and then, to operate concretely with one or more notions. This recognition is, above all, due to the study of Old Hungarian language because, on the one hand, in this manner I managed to get closer to the origin of words, affixes, expressions, and idioms and, on the other hand, because the period chosen represents the transition period between Ancient Hungarian and Middle Hungarian language when the relations used in contemporary Hungarian started to develop, but the language still preserved the deeper, more concrete sense of the words.

Die Franziskaner in Prag: Apokalyptische Erwartung, Armutsauffassung und Kirchenkritik im ersten und letzten Drittel des 14. Jahrhundert

Christian-Frederik Felskau (Germany)

Only a few sources allow us to pursue traces of mendicant disobedience in Bohemia and Prague in the first third of the fourteenth century under the poverty controversy engendered by John XXII (1316-1334), which is the topic of my third chapter following an historiographical introduction and an overview of thirteenth-century development of Franciscan settlements in Bohemia. John XXII's decision concerning the practise of poverty of the apostolian community and Christ caused a conflict in the relation between the papacy and the Order and a fracturing among the *Fratres minores*. Moreover, it led to the exclusion and persecution of the fratres Spirituals.

The adoption and alteration of the apocalyptic exegesis of the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d.1202), who predicted the advent of a new spiritual era just before the Last Judgment, was an essential feature not only of the Spirituals. The tendency to identify the herald of this third *status* with the stigmatized *Poverello* from Assisi can also spuriously be found within the more "lax" observant faction of Franciscans. As the legend of St Francis by Bonaventure (1262) shows, it became common to label Francis as the angel of the sixth seal (Apoc. 5,10).

Although the different branches of disobedient Franciscans in the first third of the fourteenth century had in some aspects similar roots, the defenders of the poverty-idea (*Michaelites*) and the spiritual defenders of a chosen mission of the Order did not come together. The persecution of the poverty ideal as a theoretical fundament of the Order can be seen also in Prague and Bohemia, albeit less ferociously than in the Bavarian region. An illustration in a Prague manuscript of the legend of St Francis (after 1300), depicting the Apostolic See as a dragon in juxtaposition to the figure of the founder of the Order, may be attributed to both the Spirituals and the *Michaelites*. This suggests that a branch of Franciscans existed there protesting the decisions of the pope.

In the following chapter, I tried to compare the legends of St Clare (1253-1255) and of Agnes of Bohemia (shortly before 1328) which was written during the peak of the poverty debate. Although many scholars underlined the similarities in the two *vitae*, a difference in the attitude towards poverty and its position in the concept of piety can be rec-

ognized in the legend of the Prague princess who founded the Order of the Poor Clares in the Bohemian capital and a Hospital-Order nearby. The admonishing tone of the *candor lucis eterne* gives reason not only for the assumption that the Observant branch of Franciscans can be located in the double-convent of St Francis near the Vltava; whereas, the friars of St James seem to have belonged to the more "lax" faction. Furthermore, it allows us the assessment that the defensive, critical tone it conveys by stressing the poverty theme in the context of the *ecclesia militans* was one of the implications convincing John XXII not to promote Agnes' canonization.

In the last chapter, I tried to examine the changing position of the friars towards the papal church and the position of the order within this *corpus* from a preserved reform-postil written by a Franciscan *lector* around 1384, dealing with the practices of the inquisition, in which the Franciscans were involved. Scholars have stressed the similarities between this *sermon* and the preaching of the reform-oriented canon Konrad Waldhauser (d. 1369), I have pointed out the differences between the *postilla Francisci* and the *postilla studentium* of Waldhauser, which led to a distinct attitude towards the necessity of reform and to the distinguished character of their church-critique. The moral attack of Waldhauser is, in this respect, not comparable with the critique of their friar.

The first and last chapters of my work can be linked because the sources of both deal with awaiting the Antichrist. My impression is that the linking of the Antichrist with the Roman Church as depicted in the Francis-legend and the eschatological interpretation and perception of Antichrist in the reform-postil show a change in the Franciscan spirituality from disobedience to integration.

The Harmonisation of Neoplatonism and Christianity in the Gelati Monastic School of Twelfth-Century Georgia: Ioane Petritsi's Commented Translation of Proclus' Elements of Theology

Levan Gigineishvili (Georgia)

The aim of my thesis is to examine some particular aspects of Ioane Petritsi's main work: the commented translation of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. Ioane Petritsi was a Georgian monk, who lived presumably in the eleventh or twelfth century. His Georgian translation of the *Elements* is thus the first of its kind, the next one, William of Moerbeke's Latin version, following some two centuries later. Since the earliest extant manuscript of the Greek text of the *Elements* dates to the end of the thirteenth century, Petritsi's translation—if we do not count the corruption of the Georgian text—witnesses to a stage of the text-tradition of the *Elements* that is earlier than our first direct witness.

The main part of the thesis consists of an annotated English translation of Petritsi's Georgian version of some propositions of the *Elements*. It is preceded by a general introduction to Petritsi's literary activity and the Gelati monastic school, the milieu where the philosopher lived and worked, and by a presentation of Petritsi's theory of the so-called *henads*. I have chosen as a focal point of my investigation precisely this theory because

it witnesses the effort Petritsi has made to harmonise pagan polytheist theology with Christian doctrine. My methodology consisted of selecting those propositions of the *Elements*, in the commentaries of which we find the most abundant material on Petritsi's *henadic* theory, and then carrying out a thorough comparison of Petritsi's Georgian text with the Greek original as presented by E. R. Dodds' critical edition, finding out the cause of the divergences which could be one of the following:

1. At the given point, Petritsi simply did not understand the Greek text.
2. The manuscript he used contained at the given point a variant different from that adapted by Dodds but a) corresponding to a version attested by some extant manuscript(s) or b) not witnessed by any Greek manuscript.
3. Petritsi deliberately altered the text in order to make it fit his own (Christian) metaphysical system, different from that of Proclus.

These investigations led to the following results:

1. Petritsi was a very intelligent translator. Although there are cases where he undoubtedly misunderstands the text, these are relatively rare. Sometimes his interpretation is to be preferred to that given by Dodds. The value of Petritsi's work was ignored by the latter because the person who provided Dodds with an English version of some parts of the Georgian text did not have a sufficient command of the Old Georgian language. This fact was already stated by Lela Alexidze in her article *Das Kapitel 129 der "Elementa der Theologie" des Proklos bei Ioane Petrici.*
2. At many points, Petritsi's text diverges from that established by Dodds in a way that is best explained by a different variant reading of the Greek manuscript he used (*Gp). Several times those variant readings go against the entire Greek manuscript tradition; at other times, they have their counterparts in it. On the basis of the latter type of evidence, we must approve Dodds' conclusion according to which *Gp belongs to the M(II)W family. Moreover, we can also state precisely this conclusion: *Gp is closest to the text written by the first hand of *Marcianus graecus* 678 (13th-14th centuries), a text which was overcorrected by later scribes and can be reconstructed only by the help of other manuscripts deriving from it. In addition, the most important of these secondary witnesses, the *Argentoratensis*, was destroyed in 1878. Thus Petritsi's text ranks as one of the most important of the remaining secondary witnesses.
3. There are many points where the divergence can only be explained by a deliberate purpose of changing Proclus' text in order to fit Petritsi's own Christian system. These alterations, together with Petritsi's commentaries, permit us to reconstruct his very peculiar theory of the *henads*, the highest metaphysical principles in Proclus, identified by him with the gods of pagan religion. For a first and yet very incomplete reconstruction of the Petritsian theory of *henads*, I have found the following:
   a) Anytime, when in the Greek text we read qeoV, 'god', as applied to the henads (i.e. the supraexistent divine first principles of beings), Petritsi substitutes the form with something that sounds better to the Christian ear (e.g. "divinized one"). Whenever he keeps the word qeoV (Georgian: gmerti), he applies it to the One God.
   b) A study of the translations of several propositions and the commentaries shows clearly that Petritsi identified the three first principles of the metaphysical universe of Proclus: the One, the First Limit, the First Limitlessness (to en, to peraV, hapeiria) with the Persons of the Christian Trinity. Respectively in his system, the One=the

father, the first Limit=the Son, the first Limitlessness=the Holy Spirit. This identification seems not have been hitherto recognised.

c) In order to preserve the basically monotheistic character of his thought, Petritsi is led to change the entire doctrine of participation as established by Proclus. The latter has a subtle theory based on the dialectics of the two forms: participated-inparticipable. He solves the problem of divine transcendence and immanence by positing a transcendent god, the imparticipable One, and a multiplicity of immanent gods, the henads participated by beings.

But Petritsi, in his turn, practically abolishes the notion of impracticability. Everything, the super substantial henads as well as beings, is made divine by a participation in the One: the Father as source of divinity for all things, through the mediation of Limit and Limitlessness, that is to say, the Son and Holy Spirit. Of course, all the results mentioned above are only to be considered as first steps in a long research which is to be continued through many years.

The Sacristy Portal in Saint Michael's Church in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg)

Anca Gogiltan (Romania)

The sacristy portal in Saint Michael's Church in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) represents a unique piece of art, totally different from the forms generally appearing in architectural decorations in Transylvania. Compared to other works of Renaissance art in Transylvania, commissioned in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the sacristy portal is peculiar for its style and iconography. The German origin of this portal was recognised in the nineteenth century, and a few art historians who presented the iconographical elements mentioned at the same time their connection to a symbolical type of decoration. There were also attempts to identify the person appearing in the portrait shown in the middle of the lunette, and many questions arose in regard to the inscription appearing on the phylacterus (held by the person in his hands).

In spite of the fact that this work of art was so frequently mentioned in presentations of the history of the town Cluj and of Saint Michael's Church or in analyses of Renaissance art in Transylvania, little attention has been paid to the sacristy portal as an independent creation. An analysis of the historiography shows that only a few questions have been raised in connection to this complex work. The most general approach was to attempt an identification of the person appearing in the middle of the lunette and to attribute the portal, on stylistic grounds, to a master or a workshop. The donator was only mentioned, and his role in the creation of this work of art was generally neglected.

My analysis takes into consideration most aspects related to the sacristy portal in Saint Michael's Church in Cluj. I begin with the donator's intellectual formation and social position: Johannes Clyn (spelled differently in documents as Kleen, Klemicher, Chlain) studied at the University of Padua, later served as *plebanus* of Saint Michael's Church in Cluj in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then my paper continues with the identification of the symbolic meanings of the decorative elements and concludes with a stylistic analysis of the portal.

The elements which form the decoration of the portal indicate a humanistic conception of the importance of the human personality and of life as well as religious references to Salvation, expressed in symbols and allegories. In this symbolical context, the portrait of the donator is strange and unexpected for a representation of a donator. The portrait can be explained in relation to the humanist epitaphs which appear in the beginning of the sixteenth century in Augsburg and in Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. Especially the epitaph made for Conrad Celtis, the famous humanist and professor from the University of Vienna, indicates a new attitude in the face of death and the afterlife and purports the possibility of gaining immortality through knowledge and education.

While studying in Vienna, Johannes Clyn must have seen the epitaph and also the fashionable self-portraits of Anton Pilgram and may have conceived the idea of commissioning a unique work of art, a decorative portal for the sacristy. This portal represented a contribution for the decoration of the church, but at the same time, it became a creation which indicated the donator's way of thinking and commemorated his person.

Law and Custom in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century

Skirmanté Gražyté (Lithuania)

The present study discusses legal sources for studying the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania up to the First Statute of Lithuania (1529). The presentation of the legal sources begins with the records of the Prussian customary law, such as the Christburg Treaty and *Iura Prutenorum*. Those sources could be useful for drawing parallels between the Prussian customary law and Lithuanian as those laws could be compared to the laws of the kindred Baltic tribes.

The main source of this study is the Lithuanian Metrica. The Metrica was the chancellery archive of the Grand Duchy, dating from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. The documents issued and received by the chancellery were copied into the chancellery books from the middle of the fifteenth century. The chancellery archive contains copies of privileges, grants of land to individuals; copies of wills, of state accounts, of correspondence with local authorities and also with neighbouring states, and so on. The major part of this archive was the documentation of law-courts, the so-called Judicial Recording Books. Records of courts' proceedings, complaints, decisions, and excerpts from the records of proceedings formed those books. Scattered judicial records are found in the books of the fifteenth century; however, the earliest Judicial Recording Books date back to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The main task of the work was an analysis of legal procedure, legal relations between plaintiff, respondent and law-court, and the procedural administration of justice at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Judicial records from the beginning of the sixteenth century were chosen as the main source for studying legal proceedings. The sixteenth century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is significant in three codes of laws, issued one after another, the Statutes of Lithuania (1529, 1566, 1588). The judicial records discussed in this work are from the years just before the First Lithuanian Statute. Therefore, the task of this analysis was to trace the principles of the procedural law in the issue of First

Statute to the principles followed in court at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Basic procedural principles reflected in the judicial cases correspond to the principles fixed in the First Statute. Since only about a decade separated the reviewed records of the Lithuanian Metrica and the First Statute, it is quite natural to see the same procedural principles applied at the court as those set in the code of laws. However, not all procedural regulations fixed in the Statute necessarily cover the practical procedural principles. This is often due to the persistence of customs.

This investigation covers extra-judicial bodies and their interaction with the court and extra-judicial methods of conflict regulation and their restriction or regulation by the court. An investigation of these aspects could characterise the nature of the legal proceedings, whether legal proceedings were adversarial or inquisitional. However, those two types of legal proceedings are separated only theoretically. Features of both adversarial and inquisitional proceedings can be traced in the records along with an existing interaction.

Additional research could broaden the scope of analysis by new questions raised about the cases in the judicial record, in order to uncover further details on the court system, the character of land ownership, the property status of various strata, and social stratification in general.

Comparisons Between the Apple Tree and Woman in Latvian Dainas

Rasma Ivanovska (Latvia)

Latvian *dainas*, the sources of the present investigation, comprise the main body of Latvian folklore. A *daina*, a specific genre of oral poetry, can be briefly described as a quatrain with a trochaic metre, mostly lyrical in content, widely employing comparisons to nature coined in parallel structures. I used the edition *Latvju Dainas* (1897-1915), and from the 217,996 recorded, I selected 2000 dainas which mention an apple tree in some form.

Latvian *dainas* widely compare man to nature, and one of the most frequent comparisons is made between a man and a tree. A particular tree stands for a certain person, according to the gender of its name. Thus, an oak, a maple, and an ash are compared to males, while a linden, a bird cherry tree, and an apple tree, to females. According to Latvian folklorists a certain tree designates not only a man or a woman but a certain age group as well. A linden tree symbolises a young girl, a bird cherry tree an adult woman, and an apple tree a mother.

The starting point for my investigation was the assumption that one tree can be used to depict at least two stages of a woman's life: a young girl and a married woman. The apple tree symbolises a very elaborate concept of woman, and, therefore, this particular tree was chosen for the research.

The concept of the apple tree is more complex than that of the apple in Latvian *dainas*. The tree itself bears a symbolic meaning relevant to the woman's life. A prime quality of both the tree and the woman is expressed through the image of white blossoms. The analysis of the apple tree *dainas* demonstrates that the apple tree is used to illustrate a woman's life span. The young girl just before marriage is compared to the white blossoming apple tree; the first intercourse is poetically described as the shaking off of the

white blossoms of the apple tree; falling blossoms represent the maiden's tears. The crucial watershed in a woman's life, marriage, is illustrated by the suitors interacting around the blossoming tree. A branch is broken off, and sometimes the tree is cut and brought to the suitor's farmstead. The mother is compared to the tree that blossoms and bears apples. The old woman is compared to the dry, branches of a tree standing alone. Thus, the image of the apple tree is used to relate all the important stages of female life: adolescence, adulthood, and old age. The transition from one age group to the next is expressed through the image of the apple tree as well. The concept of fertility, so relevant for a rural community, is represented through the image of a white blossoming apple tree.

The question as to why an apple tree was particularly chosen to represent women cannot be answered through only the analysis of Latvian *dainas*. However, the tradition of comparing a woman to a blossoming or fruit-bearing tree is not unique to Latvian folklore, and the comparisons with other cultures can present new information relevant to the imagery of the apple tree.

Examinations of the Iconography of Fourteenth-Century Church Interiors in the Territories of the Szeklers

Zsombor Jékely (Hungary)

My thesis analyzes the iconography of medieval interior decoration found in three churches in the Szekler territories of Transylvania (today in Romania): the present day Calvinist church of Bögöz, the church of Saint Emericus in Gelence, and the Unitarian church of Homoródszentmárton. These churches were chosen because they contain the most complete cycles of fourteenth-century wall-paintings in the area and, completed with the analysis of more fragmented works found in other churches they are representative of medieval church wall-paintings in the entire area inhabited by the Szekler. Discussion is limited to iconographic questions, and I examine the iconography of four cycles characteristic of the region in particular detail: the *historia* of St Ladislas, the legends of St Catherine and St Margaret, and the Last Judgment.

For my analysis I have primarily relied on site observations, but József Huszka's nineteenth-century watercolor copies of the murals were indispensable in analysing works at such places as Homoródszentmárton where the murals along with the church were completely demolished in 1888.

My primary objective was to examine the prominent artistic characteristics of the Szekler territories through description and assessment of the major cycles appearing in the largely unstudied medieval murals of the area. Fourteenth-century wall-paintings in the region were comprised primarily of long narrative cycles serving as the main decoration of the naves. The most important of these, present in the majority of the churches, was the *historia* of St Ladislas, the favoured saint of the nobility and the epitome of the ideal knight. The cycle depicts Ladislas in the battle of *Kerlés* as he saves a Hungarian girl abducted by a Cuman warrior. This cycle, common throughout Hungary, was formed with the use of western compositional motifs, which reached Hungary by the end of the thirteenth century and the territory of the Szeklers by the beginning of the fourteenth. In the churches discussed in my thesis, and in some other examples, the legend of St

Margaret of Antiochia or St Catherine of Alexandria is represented together with the legend of St Ladislas. These frescoes depict saints who were true to their faith; the triumphant knights and the martyred virgins are paired as examples of ultimate devotion to Christ as they battled against pagan forces. The interior decoration of these churches is usually completed with the representation of the Last Judgment or other eschatological themes, giving a vivid picture of the possible faith of sinners and true believers. Noble patrons were influential in the choice of cycles, and they particularly favored the *historia* of St Ladislas, a saint who embodied courtly values.

To achieve a greater understanding of the art of the area and period, more thorough study of the iconography of other themes is required, along with a detailed comparative analysis with other regions in Central Europe, including stylistic factors as well. Two more interesting questions for future research could be a detailed examination of the role of patrons in selecting the themes and the factors contributing to the importance of the long narrative cycles.

The Fate of Refugees in Medieval Croatia during the Ottoman Invasion

Ivan Jurković (Croatia)

My paper aims at systematizing the problem of migrants expelled from medieval Croatian lands during the Ottoman advance (1463-1593). The fate of particular migrants as well as the social structure of different migrating groups who shared a migratory pattern and their adaptation to new surroundings as well as the changes (political, economic, social, ethnical, cultural), which migrants provoked in these surroundings, are the subjects of this thesis.

My work is mainly based on the various types of published sources. These sources may be divided into several groups:

1. Glagolitic graffiti and inscriptions;
2. Personal records and marginal notes added to different Glagolitic liturgical and other kinds of manuscripts;
3. Narrative sources (chronicles, speeches, tales, poems);
4. Notary acts of the communes in Croatia and the records of the places of authentication;
5. The customary law code of Poljica and the statutory laws of the communes in Croatia;
6. Charters.

The first four groups provide more or less personal information about the migrants, while the fifth and sixth groups give us an opportunity to understand the attitudes of the regional and local authorities towards the immigrants.

The main contribution of the thesis is a methodological one. The long process of emigration and long lasting warfare on Croatian territory has enabled me to use a new research approach in analyzing the fate of migrants. I have divided the migrants into four groups (fugitives, refugees, expatriates, deserters) according to the level of danger they faced as a result of war in different areas of medieval Croatia (from free areas to occupied

ones). On the basis of this typology, it was possible to avoid the terminological problems encountered in the sources (almost uniform terminology in the Latin but great diversity in the vernacular languages—German, Italian, Croatian) and to proceed with the analysis of these categories. I have tried to apply this typology to the different social layers of the refugees (noble elite, lower nobility, the third estate) before and after they left their native territory and hope that this approach will also be useful for research on similar problems in other areas.

It could be possible to continue the research of Croatian refugees, especially with particular regard to the fate of the lower nobility. The number and diversity of the sources connected with the economic, social, and military position of the lower nobility enables research into their social structure, economic background, kinship relations, and political influence, as well as the transformation (with particular regard to the disintegration of the old Croatian Noble kindreds and their disappearance) which occurred during the Ottoman invasion.

Post-Crusade Urban Population in Tartu, Estonia

Ken Kalling (Estonia)

In the present study a medieval urban population from Tartu, Estonia is investigated utilizing the methods of physical anthropology (craniometry and paleodemography). The skeletal material on which the work is based comes from a thirteenth-century graveyard. The period under discussion reflects great changes in the country: Christianisation and urban development brought about by German conquest. Because few sources on demographic processes in town formation in a frontier context exist, the involvement of archaeology and its auxiliary sciences for the study is needed.

Some caution was used while handling the topic, the reason being that this study assumes that the population of an emerging urban community has to be affected by migration and growth, thus not all the demographic data can be extracted from the skeletal material. In this light, one of the main methodological values of this work is the inclusion of urban settlements into paleoanthropological research.

In general my results fit with ones achieved by other scholars working in the field. The little work done on urban skeletal material thus gained a noticeable addition. One possible way of reducing the negative influence of migration on all urban populations and thus elaborating the topic is by approaching different urban groups and comparing them to each other. In this way the emergence of real demographic trends becomes evident. The other possibility is to compare urban and rural communities. For both approaches, working with urban archaeological material is justified and should be encouraged.

In order to extract reliable demographic data from skeletal material, I introduced a method suitable when the gender representation in a population is imbalanced. By equalising the number of potential parents (both sexes), the life table data was corrected. Interesting data concerning the life in a medieval urban community became evident from the analysis of multiple burials, related both to maternal deaths and possible pestilence cases.

For Estonian history, the evidence of the participation of local populations in town formation is important (craniometric studies can determine the extent of this). The apparent discordance between the craniometric data and the archaeological statements on the topic may cause a re-evaluation of the archaeological criteria for drawing ethnic conclusions from burial customs in Estonia.

The work may provide an important addition to the ongoing discussion about the possibilities of auxiliary sciences in medieval archaeology and historiography. While confirming already proposed trends in the everyday life of medieval human populations, the work supports different sides involved in the debate. Some of these new aspects of medieval urban demographic trends (multiple burials for example) make the dispute even wider and hopefully productive.

The relation between this study and thirteenth-century German *Ostsiedlung* and Hanseatic town development in Livonia offers an important possibility for comparing the developments in Livonia to the wider European context.

The Silent Communication: Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna, Bulgaria

Rossina Kostova (Bulgaria)

To work and pray in silence was one of the essential requirements for the "true life for God." The monastic walls kept this life from the world outside, and the rules maintained it against the weakness of the monks. However, those who enter a ruined monastery and see the numerous graffiti scratched into the walls would realise that the sacred silence had been broken long before the demise of the monastery. Their visual nature—drawings or inscriptions—did not break the formal order of the monastery but found a way around it to reveal thoughts, emotions, hopes, and wishes, the expression of which was suppressed.

The subject of the present study is the unpublished graffito-drawings from the tenth-century monastery of Ravna, Bulgaria, which has been excavated during the last ten years. The aim is the exploration of their potential as an unconventional source for studying the monastic lifestyle from the point of view of communication inside the monastic walls and with the world outside. The crucial point in the applied interdisciplinary approach is the examination of the graffiti in their functional context.

The first task concerns the reasons for the multitude of graffiti in Ravna, which raises the question of the role of monasteries in religious life in the ninth-tenth century Bulgaria. The monastery, not mentioned in written sources, is placed in the context of the development of early Bulgarian monasticism, emphasising its characteristics as a royal donation and literary centre. The graffiti reveal the social perception of the monastery by those who usually are called the "great mute." They are evidence that it was not a "closed" space but a frequently visited place in which sacrality provoked the semiotic activity of the people.

The second issue is the variety in the kinds and types of graffito-images, which is presented in a classification and typology of the material from two main zones of the monastery: the central enclosure including the church and the guest-house. The number

of graffiti in these areas and their position in the building complex gives a good basis for comparison of the monks' and laymen's perception of the hierarchy of the space and the communication between the center and periphery in the monastery. The highest concentration of graffiti in the church provides an understanding of their function as signs of presence and worship serving individual communication with God.

The social topography of the graffiti sheds light on the personality and motives of the makers. Their anonymous and spontaneous character encourages an attempt to interpret them as a relevant source for popular mentality. Looking for the images "beyond" the graffito-representations, one can find other levels of communication performed in the monastery. Some of the graffiti in the scriptorium help to identify the origin of the manuscripts copied there. The scribe's signature on the wall overcomes the sense of anonymity so common to medieval copyists. The transmission of ideas by various media is another level of communication displayed in the correspondence between the image of lust in the tenth-century graffito-tradition and the contemporary apocryphal interpretation of the Fall. Furthermore, the communication of the monastery with the world outside is shown by the function of a particular group of graffiti as a symbol for pilgrims.

An attempt at reconstructing the complete picture from fragments is risky, and this is not the aim of the present thesis. However, the suggested perception of the graffiti as a visual source supports the relevance of further research of one very active channel in medieval popular culture: silent communication or, in other words, communication through images.

Universal Grammar and Related Concepts in Thirteenth-century Modistic Theory

Renata Mikolajczyk (Poland)

The *Modistae* were a group of grammarians, mostly Parisian masters, of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Their theory of grammar was based on the concept of *modus significandi*, a semantic modifier associated with the way words signify and are responsible for the existence of different word classes (*partes orationis*). The *modus significandi* was believed to derive from the *modus intelligendi*, that one, in turn, being dependent on the *modus essendi* of things. Thus the way words signify was held to reflect the way human beings form notions about things. The reality and the intellectual faculties allowing conception of it were assumed to be universal and objective. The *modus significandi* carried this universality further to the realm of language. Thus grammar based on the system of *modi* was believed to be one and the same for all languages.

My study of two thirteenth-century grammatical treatises, one falsely attributed to Robert Kilwardby, the other written by Boethius of Dacia, concentrates on the concepts related to the idea of universal grammar: the status of grammar, the notion of signification, and the problem of the imposition of words. The second part of this paper aims at tracing some possible sources of this doctrine back to Aristotelian views on the commentaries of Aristotle's *De interpretatione* by Boethius and Abelard, on Augustine's theory of signs, and the main achievements of the twelfth-century

grammar. My approach intends to show modism not as an abrupt break with former linguistic thought but as a continuation and accomplishment of earlier developments.

The two texts clearly show differences between modistic grammar and its earlier premodistic stage. However, most of the essential conceptions are already there in Pseudo-Kilwardby, only in a less elaborated and definite form. Both grammarians express concern with the status of grammar as a science. The criteria for scientific knowledge are taken from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, which indicates clearly the impact that the newly discovered works of Aristotle, along with their commentaries, had on thirteenth-century thought. In order to demonstrate that grammar is a real science, its subject must be assumed to be universal and necessary. Pseudo Kilwardby points out some elements of language, among them the *modi significandi*, as being constant, the same for all. He also refers to Boethius' notion of three kinds of discourses and distinguishes between *sermo in scripto, in pronuntiatione,* and *in mente*, of which only the last one is universal. However, he fails to link these concepts in a coherent doctrine.

Boethius of Dacia represents already the full development of modistic grammar. His idea of universal grammar is based on the triadic system of *modi significandi, intelligendi,* and *essendi,* which relates the realm of language to the realm of concepts and that of reality. Differences between languages are attributed to the variety of vocal expressions imposed arbitrarily upon a meaning; however, both grammarians recognise also the dependence of some formal linguistic features on the nature of reality. The process of imposition is not entirely unrestricted. Boethius of Dacia is especially explicit in stating that words follow the character of things and concepts in the way they signify.

Examining the works of these speculative grammarians shows that one of the most fundamental assumptions on which they ground their theory is a semantic model involving words, concepts, and things. The source of this conception can be traced back to Aristotle's *Peri hermeneias*; however, the form in which it was transmitted to medieval scholars is due rather to the interpretation of Porphyry, the translation and commentary of Boethius, and its later use in medieval logic. The authority of the Philosopher affirmed also the belief in the universal character of reality and human intellection, however, at the same time, considering the diversity of words to be a matter of convention.

Nevertheless, most medieval thinkers proved reluctant to embrace the view of the total arbitrariness of linguistic signs. The pervasiveness of etymology and the belief in an original imposition of words linked with the moment of Creation inspired the wish for continuity between language and reality. However, eleventh- and twelfth-century parallel developments in logic and grammar shifted the attention from vocal expression to the formal properties of words. It is there, in the way words form different classes or link together in a sentence, that the structures of language were considered to reflect the structures of reality. The *Modistae* combined the Aristotelian (or Porphyrian) semantic model with the initially ambiguous notion of *modus sygnificandi*, thus indicating explicity the formal elements of language they considered universal and furnishing an explanation compatible with the predominant views on language. They succeeded in building up their concepts, following logically the development of linguistic thought starting from Antiquity.

The Slavs in Islamic Geographical Literature: Eighth through the Tenth Century

Dmitrij Mishin (Russia)

As this subject is connected with the history of both the Slavs and the Islamic world, it necessitates an interdisciplinary study. Both Islamic and European sources have, therefore, been used.

The aim of the thesis is to show the evolution of the ideas concerning the Slavs in Islamic geography. In the period this work is dealing with, Islamic geography made a considerable progress in this respect. At the beginning, we find only isolated references to the Slavs while at the end of the period, we possess already detailed descriptions. This progress is connected, on the one hand, with the accumulation of information on the Slavs and with the general evolution of Islamic geography as a literary genre, on the other. The first treatises in which the Slavs are mentioned belong to mathematical geography (e.g., the books of Al-Fazari, Al-Khwarazmi, Al-Ferghani at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century). The information about the Slavs was scarce when mathematical geography dominated the Islamic geographical literature, and the representatives of this genre often identified all the northern peoples with Slavs.

Another genre is administrative geography (the books of Ibn-Khurdadhbeh, Qudama Ibn-Ja'far, the so-called Anonymous Report—a description of the Chazars, the Volga Bulgarians, the Slavs, the Rus, and other peoples, composed in the second half of the ninth through the beginning of the tenth centuries). The Slavs appear in these treatises either in cases when they have contacts with peoples the Islamic world had direct relations with or in cases when they become for some other reason interesting for the administration of Islamic countries (perhaps, as eventual enemies). The political regime and the military potential of the Slavs have an important place in the accounts of them inserted in the administrative reference books.

Islamic geographical literature reached its peak with the genre of "Routes and Kingdoms" (*Al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik*). This genre flourished in the tenth century. The "Routes and Kingdoms" literature presents a descriptive and realistic geography, which focuses on everything which has some relevance to the life of the people. The authors, instead of collecting information from other people, start travelling themselves. The information about the Slavs becomes richer and more detailed. The best description of the Slavs is given in the middle of the tenth century by Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub.

The accumulation of knowledge leads to a change in the authors' approach to the information which they insert in their books. The first authors who mention the Slavs do not see any difference between the Slavic peoples. Al-Mas'udi tries to reflect this difference in his treatise. Finally, Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub goes even further, connecting the ethnic division of the Slavs to their states.

Nevertheless, the coverage of the Slavic topic still remains unsatisfactory. The Islamic authors of that time have failed to present a panorama of the Slavic world. Even in the best cases, they give only local panoramas (Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's work, for example, gives a detailed description only of the western Slavs). A successful attempt of overcoming these drawbacks was made in the twelfth century by Al-Idrisi, who gathered new materials and united them into a new system, which really presents a panorama of the Slavic world.

THE THEOLOGY OF LIGHT IN THE WRITINGS OF ABBOT SUGER

Kristina Mitalaité (Lithuania)

Abbot Suger's writings are of particular interest for art historians and, in some cases, for historians of philosophy as well. In his writing Suger describes not only the restoration and embellishment of St Denis, the royal church of France, but he also tries to create a theological background for justifying his new luxurious art program. For the creation of this background, he chose the Pseudo-Dionysian metaphysics of light.

However, Suger did not leave behind any theological treatise. He only sporadically refers to Pseudo-Dionysian theology. His choice of particular Pseudo-Dionysian theological ideas and their specific "interpretation" reflect his theology. The purpose of this work is to interpret Suger's theology of light on the grounds of Pseudo-Dionysian theology and its commentaries as well as to find other possible sources which influenced the abbot's writings: *Ordinatio, De Consecratione,* and *De Administratione.*

During Suger's abbacy the most popular translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was that of John Scottus Eriugena. However, as Suger was not a theologian, he mainly used Eriugena's and Hugh of Saint Victor's commentaries. In Suger's writings, the work of art has an exceptional and divine status. It reflects divine light of the *claritas* of the Father of Light. It is noble, because, similarily to Pseudo-Dionysian noblest symbols, it sheds divine light. Its divinity is emphasised by the divine participation in every stage of its creation. That is why the work of art has a contemplative function *par excellence.* In the description of a work of art, Suger concentrates his attention not on the represented scene, but on the precious material of the ornamentation and the shine of precious stones. The abbot's contemplation begins not with the sacred image but with the sacred ornament. The work of art as an apparition of divine light has all the features of Eriugenian theophany.

Suger "interprets" not only the descent of divine light and its appearance in symbols, but in the opening passage of *De Consecratione,* he also writes about the process of ascent and return to Oneness. The abbot's emphasis on the harmonising power of return coincides with Eriugena's commentaries and his other work, the *De Divisione Naturae.* It is more difficult to interpret Suger's conception of the ascension of the soul (*transitus* from the material forms).Even though in the inscription of the copper door of St Denis we find Hugh of Saint Victor's interpretation of *de materialis ad immaterialibus,* we cannot say that the abbot's general conception of *transitus* was influenced by the Victorine. We can not find its explanation in Eriugena's commentaries either. It is possible to complete the interpretation of the opening passage of *De Consecratione,* as well as some other passages from Sugerian writings, on the ground of Eriugena's poem *Aulae Sidereae,* his theological works *Omelia,* and *De Divisione Naturae.* Clearly Suger's conception of contemplation was influenced by these works of the Scot as well.

In his writings, Suger accentuates Christ's humanity and the fact that the only possibility of reaching the divine is through the light of Christ. In the iconography of St Denis, created during his abbacy, Christology is one the main themes as well.However, in his Christological conceptions Suger is closer to Hugh's commentaries. The Victorine emphasises Christ's humanity at large, while John Scot, though not ignoring it, regards Christ's divinity more important.

Suger's writings were mainly influenced by Eriugena's theology. In *De Consecratione* we do not find even a trace of Hugh of St Victor's influence. The Victorine's palpable influence can only be found in some lines of the inscription on the copper door. I would suggest that the creation of the iconography of the western portal, as well as of the iconography of the anagogical window, was influenced by the Eriugenian metaphysics of light based on Pseudo-Dionysian theology.

Arguments and Communicators in the Papal Policy to Bulgaria and Croatia (866-882)

Stephan Nikolov (Bulgaria)

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse papal policy towards Bulgaria and Croatia between 864 and 882. This period marks the peak of the papal activity in the Balkan region as the popes, Nicholas I (858-867), Hadrian II (867-872), and John VIII (872-882), interfered energetically in the affairs of the patriarchate of Constantinople and tried to put Bulgaria and Croatia into the papal sphere of influence. These countries were regarded as parts of the old Illyrian diocese that had been detached from Rome by Byzantine iconoclast emperors in the eighth century. Thus, the papacy undertook a vigorous *demarche* on Bulgaria, Croatia, and, partly, Serbia, attempting to re-establish the ancient Illyrian diocese as the popes had regarded it to have been.

The thesis examines several aspects of the papal approach to the Balkans. The first point is the argumentation used by the popes in their correspondence with Boris-Michael of Bulgaria (852-889, †906) and Branimir of Croatia (879-894). The change in the size and the type of arguments reflects the modifications in the papal approach. The religious argumentation in the papal letters, examined in chapter two, suggests that the "homeletic" types of scriptural references and quotations used in the *Responsa Papae Nicolai ad Consulta Bulgarorum* were replaced by "Petrine arguments," reflecting the new position of the papacy in its relations with the Balkan during the pontificate of John VIII. Another approach to the papal argumentation regards the type of letters sent to Bulgaria and Croatia. Papal letters to the Balkan Slavic rulers were a kind of "media." Thus, these letters became part of the propaganda necessary to provoke and affirm anti-Greek public opinion in the Latin West and, thus, supported the papacy in its controversy with the patriarchate of Constantinapole. Since propaganda requires "images" to create attitudes in its audience, two main images were employed: the positive one of the orthodox "*ecclesia Romana mater*" contrasted to the "heretical Greeks." As the struggle between "*Nicolaus, minister Christi*" and "*minister diaboli Photius*" needed an innocent subject, the Bulgarians were described as naive victims of the artful heretical Greeks. Pope John VIII and Formosus of Porto used that propaganda issue in their personal struggle for influence in Rome during the late 870s, making use of the written word and pictures. The "struggle" image was required and employed both by Rome and Constantinapole as a part of their ideological approach to the lands of the Illyrian diocese.

Regarding the papal approach to the Illyrian diocese, my inquiries suggest that both the Balkan peninsula and Moravia (wherever the latter was situated) were regarded by the popes as forming two parts of Illyricum. The historical and juridical argumentation

used, on the one hand, by Nicholas I in his letter of 860 to Emperor Michael III (848-867) and by Hadrian II's representatives at the Council of Constantinpole (880), and, on the other, by John VIII in his instruction to Paul of Ancona (873) regarding Pannonia proves that the papal policy to Moravia, Bulgaria, and probably Croatia aimed at restoring this diocese. Every pope, however, had his own plans for this old/new diocese .

Chapter three examines the relation between the change in the argumentation used in the papal letters and in the papal representatives sent to Bulgaria and Croatia. None of the papal representatives were intended by Nicholas I and Hadrian II to become the Bulgarian archbishop. I believe that the contrasting evidence provided by Anastasius Bibliothecarius on this issue should be challenged as it reflects a later development, namely, that of John VIII after 874/878. The "Petrine arguments" were delivered to Boris and Branimir not by missionary bishops but by envoys. From 878, people speaking the Slavic tongue, namely John of Venice and Theodosius of Nin, were preferred as papal envoys. This fact partly reflects the position of John VIII on use of the Slavic liturgy in Moravia.

The change in papal argumentation and representatives reflects the development of papal plans for the Balkans. Nicholas I and Hadrian II intended to establish Bulgarian and Croatian bishoprics directly subordinate to Rome and controlled by an archbishop. Therefore, Methodius was quickly elevated to Archbishop of Sirmium, thus restoring the old Illyrian diocese. In the beginning of his pontificate John VIII employed this idea. However, he was forced to abandon it after 878. The year of 878 marks the replacement of "*Illyricum*" in the papal letters with "*regionem Vulgarem*," the change in the papal representatives to Bulgaria and Croatia, and a restriction of the geographical perimeters of Methodius' diocese. The Archbishop of Sirmium became that of Pannonia in 878 and was finally degraded to the Archbishop of Moravia in 880. This paper suggests that it was John VIII who, according to available sources, only after 878 regarded the Balkan Slavic countries as those which might establish and develop their own ecclesiastical structure while remaining under papal control.

This remarkable evolution of papal ideas regarding the Balkan Slavic countries was, on one hand, the result of the problem Methodius had met with in Moravia and the considerable weakness of the papacy after 875 following the death of the last strong Carolingian rulers in the West and the Saracen threat to Rome. On the other hand, the ecumenical point of view combined with more than ten years "Balkan" and "Slavic" experience replaced the stringent eastern policy of Nicholas I.

The Councils of Split in 925 and 928: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach

Vadim Prozorov (Russia)

The councils of Split in 925 and 928 constitute a controversial subject in Croatian historiography, since their acts are preserved in the manuscript of *Historia Salonitana maior* dating only from the early sixteenth century. These councils are especially important for the ecclesiastical history of Dalmatia and Croatia because they dealt with questions which

partly reappeared during the Gregorian reforms in the region in the second half of the eleventh century. My work attempts to comparatively analyse the acts of these councils in relation to some legal materials in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe.

The first chapter of my paper is a short overview of the ecclesiastical history of Dalmatia and Croatia before the councils of Split. It shows that, besides the problem of Christianisation of the Croats, there are several other important issues such as the question of the organisation of the metropolis of Split, the jurisdiction over Dalmatia and Croatia from the seventh to the tenth century, and the foundation and establishment of the bishopric of Nin.

The following chapter deals with the main issue concerning the councils of Split, namely the problem of ecclesiastical primacy in Dalmatia. It is still unclear why the bishop of Nin challenged the metropolitan right of the archbishop of Split. However, the problem of establishing the metropolitan right of the senior bishop of the province, often based on the tradition of the foundation of a see by an Apostle or his disciple (in the case of Split, by St. Domnius, the disciple of St. Peter the Apostle), does not contradict the development of the Church organisation at that time.

The third part of my work is devoted to the analysis of other decisions of the councils. They are compared with the canons of the German councils of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian period, excerpts from the letters of the popes, charters of Carolingian rulers and the collection of ecclesiastical rules compiled after 899 by Regino of Prüm, almost contemporary with the Dalmatian councils. The comparison demonstrates that some issues such as the frames of episcopal jurisdiction, the security of the clergy and the ecclesiastical possessions, matrimonial relations of the laity and clerics were of importance for legal ecclesiastical thought of that time.

My paper does not intend to resolve the problem of the authenticity of the acts of Split's councils, but rather to show the possibility of finding the historical context for them through a broad juxtaposition with European sources. Certainly, there is more room for such an analysis, since only restricted materials were used in my research, and the possibility of these acts having been compiled in another century, although taken into consideration, was not examined in particular.

Architecture of the Dominicans in Livonia

Anneli Randla (Estonia)

The main aim of this thesis is to take an example of mendicant architecture and study it in order to determine whether the "typical" features of this architecture apply in this specific case. The area chosen for research is Livonia, which formed a political unit—a separate part of the Teutonic Order State—in the late Middle Ages. The Dominican order was chosen for this study because more architectural material remains from their friaries than of any other.

The work consists of case studies of three of the four Dominican friaries in Livonia—in Tallinn, Riga, and Tartu—dealing with the problems of their architectural history. All available sources had to be used for these analyses since the architectural material has only been partly preserved, and, in the case of Tartu, only archaeological material is avail-

able. A comparative method has been applied to these cases to find out whether a regional version of Dominican architecture existed.

All four Dominican friaries in Livonia were founded in important towns of the region. The three thirteenth-century foundations were located in episcopal towns (Riga became an archbishopric in 1255), which were significant centres of trade as well. The friary of Narva was founded at a time when the town started to gain more importance in trade and politics at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The location of the first Tallinn friary, on the castle hill, was quite exceptional. The castle was the royal residence at that time and inhabited only by the nobility. It was unusual in the thirteenth century to have a mendicant friary next to a royal residence; in fact, only a few cases of this are known from later centuries. The location of the other friaries is more typical as they were situated on the edge of the town, and either were, or became, part of the fortifications. The Riga friary was situated in the first episcopal residence and next to the freehold of the Brethren of the Sword; therefore, despite its seemingly peripheral position on the outskirts, this area would still have been in a very important part of the town. Only later did the development of the other parts of the town change this area into a less influential one.

The building history of Tallinn friary's church is too unclear to arrive at firm conclusions. The church might date partly from the thirteenth century and might have been rebuilt in the late fourteenth, although it seems more likely that it entirely dates from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The details of the church are puzzling as well, especially the cellar under the chancel and the inner division of the church (balcony, separating walls, etc.).

The present church of the Riga friary dates from the mid-fourteenth century and has a late vaulting. In its latest medieval form the church had a nave and two chapel aisles with net vaulting. It had a separate chancel, but the form and appearance of it are unclear.

The Tartu Dominican church was probably built as late as the fifteenth century as a hall church by master masons who either came from, or were influenced by, the building tradition of Tallinn at that period.

A comparison with typical mendicant architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that Livonian friaries only partly comply with its architectural scheme.

The architecture of the churches is peculiar in many ways. All of them were probably hall churches, but the incorporation of the chancel into the nave in Tallinn and Tartu friaries is very unusual, and even in Riga, where there is a separate chancel, there is no long chancel as would be typical for a mendicant church.

Tallinn friary's church is architecturally much more connected with the Brigittine nunnery and local building practices in general than with any other mendicant church. Despite belonging to different provinces of the Dominican Order, the church of Tartu friary resembles more closely the one in Tallinn than that in Riga, which was its mother house. Its ground plan, therefore, is as unusual as that of Tallinn. Unfortunately, there is not enough material available to make any stylistic conclusions about Tartu.

The church of the Riga friary was built partly using the elements of the former bishop's residence, thus it was not an independent building. The builders of the church also had to consider the position of the already existing streets. Riga friary church, in its late medieval form, is not very typical of the architecture in Riga at that time. Rather, it had closer connections with the church of the Virgin Mary in Gdansk.

Regrettably, not enough remains have been preserved from the claustral buildings of the friaries for any general conclusions to be drawn. In Tallinn where the architectural material is more numerous, the stylistic connection with the local buildings can be clearly observed.

In conclusion, it seems that the Dominican friaries in Livonia do not form a homogeneous architectural group although they have some common features. Moreover, they seem to have been influenced more by local building styles than by the traditions of the Dominican Order.

Further research in many directions on this topic is needed. The historical role and architecture of the Riga friary especially needs a more thorough investigation. A comparative study of mendicant architecture in a related area like Scandinavia as well as a study of an historically similar, but not connected, region would be useful for a better understanding of the architecture of the mendicants on the peripheries of Latin Christianity.

A Morphological Study of Hungarian Villages: Two Case Studies

Csilla Zatykó (Hungary)

While the view of wide variety and complexity of village forms set out in the 1950s became generally accepted in Western Europe, in Hungary no serious attempts were made to test the validity of the strict system of village types established in the 1960s. Therefore, it is worth reconsidering the application of the former system of categorisation and to attempt to demonstrate how models of two reconstructed village forms might be used to provide a basis for new interpretations of Hungarian settlement typology. The present morphological study aims, on the one hand, at examining the structure of both the inner area and the township in Hungarian settlements through case studies of two villages, and at providing new aspects for further research on Hungarian village typology. On the other hand, the study also introduces methods based on historical, archaeological, historical geographical, and ethnographical evidence.

Regarding Csepely (co. Somogy), the reconstruction is based mainly on the topographical description of its division charter from 1412. However, early maps, historical geographical evidence, observations taken in the landscape, and ethnographical analogies are also used. The reconstruction and analysis of the village indicate that the inner area of Csepely is made up of two different parts that can be connected with forms of particular village types, and additional irregular elements can be separated as well. Within the medieval township of the village, features of four divergent types of field systems were distinguished.

In the case of Mogyoróska (co. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén), because of the lack of satisfactory historical documents, archaeological surveys and aerial photos were used, supplemented by information from early maps and ethnographical evidence as a basis for the analysis. Reconstruction of Mogyoróska provides an example of a village with regular-shaped inner area, where, in contrast to the traditional expectations, the structure of the cultivated land is composed of four different forms of field systems. The study of the village stresses the fact that even in cases when, at first glance, a "classic," regular village

form can be seen, the arrangement of surrounding fields might be very complex at the same time. Results of the research cast some light on the importance of studying both the inner area and the cultivated land since examination of the relationship of the two can further refine the picture of medieval village forms.

The diversity of field systems within the townships allows us to draw additional conclusions concerning the traditionally accepted typology applied to Hungarian farming systems. The remains of different farming systems suggest that land usage in Csepely and Mogyoróska cannot be identified by one type of field system, but in fact they are a mixture of different types that reflect, on the one hand, the changes in village form over the centuries and, on the other, the adjustments to more favourable patterns of land usage.

The two case studies satisfactorily prove that both landscape and historical methods can be successfully applied in Hungarian research on settlements and contribute to a better understanding of village history.

PH. D. PLANS OF THE FIRST GROUP OF PH. D. STUDENTS

THE MIRACLES OF ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN (1386-1456): THEIR COLLECTIONS AND THEIR WORLD

Stanko Andrić (Croatia)

The project will include: (1) a study of the historical context in which the posthumous collection of Capistran's miracles came into being and a reconstruction of the genesis of these collections; and (2) an analysis of the contents of the miracle collections following recent modes of inquiry in religious and social history. The work is based essentially on ten posthumous miracle collections of St. John Capistran, which were written during the period between 1460 and the last decade of the fifteenth century. These documents are now preserved in the manuscript codices of the Naples National Library and the Library of the Irish Franciscan College Sant'Isidoro in Rome. Those stored in the Marciana library of Venice and in the Paris National Library were edited by J. Mircse in 1869 and by I. Mažuran in 1972, respectively. The total amount of miracle accounts included in these collections reaches ca. 2000. The existing studies related to this late medieval saint have focused on the detailed reconstruction of his biography (Hofer, Chiappini) and his ideas concerning the reformation of the Franciscan order as well as the oppression of "heretics" (Bonmann, Elm, Petrecca, etc.). His miracles (or "miracles") were treated only marginally and only once in more detail although many crucial questions were neglected (Fügedi). The intention of this work is not only to elucidate the genesis and the "system" of these hagiographic sources but also to obtain, through them, an insight into the material and mental reality of the fifteenth-century society in the region.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF PROGNOSTICAL BOOKS IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

Adelina Angusheva (Bulgaria)

This project addresses the prognostical books a group of texts which predict the future of human beings and political events in the Middle Ages. The texts of the prognostic books comprise different kinds of pagan beliefs, ancient astrological knowledge, and medieval notions. The analysis concentrates on Greek, Latin, and Old Slavic texts from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.

The goal of my research is to describe the processes in the cultural system and literary production which permitted the penetration of the prognostical books into medieval literature, their connection with the other literary genres, and the "sociology" of their function. The basis for this reseach will be a computerised catalogue of the most frequent topics in the texts of the books under review. Thus, the investigation will provide results relevant for the exploration of the "languages" of the Middle Ages and the expression of the different types of reality.

In order to present the place of the prognostical books in the literary tradition, this exploration will concentrate on the presence of these texts in various manuscripts and the semantic connection between the type of the manuscript and the type of prognostic book which appears in it. Thus, the meta-textual strategies in the medieval manuscript tradition will be brought to light.

Medieval Urban Topography as Influenced by Ecclesiastical Institutions: Continental Croatia in European Context

Ksenija Brigljević (Croatia)

The project focuses on the towns of Zagreb, Požega, Kaptol, Kutjevo, Đakovo, Čazma, Osijek, Kloštar Ivanić, Ilok, Varaždin, Virovitica, Križevci, and Daruvar-Podborje. My primary interest lies in the urban development of these towns as influenced by ecclesiastical institutions - bishops and bishoprics, cathedral and collegiate chapters and monastic orders-with particular reference to the role of these institutions in the towns' medieval topography.

First, my intention is to establish the similarities and differences of urban development in the towns of the area; second, to compare them with towns in other parts of Central Europe, that is, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, in order to situate Croatian medieval urban development into the broader context of the region and, ultimately, into a European perspective.

The topics of specific inquiry and comparison will include: (1) *Castrum - suburbium* settlement pattern. *Castrum* as an urban generator, housing both civilian and ecclesiastical authorities acting as a focus of a future settlement. (2) Episcopal towns. Episcopal policies towards the population in the suburbs and the effect of those policies on town planning. Relation between the bishops and the mendicant houses and its consequences in the outlay of the suburbs. (3) New towns and the Cistercians (it has been recognised that the Cistercians in Croatia, similar to those in Hungary, located near settlements and commercial roads). The Cistercians and the baptised of France and England. (4) Urban functions of the monasteries and chapters. The function of the *locus credibilis* performed by monasteries and chapters in Croatia and Hungary, replacing notaries. The administrative functions of ecclesiastical institutions in medieval European towns. (5) Mendicant houses, town planning, and the defence system. (6) Urban decline of the ecclesiastical towns attributed to the insufficient liberties given to the citizens by the ecclesiastical lords as compared to the privileges granted by the king to the free royal towns. Comparison of the reasons for the decline in various European towns.

Greek and Latin Loanwords in Croatian Glagolitic Missals and Breviaries

Margaret Dimitrova (Bulgaria)

The main goal of my research is to compare the earliest Slavic written tradition in respect to the use of loanwords with the later Croatian Glagolitic one. Therefore, medieval tenth- to sixteenth-century Bulgarian, Serbian, and Croatian manuscripts will be juxtaposed. A computer index of loanwords in the *New York Missal* provides the basis for comparison. Loanwords will be examined from the standpoints of textology, lexicology, and orthography. The methods of contact linguistics will be used as well. This investigation of loanwords will be conducted within the broader context of cultural dialogue in the border area between West and East. The following problems will be addressed in the course of my research: medieval Croatian Glagolitism in the context of east-west cultural relations; the linguistic situation (bilingualism, trilingualism) in Dalmatia in the Middle Ages as compared with medieval Bulgaria, Moravia, and Serbia; the education of Glagolitic translators and scribes, their knowledge of languages, their attitude towards Greek and Latin loanwords; the continuity and innovations in the use of loanwords in Croatian Glagolitic literacy, retention, and alteration of the Cyrillomethodian heritage, new influences originating in both the East and the West; the use, orthography, and morphological adaptation of loanwords as evidence for cultural influences on medieval Croatian Slavic literacy.

Kinship, Heritage and Power: The Croatian Noble Kindreds in the Context of Central Eastern Europe

Damir Karbić (Croatia)

My project focuses on the development of the kindred-organised nobility in medieval Croatia and on a comparison with the development in other medieval kingdoms where nobility was organised in a similar way during the late Middle Ages (Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Slavonia, Bosnia, Valachia, Moldavia). This research is a continuation of my M.A. thesis "The Croatian Noble Kindred: An Attempt at its Analysis" in which I compared Croatian customary law (recorded mainly in the Law Code of Novigrad and Poljica county) and that of Hungary (recorded in the Tripartitum).

My intention is to proceed with the same question and to utilize a prosopographical method. The work will consist of several case studies concerning the history of exemplary kindreds. Each kindred will be investigated according to the following topics: (1) belonging to the same genealogical descent (real or fictitious), (2) relations among members and actions concerning outsiders, (3) the common seat and place of living, (4) the types of property (private, common) and the process of inheritance, (5) the common cults of patron saints and ancestors, (6) other members of the household (retainers, servants, employees), (7) the way the offices held by the members of the kindred influenced their attitudes of solidarity or disagreements. In the last part I will return to a more general comparison (mainly using the results of other scholars) and attempt to establish the differences and similarities among kindreds from different countries.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES ON BYZANTINE AND WESTERN CHRISTIANISATION MISSIONS AMONG SLAVS OF CENTRAL EUROPE

Anna Kuznetsova (Russia)

An important part of the written sources on the events that brought Central European Slavs into the Christian world is hagiographical. During my M. A. research on "The Byzantine Mission to Moravia in Light of the *Pannonian legends*," I realised that any analysis of the Pannonian legends isolated from contemporary hagiography might be misleading. The different *Lives* of the missionaries influenced one another, creating polemics between them and the lay sources. In any comparative study of hagiography, texts analysed in relation to one another shed more light on the main questions than texts considered individually. Among the main issues of missionary practice related to the conversion of the Slavs, I will address themes such as the personalities of the saints, their usage of the native language of the barbarians, and pagan resistence in relation to the martyrdom of Christian missionaries.

Another aspect of my study is conversion to Christianity as a political instrument and, in this regard, the function of the first hagiographical writings of newly converted Central European Slavs and the role of hagiography in the claim of both halves of the Roman Empire to rank themselves as true heirs to Rome. The question, to what extent this controversy between the churches of Rome and Constantinople influenced the authenticity of hagiographical writings on missionary activity among Slavs, is a subject for my analysis as well.

THE VERBAL MORPHOLOGY OF CROATIAN CHURCH SLAVONIC

Sofia Ladić (Russia)

In my research I plan to consider two texts of the Roman Missal from the fifteenth century written in Croatian Church Slavonic - *Hrvoje's Missal* and the *New York Missal*. This project continues my previous work on the verb in Croatian Church Slavonic. In my M. A. thesis I have already examined a portion of the verbal conjugation system in Croatian Church Slavonic: present tense forms in the material of one part (*Proprium Sanctorum*) of *Hrvoje's Missal*. I should like to continue this work including in the analysis all the parts of the missal text (represented by two manuscripts) and all the verbal forms. First, my plan is to complete the collection of the material by preparing the database of all the verbal forms of the two missals. Following the conclusion of this work, the database will be used to prepare the indexes of the verbal forms of *Hrvoje's Missal* and the *New York Missal*. Second, I will analyse the material, using the possibilities of the computer database program Excel. The task of the analysis is to examine the functioning of the verbal stem in conjugation and in the entire verbal paradigm. The final aim of the work is to describe the formation of all the synthetic and analytic forms of the verbal paradigm, including all tenses, moods, and participles. At the same time I will indicate all the deviations in Croatian Church Slavonic from the system of the verbal morphology in Old Church Slavonic.

Religious Life of the Citizens of Sopron According to the Testaments

Zoran Ladić (Croatia)

The main task of this project is to investigate the different types of expression of popular religion in the Hungarian town Sopron. The research is based on an analysis of the last wills of the citizens of Sopron, but the analysis of other documents (Prister Buch, inventories) will be included as well. For that purpose a specific type of data base has been created, containing information on testators and their legacies.

My basic intention is to establish the different forms of piety and to analyse possible changes in the expression of piety of the citizens of Sopron in the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the early sixteenth century. I also intend to situate the religious life in Sopron within a wider European context regarding these issues. The comparison is with a few French (Avignon, Toulouse) and German (Konstanz) medieval towns.

Methodologically, the project follows recent researches on the topic completed by French (J. Chiffoleau, A.-M. Hayez) and German (P. Baur) historians.

In particular, this work will investigate (1) the testators according to gender and health conditions; (2) the distribution of legacies to priests and ecclesiastical institutions; (3) legacies for masses; (4) legacies for funerals; (5) legacies *ad pias causas* (to hospitals, orphans etc.); (6) legacies for pilgrimages; (7/8) the reasons for such distribution of the legacies; (9) the changes in the piety of the citizens in the period; (10) similarities and differences in the piety between the citizens of Sopron and European towns.

Crafts and Guilds in Late Medieval Hungary, including the Role of Women

Svetlana Nikitina (Russia)

The crafts and guilds in Hungary will be compared with those in other European countries (Germany, England, Spain), in terms of the peculiarities of craft/guild structure and its activities. As the recent work on guilds points to the lack of firm boundaries between merchants and craftsmen, masters and journeymen, and so on, especially in small towns, there is a need for a complex analysis of the interrelationship between various labour associations (official and voluntary). Having come across the variety of terminology and synonymous usage of terms "craft" and "guild" in the literature, I would now conditionally call the labour organization typical for medieval Hungary, and referred to in the documents most frequently, *zeche*. (Hung. *céh*).

Supposing that most Hungarian guilds were concerned with particular crafts, I would consider the *zeche* as a unit that can be subdivided into three spheres of activity: economic (the craft in a strict sense), socio-religious (which can be called fraternity or guild), and symbolic. Their correlation might have differed in various periods, towns, and organizations.

Analyzing the role of royal power (especially that of the kings Louis I, Sigismund, and Matthias Corvinus) in the formation and development of guilds in Hungary, I intend to pay particular attention to the connection between charters of privilege given to individual towns and those given to their guilds.

The analysis of the place of women in Hungarian guilds as workers and employers, differentiating between female roles in crafts and guilds (fraternities of the same crafts or associations not connected with certain crafts) can add important details to the notion of "otherness" implied in their structure.

I will also examine the fight for power and influence among guild organizations as realized in three directions: between craft guilds of individual towns as a whole and the merchant guild that usually dominated municipal councils; between various crafts in a certain town; and between guilds of different towns within the context of Buda's declining commercial importance after losing the Right of Staple in the fifteenth century.

THE *BDINSKI ZBORNIK*: AN ANALYSIS

Maja Petrova (Bulgaria)

This Ph. D. project is intended to be a continuation of my previous work on the *Bdinski Zbornik* - a fourteenth-century Bulgarian *menologium* of women saints. First, I will examine the tradition of women saints' anthologies in both Byzantine and Roman tradition. On such a basis it will be possible to outline the peculiarities of this Bulgarian collection.

The second part of the thesis will present a textological analysis of the *vitae* contained in the *Bdinski Zbornik*. Such a detailed investigation on the particular texts will enable me to identify any possible insertions and omissions and to formulate a hypothesis as to whether these corrections were made at the time of the *Bdinski Zbornik*'s compilation. It will also provide information concerning the method of the *Bdinski Zbornik*'s copyist/editor. Such observations might prove to be important in the analysis of the "Account on the Holy Places" and the "Tale of Blessed Thais," i.e. those chapters of the *Zbornik* to which parallels (both in Slavic and in Greek) are still unknown. These chapters will be examined separately. In addition, the type and the contents of the MSS containing these *vitae* might provide information on the provenance, the destination (for a nunnery or for a lay woman?), and on the usage of this Bulgarian anthology. A catalogue of the other different Slavic versions from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries will also be provided.

Finally, I will investigate the cult of the saints whose *vitae* are included in the *Zbornik* and attempt to ascertain whether it gives any key to understanding the origin and composition of the whole anthology. The early Slavic calendars as well as the preserved iconographic material, will be explored in relationship to the hagiographic sources. I will also include, data from fifteenth-century name-registers, for the relation between persons and the saints after whom they were named is obvious and much dependent on the cult. The kings' charters will also be re-examined with regard to the patron saints of the churches and monasteries that were granted money and privileges. Thus, the idea is to collect the pieces of information about the cults of these particular female saints in the Late Medieval Balkans, which are currently dispersed in various kinds of sources.

NON-ADJUDICATED DISPUTE SETTLEMETS IN MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPEAN TOWNS

Erik Somelar (Estonia)

In the course of my work I intend to examine the records called *Urfehden*, and other evidence of non-adjudicated dispute settlements of Central Europe. I have already established that, besides Krems and Stein, from the archives of Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, and Sopron (Hungary), and stored substantial quntities of these documents. I will also work on establishing tha availability of *Urfehden* and various complementary sources in other archives of Central Europe. My purpose is to reconstruct the functioning of the social network, as far as confronting deviant behaviour was concerned, and to determine the status of non-adjuducated dispute settlement in the framework of legal tools used to preserve social harmony in medieval Central European towns. More exact determination of the function of non-adjudicated dispute settlement might shed light on hitherto unknown aspects of medieval system of justice.

I consider the comparison of the methods of preserving the inner harmony in towns as applied in England to those of Central Europe as an inevitable element of my work. Whereas the exact counterpart of *Urfehde* does not exist in England, the coroners' an gaol delivery rolls reveal the existance of social networks similar to those constituting the basis for the *Urfehden*. I also intend to incorporate the results of such a comparison in my thesis if the correlation proves to be of relevance to the substance of the work.

RESIDENT FACULTY: RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AWARDS

JÁNOS M. BAK

(Professor, Dr. Phil., Göttingen)
history of ideas and institutions, medieval symbology, social history of nobility.
(bakjan@ceu.hu)

Publications:

- "Percy Ernst Schramm (1894-1970)" in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline.* Eds. Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadil. New York - London: Garland, 1995, 147-162.
- (with Gy. Litván) *Die ungarische Revolution 1956. Reform - Aufstand - Vergeltung.* Trans. by Anne Nass. Vienna: Passagen, 1995, 211.
- "Szimbólum - jel - intézmény. A középkor szimbólumai: rendszerezési kísérlet" (Symbol, Sign, Institution: an Attempt at a Systematisation of Medieval Symbols) in *Jelbeszéd az életünk.* Eds. Ágnes and Gábor Kapitány, Budapest: Osiris-Századvég, 1995, 361-71.
- (ed.) Medieval Nobilities in East Central Europe, *History and Society* 2 (1995).

Lectures:

- "Medieval Studies: Old and New Centres in East Central Europe." Report to CARA Annual Meeting, October 8, 1994, Columbus, Ohio, USA.
- "Heterodoxy and Vernacular Literature in Central Europe," Paper read at the 26th Medieval Workshop, UBC, Vancouver, Canada, November 19, 1994.
- "Queens as Scapegoats," Paper read at Medieval Queenship Conference, King's College, London, April 20, 1995
- "Problems of Common Concepts in Social History," Paper read at the conference on the Social History of Poverty, Max Weber Foundation et al., Budapest, May 24, 1995.
- "Füchse im Weinberg des Herren: Ketzer und Schwärmer im Mittelalter," Participant, Sunday Forum of Süddeutscher Rundfunk, Ulm, Germany, June 18, 1995.

Awards:

- Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dept. of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., USA, Fall 1994.
- Member, Supervisory Committee, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution Public Foundation, appointed June 29, 1995.

NEVEN BUDAK

(Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Zagreb)
urban history, early medieval history, Christianization, ethnogenesis.
Editor of *OTIUM* - Journal of Everyday History, Zagreb.
(budakn@ceu.hu)

Publications:

- *Gradovi Varaždinske županije v srednjem vijeku. Urbanizacija Varaždinske županije do kraja 16. stoljeća* (Towns of the Varaždin County till the End of the Sixteenth Century), Zagreb-Koprivnica: Dr. Feletar, 1994.
- *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* (First Centuries of Croatia), Zagreb: Hrvatska sveućilišna naklada, 1994.
- *Knezovi, kraljevi, biskupi* (Counts, Kings, Bishops). Zagreb: CID, 1995.
- "Rudnik u Rudama kraj Samobora od XV do kraja XVII stoljeće" (The Copper Mine in Rude near Samobor from the 15th to the End of the 17th Century), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 27 (1994): 75-97.
- "Šišak u ranom srednjem vijeku" (Šišak in the Early Middle Ages), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 27 (1994): 171-174.
- "Gradske oligarhije u 17. stoljeću u sieverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj (Urban Oligarchies in 17th Century Northwestern Croatia), *Medunarodni kulturnopovijesni simpozij Mogersdorf 1988:* (1995): 89-109.
- "Die Entwicklung städtischer Siedlungen in der nordwestkroatischen Gespanschaft Vara din im Mittelalter" in Neven Budak, Peter Jordan, Walter Lukan, Petra Moissi (eds.) *Kroatien. Landeskunde-Geschichte-Kultur-Politik-Wirtschaft-Recht. Österreichische Osthefte* 37 (1995) 2, 370-390.

Lectures:

- "Städtische Kultur in Kroatien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Städtische Kultur in Südosteuropa", Göttingen, 1994.

- "Florentine Merchants in Croatia and Slavonia from the 14th to the 16th century," at the Economic History Congress in Milan, 1994.
- "Gegenreformation in Kroatien. Schlaininger Gespräche," Stadtschleining, 1994.

Awards:

- Head of the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, 1994.
- Member of the Board of the Croatian Historical Museum, 1995.

GERHARD JARITZ

(Professor, Dr. Phil., Graz)
history of everyday life and material culture, computing in medieval studies.
(jaritzg@ceu.hu)

Publications:

- Ed. with Verena Winiwarter, *Umweltbewältigung. Die historische Perspektive.* Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994.
- Ed. with Käthe Sonnleitner, *Wert und Bewertung von Arbeit im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit.* Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz, 1995 (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 7).
- "The Material Culture of the Peasants in the Late Middle Ages: 'Image' and 'Reality'," in Del Sweeney, ed. *Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation.* Pittsburgh: Pennsylvania Univ. Press, 1995.
- "Zentrum und Peripherie in der mittelalterlichen Mode," *Bericht über den 19 Österreichischen Historikertag in Graz.* Vienna: Verband der Österreichischen Geschichtsvereine (1995): 459-468.
- "Die Nähe der Ferne. Rezeptionsmuster in Alltag und Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters", *ibid.*, 369-374.
- "Zur Visualisierung des Arbeitsverbotes im Spätmittelalter," in Gerhard Jaritz and Käthe Sonnleitner, eds., *Wert und Bewertung von Arbeit im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit.* Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz, 1995 (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 7), 185-193.

- "Computergestützte Bildanalysen in der Geschichte mittelalterlichen Alltags," in *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 39/3 (1995): 156-161.
- Eds. with Ingo H. Kropac und Peter Teibenbacher, *The Art of Communication: Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of the Association for History and Computing*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1995 (Grazer Grundwissenschaftlicher Forschungen, 1).
- with Verena Winiwarter, "On the Perception of Nature in Renaissance Society," in M. Teich et al., eds., *Nature and Society: In Quest for Missing Links*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Lectures:

- "Spiritual Materiality or Material Spirituality: Cistercian Inventories of the Late Middle Ages." 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, May 10-14.
- "Medieval History and Digital Image Processing," Seminario di studi "Immagini tra arte, storia e ricerca," Ravenna, Italy, June 24.
- "Texts and Contexts," "Computing and the Middle Ages: The Variety of Texts" session at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 10-13.
- "Comparative Analysis of Historical Image Analysis," Round Table no. 34 of the 18th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Montréal, Canada, August 28 - September 3.
- "The Importance of Colour in the Life of Medieval and Early Modern Society in Western and Central Europe: Colour and Cultural Heritage," Varna, Bulgaria, September 12-15.
- "Gut vs. Böse im Mittelalter. Zeichensetzung und Symbole," 30. Deutscher Volkskundekongreß: Symbole - Zur Bedeutung der Zeichen in der Kultur, Karlsruhe, Germany, September 25-29.
- "Bound Images: Encoding and Analysis, Reconnecting Science and Humanities in Digital Libraries." A Symposium sponsored by the University of Kentucky and the British Library, Lexington, Kentucky, October 19-21.
- "Schnabelschuh und Hörnerhaube oder: Bild, Sachkultur und Kontextualisierung," 8. Österreichischer Kunsthistorikertag, Krems, October 26-29.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY

(Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest; Head of Department)
religious and cultural history, hagiography, witchcraft, historical anthropology.
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Publications:

- "Le Goff, the *Annales* and Medieval Studies in Hungary," in *Budapest Review of Books* 4 (1994): 163-170.
- "Szent Vencel képének átalakulása a X-XIII. századi legendákban" (Transformations of the Image of Saint Wenceslas in his Legends from the 10th to the 13th century), in *Társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok a közeli és régmúltból. Emlékkönyv Székely György 70. születésnapjára*, Ed. Ilona Sz. Jónás. Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1994, 51-59.
- "Miraculum y maleficium. Algunas reflexiones sobre las mujeres santas de la edad media en Europa central," *Medievalia* 11 (1994): 41-64.
- *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* (The Stigmata and the Legends of Saint Margaret), together with Tibor Klaniczay, Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek 135., Budapest: Argumentum, 1995, 255.
- "I modelli di santità femminile tra i secoli XIII e XIV in Europa centrale e in Italia," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura ungherese del basso medioevo*, a cura di Sante Graciotti e Cesare Vasoli. Florence: Olschki, 1995, 75-110.

Lectures:

- "The Structures of Narratives on Misfortune and Healing: Confrontation of Miracles and Maleficia," at the conference "Healing, Magic and Belief in Europe, 15-20th Centuries: New Perspectives," Woudschoten, Universiteit van Amsterdam, September 21-24, 1994.
- "L'hagiographie dominicaine dans la Hongrie médiévale" at the conference on "Les dominicains en Europe Centre-Orientale aux XIII^{e}-XV^{e} siècles; leur vie intellectuelle et leur activité pastorale," Cracow, Province Polonaise des Dominicains, November 24-26, 1994.
- "Miracoli di punizione e maleficio" at the conference "Miracoli," Rome, Terza Università di Roma, December 12-13, 1994.
- "Les stigmates de Sainte Marguerite de Hongrie," Paris, École Normale Supérieure, April 7, 1995.
- "The Historian (almost) after the Twentieth Century," Round table with Natalie Zemon Davis, Stephen Greenblatt, Carla Hesse,

Reinhard Koselleck, Thomas Laqueur, István Rév. City Hall, Budapest, May 26, 1995.
- "Sainthood and Rulership in Medieval Central Europe," Introductory remarks and chairing of the session at the 2nd International Medieval Conference in Leeds, July 10, 1995.

Awards:

- Awarded the Cand. Sci. title for the dissertation: "Magyar dinasztikus szent-típusok középkori európai összehasonlításban" (Hungarian Dynastic Saint Types in Medieval European Comparison), January 1995.

JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

(Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest)
medieval archaeology, history of material culture, monastic culture and architecture, British-Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages.
(laszlovj@ceu.hu)

Publications:

- "Frühstädtische Siedlungsentwicklung in Ungarn," in *Burg - Burgstadt - Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa,* Ed. Hansjürgen Brachmann. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995, 307-316.
- *Medieval Visegrád* (Royal Castle, Palace, Town, and Franciscan Friary), Ed. J. Laszlovszky. *Dissertationes Pannonicae Ser. III.*, Vol. 4. Budapest 1995, 172.
- "The Franciscan Friary of Visegrád: History, Archaeological Remains, the Results of the 1990-93 Campaigns," (with G. Buzás - Sz. Papp - Gy. Szekér - M. Szőke) in *Medieval Visegrád,* Budapest 1995, 26-33.

Lectures:

- "Landscape Archaeology in East-Central Europe" and "The Development of Aerial Archaeology in Hungary" read at the World Archaeological Congress, New Delhi, December 11-16, 1994. (National representative of Hungary).
- "Research Opportunities in Central Europe: A Panel Discussion," and "Hungaro-English Relations during the High Middle Ages," papers read at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, May 1995.

- "The Quantity of Archaeological 'Text'," paper read at the 2nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Leeds, July 1995.

Organization:

The First Congress of Hungarian Medieval Archaeology
Budapest, April 3-7, 1995

Field projects:

- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád (co-directing with Gergely Buzás).
- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (European Center of Archaeology, Bibracte: Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Tours).
- Field survey project in the Upper-Tisza region (co-directing with John Chapman, Newcastle).
- Rescue excavation project of the deserted medieval market place site at Muhi, Hungary (co-directing with Tamás Pusztai, Budapest).

István Perczel

(Assistant Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest)
philosophy, Byzantine history.
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Publications:

- "A szerelmes értelem és az egy létező. Egy elfelejtett plótinoszi tanítás" (Intellect in Love and the One Being. A Forgotten Doctrine of Plotinus), *Századvég* (1994): 82-102.

Lectures:

- "Denys l'Aréopagite et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien," paper read at the Second International Conference on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite "La postérité de Denys l'Aréopagite en Orient et en Occident", Paris, September 1994.

- "Five Lectures on the Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius" at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Paris, May 1995.
- "The Pseudo-Dionysian Corpus: a Document of Fifth-Century Origenism," lecture delivered at the Catholic University of Lublin, Faculty of Philosophy, November 15 and at Warsaw State University, Institute of Philosophy, November 16, 1995.

Awards:

- Directeur d'études invité, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Paris, May 1995.

MARIANNE SÁGHY

(Assistant Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest)
social and intellectual history of Late Antiquity; history of ideas; medieval political theories.
(saghym@ceu.hu)

Publications:

- "A nők városa" (The City of Ladies), *Café Babel* (Spring 1994): 109-119.
- "Conversio animae," *Augustinian Studies* 26-2 (1995): 81-108.
- *Ötven nagyon fontos év* (Fifty Important Years): four historical essays on the years 854, 1054, 1077, and 1356. Budapest: Lord, 1995.
- "A Templomosok pere" (The Trial of the Templars), *Rubicon* 1995/6: 11-16.
- "A Rózsák háborúja" (The War of the Roses), *Rubicon* 1995/6: 7-9.

Lectures:

- "Innovations in Late Antiquity: (Recent English and American Historiography)," Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia, November 30, 1995.

REPORTS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECTS

1. Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe: Rounding off the Project

Marianne Sághy

> *" The quarrels of popes and kings,*
> *with wars and pestilences in every page;*
> *the men all so good for nothing, and hardly*
> *any women at all - it is very tiresome."*
>
> *Jane Austen*

With sense and sensibility, our first research project aimed at making the medieval experience of East-Central Europe a little less "tiresome" and much more interesting by including women's political and cultural presence within the sphere of *exploranda* and *explananda*. The Women and Power project was presented in detail in our previous Annual; now I would like to continue where we left off.

Having presented the project and organized two panels at the First International Medieval Congress in Leeds in July 1994, we began planning a workshop on Gender and History. We proposed to invite the five young scholars from East-Central Europe who had been selected at our first conference in March 1994 to be the fellows of the project so that they could present their work to a larger public. Fortunately, our intentions coincided with the ideas and plans of two other programs run by the CEU: the program on Gender and Culture, directed by Nancy Leys Stepan, and the Curriculum Resource Center, led by Merrill Oates. We decided to bring together as many interested scholars from the region as we possibly could and, even more importantly, to enlarge our scope in order to present a broad spectrum of gender-oriented problems from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and to the modern period.

Gender and History Workshop, Budapest, 17-20 May 1995

At our second workshop we hoped to follow up the fruitful intellectual discussion of the first meeting. Yet we also felt that it would be a pity to contain these lively debates within a small circle of medievalist *cognoscenti.* We were able to invite to Budapest more than twenty-five students and young researchers from all over the region, who are interested in, or are dealing with, women's studies and gender issues. They were joined by CEU students as well as students and scholars from other institutions of higher education and cultural foundations in Budapest—such as ELTE (faculties of Humanities and Law), the University of Economics, and the Max Weber Foundation for Social Initiative.

The Department of Medieval Studies invited Janet Nelson (London), Susan Reynolds (Oxford), and Nancy F. Partner (Montreal), who had participated in the project from its inception. Other speakers included Joan W. Scott (Princeton), Thomas Laqueur (Berkeley), and Martha Chomiak (Washington, D. C.).

The workshop consisted of theoretical lectures and intense seminars based on assigned readings, which incited excellent discussions and some hot debates. Participants left not only with thick binders of xeroxed materials and long bibliographical lists but with the happy feeling that we all learned something new during these three days. We were all given food for thought, which we can meditate on until—hopefully—the next meeting.

The final day was devoted to discussion of the papers prepared under the aegis of the Women and Power research project. The program of the workshop was as follows:

Wednesday, May 17

9:30 am *Introduction of the participants, joint planning session*

(In this session, we introduced the proposed workshops—small group discussions— and their themes. Participants selected the workshops which they wished to attend. The workshops were then scheduled according to the requests and needs of the participants.)

2 pm *Medieval Studies and Questions of Gender* (lectures)
chair: Nancy F. Partner (Montreal)
Janet Nelson (London): *Women in History*
Susan Reynolds (London): *The Problem of Power*

Thursday, May 18

10 am ***The Power of Gender*** (lectures)
chair: János M. Bak (CEU)
Nancy F. Partner: *Medieval Masculinities*
Nancy Leys Stepan (CEU): *The State of Research in Gender Studies*

2 pm ***Terms, Issues, Approaches*** (workshops)
Nancy F. Partner: *Medieval Masculinities*
Marianne Sághy: *Christianity and Women*
Nancy Leys Stepan: *Public/Private/Work/Gender*
Martha Chomiak (Washington, D. C.): *Women's History in Eastern Europe*

Friday, May 19

10 am ***Terms, Issues, Approaches*** (workshops continued)

3 pm ***Sex, Gender, Feminism*** (lectures)
chair: Martha Chomiak
Thomas Laqueur (Berkeley): *Onanism, 'Novelism', and Money in the Long Eighteenth Century*
Joan W. Scott (Princeton): *Re-Reading the History of Feminism*

Saturday, May 20

11 am ***Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe Research Project*** (meeeting of the fellows, discussion of research results)

Second International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 10-13 July, 1995

The project's research results were presented in two sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds:

Women in Power
chair: John C. Parsons (Toronto)
Joanna R. Chodor (Lublin): *Queens in Early Medieval Chronicles*
Ivica Prlender (Zagreb): *Katarina Brankovic of Celje: Politics and Religion in Fifteenth-century Croatia*

Women Without Power

chair: Roman Michalowski (Warsaw)
Tatiana Riabova (Ivanovo): *Domesticating Women in Early Modern Russia*
Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Zagreb): *Ragusan Ladies in the Fifteenth Century*
Solvita Viba (Riga): *Aristocratic Women's Graves in Tenth- to Twelfth-century Latvia*

Due to illness, Solvita Viba could not join us in Leeds, so only four papers were read at the sessions, followed by discussion.

Publication of the papers is under preparation for the English-language historical revue issued in Budapest, *History and Society*, coming out in Summer 1996.

2. Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe

Tamás Sajó and *Béla Zsolt Szakács*

While researchers in Western Europe and the US already have access to important visual archives like the Bildarchiv Photo Marburg (Marburg), Index of Christian Art (Princeton), Iconothèque de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris), Institut für Realienkunde und Materielle Kultur des Mittelalters (Krems), and the Visual Resources Collection (Getty Center, Santa Monica), these and other collections of their calibre are not yet available to scholars in East-Central Europe.

CEU Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe as we described in the *Annual* 1993/94 aims to fill this lack and to enhance historical studies and research with visual material in a two-fold way. On the one hand, the project is designed to contribute to the evolution of special research methods in the fields of art history and archaeology relating to the interpretation of images as historical sources (iconography, history of artifacts, "Realienkunde"). On the other hand, it aims at building a consciously organized collection of visual materials, both with copies of documentations from other great European and American collections and with materials collected and processed by East-Central European institutions supported by the Medieval Studies Department.

New Items in our Collection

Our collection of photographic documentations purchased or exchanged with other European collections has grown significantly in the course of the last year. After the Marburger Index of German Art, containing 1,200,000 photographs of German art, we acquired further segments of the collection Bildarchiv Photo Marburg: the Italian Index, the Photographic Documentation of Art in France, and the Photographic Documentation of Art in Switzerland. Searches in this vast material at least amongst its German items are facilitated by the first CD catalogue of the Marburger Index, containing also the iconographic notations of most art objects of the photo collection.

Our collection of scanned images from great European museums, enhanced in the last year by the purchase of the first three videodiscs of

the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, has also been expanded by three new and relevant items: the CD-editions of the paintings of the National Gallery (London), the Uffizi (Florence), and the Louvre (Paris). We have also recently obtained some important auxiliary material on CD: the first CD edition of the iconographic classification system Iconclass (Utrecht University), the International Medieval Bibliography (Leeds University), the CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts (Brepols), and the complete Classical Latin Authors (Zanichelli).

The Visual Resources project has also concluded an agreement with the Orbis Foundation, the organizer of the computer cataloging of Hungarian museums. In terms of our agreement, the image-processing hardware of the Visual Resources is available to the museums participating in the Orbis project, who in turn provide the Medieval Studies department with a copy of their materials for the use of research and education. In the last few months, four institutions—the Kalocsa Cathedral Library, the National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments, and the Classical Department as well as the Old Paintings department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest—began to process their materials in our visual laboratory. The first results of this work are the complete scanned photo documentation—about 500 photos—of the medieval manuscripts kept in the Kalocsa Cathedral Library as well as the complete "short description" of Hungarian monuments—ca 12,000 buildings—provided to us by the National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments. It is foreseen that in the near future other institutions will also join the common processing work.

Visual Laboratory

As suggested by the above results, the long-planned visual laboratory of the Medieval Studies Department has been finally established and has opened its doors to students and researchers. The Visual Lab is something like a felicitous mix of an electronic bibliography, an image-processing laboratory, and a hypermodern auditory. All our above listed materials are available here for consultation, together with a small library comprised of handbooks of art history and iconography. For image processing, we are equipped with two excellent scanners and a CD-writer for storing the rapidly growing scanned images. Computer presentations are facilitated apart from "traditional" equipments like slide and overhead projectors by a recently purchased large-resolution LCD projector. Thus, it is no wonder that the Medieval Studies section of CEU Summer

University (July 1996) is almost exclusively based on the materials, equipment, and personnel of the Visual Lab.

The personnel two research assistants as well as a technical assistant are at the disposal of the students and researchers every Monday from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m., and also other days, on the basis of previous agreement. They hold an introductory course for students on the methods and applications of computing in medieval studies as well as in the use of the laboratory's equipment and collections. They also regularly present the lab's miracles to colleagues from both Hungary and abroad. Thus, for example, a short introduction to the work of the Visual Laboratory has already become a constant item on the program of the CEU visits organized by the Curriculum Resource Center for foreign scholars in the social sciences.

The Medieval Studies Department supports its students and staff in launching projects for building image databases of their own. Two similar projects are currently in progress: a computer presentation of medieval Macedonian frescoes and the development of a comprehensive database of medieval Hungarian monasteries.

Apart from computers, printers, and network, the following special hardware for image processing are available in the Visual Lab:

- HP Scan Jet 3c flat-bed scanner, for scanning printed images and positive photos with special equipment for slide scanning;
- Nikon Cool Scanner, a very high resolution (3000 x 2000 dpi) slide scanner, primarily for small (24 x 36 mm) color dias and black and white negative films;
- Micronix large capacity CD-writer, for storing scanned images on CD;
- Sony VPL 351Q high resolution (800 x 600) LCD-projector, for the projection of scanned images and computer programs in conferences;
- Canon Microprinter 60 microfiche reader and printer;
- in addition are slide and overhead projectors, equipment for photographic reproduction, and other accessories.

CD Edition of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

The CD edition of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, a fourteenth-century illuminated codex, is the first *tour-de-force* of the Visual Resources Project and the Department of Medieval Studies. The codex, whose pages are now kept in several collections, mainly in the Vatican Library, consists of illustrations of evangelical scenes and legends of

the apostles and saints. The manuscript contains only illuminations and Latin inscriptions, not the full text of the legends. Today 140 pages with 545 pictures of the codex are known to exist. The illustrations are presumably based on the text of James of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* while the pictures related to East-Central European saints are based on other local legends.

As this codex is regarded as an eminent source of medieval iconography, in 1994 the Department of Medieval Studies began to build a computer database of the pictures of the codex. All pictures were photographed and scanned from slides. The database was made with the Orbis software, an open database software used for cataloging in Hungarian museums, and contains a full-text English description of every picture, the original Latin inscriptions and their English translation, the names and bibliographies of the represented saints, the full text of the Latin legends which served as a basis for the representations, and a brief interpretation of the divergence between the represented actions and the narrative. The iconography of the images is described and indexed with the notations of the internationally used Dutch iconographic classification system ICONCLASS as well as with the keywords of the Thésaurus des Images Médiévales developed by the École Française de Rome for the classification of the miniatures of the Vatican Library.

After two preliminary presentations of the database at the Leeds International Medieval Conference in 1994 and 1995, the complete database was presented at the Rome International Angevin Conference organized by the École Française de Rome in November 1995. The CD will be published, presumably in September 1996.

A Pilot Project: Guide to the Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe

At the start of the Visual Resources project, before concentrating our efforts on the creation and expansion of a visual archive, we realized that we had to prepare a checklist describing existing photo archives in East-Central Europe in order to obtain a general overview of relevant material.

Since the summer of 1993 we have visited close to sixty important photo archives in the region, predominantly in Poland, the Czech Republic, Croatia, and Slovenia, and some relevant institutions in Slovakia, Romania, and Germany. We have prepared the full description of the 56 following archives:

Warsaw, Institute for Art History of the Academy of Sciences
Inspectorate for Monument Preservation
National Gallery
Wroclaw, Regional Center for Study and Preservation of Cultural Environment
Architectural Museum
Historical Museum
State Inspectorate for Preserving Historical Monuments
Polytechnic University
National Museum, Gallery of 12th-15th c. Art
National Museum, Cabinet of Documents
Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural Property (PKZ)
University Library
Szczecin, National Museum
State Inspectorate for Preserving Historical Monuments
Regional Center for Study and Preserving Cultural Environment
Gdańsk, National Museum
Academic Library
Regional Center for Study and Preserving Cultural Environment
Poznań, State Inspectorate for Preserving Historical Monuments
Department of Art History of the University of Poznan
Lublin, State Inspectorate for Preserving Historical Monuments
Prague, Inspectorate for Monument Preservation
Castle Archives
Collection of the photographer Paul Prokop
National Gallery
Institute for Art History of the Academy of Sciences
Manuscript Collection of the National Library
Brno, Moravian Gallery
Office for Monument Preservation in Brno
Opava, Silesian Museum
Ostrava, Office for Monument Preservation in Ostrava
Bratislava, Institute for Art History of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences
Archives of the Institute for Monument Protection
Slovak National Museum, Historical Museum
Slovak National Museum, Archeological Museum
Slovak National Gallery
Budapest, Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments
Cluj, University Central Library 'Lucian Blaga', Special Collections
University Babes-Bolyai, Dept. of Medieval History
Institute of Archeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy
Bucharest, National Academy of Art

Zagreb, Institute of History of Art (at the University)
Institute for the Restoration of Works of Art
Croatian Historical Museum
Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Schneider's Photo Archives of Old Monuments of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Croatian State Agency for the Preservation of Historical and Natural Monuments
Split, Museum of the Croatian Archeological Monuments
State Agency for the Preservation of Historical and Natural Monuments, The Main Office
Ljubljana, National Gallery
France Stele Institute of Art History of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts
Cultural Heritage Office of the Republic of Slovenia
National Museum
Marburg, Bildarchiv Photo Marburg
Herder Institut

The checklist will be published in the near future under the title Guide to Visual Resources of the Medieval History of East-Central Europe, and it will contain the description of about 100 collections in 300 pages.


CEU
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Part II.

M.A. Theses Chapters


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PAPAL PROVISIONS IN HUNGARY, 1305-1370

Péroline Bousquet

INTRODUCTION

This study is dedicated to the analysis of papal provisions granted to canonries and dignities in the kingdom of Hungary between 1305 and 1370. The choice of the period was imposed by the topic itself since the system of designating clerics to ecclesiastical benefices through the action of the papacy reached its apex under the popes of Avignon before suffering the consequences of the Great Schism and the attacks of the councils. However, for the kingdom of Hungary, published sources relating to the pontificate of Gregory XI (1370-1378), the last pope to have ruled an undivided Christendom from Avignon, are not available. Therefore, for the sake of precision and homogeneity, my inquiries conclude with the death of Urban V in 1370. As for the object of my study, I confined my investigation to provisions to canonries and dignities because other provisions are either too few compared to the numbers of benefices available, as are provisions to parish churches or minor benefices in a chapter, or too different in nature and consequences, as are provisions to bishoprics or abbacies. By this restriction to what is, in fact, the core of a papal collation, I obtained a homogeneous corpus which can

[1] G. Mollat, *La collation des bénéfices ecclésiastiques sous les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Université de Strasbourg, 1921); G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971); G. Barraclough, *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia* (London: Macmillan, 1934); J. Schwalm, *Das Formelbuch des Heinrich Bicglant* (Hamburg, 1910). M. Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen von 1200-1500* (Innsbruck, 1894). My personal interest in the system created by the papacy around the mastering of the collation to benefices has already led me to pursue research in England for the preparation of my French Master's degree. This previous study concerned the French canons of the English cathedral during the Avignonese papacy. My knowledge of the place of provisions in England, characterized by a massive use of the papal rights, the important and extremely conspicuous position held by curialists, the strong opposition of the political community, the use by kings of provisions for their clerks, the role of provisions in the extension of royal jurisdiction over the Church, and, to be short, the influence of papal collations in the development of xenophobia and national consciousness helped me to measure the impact of the provisions in Hungary by comparing it in an implicit manner to the prominent pattern represented by the English situation.

be analysed from a unique point of view: all my information concerns this middle layer of the ecclesiastical community comprised of the members of the cathedral and collegial chapters. This study will be a contribution to the history of this particular group of clerks in fourteenth-century Hungary.

The phenomenon under consideration here has been described in great detail in other countries, and its mechanism and characteristics are well known.[1] The range of possible uses by historians of the documents pertaining to the distribution of benefices by the papacy runs from local ecclesiastical history to the history of political relations between the State and the Church. First, the documents provide valuable information for prosopographic studies, especially concerning the evolution of the careers of certain clerks, and, therefore, documents relating to this field of administration may be relevant in almost every kind of research. Second, provisions interfered with the government of local churches and, thus, could also be examined in a study of a particular chapter or a bishopric.[2] For this same reason, the history of the Church of any country or state in the fourteenth century needs to take into consideration this phenomenon.

But it goes further in this field of church history because provisions are essential for measuring the respective claims to authority—and share in it—of popes and secular rulers over the regional or "national" churches. In the context of increasing central secular power, occurring almost everywhere in Europe, and of the subjection of the Church in each particular state or principality to these secular authorities, the ambition of the papacy to establish effectively a centralised ecclesiastical government caused tensions between popes and rulers. The collation to ecclesiastical benefices, that is, the disposal of the enormous wealth of the Church, was one of the issues through which the struggle for power between the supreme authorities, secular and ecclesiastical, was manifested. Therefore, provisions are also sources for political history and were viewed in this political perspective.[3] And lastly, the contribution of provisions to political history was recently extended to a new field of research through studies on the place of canons in the administrative and

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[2] See, for example: R. Holbach, *Stiftsgeistlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Welt* (Trier: Trierer Historische Vorschungen, 1982), 172-192; A. Friederici, *Das Lübecker Domkapitel im Mittelalter 1160-1400* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz , 1988), 82-113.

[3] W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 3, 65-68; L. Caillet, "La papauté d'Avignon et l'Eglise latine," in M. Mollat du Jourdin and A. Vauchez, eds., *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. 6, *Un temps d'épreuves* (1274-1449) (Paris: Desclée, 1990), 80-82; G. Fouquet, *Das Speyerer Domkapitel im Späten Mittelalter* (1350-1540) (Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1987), 31-47.

political offices of kings, princes, great nobles, bishops, and popes. The registers of the popes offer quite a number of examples of such clerical "civil servants" and, thus, provide an important basis for these studies.[4]

For the present study of Hungary, my aim is not to achieve a complete survey of the different historical fields for which papal provisions may be relevant. I am interested in the general features of the phenomenon in this particular kingdom: in how the system functioned and was established between the Curia, the royal court, and the episcopal palaces in Hungary; and in the *milieu* and the men who took advantage of it. To obtain as clear an image as possible of the provisions in a particular country, one ought to consult, as much as possible, sources emanating from other authorities which expressed the reception and reaction to this papal intrusion into the life of local churches. Some of the most interesting questions, such as the degree of success of provisors in securing a benefice or the attitude of the local ecclesiastical community and secular rulers to the papal claims, cannot be answered otherwise. Unfortunately, the comparison between papal and Hungarian sources is made extremely difficult by the poor state of documentation in Hungary. The habit of recording deeds was not a common one at the time for ecclesiastical institutions, and the documents which could have survived were in great part destroyed during the Turkish occupation of the country, especially those in the royal archives. As a consequence, my study will be rather unbalanced since it is grounded only on pontifical documents. Its scope will be naturally restrained compared to what has been done elsewhere.[5]

Chapter 3 (one part of five): Beneficiaries of the Papal Provisions in Hungary and the Relationships to the Curia

This chapter is devoted to the persons who were beneficiaries of the papal provisions. I intend to examine the social composition of this group and the main characteristics of the clerks involved in it. This step is necessary to characterize the nature of the papal disposal of benefices in the kingdom of Hungary. Moreover, in the context of the well-established centralisation of the Roman Church, the relationship between the

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[4] H. Millet, ed., *I canonici al servizio dello stato in Europa. Secoli XIII-XIV* (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992).

[5] Especially in the thorough survey conducted by J. R. Wright for the province of Canterbury, which included an analysis of papal provisions as well as of episcopal and royal documentation. See: J. R. Wright, *The Church and the English Crown* (Toronto: Institute for Pontifical Studies, 1980).

papacy and the national churches had to be relatively close. And, of course, relationships could only be maintained through personal connections. The obtaining of papal provisions brought into play the Hungarian connections at the Curia. The documents left by the benefice policy of the popes are, therefore, a potential source of information to reconstruct the possible networks which linked Hungary to the Curia. Therefore, in the description of this group of papal provisors, I will pay particular attention to the provisors from foreign countries and to the Hungarian clerks who came and stayed in Avignon, both categories of people who served, even if in an indirect way, to maintain relationships with Avignon.

The information provided by the letters of provision is generally scarce, and the features of many of the clerks remain hidden. Most likely, the "anonymous" clerks had neither a title nor an important acquaintance with whom to advance their cause at the Curia. They probably constituted the lower part of the social scale of the group of provisors. What evidence does remain is usually that of their names and patronyms, sometimes a reference to their clerical status, their diocese of origin, and a list of their other benefices.[6] Not much arises from this information regarding their individual history, but it counterbalances the weight of the more prominent but less numerous clerks. It must be remembered that the majority of provisions were made to these unknown men.

Hungarian Provisors

According to my sources, around five hundred different clerks received a papal grant. The homonyms among beneficiaries prevent me from providing a more accurate number. The average provisor would be born under Hungarian dominion, be called Johannes, Ladislaus, Nicolaus, Petrus, or Stephanus, would not be a priest but a cleric in minor orders, and would have already been in possession of a benefice.[7]

More than half of the clerics had their other benefices listed in one or more of their provisions, and only seventeen clerks stated in an explicit manner that they did not have a benefice when they were granted the

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[6] The pontifical chancery had no set rules for recording personal information about the clerks. The origins (geographical and social) of the beneficiaries are sporadically recorded. The sponsors are often omitted from the provisions. The portrait I draw consists only of what the chancery's scribe thought significant when he copied the letter into the register.

[7] I found explicit mention of eighty-two priests, eleven deacons, and one subdeacon among the five hundred provisors.

provision. On the whole, the papal provisors were not newcomers to ecclesiastical careers. These previous benefices could be prebends or dignities as well as parish churches, rectories of altars (sometimes considered as a *simplex officium*), or parts of tithes in certain villages or vineyards. The provisors did not necessarily resign their benefices when they secured a provision, but frequently they proposed to do so (if possible a benefice in litigation) or were asked to do so at the apostolic chancery. These resignations supplied the chancery with new benefices to be granted by the popes, and a good number of the provisions, in fact, concerned benefices vacated by other provisors.

The proportion of young men is significant though only fifteen clerks asked the popes for a dispensation to keep their benefice despite their young age. The most notorious, Michael Nicolai Petri of Glumuthe, of noble birth, was only ten when he secured a reservation for an expectation of a prebend and dignity from Urban V in 1368.[8] All the others had reached at least adolescence (in the modern sense of the word) when they received their dispensations.

In half of the cases, the home diocese of the clerk is mentioned, and the differences between dioceses in providing candidates for papal provisions are striking. The clerks of Zagreb were the most ready to turn towards the papacy (forty-three clerks), followed by those of Esztergom and Pécs (thirty-four and thirty-three cases), Veszprém (twenty-eight), then Transylvania and Eger (eighteen and sixteen clerks), and finally the other dioceses, between two (Nyitra) and eleven (Várad). The size of the diocese partly explains the differences: it is not surprising to discover that the huge diocese of Transylvania provided more papal provisors than the small dioceses of Vác and Nyitra.

However, by looking at the map of Hungary in the Middle Ages, it will clearly appear that the best provided dioceses were all located in the southwest of the country (except Esztergom), roughly along the usual route followed by papal messengers and nuncios to reach Buda or Esztergom. Zagreb was a regular station in this journey, and the prominent place of Zagrebian clerks in the papal registers of provision may well come from their familiarity with the staff of the Curia, acquired through this privileged geographical position. Evidence for this hypothesis comes from the fact that the collector Petrus Gervasii exclusively employed canons of Zagreb to convey money to Senj on the Adriatic,

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[8] *Urbain V (1362-1370): Registres des Lettres Communes*, 11 vols., M.-H. Laurent, M. Hayez, A. M. Hayez, J. Mathieu, M. F. Yvan, eds., Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3rd series (Paris: De Boccard, 1954-1987), nr. 21555.

from whence it was sent to Venice, and through the intermediary of Venetian bankers, on to the Camera.[9] The wars against the Bosnian heretics in the second half of the century may have contributed to the development of the relations between the Zagrebian bishopric and the papacy to such an extent that the clerks of the diocese grew better acquainted than others with the possibilities of papal provisory rights. The high proportion of clerks from the other southwestern dioceses would also have been influenced by this proximity to the route followed by apostolic envoys. On the other hand, the important position enjoyed by clerks from Esztergom would have come quite naturally from the primacy of the see, which made the archbishop the principal interlocutor of the pope for Hungary and entailed obviously closer relationships between the clergy of the diocese and the papacy than in other dioceses.

This explanation is not perfect since the dioceses of Győr and Vác, which were also located very near to this route, are not among the best represented, but evidence supporting the strong influence of proximity to the routes of the apostolic envoys on the claims for provisions should not be dismissed on the sole basis of these irregularities. Whatever explanation we choose, the numbers of clerics coming from these four dioceses in the papal register indicate that these dioceses probably had the best connections with Avignon among Hungarian sees.

The proportion of educated clerks is modest but significant. On the whole, I encountered references to only thirty-five clerks with some kind of education, but almost all these references were found in Bossányi's registers, covering only a period of twenty years. I suspect that the references to degrees and intellectual abilities *(in iuro/artibus provectus)* have often been omitted in the registers of common letters, and I consider, in fact, that these educated clerks were more numerous than these registers attest, perhaps around sixty persons. Students represent more than half of these educated clerics and were, in general, members of the universities of Padova and Bologna. Among them was Ladislas of Zsámbok, son of a baron and a future bishop of Veszprém, who studied in Avignon. He is the first man we encounter in this chapter to show clear acquaintance with the Curia.[10] No clerk listed in the registers had graduated in theolo-

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[9] Three different missions of Zagrebian clerks carrying money are mentioned in his account: *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae illustrantia*, vol. 1, *Rationes collectorum pontificiorum in Hungaria* (Budapest, 1887), 433-435.

[10] A. Bossányi, *Regesta Supplicationum. Pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignoni korszak* [The Documents of the Papal Registers of Requests Related to Hungary: The Avignon Period], vol. 1 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1916), 10. Concerning Ladislas of Zsámbok, see further in the chapter and footnote 22.

gy or civil law. However, a canon lawyer's training suits the image of papal provisors, being preferably, as it is often described, clerks engaged in administrative careers inside the Church or the royal institutions. The preference towards canon law was brought by the minimal influence of Roman civil law on Hungarian law. The skills of a civilist would have been of no practical use in the kingdom.[11]

Members of the Royal Entourage

Why I assume that Hungarian canons, having received their offices from the pope, were people involved in the administration of the kingdom or the church is because it is not only a common feature in all of Europe but also because a significant number of them are described as chaplains, *familiaris*, or beloved clerks of such or such influential personages.[12] The service of the members of the royal family was the best place to obtain a provision. Among the provisors, fifty-three were employed in the service of Louis; sixteen served his mother; fourteen, her husband, King Charles; and four, Duke Stephen. Charles was a king without any particular affection for the clerics; whereas, his third wife, Elisabeth Piast, and his son are reputed for their piety. I do not know whether the number of their respective chaplains among the provisors is an expression of their different feelings towards the ecclesiastical community, whether it expresses the growth of the central administration under Louis, or whether it is

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[11] Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The Lawyers in Hungary before the Battle of Mohács] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 29.

[12] I counted twenty-one provisors with a definite function in a Hungarian household, ranging from a valet *(cubicularius)* of Nicholas Apáti, archbishop of Kalocsa, to four vice-chancellors of the kings, seventy-five 'chaplains', nineteen 'clerks', twenty *'familiares'*, twenty *'dilecti'*, and six 'servants'. The different terms are not exclusive, as shown in the case of Gallus Valentini successively described as notary, vice-chancellor, chaplain, *familiaris*, and councillor of Louis. See: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 350/1; *Urbain V, Lettres Communes*, nr. 25662, 25714. The shift from notary to vice-chancellor can be explained as a promotion inside the royal chancery, but the other names do not belong to any office in the royal court and are rather generic terms. Demetrius de Mariad, simple *'dilectus'* of the queen mother, was in fact the keeper *(custos)* of the treasure of Louis, a rather important position. See: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 218. Only the title of chaplain implies that the clerk formally belonged to the household of the king. Royal chaplains were not confined to spiritual guidance. Under the Angevines, the chapel was a reserve of able clerks, skilled in law, employed in tasks which required literacy and expertise. See: Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó*, 29-47 for a detailed analysis of the offices and functions inside the royal chapel. Demetrius Petri, for example, was described once as chaplain of Louis, once as treasurer: *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1: 476; *Urbain V, Lettres Communes*, nr. 2028. Therefore 'chaplain', like *dilectus* or *familiaris*, can cover very different functions.

simply a distortion brought forth by the registers. Five more clerks who were sent as nuncios to the Holy See by Louis and Elisabeth, though bearing no distinctive mark pertaining to the royal household, must be added to these royal servants. I would also consider adding to these people some of the clerks sponsored by the sovereigns without being identified as royal clerks in the requests. The sponsorship implies ties between the protector and the clerks, which can be of two main kinds: either the clerk is a servant of the king (or queen) or the son of a great baron for whom the king had to show some consideration, eventually by favouring his son's career.[13] The number of such clerks without distinctive titles amounts to forty-eight.[14] If only half of those were, in fact, royal servants, the total of provisors employed by the royal family over the period would be around one hundred and ten, a fifth of the entire group of provisors. The royal court whose role was essential, as we have seen, in conveying the requests to Avignon, appears here, in the same line, to have been the greatest beneficiary of the papal grants. The two facts are evidently linked: because the royal embassies played such a role, the clerks of the royal household had the best opportunities to have their requests brought to the Curia, not to mention the weight of a royal recommendation.

Familia of Bishops and Barons

The royal court with its numerous clerical inhabitants was not the only circle to take advantage of papal provisory rights. Altogether about one hundred and seventy Hungarian provisors received some kind of sponsorship from a Hungarian person. Bishops and barons were of course preponderant among the sponsors with a clear advantage for the bishops. They had more opportunities to be in contact with the Curia and were more likely to know how to use the provisory rights of the papacy to their own benefit. About sixty provisors were part of an episcopal or baronial *familia*. John of Gara, Bishop of Veszprém, secured provisions for twelve of his clerks, three nephews, and a clerk whose relationship with him we do not know.[15] Stephen of Bük, Bishop of Csanád and later

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[13] In July 1355, for example, Louis sponsored a request for Valentine of Alsán, who was identified as one of his clerks, though he probably was not at that time as he became vice-chancellor in 1373. See: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 292; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon IX-XIV. század* [Early Hungarian Historical Dictionary: Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 73.

[14] Twenty-eight were recommended by Louis, ten by his mother, nine by Charles, and one by Queen Elisabeth, wife of Louis.

Archbishop of Kalocsa, also supported eight of his followers and two other clerks.[16] All the most prominent clerical sponsors had been to Avignon as royal ambassadors. Therefore, their sponsorship appears as a consequence of their links with the royal court and provides indirect evidence of the overwhelming influence of the royal entourage on the choice of provisors. Apart from the bishops, a few lesser clerics supported friends and members of their "household" in the Curia. For example, Nicholas of Vásár, while Provost of Esztergom, sponsored three clerks, and Conradus Scupellenberg, a foreign officer of the king, helped two clerks. They were also royal nuncios to the Holy See and belonged to the royal entourage.

On the side of the laity, it is remarkable that few people grasped the possibilities offered by the papal designation. One of the most munificent nobles was Paul of Nagymárton, several times ambassador to the Holy See, who helped five of his own clerks to secure a benefice as well as four others whose relationships with him are not specified.[17] Another ambassador Benedict Himfi sponsored no less than twenty-six clerks, but he did not indicate that these men were close to him in any way. It is improbable that he merely presented the pope with a number of requests entrusted to him on behalf of the beneficiaries and that he had nothing to do with the clerks in question. Three members of the Lackfi family took advantage of the papal collation to provide their relatives and clerks with benefices. One of them, Denys Lackfi, was then the Bishop of Zagreb, the others were both laymen and important: Nicholas Lackfi, *ispán* of Zemplén, and Andrew Lackfi, *voivode*. Altogether, these three men sponsored four of their relatives, three clerks of their *familia*, and three other provisors. Nicholas Lackfi was sent by the king to help the pope in Italy in 1356, and he is the only noble referred to in the registers as having sent a specific nuncio to the Curia.[18] These facts, the relatively high number of provisors supported by members of the Lackfi family, the mission of Nicholas in Italy, and the act of sending a nuncio to the Curia are signs, in my view, that among the Hungarian nobility, this particular baronial family may have shown the greatest openness towards the papacy.

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[15] He also sponsored a Bohemian clerk, Peter of Koetyn, who was granted a provision in Wroclaw, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 234.

[16] Among these two clerks was a man from the diocese of Aquileia: Nicholas Gucemberd. See: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 189.

[17] I considered a provisor to belong to some extent to a baron's or bishop's *familia* whenever he is designated by the terms 'chaplain', *'familiaris'*, 'clerk of X', or even 'beloved of X'. Their relatives are also considered to be part of their *familia*.

[18] A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 344.

Apart from the Hungarian sponsors, we also encounter a few foreign nobles who requested provision for Hungarian clerks from the pope. Andrew, the brother of Louis, who married Queen Joan of Naples, secured only one provision for his chaplain, Nicolaus Nicolai of Zagreb.[19] More surprising are the interventions in 1325/1326 of Clemence, Queen of France in favour of two Hungarian clerks, Ladislaus Tybe, chaplain of Charles I, and Simonus, son of Simon, *ispán* of the Sicules, who was her own chaplain.[20] How this clerk ended up in the entourage of the French queen is a mystery, but the Curia and the recent installation of the Angevine rule in Hungary certainly played a role. The other foreign noble to have supported Hungarian clerks was Robert of Durazzo, who, by his sponsorship, wanted to thank four southern Hungarian clerks for the help they provided him when he was held prisoner during the first Neapolitan war.[21]

Social Rank

Among the clerks receiving a papal grant, forty-seven were noble or could be identified as such. When considering the definition of nobility in Hungary, it is apparent that a good number of others may also have belonged to its lower strata, but they do not appear as such in the sources. Members of some of the most prominent families of the Angevine period were granted papal provisions, but they are not so numerous, around fifteen. It was not so unusual for these clerks to attain high positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; for example, Dominic Bebek or Ladislas of Zsámbok became, respectively, the Archbishop of Esztergom and the Bishop of Veszprém. Seven sons or relatives of the greatest barons, who were also papal provisors, became bishops.[22] But these men, highly favoured by their birth, were not the only papal provisors to reach such high positions. Ten other clerks, from a lower social rank, became bishops in Hungary, and five became bishops outside the country.[23]

The combination of all these characteristics—clerics already well established in their ecclesiastical careers, a significant proportion of students and graduates, the extremely important place held by administrative clerks found in the royal, episcopal, and baronial households, and the high number of bishops-to-be, more than half of those elected

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[19] A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 110.

[20] *Jean XXII (1316-1334). Registres des Lettres communes*, G. Mollat, ed., Bibliothèque des Ecoles français d'Athènes et de Rome, 3rd series (Paris: De Boccard, 1904-1947), nr. 24418, 23709.

[21] A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 281-282, 286-287. He was held prisoner from 1348 to the signing of the peace in 1353.

between 1320 and 1370—indicates clearly that provisors were part of the elite of the Hungarian clergy. This is also corroborated by the types of benefices granted to them, which I examined in the first chapter. To be granted a provision was a typical feature of a clerk rising in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, one who had based his career not so much on his highly religious or scholarly achievements as on service to the powerful.

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[22] These clerks were: Ladislas of Zsámbok, bishop of Veszprém (1358-1371), son of Nicholas of Zsámbok, *palatine* (1342-1356), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 26, 69, 91, 112; Michael of Szécsény, bishop of Vác (1345-1362), son of Thomas of Szécsény, *voivode* (1321-1342), see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 56632; Nicholas from the Ákos kindred, son of Mikc, *ban* of Slavonia (1325-1343), see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 52293; Stephen of Paks, bishop of Syrmium (1358-1373), son of Oliver of Paks, treasurer *(magister tavernicorum)* (1347-1352 and 1359-1360), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 307-308; Dominic of Szécs, bishop of Transylvania (1357-1368), son of Péter of Szécs, *ispán* of Nógrád, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 95-96; Simon, son of Simon, *ispán* of the Székely, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 23709; Paul Lackfi, son of Nicholas Lackfi, and Petrus, Johannis and Johannes Petri, relatives (on their mother's side) of the same Nicholas Lackfi, *ispán* of Zemplén (1343-1379), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 364, 2: 319-320, 448-449; Dennis of Hédervár, son of Nicholas of Hédervár, judge of the Queen's court (1361-1376), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 432-433; John of Hédervár, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1:448-449; Nicholas Johannis, relative of Paul of Nagymárton, judge of the kingdom *(országbíró)* (1328-1349); Benedict Georgii, relative of Benedict Himfi, *ispán* of Pilis (from 1358), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 360; Dominic Bebek, bishop of Csanád (1360-1372) and then of Varád (1372-1374), see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 195, 204; Emeric Cudar, bishop of Varád (1376-1377), relative of Peter Cudar, cupbearer (1360-1372), then *ban* of Slavonia (1373-1380), see: *Urbain V, Lettres Communes*, nr. 19071, 23235, and *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1: 512, 515, 517; Stephen of Kanizsa, bishop of Zagreb (1356-1375), nephew of Paul of Nagymárton, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 29812, 56633; Valentine of Alsán, bishop of Pécs (1374-1408), then cardinal, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2:263, *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1: 442.

[23] Thomas of Telegd, bishop of Csanád, later archbishop of Esztergom, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 209; Nicholas of Vásár, bishop of Nyitra, Zagreb, and, finally, archbishop of Esztergom, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 39; Lawrence, son of Rolandus, bishop of Bosnia, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 14825, A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1:15; Ladislas of Kabol, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 11750, 11752, 16392, 24665, 28406 and A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia* (Rome, 1859-1960), 1: 482, 513; James of Piacenza, bishop of Zagreb, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 52207; John Surdis of Piacenza, bishop of Vác, Győr, and, finally, archbishop of Esztergom, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 204-205, 2: 397; William of Bergzaben (Coppenbach), bishop of Pécs, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 266, 306, 330, 409, 371-372; Gregory of Kapronca, bishop of Csanád, see: chapter 2; Paul of Jegrerdorf, bishop of Gurk, later of Freising, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 208, 214; Peter, son of Berthold of Brno, bishop of Chur, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 244, 246, 2: 295; John of Campello, bishop of Bosnia and Fermo, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 115; Gallhard de Carceribus, bishop of Csanád, Veszprém, and, finally, of Brindisi, see: *Benoit XII, Lettres secretes*, 2734; Demetrius, son of Peter, bishop of Syrmium, see: *Urbain V, Lettres Communes*, nr. 2078; John of Scherffemberg, bishop of Knin and later of Gurk, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 1: 138, 238-239, 2: 242, 264; Nicholas of Brassó, bishop of Knin, see: A. Bossányi, *Regesta*, 2: 437; Nicholas Casocti of Trogir, bishop of Trogir, see: *Jean XXII, Lettres Communes*, nr. 22337, 53356, 53357.

ARTISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE POETRY OF THE FIRST TROUBADOURS

Augustijn Callewaert

CHAPTER III

TROBAR AND *ENTENDEMEN:* THE RECEPTION OF THE SONG

Voi che savete ragionar d'Amore,
udite la hallata mia vietosa
(Dante, Rime)

The reception of the song, the attitude of the listeners and, ultimately, the quality of the audience evidently constituted a major source of preoccupation for troubadours from the early to the later "generations"[1] if we only consider how frequently they made references to it. It is clear, of course, that poetry performed in front of an audience led to a closer contact between the performer, whether it be the poet himself or his *joglar*,[2] and his listeners. By his very physical presence, the performer was not only able to draw the attention of the audience to his song[3] but also to act upon his listeners' receptive attitude.[4]

[1] Although rather vaguely defined, the idea of different "generations" is generally accepted in troubadour scholarship. A reliable chronology of the poets' careers can be found in the most complete anthology of troubadour poetry by Martin de Riquer, Los *Trovadores: História literaria y textos* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1975). As indicated in the title, I will concentrate my attention in this paper on the troubadours of the early period, that is, mainly, of the first two generations. The first generation coincides, because no other texts have been preserved, with the career and the lyrics of Guilhem, IXth Duke of Aquitaine and Vllth Count of Poitiers (1071-1126). The second generation starts in the first quarter of the twelfth century and continues, roughly, until 1160-1165; it includes poets from Jaufre Rudel to Rigaut de Berbezilh. In my survey, however, I included two poets who usually are considered "transition" figures between the second and the third generation, namely, Bernart de Ventadorn and Peire d'Alvernhe. For each poem I will indicate its reference number in Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie des troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933); for the quotations, I will indicate the edition consulted in footnote. Unless indicated, the English translations are my own.

[2] On the relationship between the troubadour and the *joglar*, see William D. Paden, Jr., "The Role of the *Joglar* in Troubadour Lyric Poetry," in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in the Memory of the Late Leslie Topsfield*, eds. Peter S. Noble and Linda M. Paterson (Cambridge: St. Catherine's College, 1984), 90-111.

In this chapter, I intend to demonstrate that the troubadours' preoccupation with the reception of their poetry was more than just a concern with the "phatic" aspects of the song's performance.[5] I will prove that the troubadours considered the reception of their poetry not only as a means of underlining their own artistic personality but at the same time as a means of "setting apart" their audience.

The "first troubadour," Guilhem IX of Aquitaine, proves to be particularly attentive to the reception of his lyrics, or, more precisely, he seems to have cherished high expectations concerning the abilities of his audience to appreciate poetry in general. The exordial lines of his song *Ben vuelh que sapchon li pluzor* (P.-C., 183, 2)[6] are most eloquent in this perspective:

Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor
d'un vers, si es de bona color
qu'ieu ai trat de bon obrador;
qu'ieu port d'aicel mester la flor (ll. 1-4)

I would like most people to know whether a *vers* which I have taken out from a good workshop, is of good colour, for I carry the flower in this profession.[7]

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[3] In the exordial stanza or in the *tornada,* the poet frequently draws the listeners' attention to the situation of performance, simply by alluding to the beginning or to the end of his song. Certain poems by Marcabru, for example, open with an imperative *aujatz,* "listen" (P.-C., 293, 9: l. 1 and 293, 35: l. 3). In one of his poems, Marcabru even uses the word *escoutatz* as a sort of refrain every fourth line of each stanza (P.-C., 293, 18). Jaufre wants "his song to be heard in the month of April, when the birds start singing" (P.-C., 262, 1: ll. 50-52); Cercamon complains that "his song has not been heard for a long time, but now has come the moment to sing" (P.-C., 112, 1c: ll. 1-3), and Bernart de Ventadorn "is pleased that his song will be heard after a long period of silence" (P.-C., 70, 26: ll. 5-7).

[4] See, for example, Frederick Goldin, "The Array of Perspectives in the Early Courtly Love Lyric," in *In Pursuit of Perfection: Courtly Love in Medieval Literature,* eds. Joan M. Ferrante and George Economou (Port Washington-New York-London: Kennikat Press Port Washington, 1975), 51-100. Especially interesting in this perspective is the second chapter of Maria L. Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori: Ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici cortesi fino al XIV secolo* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1984). For a broader view on the question, I refer to Paul Zumthor, *Introduction à la poésie orale* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1983), especially to the pages 193-206, and to Silvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[5] By "phatic" I understand the "control function" of language, thanks to which a locutor can ascertain that his message "comes through." See the influential article by Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language,* ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1960), 350-358.

[6] Quotations from Nicolò Pasero, *Guglielmo IX: Poesie* (Modena: Stem Mucchi, 1973), 157-86.

In line two, indeed, Guilhem appears to be as much concerned with the critical judgement of his audience as with his own image as an excellent poet, for he does not want his listeners to know *that* his poetry is of high quality; rather, he wants them to be able to judge *whether* it is good[8] (however, not without insisting upon the fact in line three that he is a very good, if not the best, poet himself). In other words, what our troubadour clearly aspires to in these lines is not the appreciation of the broadest possible audience but rather the appreciation of those listeners possessing the critical capabilities to judge his lyrics. By inviting exclusively the "happy few" among his audience to evaluate his song, of course, Guilhem ultimately intends to highlight the superiority of his artistic skills. Indeed, do the best works not always have to be judged by the best critics?

In the second stanza of the same song, Guilhem wants to stress the infallibility of his own judgement: he is able to distinguish *(triar)* not only reason from folly, shame from honour but, ultimately, also good from bad (ll. 8-14). In the next stanza, then, our poet simply seems to continue his self-praise by underlining his perfect ability to recognize his friends among his enemies:

Eu conosc be sel que be.m di
e sel que.m vol mal atressi;
e conosc be celui que.m ri,
e sels que s'azauton de mi
conosc assatz:
e atressi dei voler lur fi
e lur solatz (ll. 15-21)

I know well who praises me, and also who wants to do harm to me; and I know well who smiles at me, and I know well enough those who enjoy my company: and thus I also have to desire their agreement and their pleasure.

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[7] On the difficulties of establishing the exact sense of the word *vers* ('poem', specific genre or 'text', 'words' versus 'music'?) and its evolution in the work of the first troubadours, see Pierre Bec, "Le problème des genres chez les premiers troubadours," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 25 (1982), 31-47 and John H. Marshall, "Le *vers* au XIIe siècle: genre poétique?" in *Actes et mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de langue et littérature du Midi de la France* (Bordeaux, 1965), 55-63.

[8] In the five manuscripts which preserved this song (C, D, E, N, and N2), there is no variant that allows the first interpretation: *d'est vers* ***si.s*** *de bona color* is the only possible reading of this line.

However, the second part of this third stanza is not as easy to understand. For example, who are those who "enjoy the poet's company"? Are they the same as those who praise him? But why does the poet want their *fi e solatz*, and what do we have to understand by that? I suggest reading these lines as an allusion to the author's relationship with his audience and, more precisely, with a select group among them: *sels que s'azauton de mi.* Indeed, the verb *(se) azautar* seems to apply to those listeners who enjoy the poet's song. Their *fi* and *solatz* probably alludes to the aesthetic pleasure they experience during the performance.[9] The phrase *atressi dei voler*, finally, could be read as the poet's promise to his listeners of more good songs as a "reward" for their appreciation and understanding. In other words, thanks to his abilities to *triar* the good from the bad, Guilhem can create a bond of solidarity with a privileged group among the audience: those listeners who enjoy his poetry and, by their understanding, stimulate him to continue composing good songs.

Other examples of Guilhem's elitist relationship with his audience are his three *Companho*-songs, which he explicitly addresses to his "friends," those who are at his side. One of the three songs, *Companho, farai un vers [qu'er] covinen* (P.-C., 183, 3)[10] is particularly interesting because of the following line:

> *E tenhatz lo per vilan, qui no l'enten (l. 4)*
>
> And take him for a villain who does not understand it [the *vers*].

This line has often been considered a manifesto of Guilhem's aristocratic conception of art because certain critics interpreted the word *vilan* in its social meaning ("person of poor condition"). In their eyes, the poet's audience consists of an elite of aristocratic listeners, and only to them will the song be understandable. I disagree with this interpretation. In my view, Guilhem's statement implies the exact opposite. Guilhem does not say that the *vilan* do not understand the poem but that those who do not understand it have to be considered as *vilan*.[11] As such, *vilan* are, in the first place, all those who do not grasp Guilhem's metaphorical language. The "villains," indeed, do not see that his indecision about choosing between his "fast but wild horse of the mountains" (stanza 5) and his "beautiful and trusty horse of the plains" (stanza 6) refers to the choice he has to make between two ladies and, ultimately,

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[9] As pointed out by Ramón Menéndez-Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1957), 11-12, it is the task of the good troubadours to "give pleasure." See also Nicolò Pasero, *Guglielmo IX: Poesie*, 176.

[10] Nicolò Pasero, *Guglielmo IX: Poesie*, 5-35.

between two opposite conceptions of love. Secondly, *vilan* are those who do not realise the gravity of this choice for the poet. By their very incomprehension, they prove to be unfamiliar with the ideology of courtly love. The initiated listeners, on the contrary, know that Guilhem's song is *covinen* (l. 1).[12] They understand its deeper meaning and are fully aware of the relevance of his choice. It is to this select group of listeners, consequently, that Guilhem will address, in the penultimate stanza, his demand for advice:

Cavalier, datz mi conseill d'un pensamen (l. 22)

Knights, give me advice in a thought which preoccupies me.

In contrast to Guilhem IX, both Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel seem to be primarily concerned with setting apart the good from the bad poets. However, it is not difficult to see that both troubadours are simultanously preoccupied with the quality of their audience. In *Puois nostre temps comens'a brunezir* (P.-C., 112, 3a),[13] Cercamon gives free rein to his rancour about "those troubadours who, by their lies, corrupt true love" (ll. 19-21).

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[11] Guilhem seems to allude to a sort of "new order," which is not based on his public's social rank but on the merit of understanding the complexity of *fin'amors*. The moral connotations of the term *vilan* can be clearly observed in another song of Guilhem, *Mout jauzens me prenc en amar* (P.-C., 183, 8), where the author states that *fin'amors* has such a power over the lover, so that

E.l plus cortes vilaneiar,
e.l totz vilas encortezir (ll. 29-30)

The most courtly person may become villain, and the most villain courtly.

The mutual "conditioning" of love and (moral) nobility—essential to the concept of courtly love—will be further developed and theorized by Andreas Capellanus in his *De Amore*, see Graziano Ruffini, *Andrea Capellano: De Amore* (Milan: Guanda Editore, 1980): *... [amor] infimos natu etiam morum novit nobilitate ditare (Cap. 4, p. 12) and ... morum atque probitas sola est, quae vera facit hominem nobilitate beari et rutilanti forma pollere. Nam quum omnes homines uno sumus ab initio stipite derivati unamque secundum naturam originem traximus omnes, non forma, non corporis cultus, non etiam opulentia rerum, sed sola fuit morum probitas, quae primitus nobilitate distinxit homines ac generis induxit differentiam* (Cap. 6, p. 18).

The convergence of the two notions will become the foundation of Dante's *Vita Nuova* and, in general, of the Italian *Stilnovisti*.

[12] As Nicolò Pasero, *Guglielmo IX: Poesie*, 9, suggests, the term *covinen* could refer to the classical *aptum*-ideal. For the notion of stylistic *aptum*, see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1960), §258 (1: 144-45) and especially §§1055-62 (1: 507-11) where an interesting distinction is made between the convenience of discursive elements (§1056: "innere *Aptum*") and the convenience of style and social circumstances (§1057: "äussere *Aptum*"). Guilhem's use of the word *covinen* seems to account for this distinction.

[13] Quotations from Valeria Tortoreto, *Il Trovatore Cercamon: edizione critica* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1981), 157-78.

Yet, his main complaint seems to concern the fact that far too many people are not aware of their untruthfulness and, even more, enjoy listening to them: *[ist trobador] cuy mout vol hom escoutar et auzir* (l. 24). In the next stanzas, he evokes the damage they cause to courtly values and finally settles with all the ill-speaking people in almost eschatological terms: "worse than Judas who betrayed God, they should be burnt and buried alive" (ll. 35-36).

Jaufre also expresses his preoccupation with distinguishing the good from the bad troubadours. In the first lines of *No sap chantar qui so non di* (P.-C., 262, 3),[14] for example, he enumerates the essential skills that a troubadour has to master in order to be a good poet: *dir so* ("to compose a melody") and *far motz* ("to write words"). However, he also mentions a third skill which, interestingly enough, is connected to the poet's *entendemen:*

Ni conoys de rima quo.s va
si razo non enten en si (ll. 3-4)

Nor can one know how the rhyme goes if he does not understand the *razo* within himself.

Jaufre expects a poet not merely to understand the *razo* of his song ("development of its general idea") but to understand it thoroughly, one could say, to interiorize it: only true, experienced understanding can reveal the true troubadour, that is, he who knows "how the rhyme goes." As such, these lines are intended to warn against false poets: those who sing well-rhymed songs void of sense. In the last lines of this stanza, finally, Jaufre leaves no doubt that his song responds completely to the conditions of good poetry and, as a consequence, that he himself is such a "true poet":

Pero mos chans comens'aissi:
quon plus l'auziretz mais valra (ll. 5-6)

But my song begins as follows: the more you will hear it, the more it will be valuable.

But there is more. By alluding to the "inexhaustibility" of the song's quality (l. 6), Jaufre makes no secret of the fact that his poetry is merely intended for an audience of *pochissimi eletti,*[15] for those listeners capable

[14] Text and translation are based on Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des occitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1983), 85-86.

[15] The expression pochissimi eletti goes back to Salvatore Battaglia, *La coscienza letteraria del Medioevo* (Naples: Ed. Liguori, 1965), 247-48.

of disclosing, through repeated listening, the numerous layers of meaning in his poem.[16]

Another poet of the second generation, Marcabru, boasts as eagerly as Guilhem IX and Jaufre his perfect mastery and his poetic skills. However, he apparently has less confidence than his fellow poets in the understanding of his audience. In one of his earliest songs, *Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig* (P.-C., 293, 8)[17] for example, Marcabru puts forth the following acute but, eventually, rhetorical question:

Qui m'entend[r]ia s'ieu dic be (l. 31)

Who will understand me when I speak well?

Needless to say, the answer is "nobody." Marcabru's frustration stems from his conviction that there is ultimately no audience worthy of listening to his song. The knowledge of being surrounded by traitors who not only "settle down in the nest of someone else" (l. 22)[18] but are even generally acclaimed for doing so makes him feel like "a prophet in the desert." Indeed, what is the use of *dir be*, both in the moral and aesthetic sense, if the audience is totally impervious to moral admonitions of all sorts? Marcabru's conclusion about the future is the logical consequence of the "deafness" of his auditors:

E dei me tres vetz doctrinar
mon affar anz que si'auzit (ll. 44-45)

I will have to think thrice about my case before people hear it.

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[16] Many scholars have insisted on the literary influence of Guilhem IX on the lyrics of Jaufre Rudel. However, it is the merit of both Rita Lejeune, "La chanson de *l'amour de loin* de Jaufre Rudel," in *Studi in onore di Angelo Monteverdi*, eds. Giuseppina G. Marcuzzo and Paul Aebischer, (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1959), 1: 434-35, and Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 88-91, to have suggested that Jaufre actually invites his audience to discover elements of Guilhem's poetry in his own songs. In other words, the "pochissimi eletti" in Battaglia's formulation have to be identified with those initiated listeners who recognize Jaufre's "intertextual loans" from the "first troubadour."

[17] Quotations from Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru* (Toulouse: Privat, 1909 and New York-London: Johnson Reprint, 1971), 32-36.

[18] The bird Marcabru alludes to is, of course, the cuckoo, known for having its young nurtured by other birds. Obviously, Marcabru carries on his usual controversy against the adulterers whose bastards constitute a threat to the social order in general and to the courtly ethics in particular. See Aurelio Roncaglia, "Il *gap* di Marcabruno," *Studi Medievali* 17 (1951), 50-52.

In contrast with Guilhem of Aquitaine and Jaufre Rudel, Marcabru does not seem to have addressed his song *a priori* to a privileged audience. His initial intention was to preserve the entire courtly society from moral decay. But all too soon, it seems, he had to acknowledge that his audience was not unable but rather unwilling to understand him. Marcabru's decision to be more thoughtful in speaking stems from his disillusion, not having earlier understood the necessity to select the "wise" from among his listeners.

Later songs seem to reflect Marcabru's changed attitude.[19] In *Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa* (P.-C., 293, 37),[20] for example, he addresses himself to the *savi* (the "wise"), those who understand "what his song means, what every single word implies, how the argument is developed" (ll. 2-4), and he opposes them firmly to the "fool [who] divulges everything he hears" (l. 49), that is, to those who let themselves be misled by the "simple-minded troubadours [who] cause distress to virtuous people" (ll. 7-8). Similarly, in the *tornada* of another song, *Bel m'es quan la rana chanta* (P.-C., 293, 11),[21] Marcabru reproaches the troubadour Alegret for his complete lack of judgement: "Alegret, you fool, by what means do you think to change the base into the worthy?" (ll. 65-66). These lines refer most likely to *Ara pareisson ll'aubre sec* (P.-C., 17, 2), Alegret's panegyric to Alphonso VII of Castile whom he praises as the last defender of declining courtly values: *joven* ("youth"), *proesa* ("excellence"), and *larguetatz* ("generosity"). Like Alegret, Marcabru, in an earlier period, had put similar hopes in the figure of Alphonso; however, he later clearly changed his mind. The two *sirventes* he wrote to Alphonso attest to his evolution. If *Emperaire per mi mezeis* (P.-C., 293, 22), written around 1143, still expresses Marcabru's fidelity to and confidence in the Emperor, his song *Emperaire, per vostre pretz* (P.-C., 293, 23), dated around 1143-1145 but certainly posterior to the first one, offers a completely different picture: here, Marcabru blames Alphonso primarily for his lack of generosity.[22]

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[19] According to Paul Meyer, "Mélanges II: Marcabrun," *Romania* 6 (1877), 119-29, *Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig* is one of the oldest datable songs of Marcabru, anterior even to 1135.

[20] Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, 178-83.

[21] Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, 42-48.

[22] For the chronology and the edition of both poems, see Aurelio Roncaglia, "I due sirventesi di Marcabruno ad Alfonso VII," *Cultura Neolatina* 10 (1950), 153-83. For the place of both songs in the work of Marcabru, see Hans Spanke, *Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge des romanischen Minnesangs*, vol. 2, *Marcabrustudien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1940), 94-100 ("*Largueza*-Lieder").

But why is Marcabru so violent in condemning Alegret and, more specifically, what is the reason for calling him *folls?* The answer to this question can be found in the last stanza of Alegret's song:

Ara fenirai mon vers sec,
e parra fals al non-saben,
si no.i dobla entendemen;
q'ieu sui cell qe.lls motz escuma,
e sai triar los fals dels avinentz.
E si.l fols ditz q'aisi esser non dec,
traga s'enan, q'Alegres n'es girentz (ll. 50-56)[23]

I will finish now my dry *vers*, it will appear false to the one who does not know, if he does not double for that purpose his understanding; for I am the one who skims the words, and I know how to distinguish the false [words] from the good ones. And if the fool says that it [the *vers*] does not have to be so [as I have written it, according to my *entendemen*], let him step forward, for Alegret will defend it.

Alegret shows in these lines that he is perfectly aware of the insuperable opposition between the *saben* on the one hand and the *non-saben* on the other. Those to whom his *vers* appears false are ignorant, for they obviously do not see that courtly values are in decay. If only they "doubled their understanding"; that is, if they tried to understand the song from the author's point of view, they would be convinced of its irrefutable truth. But from that moment on, of course, they would no longer belong to the "wrong side" but join the ranks of the *saben*.[24] In the final lines of this stanza, Alegret intends to justify and guarantee at once his moral authority by underlining the rightness of his judgement: his song can by no means be false for the simple reason that he knows how to *triar lo fals dels avinentz*. And for those who would still be tempted to criticise his song, Alegret has a "stronger weapon": he will defend his song, simply by the implied threat to call them "fools." However, Alegret's dissuading strategy

[23] Text and translation are based on Ulrich Mölk, *Trobar clus trobar leu: Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Trobadors* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1968), 93-94.

[24] I do not agree with the interpretation given by Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Toulouse-Paris, 1934 and Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), 2: 33-34, who reads these lines as Alegret's boast of having composed an intentionally ambiguous song. Neither am I convinced by the interpretation offered by Ulrich Mölk, *Trobar clus trobar leu*, 96-98, who suggests that Alegret's "double understanding" refers to his use of homonymous rhymes.

does not seem to have impressed everybody. The best example is Marcabru, who, as I have shown, simply inverts the roles: the fools are not Alegret's critics but Alegret himself for having proclaimed Alphonso of Castile to be "the most distinguished of all kings, whose worth exceeds that of all the others" (ll. 40-42).

Let me complete this picture with a famous poem by Bernart de Ventadorn, *Chantars non pot gaire valer* (P.-C., 70, 15), in which the double *tornada* has not ceased to provoke scholarly interest.[25] In the first *tornada* Bernart shows the great importance he attaches to the reception of his song:

> *Lo vers es fins e naturaus*
> *e bons celui qui ben l'enten,*
> *e mieiller es qi.l joi aten (ll. 50-52)*[26]
>
> The *vers* is perfect and natural, and good for him who understands it well, and even better if somebody awaits *joi* from it.

At the end of his song, Bernart demonstrates the point of view of the author who has complete confidence in his poetic skills and in the perfection of his composition. But at the same time, he recognizes that the value of his song depends on its reception: its artistic refinement can be appreciated as such only by those listeners who "understand his poem well." However, the idea of interdependence between the listener and the poet is not new. It is implicitly present in the exordial stanza of Jaufre's *No sap chantar qui so non di* (P.-C., 262, 3), which I discussed earlier in this paper. Moreover, we find it in the final stanza of Guilhem's *Pus vezem de novelh florir* (P.-C., 183, 11),[27] to which, as many a scholar has pointed out, Bernart's lines are obviously tributary:[28]

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[25] See for example the article by Jean-Charles Payen, "*Lo vers es fis e naturaus:* Notes sur la poétique de Bernard de Ventadour," in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à Charles Rostaing*, eds. Jacques de Caluwé, Jean-Marie D'Heur, and René Dumas (Liège: ARULg, 1974), 2: 807-17.

[26] I follow the text and translation proposed by Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 91-97. On the basis of a series of parallel passages, as I will indicate in the following footnotes, Gruber convincingly argues that *qui* in line 52 does not introduce a relative clause, but a conditional clause (*qui=si quis*).

[27] For text and translation, see Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 63-67. I follow Gruber's principal idea that Guilhem does not refer to the worth of his listeners but to the value of his song through the reception of his audience. Gruber's interpretation, as I have indicated before, is based on the argumentation that *qui* does not introduce a relative clause, but a conditional clause, for qui has to be read as *si quis* (68-69).

Del vers vos dic que mais en vau
qui ben l'enten e n'a plus lau (ll. 37-38)

About my song, I tell you that its value increases if someone understands it well and [that] it obtains more praise.

Yet, unlike Guilhem and Jaufre, Bernart reveals in his song *Chantars non pot gaire valer* different expectations as far as the reception of his poetry is concerned. Indeed, did our poet in the third line of his *tornada* not explicitly state that his song was better for "someone who awaits *joi* from it" than for someone who only understood it? Bernart apparently wanted to underline that his song is of greater value to those for whom it may have had "real" consequences (the lovers) than for those to whom it gave merely literary satisfaction (the "amateurs" of poetry). As such, the last line of the first *tornada* marks a shift from an aesthetic to an existential attitude towards the song. In the second *tornada*, furthermore, it becomes clear that Bernart himself is concerned by his song:

Bernartz de Ventadorn l'enten,
e.l di e.l fai, e.l joi n'aten ! (ll. 53-54)[29]

Bernart de Ventadorn understands it [his *vers*], he recites it and composes it, and he awaits *joi* from it.

Our troubadour, indeed, represents himself no longer exclusively as the author of his song but also as the listener who understands it and, ultimately, as the lover who hopes that his love service will benefit from it. In other words, the poem itself, because of its quality and sincerity *(fis e naturaus)*, has become a way to the Lady's heart. This

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[28] See for example Carl Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn, seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1915), 89 and Moshé Lazar, *Bernard de Ventadour: chansons d'amour. Edition critique avec traduction, introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966), 239. It is the merit of Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 62-97, to have analysed the literary success of Guilhem's stanza in the lyrics of the major poets of the second generation: Jaufre Rudel (P.-C., 262, 3: ll. 5-6), Cercamon (P.-C., 112, 1c: ll. 35-36), and Marcabru (P.-C., 293, 33: ll. 49-50). The influence of this particular stanza continued even in the work of later troubadours like Peirol (P.-C., 366, 20: ll. 6-7) and Gavaudan (P.-C., 174, 8: l. 74). A notable absence in Gruber's analysis is, as far as the meaning is concerned, the *tornada* of Peire d'Alvernhe's *Belh m'es q'ieu fass' huey mays un vers* (P.-C., 323, 9: ll. 65-66).

[29] I follow the text proposed by Moshé Lazar, *Bernard de Ventadour: chansons d'amour*, 64-67.

confirms a general line in the work of Bernart de Ventadorn, in which the intentions and aims of the poet continuously intersect with those of the lover: for Bernart, poetry and love are one.[30]

In conclusion, the early troubadours prove to have been far from indifferent to the reception of their poetry. Throughout their lyrics, they insisted upon the distinction between worthy and unworthy listeners: *entendedor* versus *folls, non-saben,* or *vilan.* The audience to whom they wanted to address their songs consisted of privileged listeners, initiated into the "ethics" of courtly love and capable of appreciating not merely the artistic quality of the song but also the intertextual allusions echoed in it. The criterion of *entendre* occasioned a special relationship between the author and the "happy few" among his audience. On the one hand, it allowed the poet to stress his skills as an artist, the accuracy of his judgement, and the integrity of his moral conception. From this point of view, the troubadours' preoccupation with reception can be considered the counterpart of their concerns, which I have discussed in the first chapter, about the stylistic or ethical quality of their songs. In other words, by "selecting" the understanding listeners among their public, the troubadours actually profiled themselves as perfect poets. But on the other hand, certain troubadours seem to have been aware of the fact that they needed understanding listeners to qualify their song as "good." The interaction which was thus created between the poets and their audiences ultimately may have enhanced the formation of a group identity based on courtly ethics as represented in the songs of the troubadours. As such, troubadour poetry became a privileged place of encounter for the initiated and discerning members of the courtly society to celebrate their sense of solidarity, their *compagnonnatge.*

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[30] For a discussion of the relationship between poetry and love in Bernart de Ventadorn, see Mariann S. Regan, *"Amador et Chantador:* The Lover and the Poet in the *Cansos* of Bernart de Ventadorn," *Philological Quarterly* 53 (1974), 10-28, and Roy Rosenstein, "Latent Dialogue and Manifest Role-Playing in Bernart de Ventadorn," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990), 357-68.

THE HARMONISATION OF NEOPLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY FN THE GELATI MONASTIC SCHOOL

Levari Gigineishvili

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PETRISIS TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF PROCLUS' *ELEMENTS OF TECHNOLOGY* PROPOSITIONS: 29, 30, 95,116,123,124,125,151,159:

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine some particular aspects of Ioane Petritsi's main work: the translation and commentary on Proclus' *Elements of Theology.* Ioane Petritsi was a Georgian monk who lived presumably in the eleventh-twelth centuries. His Georgian translation of the *Elements* is thus the first of its kind, the subsequent one, William of Moerbeke's Latin version, followed some two centuries later. Since the earliest extant manuscript of the Greek text of the *Elements* dates to the end of the thirteenth century, Petritsi's translation, if we do not consider the corruption of the Georgian text, witnesses to a stage of the *Elements'* text tradition, which is earlier than the first direct witness.

The main part of this thesis consists of an annotated English translation of Petritsi's Georgian version of and commentaries upon some propositions of the *Elements.* It is preceded by a general introduction to Petritsi's literary activity as well as general remarks about the Gelati monastic school, the milieu where the he lived and worked, and by a presentation of Petritsi's theory of the *henads.*

Abbreviations:

Gm - The text of Greek manuscripts where there are no alternative variants.
Gd - The text adopted by Dodds where there are other textual variants.
*Gp - The supposed Greek text of Petritsi.
M, P, Q, etc. - the versions of certain manuscripts.
D - Dodds' translation.
L - Lossev's translation.

N.B. Retroversions of the probable Greek text of Petritsi belong entirely to Prof. István Perczel.

***P*[1] *prop. 29. (34.3-11)*[2] Each essential procession fulfillment through the similarity of the subsequent to the prime.**

For if the producer engenders similar things before the dissimilar, then similarity engenders the products from the producer, for similar things become similar through similarity and not through dissimilarity. Therefore, along the descent to the worst, the essential procession preserves the identity of the engendered towards the engenderer and the way to the engenderer is the prime way, so also does the procession manifest that which comes subsequently [in a secondary manner];[3] therefore, the latter owns its *hypostasis* through similarity.[4]

I. Consider that the entire meaning of this chapter is that he (Proclus) posits the similarity as a mediator between the producer and the produced, and from the same similarity there is the birth of the effect from the cause insofar as the similarity is the cause for both; that is to say, production and, again, reversion to the origin. The more similar one thing is, the more it is close, and the more close it is, the more it is alike. And here is appropriate the word of my sun-minded Paul because he says to him to be the image and similarity and *ekmagio* (Greek: ἐκμάγειον, "imprint") of the One,[5] whom the Word also dared to call the Father. And concerning the similarity, Paul says that he is an "unchangeable image"[6]; this addition of "unchangeable" indicates to us the similarity which is unlimited and dense. And still Paul says that he brings the entire wealth of the Father along with him. All these words show for us the limitlessness of the Word,

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[1] I follow the pattern of the Georgian manuscripts where each proposition of Proclus is distinguished from the following commentaries of Ioane Petritsi by, respectively, the letters P (Proclus) and I (Ioane).

[2] The numbers indicate the pages and lines of the corresponding propositions in Greek in Dodds' edition.

[3] Petritsi omits δευτέρως, " in a secondary manner" ("by derivation" in Dodds, line 10 in the Greek text).

[4] In the last sentence Petritsi translates ὑπόστασιν (29.11) as *mdgomareoba*, which is its exact mirror-translation. Here the Greek text he used was close to that of the manuscripts PQ as Dodds has remarked (p.xlii), where one reads ἡ οὖν πρόοδος ... ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν. In this version the subject of ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν is not ἡ πρόοδος ("the procession") as in Dodds' translation, but τὸ μετ' αὐτό ("the subsequent"). In fact, this makes better sense, since πρόοδος here is the PROCESS and not the RESULT of production while it is only the latter that can have a hypostasis. Lossev's translation of the locus corresponds to that of Petritsi.

[5] Cf. Cor. 4:4. ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, "who is the image of God," and Col. 1:15, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀοράτου, "He is the image of the invisible God."

[6] Nowhere in the Epistles of Paul is the phrase "unchangeable image" to be found, at least not in the Greek version.

which is born before the beings and also before the ONES, whom the philosopher calls "the idea of the ideas" and "the limit of the limits."[7]

And the torch (*purso*, Greek *purσός*) of the divine firebrands, Isaiah, says that "a child is born for us." He says "a child" in the meaning that he is originated from the Father, and he says "for us" because only now is the child revealed and apprehended by us, and he says "his origin (principle) is on his shoulders."[8] This last vision means that by "on his shoulders" Isaiah shows to us the indivisible unity of the child with his cause, the Father. And Isaiah also says this in a metaphorical sense because the hands and the shoulders represent an image and place of the power, and by saying this Isaiah means that his origin (principle) is on his shoulders as if on his power because the effect receives the whole power from the cause, BUT NOT IN AN OUTSIDE MANNER AS AN ACCIDENT BUT SUBSTANTIALLY AND EVEN SUPER-SUBSTANTIALLY[9] as receiving oneness from the One (or: as by unity from the One). IN FACT BEFORE THE MULTITUDE, THE ONE PRODUCES THE ONE AND ONLY THEN THE SERIES (Greek: σειρά) OF THE ONES.

And again, Isaiah calls the child the angel of the great mystery,[10] as if the herald. By "great mystery" he meant the entire genesis of the composition of beings, and he calls him the one who initiates us into this mystery, the vision of the philosophers' daylight.[11]

Here, important questions arise about the similar and dissimilar. There are two causes making the effect originate from the cause. In fact, if you consider it by mind, you find that the similarity does not give birth to the engendered as far as it preserves the property and the identity unchanged, and that which preserves the property and the identity is a different cause from the originating cause, given that each production inside the composition of a series is from the originating cause, and the difference is other than the property and the identity. Therefore, we

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[7] Greek: εἶδος εἴδων and πέρας περάτων . In each place where Proclus is quoted, I use Dodds' English translation. I use my own English version of Petritsi's translation only to highlight my purpose.

[8] Isaiah 9:6. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτου᾽ ἐπὶ του᾽ ὤμου αὐτου᾽. The original text undoubtedly means: "and his government is on his shoulders," but Petritsi understands ἀρχή in its philosophical meaning as "origin" or "principle"and translates it by the Georgian term *dasabami*, hence, his highly abstract interpretation.

[9] THIS SENTENCE OF PETRITSI in italics corresponds to a passage of the *Epilogue*, in which he states that only about the Trinity can we say that it is "existent and supra-existent by itself"; whereas, all the others are said to exist only "as images and accidentally" (216.28-30).

[10] Ibid. μεγάλης βούλης ἀγγελος.

[11] The "philosophers' daylight" must refer to the Christ; I think that, for instance, when in the *Epilogue* Petritsi says "let you, who contemplate spiritually and love our daylight...," (220.19) that by "our daylight" he refers to the Christ.

should find some other cause which differentiates all the products in the composition of a series, and this cause is DISSIMILARITY. Were it not for the differentiating cause, there would remain NEITHER THE SERIES OF NUMBERS, NOR THE SERIES OF BEINGS.[12] And as far as in the series, there remains and exists the multitude, the elements of which are different from each other, the difference and the multitude are from dissimilarity. Let us now briefly summarize: every likening force preserves identity and in no way separates the caused from the cause, but when dissimilarity intervenes, it produces and differentiates the engendered from the engenderer and the caused from the cause.

And you should consider as well that in the incorporeal cosmos, the immaterial space is conquered by excessive and greater resemblance and identity, and, on the contrary, in the corporeal and extended space, dissimilarity prevails because there are more perfect and pure images of the One, but here only dark and dim images. In fact, as Empedocles would say, the entire intellectual cosmos is ruled by and destined to love, which is unity, but this imitator of Being, I mean the perceptible realm, is ruled by the law of prevalence. Therefore, as there is the prevalence, there is opposition and fight as well. I have mentioned all this incidently in connection with this question.

P. prop.30. (34. 12-27) **All which is produced by something without mediation remains in the producer and proceeds from it.**

For if every procession proceeds from those which stay constant[13] and is accomplished through similarity, given that the similar are produced before the dissimilar, then in some way, the product stays within the producer. For if the product proceeds completely, it would not thus be identical to and remain in the producer,[14] but would be altogether split from it. But if it has anything in common and in unity with the first, it would therefore remain in the first as the first remains in itself. But if the product stays only in the producer[15] it will not proceed and will in no way be separated from its cause to which it belongs nor will it become different while the latter stays in itself.

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[12] I have put the sentence in ITALICS, for it sheds light on the relation and the correspondence between henads and beings, "numbers" meaning here the henads.

[13] *Gp μενόντων τε γίνεται καὶ τω῾ν πρώτων; Gm μενόντων γίνεται τω῾ν πρώτων; D "while the firsts remain steadfast."

[14] *Gp οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοι ταὐτὸν καὶ μένον; Gm οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοι ταὐτὸν πρὸ± τὸ μένον; D "would have no identity with that which remained."

[15] Gm εἰ δὲ μένοι μόνον μὴ προιὸν, οὐδὲν διοίσει... Petritsi reads the same sentence as if the comma had been placed elsewhere: *Gp εἰ δέ μένοι μόνον, μὴ προιὸν διοίσει...

Should the product differ, it is separated and divided from the producer; if it is divided, then it stays in[16] and proceeds from it so that which stays in the producer is divided from it.[17] Therefore, insofar as the product identifies with the producer, it remains in it; whereas, through difference, it proceeds from it. Thus, in a certain way, it is simultaneously similar through identity and simultaneously different from the producer.[18] Therefore, at the same time, it stays and proceeds, and neither aspect precludes the other.

[In the commentary on the 30th proposition Petritsi gives three points of view according to which the existence of the effect is to be considered: these are 1. κατ' αἰτίαν, 2. καθ' ὕπαρξιν , and 3. κατὰ μέθεξιν .]

1. κατ' αἰτίαν· "according to the cause":

Insofar as each effect first should be considered in its cause, not as one in the other but as identity in its property, let us make it clear by a paradigm as well: in the One there are all the series of all the ONLIES, but the One itself is established in its property of the unity and has its exalted position in a transcendent, non-multiplied, and unique way over all incorporeal causes. In fact, they abide in him, and due to the incorporeality of the ideas, he carries with him the multitude of the effects without any diminution.

2. καθ' ὕπαρξιν· "according to the existence":

[The effect due to dissimilarity is separated from the cause and becomes the "subsequent and the product." The corollary is that each effect should be more multiple than the cause, for it must have in it an additional differentiating element.]

3. κατὰ μέθεξιν : "according to participation:"

[The example adduced in the following by Petritsi is quite significant and is connected with the topic of the FIRST LOGOS in the preceding commentary]

When three is in its cause, it is not said to be three because it is in

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[16] *Gp μένει δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ; while Gm has μένει δὲ ἐκείνῃ; D "and the cause remains steadfast."

[17] *Gm ἵνα διακρίθῃ τὸ μένον; Gm ἵνα διακρίθῃ μενούσης; D "to render this possible."

[18] Here Dodds' and Lossev's translations, make better sense: D "But being like it, it is at once identical with it in some respect and different from it." From the point of view of grammar, however, Petritsi's version is also possible.

a unitary way and according to the cause (κατ' αἰτίαν), and when three is in its subsequents neither then is it called three because it is then in a mode of transmission and participation; that IS, when it is according to existence (καθ' ὕπαρξιν), one can say that it is and that it is three. So, if you clearly comprehend the one, you would see it in every being, be it numerical or natural, because the numbers are numbering, that is to say, "defining" the natures and not nature the numbers, and the ideal natures (καὶ αἱ καθ' αὐτὸ φύσει±) in themselves are numbered by the first number, the head of the ideas as Socrates reveals to us because he says that "the first Measure measured all, and the first Limit limited all,"[19] that is to say, that Limit that we have just called the Son.

P prop.95.(84.28-35) Each power which is more unitary is more limitless than that which is multiplied.

For, if the first Limitlessness is closest to the One, then the powers which are more akin to the One are more limitless than those which have gone far from it because the multiplied discard away from themselves similarity to the One, but that which stays in unity possesses the originating cause through the indivisibility WHICH IS FIRMLY IMPRESSED UPON IT.[20] For, even among the divided things the activity of the united powers is more multiple; whereas, that of the separated is diminished.

I prop.95.

This theory states that the more unitary power imitated to a greater degree the highest-of-all-high One than the multiple since by this ineffable One before the supra-existent ONES, there were issued two sources: the first Limit and the first Limitlessness, the latter being the power "analkestati,"[21] that is, "power-less" in virtue of its infinity. So this first Limitlessness is one and akin to the One because it is the first source belonging to this unimaginable sun of the ONES, and it is not determinable by any other subsequent and separated power.

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[19] Cf. Plato, *Philebus* 26 ab.

[20] The obvious meaning of the Greek sentence is that implied in D: "as it becomes... held together by indivisibility" (somewhat modified). But Petritsi seems to understand ὑπεροχήν, (1.33. meaning "eminence," "transcendence") as "that which is above the power itself," and thus he translates it with the expression "originating cause." In addition, he seems to ignore πρὸ± τὰ± ἄλλα± (ibid, "over the other powers"), and he translates συνεχομένη ("held together") by *she-mtkits-eb-uli* which means "firmly fastened to them."

[21] According to Petritsi, Limitlessness is "power-less" "because it transcends all power." An example of Pseudo-Dionysian negative terminology.

P prop. 116.(102.13-27) Every god by participation participates except the One.[22]

It is evident that one ONLY (i.e. monad) has no connection to participation since those which are participants and exist in virtue of participation become attached to some of the separate things and are not equally the causes of all things as [that one which is the cause] of pre-existent beings.[23] And in the following way let us prove that all the other ONES participate: if after the First, there is another ONE with no connection to participation, how then will it be distinguished from the One? If it is one in the same way as that which is First by supra-abstraction, how then could the one be subsequent and the other first? If not one the same way, then the first will be the One itself; whereas, the second will be one and not one. However, if this unity[24] has not its own hypostasis, it will be only one. But if it has some hypostasis apart from the One, the One will be participated in by the not-one, and the self-perfection of the ONE-LIKE[25] will attach it to the First, which is the One itself, and it will be god by participation,[26] like God. But the hypostasis of the not-one emerges through

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[22] At this place, the Greek text in fact has Πα'± θεὸ± μεθεκτό± ἐστι, πλὴν του' ἑνό±, which means simply, as Dodds translates it: "Every god is participable, except the One." However, obviously this could not fit Petritsi's own Christian metaphysical system, and this is why he changes almost everything in the proposition in such a way as to exclude any possibility of attributing his divergence from the extant Greek text to supposed textual variants in the Greek manuscript he used. Thus "every god," referring unquestionably to pagan gods, becomes "every god by participation," that is to say, by participation in the one God, an acceptable idea for Christian theology. Moreover, "is participable" is also changed in a manner that normally cannot be translated into English. In this translation, I have used the word "participates" without a supplement, which, although not correct English, is the mirror-translation of the Georgian *eziarebis*, used by Petritsi, meaning that the "gods by participation," in fact, participate in something higher, a tautology if ever there has been one. However, Petritsi knows how to translate the Greek μεθεκτό±, for which he has two separate terms, *ziarebadi* "participable," and *ziarebiti* "participated in." The alternation leads Petritsi not only to tautology but also to complete logical inconsistency. Grammatically, from this sentence it follows that THE ONE is also among the "gods by participation." Of course, Petritsi does not imply this.

[23] Petritsi omits here τω'ν ὄντων .

[24] Here Petritsi, seems to have read something like τὸ ἓν του'το, instead of τὸ οὐχ ἓν του'το .

[25] For henads Petritsi often uses the term ONE-LIKE.

[26] Here Petritsi again uses "god by participation" for θεό±, and we see explicitly that he implies that the henads are also divinized by participation in the One.

[27] It is curious that here Petritsi follows exactly the Greek text and uses the term *ziarebiti*, i.e. "participable" and follows Proclus' meaning when he translates that the "god by participation" IS PARTICIPATED not PARTICIPATES IN and that henads ("unitary numbers") that come after the One are participable. This only confirms that his alterations come not out of misunderstanding but are purposeful, for grammatically Petritsi understands the text very well, and when his purpose is not, so to say, "switched on," he provides an unaltered text.

participation in the One. Therefore, every unitary number which comes after the One is participable,[27] and each god by participation is participated in.[28]

I prop. 116

Now the word puts forward the irrefutable arguments according to which only the One is enthroned in the transcendence on non-participability, wherefore the word also called him the transcendent God. This transcendent God, by his unattainable property, transcends all participation; in fact, participation could be considered in two ways; that is to say, first, he has nothing before him to participate in it and to receive the "oneness" (unity) from it, and second, neither does he give entirely his unreachable properties to the posterior ONES but makes them participate without participation, and without giving himself to them, he has with him all the unitary numbers and manifests them with different properties. And by his unattainable, above-acting powers, he manifests the unattainable properties of the ONES. But everything which is one by participation is one and not one (cf. prop.2), for as far as it participated in the becoming, it is one, but as far as it became, it is not One because everything which is created is distinct from the uncreated. The first One is above participation, but the second and created[29] one is [already] a cause BY GIVING ITSELF TO[30] all participants. In fact, the causes of the ONES are also distinguished, for the first One is the cause of the ONES but in such a way that he does not give his properties to the posterior ONES, but the one which derives from him is a cause in the series of the ONES in the way that he gives his properties to them. So the first One is beyond all ONES and is not to be posited in the series of the ONES, but it is One in solitude. And

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[28] It would be nearly impossible to enumerate all the changes that Petritsi effects on the text of Proclus so that its meaning is completely altered. We mention here only some of them as examples: in line 14 instead of "that" (ἐκεῖνο), he uses "one ONLY" (=monad). He translates the passive participle μετεχόμενον and the passive verbal form μετέχομαι respectively by the active participle "participating" and the active verb "participate," which changes the henads which in Proclus are entities participated but not participating (as we shall know from the commentary, they are participating in the first Limit, about which Proclus does not say a word in this proposition); he is translating "god" θεός, that is to say, a pagan god, a henad, either as "god by participation" or God (i.e. the one God); and finally he destroys the syntax of the original text in a way that it becomes practically unrecognizable.

[29] The term corresponds to Greek γέννητον.

[30] That is to say, "by letting them into participation in itself."

[31] Here Petritsi refers to the first Limit, which, together with the first Limitlessness, appears in his system as the head of the henadic series.

[32] Here Petritsi refers to the True Being, for it is the latter which in his system is "the first composite" composed of the henads, and, hence, coming after them.

the second ONE[31] which originated from him appears as an origin and head of the series of the ONES, but not as unified because the unified one is different from the ONE which derives from the beyond One. The originated ONE is above all the series as a head of the series and head of the ONES, but the ONE[32] which is composed from the ONES comes after the ONES because it is composed by the ONE-LIKE onlies as the great Parmenides said to Socrates and Zeno.

P prop.123. (108-110.25-9) All that is divine is in itself ineffable and unknowable for all the subsequent ones[33] because of its supra-substantial union, but it is known and grasped from its participants. Therefore, only the First is completely unknown because it remains above all participation.

For all knowledge by word (i.e. logical knowledge) pertains to beings, and its ability to grasp the truth is in the sphere of beings (for it is attached to intellection and is manifested among the intellects), but the divinized[34] are above and beyond all beings. For the divine is said to be neither subject to opinion[35] nor to discursive reason nor to intellection. For all beings are either perceptible and, thus, are subject to opinion or are the True Being and, hence, intelligible,[36] but the divinized ones[37] are supra-essential and preceding all beings. Therefore, they are subject neither to the power of opinion nor to understanding and discursive reason nor intellection. But their properties are known though those who are attached to them and who participate in them.[38] And this fact is necessarily so because the separate properties of those who are participated in correspond to those of the participants, and neither does all participate in all (for completely dissimilar things cannot be set together in the same order) nor is the participation haphazard, in a way that something participates in something haphazardly, but each is attached to a member of its genus and proceeds from it.

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[33] N.B. An italicized "one" in the theorems of the propositions denotes not a henad but a general pronoun; "ones" in the meaning of henads should be put in the theorems in regular characters.

[34] For Greek οἱ δὲ θεοί, Petritsi uses "divinized."

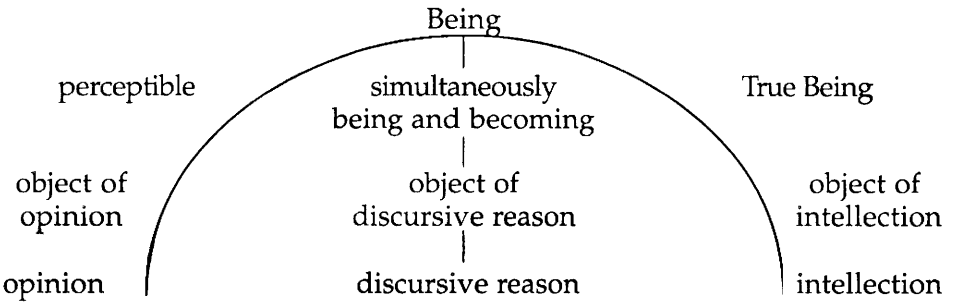
[35] Cf. *Timaeus* 29.c.

[36] Here in the Georgian text there is an omission of ἢ μεταξὺ τούτων, ὃν ἅμα καὶ γενητόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διανοητόν probably due to a scribe. There is the reference to three different types of cognition: opinion, discursive reason, and intellection, but when there follows the reference to their correlates: of opinion, rank, at once Being and thing of process," (D), i.e. soul, is omitted.

[37] In Greek, θεοί again, ("gods").

[38] In this proposition, Petritsi's translation is quite accurate. There are only interpretative additions that are underlined in the text.

[Here Petritsi provides his own scheme.[39]]



I prop.123.

This theory says to us that by/in their own existence the supra-essential ONES are unattainable, but they are grasped through the subsequents because they give their properties to all subsequents as supra-substantial sources of beings. And through the subsequents, they are understood in this way: begin first with perceptible [reality] since all the powers and actions that are among the animals and their parts or in the seeds; that is, everything in this hell[40] is from the divine which are the stars. And, to continue, all the powers which are among the stars are in the spiritual sky and cycle, and all the powers of the spiritual sphere are in the intelligent sky. Moreover, the powers of the intelligent sky are in the intelligible, and again the sphere and cycle of intellects is in the ornament[41] of True Being insofar as it is the first image of the ONES and of the One, and, to emphasise the point, all the powers of True Being are in the property of the ONES and in the sphere of the ONES, for that is the meaning of the word, which indicates that the properties of the ONES that are gods are perceived among the subsequents as though by their own existence, they are unattainable for the subsequents.

P prop.124. (110.10-28) All that is divine*[42] knows the divided in an undivided way, the temporal in a non temporal way, the not-necessary

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[39] On the top there is "being,"the most general category; it is viewed in three levels: (from right to left) True Being (intelligible), simultaneously being and thing of process (soul), and, finally, perceptible reality (thing of process). On the lower level, he posits the modes of cognition: opinion, discursive reason, intellection, and just above them, their correlates.

[40] Petritsi perceives the tangible reality as a "hell" in comparison with spiritual and intellectual, for in the former there is "prevalence and fight," in the latter "unity and love" (79.21-23).

[41] "Ornament" translates the Georgian term *ag-***mk**-*uli* "sthg. which is composed," *but* **mk**-*oba* also means "to ornament" (Lat. *ornare*), the term is an equivalent of Greek διάκοσμο±, (κοσμέω).

[42] *,**, In Greek= θέο± ("god").

in a necessary way, the changeable in an unchangeable way, and, on the whole, all things in a better way than their own orders.

Since everything which is in the sphere of the divinized** conforms to its properties, it is evident that, in the sphere of the divinized, knowledge of inferior things does not conform to the nature of such inferiors but to the superabstraction of the divinized. Therefore, in them, knowledge of the multiplied and passible is unitary and impassible so that each object of knowledge of the "knower"[43] is divided, but the divine knowledge is indivisible. That of the divided and mutable is indivisible and immutable, that of the possible, is of necessity, and that of the undefined, is defined.[44] In fact, the divine transcendence does not adopt any knowledge from inferior things in a way that it may have knowledge resembling the nature of the objects of knowledge. But as for the inferiors, they are indefinite in relation to the divine definitions. They change in relation to the immutable ones, and they receive the impassible in a passible way and the timeless in a temporal way. For the inferiors are able to separate from the superiors, but the divine ones cannot accept anything from the inferiors.

I prop.124.

Learn that everything is in the divinized gods but in a better way. In fact, they have prescience and knowledge neither in an eternal nor in a temporal way but are above all those in a singular fashion. Indeed, they know everything but as gods and as ones, as the flawless icons of the Above God and Above One. Everything else which you will find in this theory, consider by yourself.

P prop.125. (110-112.29-13) All that is divine,[45] from the very orders where it begins[46] to reveal its property, proceeds through all the subse-

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[43] The italicized expression simply renders τό γνωστόν "the knowable."

[44] Here again Petritsi's text is considerably different from Gd. Most likely, at this point the difference can be best explained by a divergence of *Gp from Gd:
Gd ἀλλ' ἡ θει'α γνω'σι± ἀμέριστο± καὶ ἡ τω'ν μεριστω'ν· καὶ εἰ μεταβλητόν, ἀμετάβλητο±· καὶ εἰ ἐνδεχόμενον, ἀναγκαι'α καὶ εἰ ἀόριστον, ὡρισμένη.
Gp ἀλλ' ἡ θει'α γνω'σι± ἀμέριστο±· καὶ ἡ τω'ν μεριστω'ν καὶ τω'ν μεταβλητω'ν, ἀμέριστο± καὶ ἀμετάβλητο±· καὶ ἡ τω'ν ἐνδεχομένων ἀναγκαι'α καὶ ἡ τω'ν ἀορίστων ὡρισμένη. In fact, the second family of manuscripts according to Dodds' classification (pp.xxxv-xxxix) gives a similar, but not identical text, something which is between the two but much closer to *Gp: Arg ἀλλ' ἡ θει'α γνω'σι± ἀμέριστο± καὶ ἡ τω'ν μεριστω'ν· καὶ ἡ"τω'ὴ μεταβλητω'ν ἀμετάβλητο± καὶ ἡ τω'ν ἐνδεχομένων ἀναγκαι'α καὶ ἡ τω'ν ἀορίστων ὡρισμένη. It is of particular interest that the text which is closest to Petritsi is furnished by the lost *Argentoratensis* (Dodds p.xxxvi) which according to Dodds "preserved many sound readings of M1," that is to say Marcianus gr. 678, overcorrected in its present state.

[45] As usual Petritsi does not translate θεό± as "god," but uses "divine."

[46] Petritsi's Greek text seems here different from that of Dodds: Dodds': ἀφ' ἧ± ἂν ἄρξηται τάξεω±, Petritsi's Greek text: ἀφ' ὧν ἂν ἄρξηται τάξεων.

quents, eternally multiplies, and distributes its bestowals, yet preserves the property of its hypostasis.

For in the degrading processions[47] the first ones multiply everywhere the descents of the subsequents while the produced receive their processions[48] through resemblance to the producers so that everything which proceeds is identical with and different from one that stays constant[49]: the subsequent becomes[50] different through inferiority, but, through being united with the cause, is not divided from its own identity in the procession,[51] for just as the cause is among the first, the like is the product among the subsequents, and thus it preserves indissolvable participation of the series. Hence, each of the divine appears in accordance to its own orders in which it masks its appearance. From there, it proceeds until it reaches the last ones by means of the originating power of the first powers.[52] It becomes eternally multiple through its processions, turning from unity to multiplicity,[53] but preserves identity in the procession through the similarity between those which proceed and the heads of each series and the first acting causes (principles).

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[47] At this point ("in the processions downward") Petritsi uses *genitivul absolutus* construction, in no way appropriate to Georgian grammar. In fact Gm has: αἱ μὲν γὰρ πρόοδοι δι' ὑφέσεως γινόμεναι τὰ πρῶτα πανταχοῦ πληθύνουσιν εἰς τὰς τῶν δευτέρων ὑποβάσεις, which is rightly translated by D in the following way: "For all procession, operating through remission, multiplies its first characters in declining to derivative terms. But Petritsi takes τὰ πρῶτα ("the first ones") as the subject of πληθύνουσιν ("multiply"), as if he read: τῶν μὲν γὰρ προόδων δι' ὑφέσεως γινομένων τὰ πρῶτα πανταχοῦ πληθύνουσιν τὰς τῶν δευτέρων ὑποβάσεις. Was *Gp really different from Gm or did Petritsi alter the text?

[48] The Georgian translation provides "processions" for Greek διάταξιν.

[49] Here, it seems that Petritsi provides a better translation than Dodds, for the latter seems to place a comma in an improper place, ὥστε τὸ ὅλον ταὐτόν πως εἶναι, καὶ ἕτερον τὸ προιὸν τῷ μένοντι, and ascribe τὸ ὅλον "entire," the neutral of the adjective, to the "procession" which is feminine: in Dodds, "so that the entire procession is in a sense one and identical, although that part which proceeds is distinct from which remains steadfast..."(ET 113.2-4), but Petritsi, we think correctly, assigns τὸ ὅλον to the προιόν ("the one which proceeds"). Lossev uses for τὸ ὅλον, the "whole thing," but does not link it with the "product." In fact, the continuation of the text (11.3-5.) seems to prove the correctness of Petritsi's interpretation since there Proclus states clearly that it is the "proceeding one" or the "product" which is at the same time different: διὰ μὲν τὴν ὕφεσιν ἄλλοιον φαινόμενον (γενόμενον in *Gp) and identical with the remaining one: διὰ δὲ τὴν συνέχειαν...τῆς ταυτότητος οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον.

[50] *Gp had probably γενόμενον instead of φαινόμενον of Gd. This also is the reading of Arg and W (William of Moerbeke's Latin translation).

[51] The Georgian version adds "in the procession."

[52] Petritsi translates τῶν πρώτων ("of the first ones") by an expression *pirvelta dzalta*,"of the first powers."

[53] 1.11. According to Petritsi, it is the "divine one," the henad which "turns from unity to multiplicity." This presupposes in *Gp γινόμενον instead of γινομένην of Gm.

I prop.125.

This theory says that each of the ONES gives origin to a certain series and constitutes the head of the series (i.e. monad). It proceeds then by means of the two causes, that is, similarity and dissimilarity, for one of the causes posits the effect inside the causes and origins, and the second, that is to say, the dissimilarity is a multiplying one. Thus, all that is divine communicates what is its own and its properties in the following way: to some as to more similar to them, to others as to more dissimilar, and so they stretch their transcendent properties until the last ones, which are in any way destined to existence. They reveal in them the *indalmata* (Greek: ἴνδαλμα"mirror-images") of their properties, that is to say, in some more closely resembling icons but, in the others, in a more dim manner due to the want of capacity of that substance.

P prop.151.(132-134. 1.26-5.) All that is paternal among the divine[54] is a primal composer[55] and holds the rank of goodness in relation with all the divine orders.

In fact, it produces the existence as well as all powers and essences of the subsequents in accordance with its unitary and unspeakable transcendence, and that is why it is called "paternal," insofar as it reveals the unitary and good-like[56] power of the One as well as the cause of the hypostases of the subsequents. And each order of the divine numbers[57] is headed by the paternal genus; it produces and ornaments all out of itself and, therefore, by its ordering activity resembles the Goodness.[58] However, some fathers are more universal while others are more particular in the same way as the order of the divine itself is more unitary or more particular, and they are divided according TO THE LIMIT OF THE ABOVE CAUSALITY.[59] And to the extension of the CYCLE[60] of the processions of the divine correspond the differences between the fathers. For, if in every order, there is something resembling the Goodness, then it is necessary for the paternal cause to be in all orders and for each order to proceed through the paternal unity.

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[54] Petritsi substitutes θεοι῾" (gods) with "divine [ones]."

[55] Gm πρωτουργόν, D "IS OF PRIMAL OPERATION."

[56] Corresponds to Greek ἀγαθοειδη῾.

[57] Petritsi writes "the divine numbers" when the Greek text has τω῾ν θεω῾ν (of gods).

[58] We write "Goodness" rather than "Good," (which is e.g. used by Dodds and which is more proper for Greek τό ἀγαθόν) because Petritsi distinguishes from ἀγαθόν, and he ascribes only the latter τἀγαθόν to the One. He states: "In Attic [language] the Goodness is called 'tagathon' and good - 'agathon'" (38.17-18), and the 'good' is part of the 'Goodness,' and the 'Goodness' is like an infinite lake consisting of 'goods.' The two are as distinct as the whole and the parts" (38.3-5).

[59] Dodds' version, "the causal efficacy," is more clear, but we tried to follow closely the Georgian text.

[60] For the Greek ὅλαι- "all," the Georgian text provides "cycle," without damaging the meaning, for the cycle embraces all.

I prop.151.

These theories enlighten us that there are two sources of the DIVINE GODS[61]: the paternal, which is the first Limit, and the maternal, which is the first Limitlessness and the cause for multiplication in other and other, insofar as it is the limitless power which ceaselessly produces the multiplication; whereas, the first Limit is eternally unifying and making all as One and as Idea. You can also perceive this in numbers if you have already become acquainted with mathematical theory.

But let us consider the following in passing: this paternal being was derived first of all others from the Father of All in order to compose all the ONLIES of the ONES and the gods because it gives limit to everyone, makes all single, and installs in them creative forces and because it is the duty of the paternal cause to provide its subsequents with the originating causes and powers. And this paternal power and action likens the posteriors to the Father, who is ABOVE EVEN OF BEING FIRST.[62] About this there are vast proofs in the great theological [works].

P prop.159.(138-140.30-4) Every order of the divine numbers comes from the first origins, the first[63] Limit, and the first Limitlessness, but some are more dependent on the Limiting cause, whereas, the others, on that of the Limitlessness.

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[61] The term explicitly shows the relativity of the term "gods" for Petritsi.

[62] The clue for understanding this "ABOVE EVEN OF BEING FIRST," could be found in the passage of Petritsi's *Epilogue,* in which the philosopher reproaches the uneducated translators who are bold enough to translate difficult texts and commit inexcusable errors. "For instance," says Petritsi, "there is written: 'In the beginning there was the Word,' but they consider it right to translate like this: 'At FIRST there was the Word,' and do not understand that the 'first' is 'first' in relation to the posteriors, and is in no way different from them by nature, but has the same nature, so we say a man as first to another man, and horse is first to another horse and not the other way around, that is to say, that a man is first to a horse, as if man were horse. Since, if the Word of the God Father were [merely] FIRST of the born and created by potency, it will be first among them but co-natural to them and one of the born and created, thus it would cease to be the one which is before eternities, inherent in the Father of all; who (i.e. the Father) is the origin of his innate Word, as the disc or eye of the sun of its radiance" (p.219). Thus, we can induce from this passage of Petritsi that the beyond One, which is identified with the first hypostasis of the Trinity, is "above of being the first." In order not to be diminished by becoming co-natural with henads, the One originated from him, which is the first Limit, identified with the Son, is already FIRST among the henads, and supra-existent henads are origins, not firsts, of all beings.

[63] Here, Petritsi attaches to the Limit and the Limitlessness the "first," which in the Greek is absent in this proposition.

[64] The Greek μίξιν (D "mixture") Petritsi translates as "definition," which must imply the definition by the Limit and the Limitlessness.

In fact, all proceed from those two because bestowals of the first causes proceed through all the subsequents. Among some of them, Limit prevails in their definition,[64] but the Limitlessness prevails in the others. ACCORDINGLY, SOME OF THE GENERA ARE DISTINGUISHED AS BEING OF THE TYPE LIMIT AND THE OTHERS ARE RULED BY THE LIMITLESSNESS. AND THE TYPE LIMITLESSNESS [IS] AMONG THOSE WHERE THE LIMITLESSNESS PREVAILS.[65]

I prop.159.

The word celebrated[66] many times that before all the series of the ONES were originated, first two heads of the ONES were manifested, the first Limit and the first Limitlessness, and that they begin the two series of the transcendent gods and afterwards come down throughout all beings (cf. commentary for prop.152). First of all, by their unification they compose the ornament of the True Being and posit the latter as a monad for all beings and as the first Being. Afterwards, they ornament all the eternities and all the intelligible and intelligent spheres, then, the essence of the souls and the natures, and they put their powers and actions into the corporeal things as well. But among some, those of the Limit prevail, whereas, among the others, those of the Limitlessness: those of the Limit prevail in a paternal way by giving the idea; those of the Limitlessness, by eternally multiplying again and again and in a birthgiving way.

APPENDIX

I would like to provide a tentative index of terms which Petritsi uses for the the meaning of *henad:*

1. gods by participation - prop.114;115;116;117;118;119;120.
2. divine - prop.124;125;126;128;130;131;132;141;143;144;145;146;147; 150;151;152; 153;154;162;
3. divinized - prop.119;121;122;134;135;136;162;
4. divinized by participation - prop.120;
5. divine number - prop.139;140;141;143;144;145;156;158;159;160;161;
6. divine one - prop. 140;
7. divine only - prop.142;

We see that Petritsi coins a number of terms for *qeov.* From this rough

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[65] Here Petritsi skips the sentence καὶ οὕτω δὴ μὲν περατοειδὲ± ἀποτελει῾ται γένο±, ἐν ᾧ῾ τὰ του῾ πέρατο± κρατει῾. In Dodds' translation: "accordingly there results one group of determinative character, that in which the influence of Limit prevails."

[66] The term corresponds to Greek ἀνυμνει῾ν.

index, one can notice a certain orderly sequence: the term "god by participation" is used mostly in propositions from 114 to 120, then preference is given to the term "divine," which appears more frequently than other ones in propositions 120-133. The usage of "divinized" can be found in propositions 119; 120; 121; 122; and 134; 135; 136. It seems that from prop.129 the expression "divine number" begins to appear, and this term appears often in propositions 139; 140; 141; 142; 143; 144; 145 and 156; 158;[67] 159; 160; 161; Petritsi sticks primarily to "divine," but the term appears in different monosemantic shapes: 1. (most frequent) *gmrt-ebr-ivi;*[68] 2. *gmrt-e-ebr-i;* 3. *sa-gmrt-o;* 4. *gmrt-ivi* (thus far discovered). In all this, we witness an evolving process of the elaboration of terms in which everything is still in a dynamic state in search of more accurate solutions.

[67] In prop.157 the term θεός in the Greek text is absent.
[68] *Gmert-i* - god; a suffix *ebr* means "like."

BOOT-GRAFFITI FROM THE MONASTERY OF RAVNA, AND EARLY PILGRIMAGE IN BULGARIA

Rossina Kostova

Monastic chronicles, foundation charters, rules, and hagiography are the usual sources presenting the role of the monasteries in the religious life of the medieval society. The present study adds an unconventional source – graffiti[1] which reveal one more aspect of the social perception of a monastery – the communication breaking the sacred silence inside the monastic walls.

There are two main reasons to make this choice. First, I became directly acquainted with the graffiti during my participation in the excavations of the Ravna monastery between 1987 and 1990. As a result, I was granted permission to work on this unpublished material. Second, an established tradition already exists in Bulgarian medieval scholarship in the treatment of this type of monument. Although the medieval graffiti were distinguished as a specific archaeological material in the beginning of the twentieth century, they have been introduced as a valuable source only in the 1980s.[2] The extensive source material has been interpreted in 1982 by Dimitar Ovčarov. His survey is based mainly on material from the first Bulgarian capitals, Pliska and Preslav, which defines the dating of the examined graffito-drawings from the eighth to the eleventh century. They are classified according to the meaning of the images, the subjects, and the styles of representation. Special attention is paid to the origin of the graffito-tradition, which is attributed to the Bulgars. The main point in the analysis is the proof of the value of the graffito-drawings as a visual source, both for the material and spiritual culture. In addition, Ovčarov considers them monuments of medieval popular art and emphasises their communicative, magical, and aesthetic functions. At the same time, two other publications present additional material but do not suggest any new

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[1] In the present study, the term "graffiti" is applied according to D. Ovčarov, who borrowed it from the Italian term "graffiti" (i. e. scratched) to signify images scratched into a smooth hard surface with a sharp tool. In addition, I also use the other term created by him *risunki-grafiti* (i.e. graffito-drawings). D. Ovčarov, *Bălgarski srednovekovni risunki-grafiti* [Bulgarian Medieval Graffito-drawings] (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1982), 10.

[2] The publications of graffiti from the beginning of the twentieth century are listed in Ovčarov, *Risunki-grafiti*, 7-10.

approach.[3] However, the increasing interest in the graffito-drawings provoked criticism as to their interpretation. The first, and still the only, critique is made by Rašo Rašev.[4] He opposes the definition of the graffito-drawings as monuments of popular art as maintained by Ovčarov and understands them in a wider sense as monuments of popular culture in contrast to art that would imply public access and originality.

The aim of my thesis was not to enter into the discussion on the character of the graffito-drawings in general. Rather, it is to present a part of the unpublished material from the Ravna monastery and to explore its potential for a new approach to the study of the lifestyle of the monastery. The crucial point is the examination of the graffiti in their functional context. Thus, the unity of the physical space where the graffiti appeared and the space's function as a monastic site requires an analysis of the reason for the great number of graffiti in the monastery, the variety of graffito-images, and the people who scratched them and their motives in doing so. In order to analyse these aspects, I apply a complex, interdisciplinary method integrating archaeological, historical, and art historical sources.

The following material is part of the third chapter of my thesis "The Silent Communication: Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna." It is dedicated to one particular image in the graffiti—the image of high boots which are one of the frequent images in the graffito-drawings scratched into the walls of the Ravna monastery (Tables A I, A II, B I, and B II).[5] I call these "boot-graffiti." Although they were a popular image in early Bulgarian graffiti, their origin and meaning still remain a mystery. Realising that the newly discovered boot-graffiti in Ravna should not be examined in isolation, I attempt a general reinterpretation of the image.

The graffiti of boots were spread in a certain territory belonging to the First Bulgarian Empire (Table 1 and Fig. 1). The area covers present-day northeastern Bulgaria (Preslav, Ravna) and Northern Dobrud a in present-day Romania (Bassarabi, Capidava, Hiršova, Dinogetia-Garvan). The only exception to this area is Chersones, present-day Crimea

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[3] L. Dončeva-Petkova, *Znatzi vărchu archeologièeski pametnici ot Bălgarija IX-XI vek* [Signs on Archaeological Monuments in Bulgaria from the Ninth-Eleventh Centuries] (Sofia: BAN, 1982); M. Asparuchov, *Srednovekovni risunki-grafiti ot Severozapadna Bălgarija* [Medieval Graffito-Drawings From Northwestern Bulgaria] (Sofia: BAN, 1984), 10-12.

[4] R. Rašev, "Za chudožestvenoto i kulturno-istoričesko značenie na risunkite-grafiti ot IX-X vek" [On the Artistic and Cultural-Historical Meaning of the Graffito-Drawings from the Ninth-Tenth Centuries], *Problemi na kulturata* 1 (1990): 49-55.

[5] The indications A and B refer to both the zones from the monastery where the graffiti examined in the present study originated. Zone A covers the church, the central enclosure including the scriptorium and the cells, and the south yard with the refectory and the kitchen. Zone B covers the guesthouse situated outside the southern surrounding wall.

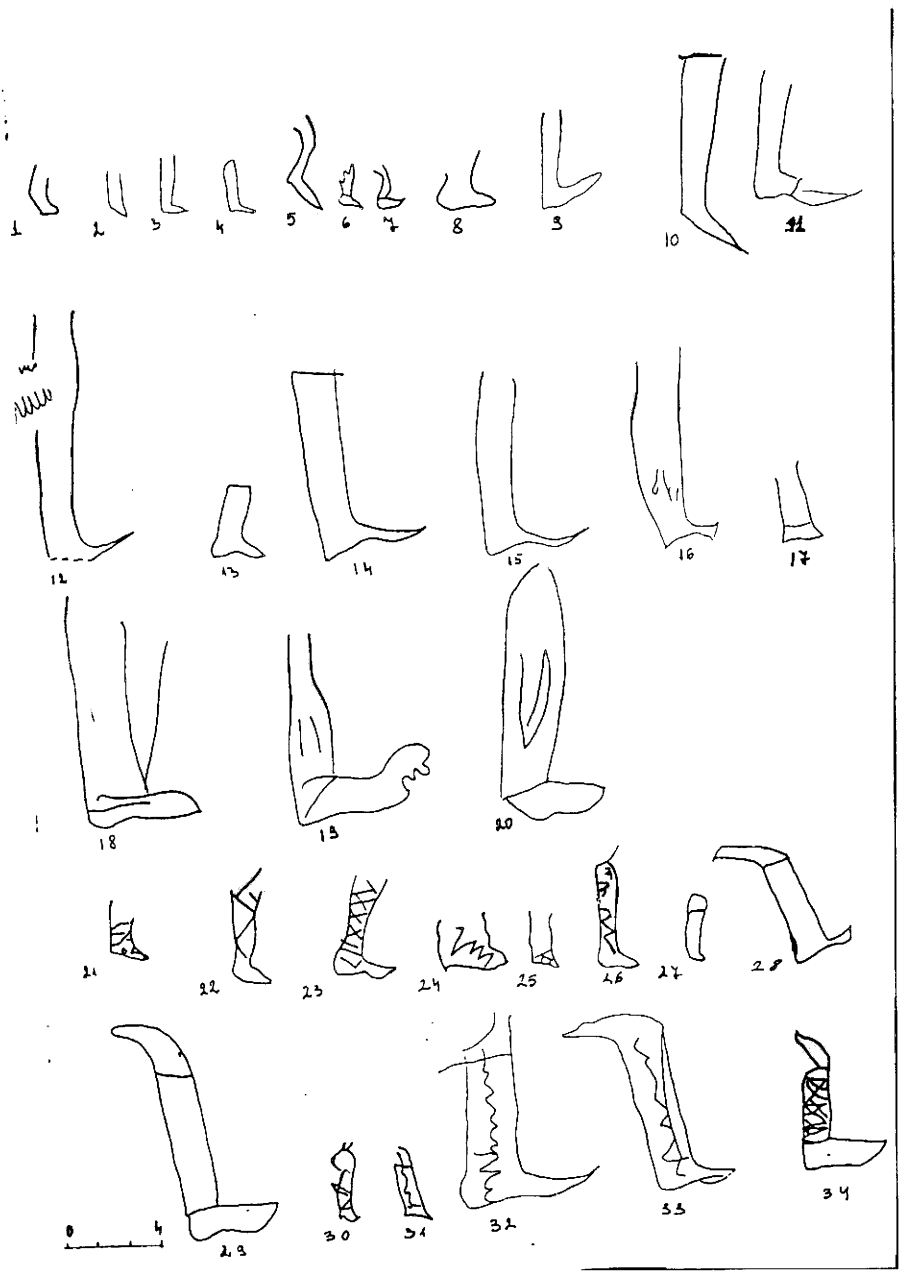

Table AI. Boot graffiti from Zone A of the monastery of Ravna

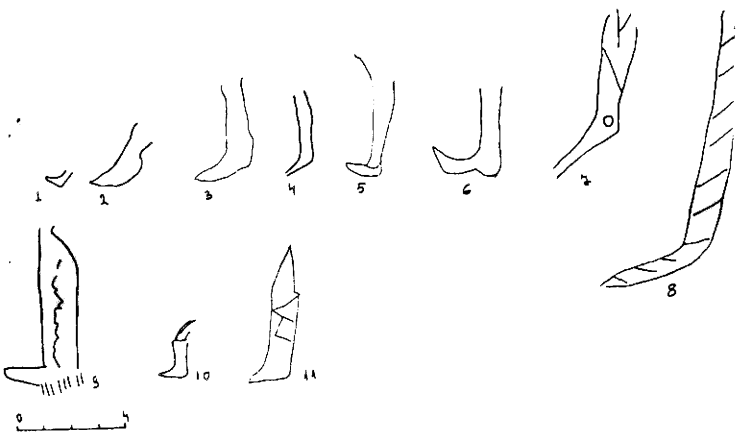

Table A II. Boot-graffiti from Zone A of the monastery of Ravna

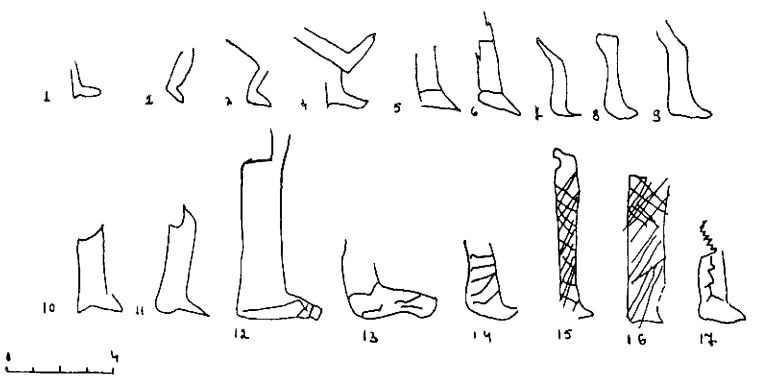

Table B I. Boot-graffiti from Zone A of the monastery of Ravna

Table B II. Boot-graffiti from Zone A of the monastery of Ravna

		Material			Technique	
Place name	Complex	stone	building ceramic	vessels	graffitti	potters' marks
Preslav	fortress	8	3	2	13	
Ravna	monastery	75			75	
Bassarabi	monastery	3			3	
Capidava	settlement			2	2	
Hiršova	settlement			2		2
Dinogetia	settlement			7		7
Chersones	settlement			2		

Table 1. Geographical area of occurence of the boot-graffiti

(Ukraine).[6] All the graffiti date from the tenth century. This time frame can be extended at least to the beginning of the eleventh century. Thus, the boot-graffiti can be considered a compact group of images occurring in a delineated territory and in a fixed time.

The predominant number of images appear in graffito-technique on walls and ceramic material, such as vessels, tiles, and bricks (Table 1). Perhaps, the images of boots scrawled as potter's marks (Dinogetia-Garvan and Hiršova) belong to a distinct group. However, the similarity in date (tenth century) between these marks and the boot-graffiti scratched into walls and vessels leads me to suggest that all of them were a product of a similar cultural context. Although a typology and a classification of all

[6] Ovćarov, "Za sădăržanieto na edin bălgarski rannosrednovekoven simvol" [On the Meaning of One Bulgarian Early Medieval Symbol], in *Bălgarsko srednovekovie. Bălgaro-săvetski sbornik v èest na 70 godišninata na prof. Ivan Dujèev* [The Bulgarian Middle Ages: Bulgarian-Soviet Collection in Honour of the 70th Anniversary of Prof. Ivan Dujčev] (Sofia: BAN, 1981), 294-99; Idem, *Risunki-grafiti,* Tables XXII/1, XXV, LXXX/1, LXXXIX, XC/2, XCI/2. Some of the boot-graffiti from Ravna are published by Ovćarov in *Risunki-grafiti,* Table CXXV; R. Kostova, "Za biblejskija smisăl na edin rannosrednovekoven simvol" [On the Biblical Meaning of One Early Medieval Symbol], in *Bălgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* [The Bulgarians in the North Black Sea Region] (Veliko Turnovo: PIK, 1994), 81-101, tables 7-19. For the boot-graffiti from Bassarabi see I. Barnea: "Predvaritel'nyie zametki o kamennyich pamjatnikach Bassarabi" [Preliminary Remarks on the Stone Monuments of Bassarabi], *Dacia* 6 (1962): 297, fig. 4; Idem, "Les monuments de rupestre Bassarabi en Dobrudja," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 12 (1962): 187-207; Idem, *Din istoria Dobrudgei* [History of Dobrudža] 3 (Bucharest: Acad. R. S. R., 1971), 180-233. For the graffito-drawing of boots from Capidava see A. Rădulescu, "Un document Proto-Romania a Capidava," *Dacia* 14 (1970): 316. For the images of boots in the potter's marks from Hiršova see A. Ariescu, "Noi date despre cetatea de Hiršova" [New Data About the Fortress of Hiršova] *Pontica* 4 (1971): 326, fig. 11. For the boot-graffiti from Dinogetia-Garvan see M. Comša, *Dinogetia* (Bucharest: Acad. R. S. R., 1967), 1:211, fig. 135/39-42. The examples from Chersones are presented by A. L. Iakobson, "Srednevekovyi Chersones" [Medieval Chersones] *Materialyi i Izsledovanija po Archeologij SSSR* 17 (1950): 143, plate 17.

known graffiti of boots would be very useful, it is outside of the scope of this study because of the incomplete information currently available.

Stratigraphy, Typology, and Topography

In most of the cases, many other drawings and inscriptions were made before and after the engraving of the boots. It means that they appeared during the most active period of the monastery, from the last decade of the ninth century to the 920s.[7] In addition, the buildings where the boot-graffiti were made can establish the dating (Table 2). The church (1),[8] scriptorium (2), the buildings in the south yard (9,12), and the guest-house (19) had already existed in the beginning of the tenth century and were in active use at least until the 970s.[9] As to the typology of the boot-graffiti from Ravna, the main conclusion is that they belong to the group of boot-graffiti that appeared in eastern Bulgaria in the tenth century. They can be described as high boots or supple leather strapped shoes (Tables A I, A II, B I, B II) although there are some examples that look like low shoes or sandals. Regarding the shape of the boots, we can also mention a distinctive group with a knee-piece. The zigzag and crosswise nicks in most of the boots appear to be decoration but are more likely representations of straps or laces.[10] Consequently, two main kinds of boots can be distinguished: strapped and non-strapped.

New and very important information, however, can be gained from the topography of the boot-graffiti in the monastic complex (Table 2). The topography indicates the absence of the boot-graffiti in the west, north, and east yards. Thus, the density and the location of the boot-graffiti can be explained as follows: they were made by a group of people who entered the monastery from the small south gate (18), stayed in the guest-house (19), and were allowed to walk only in the south yard. Then, using the connecting passage (10) in the south range of the atrium, the visitors had access to the church. During their stay in the monastery, they were not allowed to enter the atrium from the official west entrance, to visit the intimate north yard, or to pass the east part where the abbot's house (or the residence) (13) was located. These people were outsiders not belonging to the monastic community. Therefore, for the first time, we can gain a relatively clear idea about the makers of the boot-graffiti.

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[7] P. Georgiev, "Istorijata na Ravnenskija manastir" [The History of the Ravna Monastery] *Epochi* 2 (1993): 64.

[8] The numbers refer to the legend in Fig. 2.

[9] Georgiev, "Istorijata," 65-66.

[10] Ovčarov, "Za sădăržanieto," 296.

types / area	orientation					
	left	right	zigzag strapped	cross-wise strapped	non-strapped	knee-part
church	7 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 11	32 1-26, 28, 30-34	9	3	20	7
scriptorium	2 4, 8	1 29	—	2	2	1
south yard	2 6, 10	1 27	—	1	8	2
guesthouse	12	18	4	6	20	6
Total	23	52	13	12	50	16

Table 2. Topography of the graffito-images of boots (numbers refer to tables AI, A II, B I, and B II).

Pagan or Christian Origin

The strange image of boot-graffiti attracted scholarly attention in the 1960s, provoking a continuing debate. Ion Barnea made the first attempt at interpreting the boots depicted in the quarry and cave churches of Bassrabi (Romania). According to Barnea, the boot-graffiti were drawn in place of human figures which would have been much more difficult to represent.[11] However, a hypothesis for the symbolic meaning of the image of boots appeared very soon afterwards. Maria Comša believes that the boots in the potters' marks from Dinogetia-Garvan were magic signs stemming from nomadic origin.[12] The interpretation of the boots as pagan symbols has been developed by Ovčarov. Using the graffiti mainly from Preslav (Bulgaria), he concluded that the image of boots reflected different aspects of proto-Bulgarian pagan practices, such as shamanism and magic practice, which would provide success in hunting and war.[13]

Graffito-drawings dating from the period in which Christianity was established in Bulgaria (ninth-tenth centuries) always provoke interpretations, both in the pagan and Christian sense. The boots are

[11] Barnea, "Predvaritel'nyie zametki," 297.
[12] Comša, *Dinogetia,* 215.
[13] Ovčarov, "Za sădăržanieto," 294-299.

not exceptions, and according to Petre Diaconu, they are Christian symbols signifying Christ's washing of St Peter's feet.[14] In my 1994 article I supported this opinion and developed it further, arguing that the boots in the graffiti as well as in Christian art were non-canonical symbols of Christ.[15]

However, in the meantime, I have refined my interpretation which is now based on a more complex analysis of the graffiti, supported by further research. In the revised hypothesis I regard the graffiti of boots as signs made by pilgrims. This identification is quite logical if one takes into consideration a common practice of pilgrims. Generally, pilgrims would bring to a holy place the images of eyes, feet, and hands, which represented affected parts of the body that needed healing.[16] Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that so many lame people wandered in the region of eastern Bulgaria and visited the monastery at the same time. Therefore, I suggest that the boot-graffiti were made by a distinctive group of pilgrims passing through Ravna in the first half of the tenth century as they returned from a trip to the Holy Land. Concerning the image itself and its meaning, I suggest that the origins can be traced back to the iconographic version of one biblical episode: Moses before the Burning Bush.

The Boots of Moses

The Burning Bush episode is frequently depicted in Christian art. Its illustration produced an iconography in which the image of footwear appeared and became a constant element. With regard to this representation, two main questions can be investigated: what is the function of the footwear imagery and what is the symbolic meaning?

The key phrase in the biblical text where God says "Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is Holy ground!" (Exod. 3:5)[17] became the essence of the iconography of the Burning

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[14] P. Diaconu, "Représentations de la jambeè humaine sur certains monuments archéologiques des Xe-XIe siécles," *Dacia* 19 (1975): 268.

[15] In the article I present several weak points in the "pagan" thesis. First, boot-graffiti, if connected with nomadic soldiering, would be found in Pliska, Drăstăr (Durostorum), and other early Bulgarian fortresses. But in these places we do not find any traces of them. Second, they cannot be proven to be a pagan protective sign because they do not exist on earlier (more clearly pagan) monuments preceding the ninth century. Third, the boots are not depicted as an attribute of shamans in the graffito-drawings. Kostova, "Za bibleiskija smisăl," 99-101.

[16] G. Vikan,"Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* [henceforth: *DOP*] 38 (1984): 67.

Date	Type of representation	Monument	Bibliographical references
3d c.	fresco	Catacomb of Via Latina, Rome	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 46, 47.
6th c	mosaic	St. Catherine's Basilica, Mt. Sinai	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 42.
6th c.	bronze cross	Forty Mart. Chap., St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai	K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross", fig. 4.
6th c.	mosaic	San Vitale, Ravenna	O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New Jersey, 1977.
880-886 AD	miniature	Homilies of Gregory, Paris, Gr. 510	K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross," 386.
9th-10th c.	miniature	Bible, Vat. Cod. Reg. gr. 1	D. T. Rice, *Byzantine Art*, London, 1968, 253.
12th c.	miniature	Greek Octateuchs: Vat. Cod. gr. 746; Vat. Cod. gr. 747	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 44, 45.

Table 3: Moses loosening his shoes

Bush scene. However, from the very beginning of its establishment, the iconographic interpretation was continuously reproduced in two versions. The distinctive feature of one version is the narrative approach which represents Moses loosening his sandal. The earliest example of this can be seen in the third-century fresco in the Christian catacomb of Via Latina in Rome (Fig. 3).[18] The later examples following this tradition represent Moses in a variety of poses (Table 3 and Fig. 4).

The second version is less narrative, and the gesture of loosening the footwear is reduced to the level of an object (image) which signifies the result of the action: a pair of removed boots or sandals appearing to the side of Moses. The earliest example of this iconography, dating from the third century (244-245 AD), can be found in Jewish art. This example is a panel at the upper right part of the western wall in the Dura Synagogue (Syria), in which a pair of high boots fastened with leather straps is depicted between Moses and the burning bush (Fig. 5).[19] However, all the later examples of this tendency in the depiction of the Burning Bush scene belong to Christian art (Table 4

[17] Other references in the Bible regarding this episode can be found in Exod. 4:17; Mark 12:26; Luke 26:37; Apoc. 7:35.

[18] K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes in the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), fig. 46.

Fig. 3. Moses removing his sandal, Via Latina, Rome

Fig. 4. Moses before the burning Bush, St Catherine, Mt. Sinai (according to K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, The Frescoes fig. 24.)

Fig. 5. Moses before the Burning Bush, Dura Synagogue (according to K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, The Frescoes fig. 24.)

and Fig. 6-9). It appears that the second iconographic version can be considered an "abbreviation" of the first, narrative version and is made for practical reasons. In this respect, I subscribe to Kurt Weitzmann's opinion that "condensation, omission and abbreviation" were principles "that all artists who turn a broad narrative scene into a high format had to apply."[20] Nevertheless, I cannot agree that the

Date	Type of representation	Monument	Bibliographical references
224-245 AD	fresco	Dura Synagogue	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 41.
6th c.	mosaic	St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 42.
9th c.	miniature	Vat. Cod. gr. 699, fol. 61v, Cosmas Indicopl.	E . R. Goodenough, *Symbolism*, pl. 94.
10th c.	miniature	Paris Psalter, Cod. gr.139	E . R. Goodenough, *Symbolism*, pl.95.
11th c.	miniature	Cod. gr. 1186, fol. 101v, Cosmas Indicopl., St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai	K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes*, fig. 43.
11th-12th c.	miniature	Psalter, Dumb. Oaks, Cod. 3	V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantiskoj ž ivopisi* [A History of Byzantine Painting], Moscow, 1981, table 39.
1085 AD	miniature	Codex Višehradensis	*Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei*, table 16.
1300-1399 AD	miniature	Vat. lat. 1960, fol. 52v, *Satirica Historia*	Video Collection, Vatican Library.

Table 4. Moses has already taken off his shoes

replacement of the gesture of the removal of the shoes by a pair of footwear (boots or sandals) in monuments from different periods is caused only by the necessity to reveal as much as possible about the biblical scene in a limited space.

The frescoes in Via Latina and Dura indicate that in the third century two independent and equally valid iconographic versions were already established. An example of this co-existence would be the miniatures in the illuminated manuscripts of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, dating respectively from the ninth (Vat. Cod. Gr. 699, f. 69v) and the eleventh centuries (Mt. Sinai, St Catherine, Cod. 1186, fol.

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[19] The full bibliography of the extant literature concerning the frescoes in the Dura Synagogue can be found in the article by J. Gutman in *Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst* [henceforth: *RBK*], ed. Kl. Wessel (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963) 1:1230-40. In the present analysis I take into consideration the study which summarises most of the opinions and gives a complete interpretation: E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period,* vols. 9-11; *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue,* Bollingen Series XXXVII (New York: Pantheon Press, 1964). A criticism of the method of analysis applied in the study is suggested by E. J. Bickerman, "Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue: A Review Article," *Harvard Theological Review* 58 (1965): 127-151.

[20] Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes,* 54.

101v-Fig. 6). Weitzmann analyses some features of the iconography of these miniatures, such as the fusion of two biblical scenes (Burning Bush and Giving the Law) and the figure of Moses as a shepherd, and supposes an archetype even earlier than Dura. To be more precise, he claims that in the third century both Jews and Christians knew and used a manuscript of the Septuagint illustrated in Hellenistic style.[21] In addition, somewhat earlier than Weitzmann, Erwin R. Goodenough, noting the impressive similarity between the miniatures and the Dura frescoes, also assumes the existence of an original which represents the Burning Bush and the Giving the Law scenes in one composition. In this composition the image of boots alone was depicted instead of the gesture of their loosening.[22]

Thus, going back to the question concerning the function of the footwear imagery, we can assume that already in the third century, the idea of replacing the gesture of the removal of the footwear with the image of a pair of shoes or sandals produced a particular "abbreviated" iconographic version of the Burning Bush scene

In this context, the pair of boots or sandals came to be a crucial image emphasising the key phrase in the biblical text (Exod. 3:5). Consequently, the next step in the survey would be to look for the symbolic meaning of this image.

The meaning of the removal of shoes in Exod. 3 is given in verse 5: "... for the place where you are standing is Holy ground!" In fact, God's order refers to an ancient custom inherited also by Jews: footwear was taken off indoors and in sacred areas. For instance, in a passage in the Old Testament, it is said: "Guard your steps when you go to the house of God" (Eccles. 4:17).[23] In addition, the Burning Bush episode itself in the Divine story adds a specific nuance to the function of the gesture of loosening the shoes. In the Old Testament the Burning Bush scene is considered to be the call of Moses to the political and spiritual task of saving the Israelites. And if this interpretation explains the corresponding panel in the Dura Synagogue, then the Christian iconographic mode would be derived from the idea of Moses as a precursor of the Messiah and a prefiguration of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the appearance of God to Moses at Mount Horeb (Sinai) is considered an epiphany preceding Christ's epiphanies.[24] Hence, the representation of Moses loosening his sandal

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[21] Ibid., 35-36.

[22] Goodenough, *Symbolism*, 112.

[23] Other meanings of the gesture in the Bible are as follows: possession (Ruth 4:7), humility (Mark 1:7), disgrace (Deut. 25:9 sq.). *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery*, ed. A. de Vries (London and Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1974), 421.

Fig. 6. Cosmas Codex, Cod. gr. 1185, fol. 101v (according to K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, The Frescoes Fig. 43)

could not be regarded solely as an illustration of the execution of God's order. The gesture stresses the experience of the epiphany in being naked (barefoot) before God. The image of the boots (sandals) replaces the gesture, adopts its meaning, and, therefore, functions as a symbol of the experience of an epiphany, or in a broader sense, as a symbol of piety.

Furthermore, the image of the pair of shoes (boots or sandals) absorbs the main idea of the Burning Bush episode and becomes an "emblematic" image for the "abbreviated" iconographic mode of the Burning Bush scene. The most indicative example would be the composition of the miniatures from the Cosmas Codices (Fig. 6) in which only the figure of Moses as a shepherd, the pair of boots, and the burning bush signify the narrative of Exod. 3:1-6. In addition, in the Psalter miniature of Moses at Mount Sinai (Fig. 7), the removed sandals and the burning bush remain the only indication that the two scenes are combined.

However, the image of removed shoes exceeds the framework of one particular scene and functions as a symbol in a more general sense. For instance, the appearance of the removed boots or sandals in the context of the episode of Giving the Law cannot be regarded simply as a result of its mechanical combination with the Burning Bush scene. The tradi-

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[24] The term "epiphany" is used to signify the appearance of the divine Epiphany (ta *Epifaniva), also called τα τεοφανικά, celebrating the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan River. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* gen. ed. Al. P. Kazhdan (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1:713-14; K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross at Sinai," *DOP* 17 (1963): 390.

tional relationship between the two scenes, whether they are rendered separately (Dura, Fig. 8) or are fused (Cosmas Codices-Fig. 6, Paris Psalter-Fig. 7), stems from the identity of the place (Mount Sinai) as well as from the similarity of the symbolic interpretation. Concerning the interpretation, on the one hand, by receiving the Tablets, Moses becomes a mediator of God's Law to the Chosen People. On the other hand, this act is considered to be the second epiphany which precedes the epiphany of Christ identified as the new Moses, who had given the new law.[25] Thus, we can suggest that in the given examples, the pair of removed footwear refers to both the Burning Bush and the Giving the Law scenes as a symbol of the experience of epiphany.

The Archetype

However, concerning the origin of the removed shoes in the Burning Bush scene, one more question should be raised: why in some cases is the footwear depicted as a pair of boots and yet, in the others, as a pair of sandals? The text provides the first starting point. In the Greek translation of the Bible, two words which mean "shoes" are used. The first term *jvvujpodhvmata, -atoV, -tov* is used primarily in the Septuagint to refer to 'shoe', 'sandal', 'boot' (Exod. 3:5; Luke 3:16). The second term *sandavlion, - tov,* meaning 'sandal', is common in the New Testament (Mark 6:9).[26] Clearly, the iconography of the Burning Bush episode reflects the dichotomy of the term *ujpodhvmata* which is used in Exod. 3:5. For example, in the Cosmas Codices the removed boots are inscribed with the word *ujpodhvmata.* However, in the illustrated Octateuchs (Table. 5), the removed footwear is a pair of sandals. One can suppose that the use of both kinds of shoes in the abbreviated representation of the Burning Bush scene depends on the understanding of the word by the artists. Nevertheless, the fact that the earliest appearance of the image of boots was in a Jewish monument indicates that the Greek term could not point to the iconographic origins of the image. In this case, what is the origin of the image of boots in the Dura frescoes?

There are two possibilities. One of them has already been explored

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[25] Weitzmann and Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross," 390.

[26] E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods,* ed. G. O. Verlag, (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992), 118, 978. The Old Bulgarian translation of the Bible also reflects both distinctive words: to the term *ujpodhvvvma* corresponds the word *ńàïãáú* (*Ostromirovo evangelie,* Exod. 3:5, Luke 3:16, Matt. 3:11), and the term *sandavlia* is translated with *ńàíäàëþ* (*Ostromirovo evangelie,* Mark 6:9). See I. I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyika* [Dictionary of the Old Russian Language] (Moscow: ANSSR, 1989), 261-262.

Date	Monument	Types of footwear
244-245 AD	Dura Synagogue (fresco)	high boots
6th c.	St. Catherine's Basilica, Mt. Sinai (mosaic)	sandal
9th c.	Vat. Cod. gr. 699, fol. 61v	high boots
10th c.	Paris Psalter, Cod. gr. 139	sandals
11th c.	Cod. gr. 1186, fol.101v, St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai	high boots
11th-12th c.	Psalter, Dumb. Oaks, Cod. 3	sandals
1085 AD	Codex Višehradensis	short boots
1300-1399 AD	Vat. lat 1960, fol. 52v	high boots

Table 5. Types of footwear

Fig. 7. Paris Psalter, Cod, gr. 139, fol. 422v (according to E. R. Goodenough, Symbolism)

by scholars who draw parallels with the types of footwear worn in biblical times.[27] Thus, Goodenough quotes Epihanius' remarks on the dress of the Pharisees and emphasises the description of their shoes as high boots (laced *krepis* or *calceus*). In fact, Goodenough claims that the described shoes, often worn by Roman officials, correspond to the boots, shown beside Moses as he stood barefoot before the Lord. Generally, they are used as the distinctive status marker of the chief figures in Dura frescoes.[28] There is another interpretation of the boots as *calige rusticae* which were worn by farmers and shepherds. Since Moses was a shepherd in the beginning of the Burning Bush episode, the boots are considered his common attribute.[29] Certainly, they can be considered an attribute, but to whom does it belong: to Moses as a shepherd or to Moses as a prophet?

For example, David is rendered as a shepherd in the famous bucolic scene in the Paris Psalter (Gr. 139, fol. 1v), and he wears high boots composed of strap-work, which look like a high sandal of fleece legging above bare feet.[30] Consequently, we can conjecture that in the Dura frescoes where Moses is already represented as a prophet in a white robe, the boots beside him signify his previous status as a shepherd. But why, in the sixth-century mosaic in St Catherine's Basilica in Sinai, is Moses also dressed as a prophet taking off sandals, but not boots? And moreover, why in the illustrated Octateuchs, is the pair of removed shoes which should signify the shepherd's status of Moses, a pair of sandals and not of boots? Analyses of footwear fashion in biblical as well as in the later medieval period have not be able to answer this question conclusively. In one case though, the depicted shoes themselves reflect in some sense the eleventh-century fashion as it is in the case of the Codex Višehradensis (Fig. 9).[31]

The second possibility for finding the origins of the boot-image could be to look for the iconographic prototypes. The parallel use of two kinds of shoes in the "abbreviated" iconography of the Burning

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[27] Sandals were the common type of shoes in biblical times although laced or strapped boots were worn by Assyrian and Roman soldiers.

[28] Goodenough, *Symbolism*, 171-172.

[29] This interpretation has been suggested by C. H. Kraelig and later supported by K. Weitzmann, providing an example with the traditional footwear of David in his iconography as a shepherd playing the harp. Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes*, 34. However, the Greek word καλίγια, καλήκη means low slippers and could not refer to any boots such as those represented in the Dura frescoes and Cosmas Codices.

[30] *RBK*, 3:445; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1: 796.

[31] *Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei in Sammlungen Volksdemokratischer Länder*, ed. G. Reimann and H. Büttner (Berlin: E. A. Seemann, 1981), 17-18, table 16. The Codex is a Gospel made for King Wratislaw in 1085. Its style reflects the tradition of the Bohemian school in book illumination from the 11th c.

Fig. 8. Giving the Law, Dura Synagogue (according to K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, The Frescoes fig. 74.)

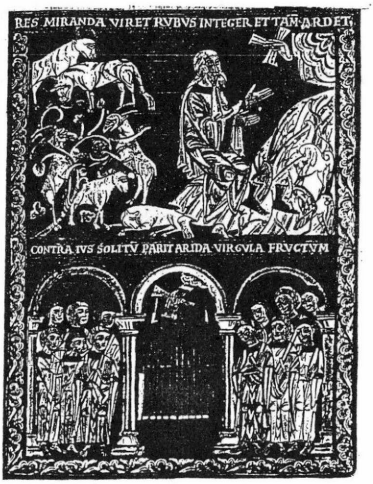

Fig. 9. Codex Višehradensis, Ms XIV, A13, NUB, Prague (according to Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei, table 16)

Bush scene indicates the existence of two iconographic prototypes—sandals and boots. I will examine only the iconographic prototype of the boots. This direction for investigation is suggested by one silver plate dated from the sixth century and attributed to the so-called "Byzantine antique."[32] The plate renders Athena judging the contest between Ajax and Odysseus over the weapons of Achilles, which are depicted by three basic elements: a helmet, a suit of armour, and a pair of boots (Fig. 10). Though V. Zaleskaja relates some details of this composition to a popular sixth-century poem, the stylistic analysis undoubtedly points to influence from Hellenistic Greek heritage.[33] In support of this suggestion, I offer an earlier example for this image: a ceramic vase dating from 490 BC. On the vase Odysseus is shown giving the weapons of Achilles to his son Neoptolemos, and again they consist of three elements: a helmet, a suit of armour, and knee pieces *(knemides)* instead of boots. The appearance of the boots on the sixth-century silver plate seems to be a reflection of Roman military fashion. In this case, however, the more important question is how the image of

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[32] For more information on this silver plate see K. Weitzmann, "Survival of Mythological Representation in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Their Impact on Christian Iconography," *DOP* 14 (1960): 67-69; V. N. Zaleskaja, "Vizantijskaja torevtika V veka" [Byzantine Metal Works From the Fifth Century], *Vizantijskiji Vremennik* 43 (1982): 131.

[33] Zaleskaja, "Vizantijskaja torevtika V veka," 132.

Fig. 10, Silver plate, Ermitage, No 279. (according to V. Zaleskaja, "Vizantijskaja torevtika")

boots in this Hellenistic context can be related to the earliest representations of the boots in the Burning Bush scene in Dura.

Although there are external similarities, my emphasis will be on the internal relations between both Hellenistic and biblical images of boots. There are two main aspects to the internal similarities. The first aspect refers to the strong Hellenistic influence in the Dura frescoes. The second aspect is derived from the first one and concerns the meaning and the function of the boot-image in Hellenistic artistic tradition. Based on the given examples from the fifth century BC and the sixth century AD, I suggest that the images of *knemides* or the boots as well as the other two elements of Achilles' weapons are attributes of the hero. These three elements represent the hero's figure as an embodiment of the tripartite vertical division of the world.[34] Moreover, the selection of these particular objects (especially the footwear) stresses the status of their owner as a mediator. For instance, the gold sandals with wings are the main attribute of Hermes, the messenger of the Gods; and, moreover, even Achilles has the epithet "fleet-footed."

What is important for this study is the analogous position of Moses as mediator in the previously mentioned biblical scenes. In the scenes where Moses is before the Burning Bush, when he is listening to God, and when he is receiving the Tablets of Law, he is acting as a hierophant, as a mediator between the people and God. Thus, according to this identification, the removed boots can be considered Moses' attribute as a mediator. This identification coincides perfectly with the interpretation suggested of the image of the removed shoes as a symbol of the experi-

[34] Iv. Marazov, *Vidimijat mit* [The Visible Myth] (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1994), 34-36.

ence of an epiphany because every epiphany is nothing more than a supernatural communication between God and his Chosen People.

To conclude, the image of boots in the Burning Bush scene in the Dura frescoes and later monuments stands out as an "abbreviation" of the significant gesture of loosening the shoes. This replacement of the gesture with the shoes became possible through the traditional consideration of the boots as an attribute of a hierophant-mediator. Therefore, concerning the subject of the present study—boot-graffiti—the most important question is whether the function and symbolical meaning of the graffiti can be compared with that of the boots in official Christian art.

The Boots of the Pilgrims

By paying careful attention to the location of the monuments which render the Burning Bush scene, we will discover that four of them belong to the art of St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai: the mosaic above the triumphal arch in the monastic basilica, the bronze votive cross in the chapel of Forty Martyrs, both dating from the sixth century, and the two illustrated manuscripts of Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes from the ninth and the eleventh centuries.[35] The pronounced preference for this subject together with the Giving of the Law has already been explained by the importance of Mount Sinai as locus *sanctus*.[36] Already at the end of the fourth century, Sinai was described as a pilgrimage place in the *Itinerary* written by Egeria, a nun from the western Meditterranean area who travelled as a pilgrim to the Holy Land in 381-386 AD. What is more important for the present survey is that the location of the Burning Bush place stimulated the *loca sancta pictures* of Sinai.[37] To be more precise, it was not the Burning Bush itself that was of greatest concern but rather its interpretation as a symbol of the virginity

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[35] Weitzmann, "The Mosaics in St Catherine's Basilica on Mount Sinai," in *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 518; with I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross," 387.

[36] During the reign of Constantine the Great (327-337 AD), the Sinai peninsula was included in the province of Palestina Tertia, and in this way the Moses' mountain was administratively attached to the pilgrimage places of the Holy Land. A legend points to Helen as a founder of the first chapel at Mount Sinai built in 327 AD on the place where Moses saw the Burning Bush. Following Procopius *(De aedeficiis)*, it is accepted that the monastery at Sinai was founded by Justinian I (525-565 AD) and was dedicated to the Mother of God. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," in *Studies in the Arts at Sinai,* 34.

[37] The term l*oca sancta pictures* is used according to Weitzmann, meaning "souvenirs in various media, but foremost icons which combined representations of biblical events with specific elements of a holy site." Weitzmann, *"Loca Sancta,"* 40.

of Mary (ἡ βάτὸ=Βάτὸ Μωσεὼ=*rubus igneus*).[38] Thus, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century icons of the frontal-standing Virgin holding Christ in her arms and inscribed ἡ βάτὸ are considered typical *loca sancta pictures* of Sinai, which were produced in local workshops as votive gifts or pilgrim's souvenirs.[39] Moreover, Weitzmann thinks that the scene of Moses before the Burning Bush was also a theme of a locus sanctus picture and points to some Palaeologian icons. Nevertheless, the earlier depiction of Moses taking off his sandal on the sixth-century bronze votive cross, a votive gift to Sinai monastery, provides a previous establishment of this *locus sanctus picture*.[40]

It follows, thus, that the Burning Bush scene, interpreted either as an epiphany or as a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary, belongs to the subjects of Byzantine pilgrimage art. Perhaps, the miniatures in the Cosmas Codices cannot be included in this special group of monuments. However, I suspect that the "abbreviated' version of boots was derived from this type of official work and was applied in various Sinai souvenirs (e.g. metal votive crosses).

One of the boot-graffiti strongly suggests the existence of such kinds of votives. For example, this particular pair of boots is scratched on the tenth-century amphora from Capidava (Fig. 11). The boots are one element of a composition consisting of a cross engraved around the mouth of the vessel, a Greek alphabet from *A* to *Ω*, and a name *ΠΕΤΡΕ* (?) scratched under the cross.[41] The boots are scratched into one of the arms of the cross, and in the other three arms, the following formulas are inscribed: *MΘ, NH, KO*. The letters *MΘ* are a ligature of μήτηρ θεοῦ— Mother of God. In spite of the mistake in KO which should be read as KA, the formula *NHKAΩ* ("I am the Victor") is recognisable. However, its first part, the initials IC XC, is missing, and according to A. Rădulescu they are replaced by the boots.[42]

Previously, I concurred with this suggestion.[43] Nevertheless, on the

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[38] The consideration of the Burning Bush in the sense of Immaculate Conception can be traced in Byzantine exegesis (Ephrem the Syrian, Gregory of Nyssa) as well as in the later homilies and prayers used in the liturgy of the feast of Annunciation. *Lexikon der Christlichen Iconographie,* ed Er. Kirschbaum (Herder-Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1989) 1:510; *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichita Christiane*, ed. Angelo de Bernandino (Rome: Instituta Patrististicum Augustinianum, 1983), 2:col. 2319-2323. In addition, let me repeat that the first patron of the Sinai monastery was the Mother of God, and only after the eleventh century when the relics of St Catherine were brought there was the name was changed.

[39] Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta,*" 38-39.

[40] Weitzmann and Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross," fig. 4.

[41] Except for Rădulescu, the other publications exclude the image of boots from the composition. My attention was drawn to this fact by K. Popkonstantinov whom I wish to thank.

[42] Rădulescu, "Un document Proto-Romania a Capidava," 316.

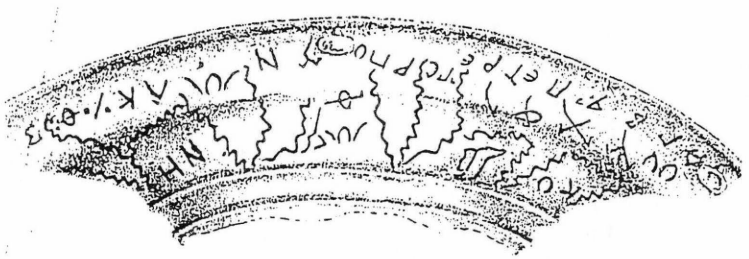

Fig 11. Amphora from Capidava, Romania (according to A. Rădulescu, "Un document")

basis of more extensive research and further analysis of the sources, I have revised my conclusions in certain areas. The formulas on the cross appear to mark a rough scheme of the Burning Bush scene and contain the main elements: the Burning Bush (MΘ) and the removed shoes (the boots). In this case, the boots do not function as a "pictorial formula" replacing the name Jesus Christ (IC XC) but function rather as a symbol of piety. The unsuccessful attempt to add the formula IC XC NH KA seems to be a result of mixing different types of inscribed crosses. Therefore, I suggest that the graffito-cross on the amphora of Capidava can be regarded as a replica of one of them. Futhermore, the appearance of the image of boots, together with common formulas and particularly with MΘ, leads me to suppose that such crosses with the "abbreviated" Burning Bush scene existed in the tenth century.[44] However, we should be aware of the fact that, except for the example of Capidava, the image of boots in the graffiti exists outside of any iconographic scheme. Thus, can we apply to the boot-graffiti the interpretation of this image in Christian art?

The answer to this question can be found in two main aspects: the combination of the boot-graffiti with other images and the context of the place where they were made. Examining the first aspect, I take into consideration only those combinations which were clearly made by one single hand. The most frequent combination was that with crosses, and this appeared mainly on the walls of the church (Fig. 12, 13). The cross as such is a symbol of Christ's Passion, and in a wider sense it can be considered a symbol for Christ's appearance on earth in general. Another common combination was that with Greek alphabets (Fig. 14, 15). Perhaps, the alphabets can be regarded as an exercise and demonstration

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[43] Kostova, "Za biblejskija smisăl," 85-88.

[44] On the one hand, the similarity of the zigzag strapped boots in the graffiti to those in the miniatures in the Cosmas Codices also indicates a certain iconographic origin. On the other hand, the variety in the types of the boot-graffiti shows that the outer appearance was not the most important feature of the image.

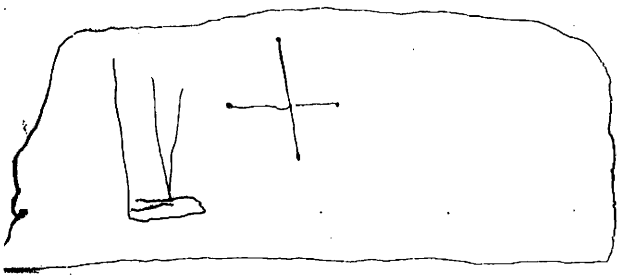

Fig. 12. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

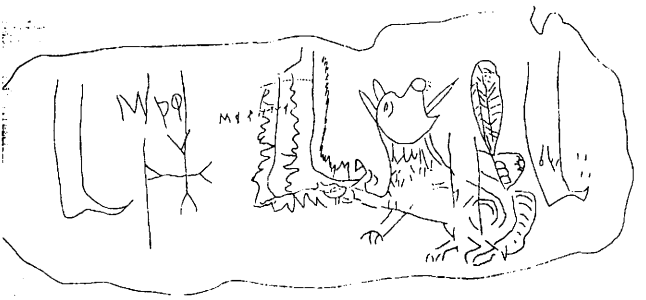

Fig. 13. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

of primary literacy.[45] However, in particular cases, such as Fig. 14 in which the word TPIC (three) requires the alphabet to be repeated three times, I suggest that the alphabet refers to another biblical image of Christ revealed in Rev. 1:8: " 'I am the Alpha and the Omega,' says Lord God, 'who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty.'"[46] The combination with a ladder (Fig. 16) is quite interesting although it is an isolated case. The image of the ladder in Christian symbolism originates from Jacob's dream (Gen. 28:12-7) and is interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ showing the way to God.

Clearly, in these three types of combinations the boot-graffiti are made as a symbol of piety. Furthermore, I suggest this symbolic interpretation in general for the boot-graffiti. In other words, I "read" them as an expression of a simple prayer: "O, my Lord, I am here, naked before You, and I am praying for Your help and protection."

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[45] K. Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi i abecedari" [Bilingual Inscriptions and Alphabets From the Monastery of Ravna], *Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna* 20 (1986): 79.

[46] For example, there was the practice, especially in the West, of inscribing alphabets on the floor of churches during their consecration. Gošev, *Glagolićeski i kirilski nadpisi IX-XI vek* [Glagollitic and Cyrillic Inscriptions from the Ninth to the Eleventh Centuries] (Sofia: BAN, 1961), 61.

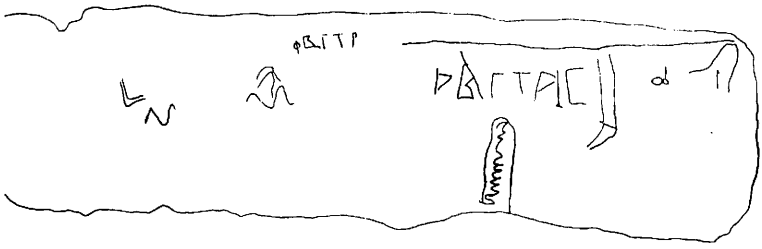

Fig. 14. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

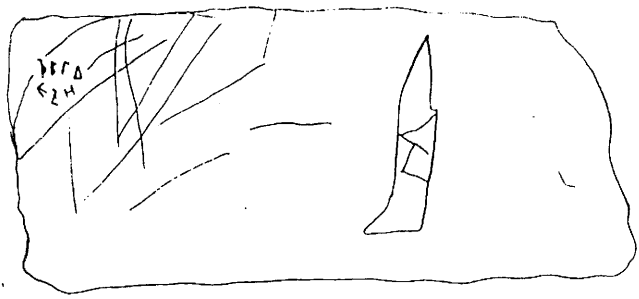

Fig. 15. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

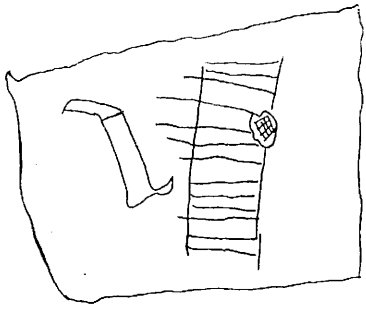

Fig. 16. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

Concerning the context of the place of appearance, it should be noted that the boot-graffiti exist in five settlements (Preslav, Capidava, Hiršova, Dinogetia-Garvan, Chersones) and in two monasteries (Ravna and Bassarabi). They are scratched either on walls or on ceramic vessels (Table 1). Analysing the numerical representation of boots on separate blocks in Ravna, we can see that usually a single block has only one image of a single boot. Even in cases when two or more boots are depicted on one block, they cannot be considered combinations but groups of single boots made by different hands (Fig. 17). There are only a few examples where I can suggest that pairs of boots were scratched. Thus,

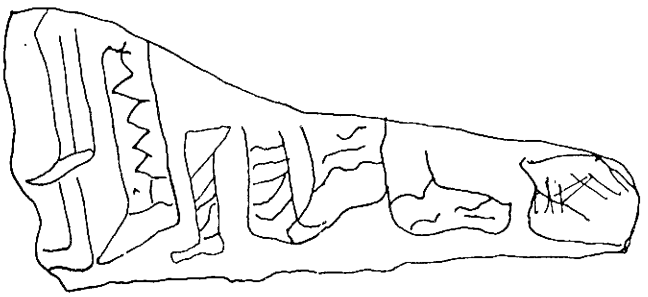

Fig. 17. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

on the basis of these data as well as on the variety of the kinds of boot-graffiti, we can assume that they functioned not only as a symbol of piety but also as personal signs of worship. In addition, the practice of scratching images of boots on vessels implies that they were also considered a strong apotropaic sign.

Moreover, concerning the context and the area of appearance of the boot-graffiti, I can add yet one more argument supporting the idea of their pilgrimage character. The geographic points where the graffiti of boots are located trace a route which has as its southernmost point Preslav (Bulgaria) and as the northernmost Chersones (Ukraine). In the northern section, the route strictly follows the lower flow of the Danube river, and throughout this entire distance it runs parallel to the north-western coastline of the Black Sea. It should be mentioned that the map of this route does not coincide with the road linking the capital Preslav with the territories to the north of Danube.[47] It is likely, therefore, that the creators of the boot-graffiti followed their own road, and that road was a route of pilgrims.[48] Two crucial places on it were the monasteries of Ravna and Bassarabi. Their identification as pilgrimage centres is sufficiently substantiated by the numerous inscriptions containing names, short notes mentioning the stay in the monasteries, and simple prayers.[49] Furthermore, I believe that Ravna and Bassarabi were stations for pil-

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[47] The shortest way passed through Drăstăr (Durostorum) following a section of the Roman Via Viminatium-Constantinople. G. Škrivanić, "Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans," in *Historical Geography of the Balkans*, ed. Fr. W. Carter (London-New York-San Francisco: Academy Press, 1977), 128.

[48] It is intriguing to note that as a centre of St Phocas' cult, Chersones was the northernmost point in the early Byzantine pilgrimage route crossing the Balkans. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington D. C. : Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 4, Fig. 2.

[49] Popkonstantinov and O. Kronsteiner, "Altbulgarische Inschriften," *Die Slawische Sshprachen* 36 (1994): 75, 77, 81, 83 (Bassarabi), 219, 227, 233 (Ravna).

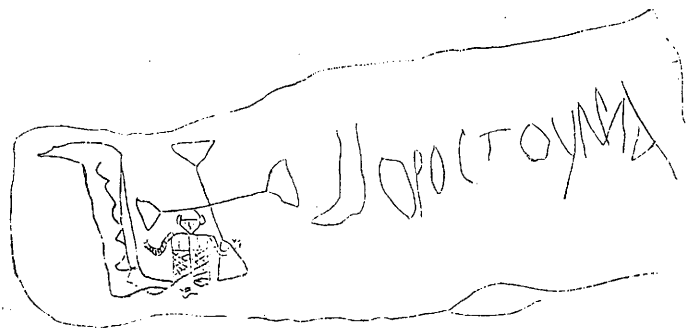

Fig. 18. A graffito-drawing from the Ravna monastery

grims returning from their travel to the Holy Land. Indeed, Ravna is situated on the road linking the central part of medieval Bulgaria with Thrace and Constantinople.

Summarising the present attempt to interpret the graffito-images of boots in Ravna, I draw the following conclusions:

1. The tenth-century boot-graffiti from Ravna monastery as well as from Preslav, Bassarabi, Hiršova, Capidava, Dinogetia-Garvan, and Chersonses were made as personal signs of worship with protective power.

2. The boot-graffiti were scratched by a distinctive group of pilgrims who in the first half of the tenth century passed through the northeastern part of Bulgaria, visiting the Ravna monastery.

3. The pilgrims probably adopted this symbol during their pilgrimage to the Holy Land and particularly to Sinai. There, the image of boots was popular as a symbol of experience of epiphany and piety, being derived from the "abbreviated" iconography of the Burning Bush scene, a typical *locus sanctus picture* for Sinai.

Although it is impossible as yet to determine who the pilgrims were, it is certain that no ethnic identification could be applied to the makers of the boot-graffiti. On the one hand, the interpretation in the Christian sense avoids a relation to proto-Bulgarian beliefs.[50] On the other hand, the images of boots with names (e.g. ΧΟΦΙΗΑ) could not be used for general conclusions. Moreover, the monastery of Ravna and the other locations of boot-graffiti were accessible to people of many different ethnic origins.

Another difficult question concerns the status of the pilgrims. In my previous work I suggested that they were travelling monks.[51] However,

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[50] Ovćarov, "Za sădăržanieto," 297-299.

[51] Kostova, "Za biblejskija smisăl," 87.

the topography of the boot-graffiti in Ravna shows that they were made by outsiders who had access only to the guesthouse, the south yard, and, from there, to the church. Therefore, I now suggest that the authors of the boot-graffiti were laymen although monks may also have been among them (Fig. 18).

Convincing or not, and certainly disputable, the present interpretation of the enigmatic image of the boot-graffiti has at least the heuristic value of demonstrating how one particular group of graffiti reveals the transmission of an image from the context of Christian iconography to pilgrim's symbolism. Moreover, such a study may be useful in reconstructing the routes of pilgrimage and the communications between the civil centres and the monasteries in tenth-century North Balkans.

SOME ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL SEMANTIC CONCEPTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON MODISTIC GRAMMAR

Renata Mikolajczyk

One of the fundamental assumptions on which the Modistae based their grammatical theory was the belief in a common reality existing objectively and being reflected uniformly in the cognitive structures of the human mind. The formal features of language were in turn viewed as being derived from and mirroring the corresponding conceptual reality. This model is never really challenged in the modistic works. Rather, it is almost taken for granted and it serves as a proof for grammar being universal and as a base for the theory of *modi*. In fact, it is not at all an original conception which would prompt the grammarians toward verification but a generally accepted view supported by an influential tradition of philosophical thought. It is our task now to look at a few instances of this development and connect the modistic ideas we have examined thus far with their earlier models.

One of the starting points of this tradition is certainly Aristotle's view on language, best exposed in his *Peri hermeneias*, known in Latin as *De interpretatione*. There is still considerable disagreement among scholars as to whether Aristotle really had any consistent theory of language. The short passage in *De interpretatione* devoted to linguistic problems[1] and a few references scattered in his other books still create difficulty for commentators. However, leaving aside the problem of correct interpretation of Aristotle's ideas as not quite relevant to our questions, we can safely assert that the few issues he raised had an enormously far-reaching influence on the development of lingustic thought. Whatever Aristotle really meant to say in *De interpretatione* and what was attributed to him by the misinterpretations of later translators and commentators, the steady tradition of the text and the unquestionable authority of the Philosopher ensured a long-lasting interest in the treatise itself and the problems it discussed. Boethius' translation and commentaries (sixth century) originated interest in this very concise book in the Latin West. During the Middle Ages, many great thinkers had commented upon the text: Peter Abelard, Robert Kilwardby, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, John

[1] Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. 1, ed. J. Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 16 a 1 - 17 a 7: 25-26.

Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, for example. Among the commentators we also find some modistic grammarians: Martin of Dacia, Boethius of Dacia, Siger of Courtrai, and Thomas of Erfurt.[2]

The preoccupation with the relation between word and its meaning has a long history, one of its earliest illustrations being the *Cratylus* of Plato.[3] Although this text could not directly influence medieval thinkers, it is still worth mentioning as the source of Aristotle and as a valuable exposition of ancient philosophical views on the nature of language. Plato's *Cratylus* is usually regarded as an inquiry into the origins of language. However, it is more accurate to recognize that it deals with the correctness of names, that is, whether names do reflect the nature of things they signify.[4] Apparently, there is general agreement that words are somehow established; indeed, there is an initial process of naming. The question is, rather, whether these names are chosen arbitrarily, at random, or there is a logic to them, a link that connects the name and the thing naturally. Cratylus, whose views inspire the debate, maintains that all names have a natural correctness, they reflect the thing signified, and thus they are descriptive names. Those which are not "correct" are simply not names. He stresses that this is true for Greek as well as for other languages.[5] His opponent, Hermogenes, on the other hand, holds the view that names signify by convention, so their truth (correctness) lies in an agreement to use this and not another expression to designate a certain thing. But names can be changed, and they do in fact change whenever one decides to call a certain thing another name.[6] Socrates, who is called to express his opinion and perhaps settle the debate, does not provide an adequate answer and leaves the problem unsolved. He does partly embrace Cratylus' view with the reservation, however, that not all names signify naturally since some are not correct, yet they are understood by the force of convention. Nevertheless, he admits that things should be

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[2] H. Arens, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and its Tradition* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1984), 11.

[3] For some interpretations of Plato's views in *Cratylus*, see G. Anagnostopoulos, "Plato's *Cratylus*: The Two Theories of the Correctness of Names," *Review of Metaphysics* 25 (1971-71): 691-736; T. W. Bestor, "Plato's Semantics and Plato's *Cratylus*," *Phronesis* 25 (1980): 306-330; N. Kretzmann, "Plato on the Correctness of Names," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 8 (1971): 126-138; M. M. A. Mackenzie, "Putting the *Cratylus* in its Place," *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986): 124-150.

[4] T. M. S. Baxter, *The Cratylus: Plato's Critique of Naming* (Leiden-New York-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992), 41-43.

[5] Plato, *Cratylus*, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. E. Hamilton and H. Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 383 b.

[6] Plato, *Cratylus*, 384 d.

named according to their nature.[7] Socrates makes an important assumption that each thing has its natural, objective, and stable being, independent of the individual perceptions.[8] The name-giver must understand this essence of the thing and follow the Form Name as a guide to render the naturally fitting name into letters and syllables.[9] In fact, not everyone has the capacity to assign names correctly,[10] the name-giver is the rarest craftsman.[11] That is why names and knowledge based on them are often deceiving, and Socrates concludes his argument by refusing to give a final solution to the problem of correctness of names. Nevertheless, the position of Plato seems to be that there do exist "true," descriptive names, and they make it possible to arrive at some truth about the thing through its name (the bulk of the dialogue consists of etymological analyses of different Greek words). From this assumption stems the very rich tradition of etymology, extremely popular in the medieval period.

It is this position that Aristotle rejects. There is no natural relation between names and things named: they signify by convention.[12] He also stresses the fact that the word is the smallest semantic unit which cannot be divided.[13] This clearly contradicts the etymologists' attitude.

In Boethius' translation of *De interpretatione*, the Greek word *kata syntheken*, meaning 'by convention' or 'conventionally', is rendered *secundum placitum* which is a slight change, on the one hand, underlining much stronger the arbitrariness of the choice of a name, and, on the other, dropping the possible allusion to the language community that establishes a certain convention. In his commentary on *De interpretatione*, Boethius attempts to explain why words do not signify naturally but according to the arbitrary choice of the name-giver.[14] He even mentions Plato's *Cratylus* and argues against it.[15] One of his arguments is that words are not the same in all languages, which shows that they were not formed naturally but as it pleased the will of the name-givers (*ad ponentium placitum voluntatemque).*[16] Also, names can be changed (the same argument was used by Hermogenes in *Cratylus*), or there can be more

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[7] Ibid., 387 d 4-9.
[8] Ibid., 386 d 9-e 4.
[9] Ibid., 389 d 4-8.
[10] Ibid., 391 a 7-b 2.
[11] Ibid., 388 e 7-389 a 3.
[12] Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, 16 a 19: 25, 16 a 27: 25, 17 a 1: 26.
[13] Ibid., 16 a 20 - 26: 25, 16 b 6 - 7: 26.
[14] Boethius, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri Ermeneias*, vol. 2, ed. K. Meiser (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), 54-55.
[15] Boethius, *Commentarii*, 92.
[16] Ibid., 55; see also 23 and 37.

names for the same thing, which also shows that they are not natural but imposed; otherwise, there would be just one name to signify one thing.[17] A vocal expression becomes meaningful only after it is given as a name to something. Boethius quotes the example of meaningless words, such as *blityri*[18] or *scindapsos* and *hereceddy*,[19] saying they signify nothing, but if they were established to signify, they would become names.[20] It is the process of imposition that causes a voice to become a meaningful word. However, Boethius does recognize that there are certain signs (they are not really vocal forms any more) which signify by nature, like tears, groans, grief, or even voices of animals, like the barking of dogs. They were not imposed to signify; nevertheless, they have a meaning, for example, in case of dogs' barking. [21]

In quite the same tradition, Abelard, writing his commentary on *De interpretatione* embraces the conventionalist point of view. The signification of words (spoken and written) does not pertain to nature but is due to an imposition (name-giving) executed by men. In nations of different languages, these words do not have the same *officium significandi*. A Roman word for a Greek person would not have the same semantic function.[22] However, Abelard also considers some signs as being natural, namely the voices of animals.[23] Again, the barking of dogs is given as an example, and again it is meant to express the dog's anger. Interestingly, the natural signs are also said to have been imposed but imposed by nature. Hence, the dichotomy is not between voices imposed or not but between those imposed by nature and those established by convention. Abelard even explains at one point that it is God who gave barking to the dog (i.e. it was naturally imposed) so that it could show its anger. Human voices, on the other hand, signify *ad placitum* by the will of the name-giving men.[24] He repeats a similar view in his later *Dialectica*, making a distinction between voices imposed by nature (dog's barking again) and those signifying *ad placitum* which are of human invention only.[25]

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[17] Ibid., 56.
[18] Ibid., 3.
[19] Ibid., 59.
[20] The examples *blityri* and *scindappos* are not at all original. We can find them used in Sextus Empiricus, Artemidorus Daldianus, and Galen. Later, they became standard examples of meaningless words, quoted almost as commonly as Socrates in all sorts of example sentences. H. Arens, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and its Tradition*, 135.
[21] Boethius, *Commentarii*, 31.
[22] Peter Abelard, *Glossae super Peri Ermeneias*, in *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften*, vol. 1, *Logica Ingredientibus*, ed. B. Geyer (Münster: Aschendorf, 1919), 320.
[23] Peter Abelard, *Glossae*, 340.
[24] Ibid., 335-336; also: 340-341.

However, in one of his earlier commentaries on Porphyry, we encounter a view that does not exclude the possibility of words being imposed but still imitating nature.[26] Here, Abelard posits that the one who originally composed names followed the nature of things.[27]

Although it is usually assumed that during the medieval period the naturalist view of the relation between words and things gradually gave way to the conviction that this relationship is entirely due to convention, it seems that the range of attitudes toward language as a reflection of reality was more differentiated.[28] Most thinkers did not, in fact, embrace either of the radical positions. They remained moderate naturalists; even Isidore of Seville, who, while indulging in the most incredible etymological speculations, did admit that not all names were imposed according to nature but some according to pleasure.[29] Even earlier, one of the first Latin grammarians, Varro divided all reality into the four categories of body, place, time, and action and claimed that they are faithfully reflected by the essential classes of words. Nevertheless, he agreed upon an original imposition of names in which the namer is guided by the nature to give proper names to things: *ea (natura) enim dux fuit ad vocabula imponenda homini.* [30] Others were moderate in claiming that language was conventional. At this time Priscian argued that words and letters are invented by men, yet they show a similitude with the elements of the real world: *literas autem etiam elementorum noncupaverunt ad similitudinem mundi elementorum.*[31] Even as late as the twelfth century, John of Salisbury recalls this debate in his *Metalogicon*. He believes that the application of

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[25] *Liquet autem ex suprapositis significativarum vocum alias naturaliter, alias ad placitum significare. Quaecumque enim habiles sunt ad significandum vel ex natura vel ex impositione significativae dicuntur. Naturales quidem voces, qua non humana inventio imposuit sed sole natura, naturaliterex impositione significativas dicimus, ut ea quam latrando canis emittit, ex qua ipsius iram concipimus (...) Sed huiusmodi voces quae nec locutiones componunt, quippe nec ab hominibus proferuntur, ab omni logica sunt alienae. Eas igitur solas oportet exsequi quae ad placitum significant, hocest secundum voluntatem imponentis, quae videlicet prout libuit ab hominibus formatae ad humanas locutiones constituendas sunt repertae et ad res designandas impositae.* Peter Abelard, *Dialectica*, ed. L. M. de Rijk (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961), 1. 3. 1: 114.

[26] Peter Abelard, *Glossulae super Porphyrium*, in *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften*, ed. B. Geyer (Munster: Aschendorf, 1923), 3: 537.

[27] Peter Abelard, *Glossulae super Porphyrium*, 3: 367.

[28] T. Coletti, *Naming the Rose* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 19.

[29] *Non autem omnia nomina a veteribus secundum naturam imposita sunt, sed quaedam et secundum placitum.* Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1.29.2.

[30] Quoted in H. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies* (Chicago-London: Chicago University Press, 1983), 46.

[31] Priscian, *Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*, ed. H. Keil (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961), 2: 6.

names and the use of different expressions depends on the will of man; however, it is also in a way subject to nature which it imitates. Hence, the grammatical study of language, although an invention of man, still imitates nature from which it originates.[32] In medieval texts we can rarely find unqualified belief in the purely undetermined nature of human language, such as the present day Saussurean notion of the arbitrary sign.[33] In fact, it was rarely held that names were given totally at random. Most thinkers believed that our vocabulary was created by intelligent men who, in the process of giving names, took into consideration the properties of those things.[34] We can see clearly in Pseudo Kilwardby and Boethius of Dacia the preoccupation with the person of *impositor* who should have an appropriate knowledge of things to be able to impose an adequate word.[35] They both stress the fact that vocal expression in the sense of the series of sounds is arbitrary; however, there are certain formal features of language which do follow the reality. This conclusion can be drawn clearly from the doctrine of *modi* and universal grammar. Boethius of Dacia also allows for some vocal signs to be natural besides the voices of animals, for example, human ones, particularly when they express pain (*et haberet species humana aliquas voces ad hoc naturaliter ordinatas, sicut nunc videmus dolorem et affectus et conceptus consimiles per quasdam voces exprimi).*[36]

Thus, it seems that most of those thinkers who rejected the notion of words as physical extensions of things and accepted the fact of their imposition by convention, nevertheless, did not break with the wish for continuity between language and reality.[37] In fact, it was a rather general opinion that language was a human invention although in some sense determined by nature.

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[32] *Artium vero matrem superius collectum est esse naturam; sed licet hec aliquatenus, immo ex maxima parte ab hominum institutione processerit, naturam tamen imitatur, et pro parte ab ipsa originem ducit, eique in omnibus quantum potest, studet esse conformis... Ipsa quoque nominum impositio aliarumque dictionum, etsi arbitrio humano processerit, nature quodammodo obnoxia est, quam pro modulo suo probabiliter imitatur.* John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. J. B. Hall, *CCL* 98, 840 d: 33.

[33] H. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 46.

[34] S. Ebbesen, "The Odyssey of Semantics from Stoa to Buridan," in *History of Semiotics*, ed. A. Eschbach and J. Trabant (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1983), 71.

[35] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum super Priscianum maiorem*, ed. K. M. Fredborg, N. J. Green Pedersen, L. Nielsen, and J. Pinborg, *CIMAGL* 15 (1975), 2. 1. 11: 76; Boethius of Dacia, *Modi significandi sive Quaestiones super Priscianum maiorem*, ed. J. Pinborg, H. Roos, and S. S. Jensen, *CPDMA 4* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1969), 5: 24, 12: 49, 17: 64-65; and chapter 2.b, p.26 of the present work.

[36] Boethius of Dacia, *Modi significandi*, 5: 25.

[37] H. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 46.

We must not neglect the influence of religious doctrine in this matter and the Bible as the primary source of all knowledge for good Christians. According to the medieval, deeply religious, sense of history, the first instance of signification took place in Eden and involved Adam, the first *impositor,* in the act of naming the earthly animals and the birds.[38] This original language established by the first human being became distorted in the well-known story of the Tower of Babel,[39] irrevocably inspiring generations of thinkers to endeavour at reconstruction.[40] Others who did not undertake the desperate search for the primordial, natural language[41] must have been, nevertheless, at least influenced by the biblical account of the origins of language to believe in some divinely established link between the first human language and the world of real things.

Such an impact may be noticed in Augustine's theory of signs. In the *De trinitate* he regards the diversity of languages as a result of sin, symbolically represented by the Tower of Babel.[42] His position in the debate of naturalism versus conventionalism is usually associated with his division of signs into *signa naturalia* and *signa data.*[43] However, it is more correct to interpret this distinction in terms of the intentionality of the speaker in the occurrence, not in the meaning of the sign.[44] Although *De doctrina* offers a picture of the views of Augustine on the conventionality of linguistic signs, it is also important to look at his other works because some of his ideas underwent considerable change. In the *De dialectica* he still regards some words as having a natural relation to things they signify.[45] However, *De magistro* already expresses a distrust in signs. It is true that things cannot be learned without the use of signs, especially words,[46] and this basically verbal epistemology remains characteristic of Augustine for his entire life.[47] However, signs only imperfectly point

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[38] Gen. 2: 19-20.

[39] Gen. 11:1.

[40] U. Eco, *La ricerca della lingua perfetta* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1993).

[41] Natural in the sense of a natural link between the vocabulary of a language and the referents; there is no connection with the concept of "natural language" in Hjelmslev's model, which in fact would mean quite the contrary.

[42] Augustine, *De trinitate, MPL* 42: 15. 10.

[43] *Signorum igitur alia sunt naturalia, alia data. Naturalia sunt, quae sine voluntate atque nullo appetitu significandi, praeter se aliquid aliud ex se cognosci faciunt, sicut est fumus significans ignem.(...) Data vero signa sunt, quae sibi quaeque viventia invicem dant ad demonstrandos, quantum possunt, motus animi sui, vel sensa, aut intellecta qualibet. Nec ulla causa est nobis significandi , id est signi dandi, nisi ad depromendum et traiciendum in alterius animum id quod animo gerit id qui signum dat.* Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 2. 1. 2 - 2. 3: 36-37.

[44] B. Darrell Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana,*" in *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. R.A. Markus (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 97.

[45] Augustine, *De dialectica, MPL* 32, especially in chapter 6: 1411-3.

[46] Ibid. 3. 6: 1198, 10. 30: 1212. See also *"res per signa discuntur"* in *De doctrina christiana,* 1.2.2: 19.

to the reality; consequently, they are not identical with what they signify. They do not reveal knowledge about the thing. On the contrary, it is necessary to know first the thing itself in order to be able later to understand the sign.[48] It is the pointing with the finger whereby the link between the sign and the thing is established.[49] In *De doctrina christiana* Augustine is even more explicit about the conventionality of words. Words mean different things in different languages because each society has an agreement and a consent as to their significance. Nor have men established conventions for using signs with determinate meanings because signs already had been meaningful, but they are meaningful solely because men have established the conventions for their use. [50] However, in *De trinitate* Augustine again seems to come close to the view of natural language. His doctrine of *verba mentalis* does in fact resemble the conception of ideal names:

For of necessity when we say what is true (i. e. say what we know) the knowledge itself, which we retain in memory, gives birth to a word that is altogether of the same kind as the knowledge from which it is born. For the thought formed by the thing that we know is a word that is neither Greek nor Latin nor any other language. But since it is necessary to convey it into the knowledge of those with whom we speak, some sign is adopted by which it is signified.[51]

Clearly, the outer word (vocal expression) is still considered arbitrary, but there is an idea of an inner language, more true and constant, which bears similarities to the concept of perfect natural language. It also indicates Augustine's persistent distrust in the ordinary means of expression.

We already pointed to the influence of Augustinian *verba mentalis* on Pseudo Kilwardby.[52] The distinction between *vox sensibilis exterior* and *vox interior mentalis* in Pseudo Kilwardby and his description of the process of

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[47] M. Colish, *The Mirror of Language* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1968), viii; 8- 81.

[48] Augustine, *De magistro*, 10. 34: 1214.

[49] Ibid. 10. 34: 1214.

[50] *Sicut enim, verbi gratia, una figura littera X quae decussatim notatur, aliud apud Graecos, aliud apud Latinos valet, (...) sicut ergo hae omnes significationes pro suae cuiusque societatis consensione animos movent, et quia diversa consensio est, diverse movent; nec ideo consenterunt in eas homines, quia iam valebant ad significationem, sed ideo valent, quia consenserunt in eas.* Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2. 24. 37: 53.

[51] *Necesse est enim cum verum loquimur, id est, quod scimus loquimur, ex ipsa scientia quam memoria tenemus, nascatur verbum quod eiusmodi sit omnino, cuiusmodi est illa scientia de qua nascitur. Formata quippe cogitatio ab ea re quam scimus, verbum est quod in corde dicimus: quod nec graecum est, nec latinum, nec linguae alicuius alterius; sed cum id opus est in eorum quibus loquimur perferre notitiam, aliquod signum quo significetur assimitur.* Augustine, *De trinitate*, 15.10: 1071.

[52] See chapter two (2 b) of the present work.

formulating the outer speech to express the inner one[53] clearly recalls the passage from the *De trinitate* that we have just quoted. Pseudo Kilwardby also refers to Anselm,[54] who quite similarly distinguishes an inner speech, *intima locutio*, which is a much truer reflection of things it represents.[55] Now, the concept of mental words brings us back to the original question of the relation between language and reality. Even if it is accepted that outer, vocal expressions are chosen *ad placitum*, the same cannot be said about the *verba mentalis*. But is the inner speech still a language? Augustine says it is *nulla lingua*; however, he still uses terminology borrowed from the realm of language (*verbum, dicere, loquere*). Pseudo Kilwardby considers the *sermo interior* as a real subject of grammar, thus treating it as a linguistic phenomenon.[56] However, the same Pseudo Kilwardby maintains that words signify primarily concepts which he calls *intellecta mentis*.[57] Does he then identify the *vox interior* and the *intellectus*? Apparently not, since he considers the linking of *significatio* and the *vox* as taking place first on the level of interior speech, so the two can hardly mean the same thing. It seems more plausible, then, that he confuses the process of forming notions about different things with expressing these thoughts in language. And he is not alone in doing so. Here, we come quite close to another problem we shall investigate, namely how and what words signify.

In one of the opening passages of the *De interpretatione*, the Philosopher points to some relations between written forms, vocal forms, *pathemata*, and real things (*pragmata*).[58] He links the written with the spoken forms, and those with the *pathemata*, the relation being one of signification or standing for. The *pathemata*, in turn, are characterized as likenesses of things. Moreover, the first two, the written and the spoken forms, are said not to be the same for all; whereas, *pathemata* and *pragmata* are said to be the same. Now, several problems arise in the interpretation of this short passage. The word *pathemata* translated by Boethius as *passiones quae sunt in anima* is rather ambiguous. Since Aristotle himself con-

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[53] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 2. 1. 1b- 4b: 57-60.

[54] Ibid., 2. 1. 2a: 52.

[55] *Aut enim res loquimur signis sensibus, id est quae sensibus corporeis sentiri possunt sensibiliter utendo; aut eadem signa, quae foris sensibilia sunt, intra nos insensibiliter cogitando; aut nec sensibiliter nec insensibiliterhis signis utendo, sed res ipsas vel corporum imaginatione vel rationis intellectu pro rerum ipsarum diversitate intus in nostra mente dicendo.* Saint Anselm, *Monologion*, in *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946), 10: 24 ; see also 10: 25.

[56] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 1. 2. 1: 10.

[57] *Vox instituitur primo ed per se ad significandum intellectus mentis.* Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 2. 1. 9: 71.

[58] Aristotle, *De interpetatione*, 16 a 2 - 9: 25.

ceives of them as of the likenesses of things, it is probable that he means the impressions of things formed in the soul as according to his description in *De anima*.[59] However, in some following paragraphs he speaks of *noema* and *dianoia* without making it clear that he means the same as *pathema*.[60] The other problem may arise from his use of words *symbolon* and *semeion*. Whether Aristotle distinguished between these two or did not make any difference between them is still debatable.[61] What should suffice, however, for the purpose of our investigation regarding the medieval period is the fact that Boethius translated both words as *notae*.

This rather ambiguous model of signification inspired a rich tradition of thought so that it is hardly possible to distinguish between what Aristotle really could have meant and what seems plausible in the light of the later development of his ideas. S. Ebbesen points to the role of the Stoic philosophers of the second-third centuries BC in the initial introduction of the Aristotelian model as distinguishing between words, intelligible significata, and real denotata.[62] He also strongly underlines the role that Porphyry played in formulating and spreading the interpretation of Aristotle's semantic model as one in which words signify concepts which, in turn, signify things so that words signify things via concepts.[63] The fundamental assumption Ebbesen makes is that Porphyry had a rather consistent semantic theory in which he considered vocal discourse as a sign of mental discourse and the terms of vocal propositions (words) as signs of concepts (terms of mental propositions). Hence, things were taken to be signified by words only through concepts.[64] It seems quite clear that this model constituted an important basis for the rise of modistic theory, especially the triadic system of *modi significandi, intelligendi*, and *essendi*.[65]

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[59] Especially chapters: II. 5 and 12; III. 4 and 8. Also Aristotle, *On the Soul*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. J. Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 663-665, 674-675, 682-684, 686-687.

[60] Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, 16 a 10: 25, 16 b 20: 26. (The English translation renders both as "thought.").

[61] For two differing opinions, see H. Arens, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and Its Tradition*, 27 and N. Kretzmann, "Aristotle on Spoken Sound Significant by Convention," *Ancient Logic and Its Modern Interpretations*, ed. J. Corcoran (Dordrecht-Boston: D. Reidel, 1974), 3-21.

[62] Ebbesen, "The Odyssey of Semantics from the Stoa to Buridan," 69.

[63] Ibid., 70.

[64] For further details see: Ebbesen, "Porphyry's Legacy to Logic: A Reconstruction," in *Aristotle Transformed*, ed. R. Sorabji (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 141-171.

[65] I refer to Ebbesen's reconstruction of Porphyry's semantic theory because I consider it a useful model to examine the whole tradition of linguistic thought even if Ebbesen is not entirely right in attributing all this to Porphyry alone. But he projects some later ideas on Porphyry's non-extant works, and it is still a valuable framework in which to place much of the medieval language theory.

Boethius borrowed heavily from Porphyry[66] (in fact, Boethius is an important source for reconstructing Porphyrian ideas). In his commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, we encounter the semantic model involving words, concepts, and things. Boethius even remarks at one point that words signify nothing else apart from the concept.[67] However, he claims elsewhere that nouns and verbs signify primarily the notions and secondarily the things.[68] Boethius clearly recognizes the importance of the problem of determining what signification really means. He even mentions ancient debates regarding the question of what do words actually signify. Here, Boethius again relies on Porphyry in outlining the different opinions. One such view is that words signify things, another that the *significata* are some "incorporeal natures," still another opinion says that it is sensations or perceptions that are signified, and the last one suggests that meaning is imagination or mental image.[69] For Boethius the true answer lies in Aristotle; however, he is aware of the ambiguity between *pathema* and *noema* which he translates as *passio* and *intellectus* respectively. He endeavours to find the reason why Aristotle did not speak of vocal forms as signs of notions, but he chose instead the term *pathema* which emphasizes more the fact of being an impression in the soul.[70] According to Boethius, the two are basically the same, but Aristotle wanted to convey exactly the meaning of concept as a mental impression of a thing. Here, Boethius engages in some psychological explanations of how concepts are formed and what the difference between concept and imagination or sensation would be, grounding his argument on Aristotle's ideas from *De anima*.[71]

One of the fundamental assumptions of this theory of signification is the universality of reality and concepts. Solipsism is rejected on the basis of the belief that men form and link concepts in the same way. Boethius explains it in a seemingly simplistic manner: in his view, the universality of notions for all men means that if a Roman, a Greek, and a barbarian see a horse, they will all form the same notion of it, the notion of a horse. They call it differently because the vocal expressions in all these languages are different, but what remains common to them is the thing itself and the concept of it.[72] For Boethius it is inconceivable that what a Roman

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[66] For his other possible sources see: L. M. de Rijk, *Logica modernorum*, vol. 1, 28-39.
[67] Boethius, *Commentarii*, 21.
[68] Ibid., 24.
[69] Ibid., 26-27.
[70] Ibid., 33.
[71] Ibid., 33-34, also: 28; the relevant passage in Aristotle, *De anima*, 3. 8.
[72] Ibid., 21.

apprehends as a man, a barbarian could think to be a stone.[73] Interestingly, this idea of the universality of intellectual functions won an almost general acceptance and was rarely challenged in serious discussion.[74] One such case of scepticism is mentioned by Boethius himself. A certain Aspasius raises some doubts concerning this theory of the uniformity of notions in all men, giving as an example the diversity of conceptions people have about what is good and just. Boethius calls him *permolestus* and seems to be quite irritated by his arguments, attempting to counter them again by using the assumption that what is established by nature is the same for everyone.[75]

The triadic structure of words, notions, and things, however, gains a slightly new bearing, when Boethius adopts a different terminology and begins speaking about three discourses (*orationes):* written, spoken, and mental. Again, citing Porphyry as his authority, Boethius attributes the concept of three discourses to the Peripatetics.[76] In his conclusion, he assumes that as there are parts of speech in the written and spoken discourse, the parts of speech must be threefold and have their counterparts in the mental speech also.[77]

Boethius' concept of *oratio mentalis* and the Augustinian idea of *verbum in mente* share a similar terminology which creates lingustic parallels to mental phenomena. We shall see that both notions can also be compared as to the role they play in the process of signification.

The oft-quoted definition of sign in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* is as follows: *Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire.*[78] And since *quod enim nulla res est, omnino nihil est,*[79] it is quite easy to infer that signs, being themselves *res,* also signify *res.* This might lead to a false impression that Augustine has a twofold conception of signification which involves only signs and things. However, a careful examination of the process of signifying as exposed in the *De doctrina* reveals a more complex semantic scheme. In fact, the Augustinian conception of signification involves a third element, *dicibile,* which is the result of *cogitatio.*[80] What is described

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[73] Ibid., 38.

[74] There were some exceptions, of course. We shall see the doubts Abelard entertained although he generally accepted the idea.

[75] Boethius, *Commentarii,* 41-42.

[76] Ibid., 29.

[77] Ibid., 30.

[78] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 2.1.1: 35.

[79] Ibid., 1.2.2: 19..

[80] B. D. Jackson's interpretation in "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana,*" 104-108.

in the *De doctrina* as *id quod animo gerit, qui signum dat* [81] and in the *De trinitate* as *verbum quod in corde dicimus*[82] appears to be the same thing, namely the intermediary between *res* and *signum* although Augustine never defines it explicitly. Moreover, he never says that words signify those mental phenomena; rather, he points to their role in the process of forming signs. It is legitimate, nevertheless, to indicate, as B. D. Jackson does, the similarity between this semantic model and the one deriving from Aristotle.[83] Even if there are some clear differences between the two, we can assume that medieval readers of Aristotle and Augustine still found them compatible. Pseudo Kilwardby apparently did. His concept of *sermo in scripto, in pronuntiatione et in mente*[84] clearly owes much to the Boethian three types of *oratio*. On the other hand, his parallel notion of *vox mentalis* [85] seems closer to Augustinian *verbum in mente*. Finally, both concepts form part of a semantic model based on the triadic system of things, concepts, and words.

Now, this seems to be a particularly important element in the development of the theory of universal grammar. If the notions, mental phenomena, are said to form an *oratio* or *sermo* and consist of *verba* or *vox*, it means that they are perceived as something verbal, that is, parallel and close to language. Of course, these notions are ambiguous enough to allow more possibilities for interpretation, ranging from silent "thinking in words" to an entirely non-verbal operation, from imagining a word to *intellectus*. Nevertheless, it is significant that the process of thinking is associated with the use of language. It is not only signified by the elements of language but also conceived of as a language. This signals the assumption of a close interrelationship between cognitive and linguistic structures, and since the former are said to be the same for all, it allows the hypothesis which the Modistae form, namely, that some elements of language do reflect the process of cognition and are, therefore, universal. Of course, if language is perceived in this way, it is no more a particular language, Latin or Greek, but an abstract structure. Thus, Boethius of Dacia's type of grammar can be easily interpreted as describing the rules of a categorial language.[86]

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[81] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2.2.3: 37.
[82] Augustine, *De trinitate*, 15.10: 1071.
[83] Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*," 130-131.
[84] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 1.2.1: 10.
[85] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 2.1.1b-4b: 57-60.
[86] See D. P. Henry's attempt at interpreting modistic grammar in terms of a categorial language in *That Most Subtle Question: The Metaphysical Bearing of Medieval and Contemporary Linguistic Disciplines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Of course, the concept of mental or inner speech was not the only element that influenced this development. Closer associations of grammar with logic from the eleventh century onwards[87] also contributed to the rise of the doctrine of *modi*. Both grammar as well as logic were viewed as dealing principally with *sermo*, not the *res*, which again brought linguistic problems closer to the formulation of concepts. It is, therefore, worth examining Abelard's views on language which clearly show the mutual influence of grammar and logic. Although Abelard is never directly referred to in the texts of Pseudo Kilwardby or Boethius of Dacia, he consitutes, nevertheless, an important step toward the speculative, theoretical approach to grammar. He is the "unrivaled master of that twelfth-century amalgam of logical, metaphysical, semantical, and grammatical theory out of which the characteristically thirteenth-century speculative grammar and terminist logic evolved."[88] Although his commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* continues the earlier tradition as conveyed by Boethius, he also makes some original remarks which are quite relevant to our investigation.

Similar to Boethius, Abelard assumes that words primarily signify the notions and secondarily the things themselves.[89] He also examines at length the question of what these notions are. He makes an argument, again like Boethius but better elaborated, for the distinction of notions from sensations and imagination.[90] Rather crucial is his statement on the problem of universals, which we shall not discuss here.[91] What is interesting to mention in connection with the influence of grammar and logic on each other is the considerable number of references Abelard makes to Priscian.[92] Abelard considers the grammarian's standpoint on the question of parts of speech. Aristotle treats only two parts of speech, the noun and the verb; however, grammarians distingush more.[93] Abelard also uses the term *causa inventionis*. Speaking about notions being the *signifi-*

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[87] For the mutual influence between grammar and logic, see L. M. de Rijk, *Logica modernorum*, 95-125 and 221-263.

[88] N. Kretzmann, "The Culmination of the Old Logic in Peter Abelard," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 492.

[89] Peter Abelard, *Glossae*, 321.

[90] Ibid., 313.

[91] See the analysis of Abelard's views on the problem of universals in M. M. Tweedale, *Abailard on Universals* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976).

[92] Abelard's interest in grammar is worth noting. He even composed a treatise on grammar, but it is not extant.

[93] Peter Abelard, *Glossae*, 311; He also devotes considerable attention to the distinction of nouns and names in his *Dialectica*, 121-142.

catum of words, he adds that they are also the causes of the invention of words.[94] These *causae inventionis* are again a concept quite often used by the twelfth-century grammarians. With William of Conches and Petrus Helias, they became the major concern of grammar.[95]

What appears most striking as a possible antecedent of the idea of *modi significandi* is Abelard's discussion of the uniformity of notions. He repeats Boethius' interpretation, giving again an example of a Roman and a Greek seeing a horse and perceiving it as a horse and not as a man.[96] However, Abelard also raises the question as to why Aristotle considers that notions are more universal than words. In his view, it is the mode of conceiving that makes notions the same, but words are also the same when it comes to their modes of signification. Whether in Latin or in Greek, *homo* or *anthropos* signify the same thing and in the same way.[97] The conclusion that Abelard then draws is that language too is in some sense universal. In still another example he clearly attributes the distinction of parts of speech to the various modes of conceiving. The words *currit* and *cursus* signify the same thing, but on account of the difference in notion, due to the different mode of conceiving, one is a noun, the other a verb.[98] This again resembles the modistic doctrine. In fact, his account of the differences between nouns and verbs clearly anticipates the notion of *modus significandi*.[99] Thus, it is rather probable that twelfth-century grammarians borrowed this idea directly from logic.[180]

It does not, of course, mean that we can identify the source of modistic ideas in Abelard. It shows rather the steady development of some attitudes and ideas, of which Abelard was no doubt an important exponent. It is more plausible, then, to assume that in the times of Abelard, it had already been quite accepted that the nature of *pars orationis* is to be attributed to the different modes of signifying.[181] Many twelfth-century gram-

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[94] Ibid., 309.

[95] K. M. Fredborg, "Speculative Grammar," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 181-182.

[96] Peter Abelard, *Glossae*, 321; see also an example on p. 20.

[97] Ibid., 323.

[98] Ibid., 308; we find the same example also in Boethius of Dacia's treatise, which again shows the persistence and popularity of certain ideas as well as the repetitive character of logico-grammatical illustrative examples. See Boethius of Dacia, *Modi significandi*, 29: 86.

[99] *Non tam igitur in significatione temporis nomen a verbo recedere videtur quam in modo significandi.* Peter Abelard, *Dialectica*, 123: 15-16.

[180] K. M. Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*," *CIMAGL* 11 (1973): 30; L. G. Kelly, "*Modus significandi:* An Interdisciplinary Concept," *Historiographia Linguistica* 6/2 (1979): 159.

[181] L. G. Kelly, "*Modus significandi*," 168.

matical *glossae* reveal the preoccupation with the *causae inventionis*, that is, the reasons for the existence of different *pars orationis*.[182] The difference between respective word classes gradually becomes interpreted in terms of *modus significandi, consignificatio*, or *officium*. William of Conches and Petrus Helias already use these concepts; however, they do so sparingly and inconsistently.[183] The following two quotations illustrate quite well the initial confusion of these terms: *Sepe enim voces habent eandem significationem ut 'lego' et 'lectio' nec tamen sunt eadem pars orationis quia non habent idem officium.*[184] An analogous example is used with the concept of *modus significandi*: *Dicimus igitur quod 'albus' idem accidens significat quod et 'albedo' sed aliter quia determinat inherentiam illius accidentis et subiecti quod hoc nomen 'albedo' non facit. Ergo hec duo nomina non in re significata differunt sed in modo significandi.*[185] It is clear that these grammarians already recognize the same linguistic phenomena as the later modists, but they still fail to describe them in an adequate, scholastic manner. The terminology they use is inconsistent. The notions largely overlap and are never defined properly. However, the germ of modistic theory is already present.

The twelfth-century grammarians also acknowledge the triadic semantic system of words, concepts, and things. For example, in the gloss *Promisimus* we read: *Sciendum quod in omni collocutione, idest unius ad alterum locutione, tria sunt necessaria: res supposita, intellectus, vox.*[186] Another anonymous commentary on Priscian also includes the written words: *Ad hec tria genera collocutionis quatuor sunt necessaria, scilicet res, intellectus, vox, littera.*[187] In fact, the Porphyrian model of signification is widely accepted by these grammarians. Thus, when the concept of *modi significandi* evolves, it is explained on the basis of the same scheme: a triad of *modi significandi, intelligendi*, and *essendi*, as seen in Boethius of Dacia's treatise.

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[182] R. W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1980), 18-19; L. M. de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum*, vol. 2/1, 110-111; K. M. Fredborg, "Speculative Grammar," 181-182; K. M. Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*," 12- 15.

[183] Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias," 28.

[184] William of Conches, *Glose*, quoted in K. M. Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias," 22.

[185] William of Conches, *Glose*, quoted in K. M. Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias," 31.

[186] Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 48.

[187] L. M. de Rijk, *Logica modernorum*, vol. 2/1, 239.

The study of *causae inventionis* turned the attention of the grammarians away from the actual use of language, causing them to concentrate instead on its formal features. These features were related predominantly to the semantic properties of words, thus bringing into the foreground the objective, universal elements of the generally accepted model of signification, namely concepts and things. This formalization of the subject of grammar was carried to such an extent that sometimes concepts even replaced words in the linguistic analysis. The anonymous author of a grammatical compendium *Breve sit* seems to confuse names and concepts; moreover, he falsely interprets Boethius: *Et quod 'homo' et 'antropos' sint idem nomen innuit Boethius dicens quod eadem sunt dictiones apud omnes et cum Graeca definitio et Latina definitio sint eadem definitio, eadem ratione nomen Latinum et nomen Graecum sunt idem nomen.*[188] Quite similarly, Pseudo Kilwardby seems to refer to concepts rather than words when he says that *sermo in mente* should be the real subject of grammatical science since it is universal.[189]

Thus, when grammarians were faced with the question of *species grammaticae*,[190] they were induced by the formalized study of language to believe that grammar itself was universal, and it could be applied to different languages. For Dominicus Gundissalinus, the species of grammar in different languages all form one genus, which is universal:

> *Species vero artis sunt ea in quorum unoquoque tota ars continetur, ad similitudinem specierum generis in quarum unaquaque totum genus invenitur. Species igitur artis grammatice sunt genera linguarum ut latina, greca, ebrea, arabica et similia, quoniam in unaqueque earum invenitur tota grammatica cum omnibus partibus suis.* [191]

K. M. Fredborg presumes that the idea of universal grammar was already well acknowledged in the twelfth century.[192] However, the twelfth-century grammarians failed to indicate explicitly which elements of grammar they considered to be constant for all languages. They dif-

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[188] Fredborg, "Universal Grammar According to Some Twelfth-Century Grammarians," *Historiographia Linguistica* 7/1-2 (1980): 81; other excerpts of *Breve sit* on pp. 78-80.

[189] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum*, 1.2.1: 10.

[190] The twelfth-century manuals of *artes* usually began with a general introduction in which the author examined the genus, the species, the parts, the subject, the goals, the instruments, and the person of *artifex* of a particular art (e.g. grammar), see: R. W. Hunt, "The Introduction to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century," in *History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1980), 117-144.

[191] Dominicus Gundissalinus, *De divisione philosophiae*, ed. L. Baur, *BGPTMA* 4/2-3, (Munster: Aschendorf, 1903), 50.

[192] Fredborg, "Universal Grammar According to Some Twelfth Century Grammarians," 74.

ferentiated between the task of an *artifex,* being the actual application of grammatical rules in a particular language, and the role identified as a grammarian teaching these rules: *Grammaticus enim dicitur proprie qui artem docet, litterator qui artem exercet.* [193] We find a similar idea also in Pseudo Kilwardby:

> *Dicendum quod grammatica est ars et est scientia, sed dicitur scientia in quantum nominat habitum animae ut in quiete. Dicitur autem ars in quantum nominat eundem habitum ut in opere.*[194]

Thus, he distinguishes between practical and theoretical aspects of grammar. Clearly, the theoretical relates to the universal elements; whereas, the practical relates to the actual use of language. However, similar to the twelfth-century grammarians, Pseudo Kilwardby is not explicit in defining and explaining the parts of grammar considered to be universal.

This is the accomplishment of the modistic grammarians who succeeded in constructing an adequate theoretical framework. The components of this theory were already present in the work of their predecessors, but only with the Modistae proper were all these elements linked together to form a consistent doctrine. The concept of *modi significandi,* the idea of one grammar valid for all languages, and the Porphyrian semantic model were not new concepts; however, when combined, they formed an original paradigm. The system of *modi* was developed on the basis of Porphyrian semantics. The direct dependence of *modi significandi* on the *modi intelligendi* constituted a link between the concepts believed to be universal and the surface structure of language, thus reasserting grammar in its pretensions to universality.

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[193] Petrus Helias, *Summa super Priscianum,* ed. L. Reilly (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), 3-4.
[194] Pseudo Kilwardby, *Commentum,* 1.4.1: 28.

IBRAHIM IBN-YA'QUBAT-TURTUSHI'S ACCOUNT OF THE SLAVS FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE TENTH CENTURY

Dmitrij Mishin

The report of Ibrahim ben-Ya'qub At-Turtushi is chronologically the latest extensive piece of Islamic geography written in the tenth century dealing with the Slavs. This source is particularly significant, for the information is detailed and comes close to being a first-hand account. Moreover, we know the name of the author and the approximate time it was written.

Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's narration reads as follows:

Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub Al-Israili said: The country of the Slavs extends from the Syrian Sea[1] *to the Surrounding Sea in the North. The Northern tribes have subjugated some of [the Slavs] and have been living among them up to now? [The Slavs form] various peoples. They used to be united under the rule of a king called Makhaf he came from a tribe of them, called W.linbaba. This tribe enjoys a great respect among them. Then divergences appeared between them, their order disappeared, they separated from one another, and every tribe came under the power of its own king.*[4]

Now [the Slavs] are governed by four kings: the king of the Bulgarin;[5] *Buyaslaw, the king ofF.raghah, Bawaymah, and Karakwaf Mashaqqah, the king of the North;*[7] *and Naqun, who rules over the extreme West.*[8]

[1] The Mediterranean.

[2] It is difficult to ascertain what Ibrahim means. The words "Northern tribes" are likely to mean Scandinavians, but for Ibrahim the Slavs were a Northern people as well (see the text). It seems that the author refers here to the Germans.

[3] Kowalski remarks that in one of the manuscripts the following addition is made: "who is known as *Mikha."* T. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrahima Ibn-Ja'kuba z podrozy do krajow slowianskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego* [Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's Report on His Travel to the Slavic Countries Related by Al-Bakri], (Cracow: Polska Akadémia Umiejetnosci, Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej), hereinafter referred to as: Kowalski, *Relacja,* the Arabic text, 1. This addition is, however, posterior in relation to the text.

[4] Here Ibrahim apparently quotes Al-Mas'udi. Cf. Al-Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or,* ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, vols. 1-9, Paris, 1861-1877, hereinafter referred to as: Al-Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or,* 3: 61-65. An interpretation of this passage is given in my M.A. Thesis.

[5] Peter (927-969).

[6] Boleslas I (929 - 967), King of Bohemia. As Cracow was taken by the Poles only in 999, in this story it is mentioned as a part of Bohemia.

[7] Mieszko I (960 - 992), King of Poland.

[8] Naccon, ruler of the Obodrites (probably 955 - 967).

The country of Naqun borders in the west with Saksun[9] *and some Marman.*[10] *The prices there are low, the horses are numerous, and they are exported to other lands. The [inhabitants of this country] have powerful arms consisting of coats of mail, helmets, and swords.*

From Far.gh to [lacuna] ma yalihi,[11] *there is a distance of ten miles; [lacuna] to the bridge there is a distance of fifty miles. It is a wooden bridge; its length is of one mile.*[12] *From there to the fortress of Naqun, there is a distance of about forty miles.*

The fortress of Naqun is called "Gharad," which means "a big fortress." Before Ghrad there is a castle built on a lake with sweet water.[13] *In this way most of the Slavic castles are built. [The Slavs] go to meadows abundant in water and trees, trace there a circle or a square, as they like, which marks the shape and the extension of the future fortress. Then they dig a trench around this contour and put the carved earth above. Sometimes they strengthen the walls with boards or wood as the castles are built until the walls become as high as is necessary. Then, in the wall, they make a gate of any shape they like. One can get to this gate by a wooden bridge.*

From the fortress Gharad to the Surrounding Sea, there is a distance of eleven miles.

Troops can hardly move in Naqun's country, for it abounds in marshes, woods, and mud.

As for the country of Buyaslaw, its extension from F.raghah to Karakwa

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[9] The country of the Saxons.

[10] Norsemen (*Nurman*). Another possible reading, Germans (*Gharman*) is less probable.

[11] In Arabic *ma yalihi* means "the following thing." In this text, it seems to mean "the next settlement."

[12] For this word one can accept the interpretation of Westberg who suggests that the author means present-day Bollbrück. By the "bridge" Ibrahim means a wood-paved way. F. Westberg. *Kommentariy na zapisku Ibrahima Ibn-Yakuba o slavianah* [Comments on Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's Account of the Slavs], St. Petersburg, 1903, hereinafter referred to as: Westberg, *Kommentariy*, 70.

[13] According to Adam of Bremen, the capital of the Obodrites was Magnopolis, present-day Mecklenburg-dorf. *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, SS. rer. Germ. 2, 76-77; hereafter referred to as: Adam of Bremen, *Kirchengeschichte:* Deinde secuntur Obodriti qui nunc Reregi vocantur, et civitas eorum Magnopolis. The question as to whether one should read *fi fili-ghrad*, or "in Velegrad," which seems to be the Slavic name of Magnopolis, or *fi qibli-ghrad*, or "before the Gharad" is still being discussed in the historiography. See Kowalski, *Relacja*, 68-71. I suggest that the following version is the most probable one. The text gives *fi qibli-ghrad*. By "the fortress of Naccon," Ibrahim actually means Mecklenburg, situated near the Baltic Sea. As for the fortress, it is, perhaps, Schwerin, situated on the shore of Schwerin-See. Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub probably came to Mecklenburg from the south, and in his description the castle is, therefore, placed before the city.

equals to three weeks of travel. On its length, it is limited by the country of the Turks.[14]

The city of F.raghah is built of stones and limestone.[15] *It is the richest place in goods. Russians and Slavs come there from Karakwa with goods. Moslems, Jews, and Turks come there from the country of the Turks and bring goods and trade balances. Flour,*[16] *tin, and various kinds of furs are exported from there. Their country is the best among the lands of the Northern peoples, and the most abundant with means of living. The quantity of wheat which is sufficient for a human being during one month is sold there for one qinshar.*[17] *With one qinshar one can buy there as well the quantity of fodder which is necessary for an animal during forty nights or for ten hens. In F.raghah, people make saddles, bridles, and round leather shields, which are all used in their country.*

In Bawaymah they make light cloths shaped like a half moon and having the form of a net. They do not fit to anything. At every time their value is of ten cloths for a qinshar. They use them for purchases and transactions and possess entire jars of them. For them, they are money and the most precious thing with which one can buy wheat, flour, horses, gold, silver, and all the rest.[18]

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[14] Magyars. The denomination of the Hungarians as "Turks" is typical for the medieval Islamic geography.

[15] To this, one can add the following fragment apparently belonging to Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub and preserved in the treatise *Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar* by Al-Himyari: "Prague is a town situated in the neighbourhood of the country of the Turks [or Magyars, see the previous note]. It is built with stones and limestone on the shore of a river which flows there. It is smaller than cities but bigger than villages. There is a market there in which one can buy all the goods which are necessary for travels or sedentary life. In the upper part of Prague, there is a big fortified castle. There is a brook there, the water of which traverses the valley." *Kitab Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar fi Khabar Al-Aqtar*. Ed. I. 'Abbas, Beyrouth: Maktaba Lubnaniya, 1975, 86, hereinafter referred to as: Al-Himyari, *Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar*; see also *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici* (*MMFH*), eds. L. Havlik, D. Bartonkova, et al., (Brno-Prague: Statni Pedagogicke Nakladatelstvi 3, 1969), 420.

[16] *Daqiq*. This word is given in the texts of both Al-Bakri and Al-Himyari, who used Ibrahim's data. *Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar*, 86. However, given that Prague was an important center of the medieval slave-trade, one cannot reject Kowalski's reading *raqiq* (slaves), *Relacja*, 76, note 41.

[17] There are different opinions concerning the interpretation of *qinshar*. Some scholars believe that it is a distorted form of *dinar*, already known in Bohemia, F. Westberg, *Ibrahim ibn-Jakub's Reisebericht über die Slawenländе aus dem Jahre 965* (St. Petersburg, 1898), 22, hereinafter referred to as: Westberg, *Reisebericht*; R. Kiersnowski, R., *Poczatki pieniadza polskiego* [The Beginnings of the Polish Money] (Warsaw: PWN, 1961), 113. Another interpretation considers *qinshar* to be Ibrahim's attempt to transliterate *penez* (*pinjar*), Westberg, *Reisebericht*, 22. Kowalski believes that *qinshar* has appeared because of a scribal error when two words, *qirat* and *nithar*, meaning together "coins which were thrown around during ceremonies," were united into one, *Relacja*, 79.

Strange as it seems, the Bohemians are dark-skinned and black-haired. A blond person can rarely be found among them.

The way from Madhin B.r.gh[19] *to the city of Buyaslaw is as follows. From Madhin B.r.gh to Qualiwi,*[20] *there is a distance of ten miles. From there to Nub Gh.rad, two miles. Nub Ghrad is a fortress built of stone and quick lime. It stands on the river Salawah, into which the river Budah empties itself.*[21] *From Nub Gh.rad to the salt mine of the Jews, which is also situated on the shore of the river Salawah,*[22] *thirty miles. From there to the fortress Burjin, situated on the river Mul.dawah,*[23] *[lacuna] from there to the beginning of the forest,*[24] *twenty-five miles. The distance between the extremities of the forest is forty miles; the way goes between mountains and hills. From there to a wooden bridge built over mud,*[25]*about two miles. From the end of the forest [lacuna], one enters the city of F.raghah.*

The country of Mashaqqah is the largest one among the countries [of the Slavs]. It abounds in food, meat, honey, and agricultural produce.[26] *The taxes are collected in market weights. Those are the salary of his*[27] *men in every month, and each of them has a certain amount of them to get. He has three thousand warriors wearing coats of mail; a hundred of them is worth a thousand of other warriors in the battle. He gives those men clothes, horses, arms, and everything they need. If a child is born to one of them, he orders the child to be paid a maintenance, regardless of the latter's sex. When the child grows, and he is a boy, he marries him and pays the dowry to the father of the bride. If the child is a girl, he marries her and pays the dowry to her father. The dowry of the Slavs is very big, and they pay it in the same way as the Berbers do. If a*

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[18] This information is not confirmed by other sources. Westberg writes about the use of cloth in trade in that region, *Kommentariy*, 28, but Kowalski rightly observes that in all the examples quoted by Westberg, cloth is a value in itself, and in Ibrahim's description it has a conditional value, *Relacja*, 83.

[19] The description of the way suggests that the author means Magdeburg.

[20] Calbe.

[21] Nienburg, situated in the place where Bode (Ibrahim's *Budah*) empties itself into Saale (Ibrahim's *Salawah*).

[22] *Mallahat Al-Yahud*. Westberg identifies this place with Dürrenberg, *Kommentariy*, 32-33. However, Ibrahim may have meant Halle or Salzmünde.

[23] Würzen on the Mülde River.

[24] *Taraf Ash-sha'raa*. By "the forest" Ibrahim seems to mean the woods situated near the actual German-Czech border.

[25] Perhaps, present-day Most in the Czech Republic.

[26] It seems that one can accept the correction of Westberg, who suggests reading *hut* (fish) instead of agricultural produce (*harath*). See *Kommentariy*, 36. Al-Himyari gives *hut*, *Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar*, 560. Al-Qazwini gives *samak*, or fish (see note 28).

[27] In this fragment, "he" refers to *Mashqa* (Mieszko).

man, thus, has two or three daughters, he gets rich, but if he has two sons, he becomes poor.[28]

In the east the country of Mashaqqah borders with the Rus, and in the north, with the Burus.[29] *The Burus live on the coast of the Surrounding Sea. They have their own language and ignore the languages of the neighbouring peoples. They are known for their bravery. If an army comes to them, one does not wait for his companion to join him but comes out and fights without addressing anybody until he dies. The Russians attack them, coming on ships from the West.*

To the west of the country of the Russians stands the City of Women. They have lands and slaves. They get pregnant from their slaves and kill the children if they prove to be boys. They ride horses and make war. Ibrahim ben-Ya'qub Al-Israili said: The information about this city is true. I have received it from Hutu, the king of the Rum.[30]

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[28] Cf. the article about "the town *Mashqa*" in the treatise of Al-Qazwini: "It is a big town in the country of the Slavs. It stands on the seashore in the middle of woods through which troops cannot pass. The king, who rules over that town, is called *Mashqa*, and the town is named after him. The town is rich in food, honey, meat, and fish. Their king has infantrymen, for horses cannot move through their country. He collects taxes on his possessions and pays wages to his warriors every month. If necessary, he gives them horses, saddles, bridles, weapons, and everything they need. If a child is born, the king pays the maintenance, regardless of the child's sex. If the child is a boy, when he grows, the king takes the dowry from his father and gives it to the father of the bride. Their dowry is big. If a man has two or three daughters, he gets rich, but if he has two or three sons, he becomes poor. The marriage is concluded by the will of the king, and people are not free to choose partners for themselves. The king gives them all their food and provides food for the marriage party. He is like a father who cares about his children. They are very zealous, unlike the other Turks," Al-Qazwini, *Zakarija Ibn-Muhammad Ibn-Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie, Zweiter Teil, Die Denkmäler der Länder*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), 415, hereinafter referred to as: Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*. Al-Qazwini, as it seems, does not copy Ibrahim's text exactly. The first two sentences are obviously taken from the description of the town of Naccon. The expression "the town *Mashqa*," which follows them appears, probably, as a result of a misunderstanding. The expression *Madinat mashqa*, which is found in the Arabic text, can be understood in two ways: as "the town *Mashqa*," or "the town of *Mashqa*," or Mieszko. Al-Qazwini tries to combine both interpretations but alters the sense of the original text. As for Al-Qazwini's description of the marriage customs of the inhabitants of the "town Mashqa," it seems to be rather his speculation than a passage copied from Ibrahim's text.
Almost the same text is given by Al-Himyari, *Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar*, 560. It is not quoted here to avoid doubling. It should be said, however, that Al-Himyari erroneously thinks *Mushqa* (his own vocalisation of *Mashqa*) to be a possession of Prague.

[29] Prussians.

[30] The stories about the Amazons seem to be popular in Germany at that time. Cf. Adam of Bremen: [...] circa haec littora Baltici Maris ferunt esse Amazonas, quod nunc terra feminarum dicitur. Eas aquae gustu dicunt aliquas concipere. Sunt etiam qui referant eas fieri pregnantes ab hiis qui praeterunt negotiatoribus, vel ab hiis quos inter se habent captivos, sive ab aliis monstris, quae ibi non rara habentur, et hoc credimus etiam fide dignius, *Kirchengeschichte*, 246-247. By *Hutu*, Ibrahim means Otto I (936 - 973).

To the west of that city lives a Slavic tribe called Waltabah.[31] *They live in dense marshy forests to the west and a little to the north of the country of the Mashaqqah. They have a big city which stands on the coast of the Surrounding Sea. The city has twelve gates and a haven for which the shore with firm ground is used.*[32] *They make war on the Mashaqqah and are very powerful. They have no king and do not obey anybody but are governed by their old people.*[33]

As for the king of the Bulgars, Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub said: I have not entered their country, but I saw their ambassadors in Madhin B.r.gh when they came to King Hutu. They wear tight clothes and waistbands from which ingots of gold and silver hang. Their king is very powerful. He wears a crown. He has scribes, palace officers, and functionaries. He gives orders and rules, as great kings do. They know languages and translate the Gospel into Slavonic. They are Christians.

Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub said: the Bulgars [lacuna] embraced Christianity [lacuna] in the country of the Rum when they besieged Al-Qustantiniyyah. The emperor spoke to them in a kind and humble way and tried to gain sympathy with rich gifts.[34] *One of his steps was that he gave his daughter to the Bulgar king as a wife, and she brought him to embrace Christianity.*[35]

[...]

Ibrahim said: Al-Qustantiniyyah is situated to the south of the Bulgars. In the East and in the North, the Bulgars border with the Pechenegs. To the west of them is situated the Venetian Lake.[36] *It is a gulf which comes from the Syrian Sea, passes between the Great Land*[37] *and Al-Qustantiniyyah washes the coasts of Rumah and Lanqubardiyah, which belong to the Great Land, and interrupts at Aqulayah.*[38] *All*

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[31] Velets.

[32] The text gives *shuturan harilan*. Kowalski translates it as "stumps divided in two" (*przepolowione pni*), *Relacja*, 50, which is obviously a mistake. I believe that the original text is *shattan jarilan*, which means "the shore with firm ground." Only this shore could be used for mooring ships.

[33] The information, which Ibrahim gives in this fragment, does not seem very precise. It seems that by *Waltabah*, Ibrahim means two people at once—the Velets and the inhabitants of Wolin. The sentence concerning the wars between *Waltabah* and Mieszko apparently refers to the Velets. However, the city located on the ocean coast cannot be Rethra, the centre of the Velets, for the latter was not situated on the shore and must be identified with Wolin.

[34] By "him" Ibrahim probably means the Bulgarian ruler.

[35] Ibrahim seems to confuse some events. By the Bulgarian siege of Constantinople, he probably means Symeon's campaign of 923, but the marriage was concluded not between Symeon and the emperor's daughter, but between Peter, the heir of Symeon, and Mary, the granddaughter of Romanus Lekapenos (920 - 944). Finally, his sentence about the baptism of the Bulgarians as connected to that marriage makes no sense. It seems that to Ibrahim the baptism was the central event of Bulgarian history, and he tries to connect the other events to it.

[36] The Adriatic Sea.

[37] By the "Great land" (*Al-Ard Al-Kabira*) Western Europe is meant.

[38] Aquileia.

these places form a unique island washed by the Syrian Sea in the south and by the Venetian gulf in the east and the west. Only the western side is not limited by the sea.

The Slavs live on both coasts of this gulf, beginning from the place where it comes out of the Syrian Sea in the west. To the east of them live the Bulgars, and to the west— other Slavs. The Slavs who live in the west are more powerful and courageous. The people living in that region ask them for grace and are afraid of their force. Their country consists of mountains with bumpy ways.

Generally speaking, the Slavs are very powerful, and were they not divided, no people could compete with them in force. Of all the countries, they live in the most prosperous and richest one. They are engaged in agriculture and business and excel in these all the peoples of the North. Their trade is carried on by land and by sea to the Russians and Al-Qustantiniyyah. Many Northern tribes speak the Slavic language, for they are mixed with the Slavs. Among them are the Germans, the Magyars, the Pechenegs, the Russians, and the Chazars.[39] *Hunger can result in their country, not from a drought or some dry years but from abundant diluvial rains and constant floods. The drought is not grave in their country, for it [the country] is humid and cold. They sow in two seasons of the year, at the end of the summer and in the spring, and have two harvests. Mostly they sow millet.*

The cold, even when intense, is healthy for [the Slavs], and the excessive heat kills them. They do not dare go to Lanqubardiyah for it is too hot there, the heat damages them, and they die. They feel well only in the cold, but if it gets warm, they get ill and die because of it. They have two illnesses, and it is extremely rare that anyone would not have one of them: erysipelas and fistulas. They abstain from eating chickens, for this, as they say, makes them fall and provokes erysipelas. They eat the meat of cows and geese, and this food fits them.

Their clothes are loose except the cuffs which are tight.

Their kings guard their women, who are very zealous towards them. A man of them can have twenty wives and more.

Most of the trees which grow in their forests are apple trees, pear trees, and peach trees. In those forests lives a strange bird with green feathers, which can repeat sounds uttered by people and animals. It may be found in [...], and then they hunt it. The Slavs call it "saba."[40] *There is also a hen called by the Slavs "tatra."*[41] *It has tasty meat. They cry from the tops of the trees, and one can hear*

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[39] By these peoples Ibrahim means the Germans (the word *Tudishki* was largely used by the Jews for denoting them), F. Westberg, "K analizu vostochnyh istochnikov o Vostochnoy Evrope" [To the Analysis of the Oriental Sources on Eastern Europe], *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya* [Review of the Ministry of Education] 1 (1908), 364 - 412, 377; Magyars (*Hungari*), Pechenegs, Russians, and Chazars.

[40] Starling. Pol. *szpak*; czech *špacek*.

[41] Wood-grouse. Pol. *cietrzew*; czech *tetrev*

them from a distance of one farsakh. They are mostly of two kinds: black and motley. They are more beautiful than peacocks.

[...].

The country of the Slavs is very cold. The cold is the most severe when the moon appears at night, and the days are fine. In these days the cold gets more and more severe, the land petrifies, all the drinks freeze, the water in wells becomes like stucco and then petrifies as well. If people snuff up water and then reject it, pieces of ice appear on their beards, looking like glass, and one can hardly break them until he warms himself or enters a building. When the night is dark, and the day is cloudy, the freeze and the cold get slighter. At that time ships are broken, and those who are there perish, for pieces of ice which are on their rivers, similar to mountains, hit the ships. However, a young strong man from the crew can climb on such an ice floe and stay alive.

The Slavs do not have baths. Instead, they build wooden houses, caulk all the holes with a thing which grows on their trees, looks like moss, and is called by them "m.kh."[42] *They use it also as tar for their ships. So, they build a stone hearth in one of the corners and open in its upper part a small window through which the smoke escapes. When it gets warm, they close that window and close the door of the house. They have there jars of water. They pour that water on the warm hearth, and the steam starts rising. Everyone holds in his hand a bundle of grass with which he draws the air towards himself. Their pores open, the sweat flows from their bodies, and their manges and ulcers disappear. They call this building "al-at.bba."*[43]

Their kings travel in big vans which rise on four wheels. In the corners of the vans stand four columns on which a palanquin embroidered with dibaj[44] *hangs, fixed with solid chains, so that the one who sits inside does not shake when the van shakes. This van is made for ill and wounded people.*

[...].[45]

Studying Ibrahim ben-Ya'qub's report, one usually has to address several problems, for Ibrahim's original treatise is not extant. Some fragments

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[42] Slavic *moh* (moss).

[43] This is not *al-at.bba*, as it is written in the text, but *al-izba* (*izba*). According to Niederle, the Slavic word *izba* originated from the Germanic *stuba* (oven) and entered the Slavic language as "piece pour le bain munie d'un poele," L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, vol. 2: *La civilisation* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1926)., 105.

[44] Golden brocade.

[45] The translation is given after A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya Al-Bakri i drugih avtorov o Rusi i slavianah* [Stories of Al-Bakri and Other Writers about Russia and the Slavs] part 1, (St. Petersburg, 1898); Kowalski, *Relacja; Jaghrafiyya Al-Andalus wa Urubba min Kitab Al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik li Abi Ubayd Al-Bakri* [The Geography of Al-Andalus and Europe from the Book of Roadways and Kingdoms by Abu Ubayd Al-Bakri], ed. A.A. Al-Hajji (Beyrouth: Dar Al-Irshad, 1968) 54 - 91.

of his work have been preserved in other books. If only the fragments containing direct reference to Ibrahim are taken into account, we have the following materials: the description of the Slavs quoted by Al-Bakri; the stories about Fulda,[46] Rouen,[47] Schleswig,[48] and Mainz[49] cited by Al-Qazwini; and the story about the church of Lorca, preserved in some books. All these materials are quite different, presenting thus a number of problems.

The first problem consists of the fact that in all the sources Ibrahim is given different names. For Al-Bakri, he was Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub Al-Israili,[50] and Al-Qazwini called him Ibrahim Ibn-Ahmad At-Turtushi.[51] The difference between these two names is significant. If the name Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub is most probably that of a Jew, then the name Ibrahim Ibn-Ahmad is almost certainly that of a Muslim. On the basis of this difference, Jacob puts forward his well-known theory, according to which, there were two persons bearing the name "Ibrahim," one who belonged to the African embassy and the other to an Andalusian embassy to Otto I. They supposedly attended the same reception and heard Otto's speech about the church of Lorca. According to Jacob, this explains the similarity of the respective fragments in Al-Bakri's and Al-Qazwini's treatises.[52]

Jacob's theory was not accepted by his contemporaries,[53] but at the time, the only reason to reject it was that such a coincidence was hardly probable. Only in 1938, when Lévi-Provençal edited the fragments on Spain taken from Al-Himyari's geographical treatise, did it become clear that the difference in names was due to scribal errors and not to the existence of two Ibrahims. Al-Himyari calls the traveller "Ibrahim Ibn-Yusuf,"[54]but, it is curious that Lévi-Provençal names him in his transla-

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[46] *Kosmographie*, 387.
[47] *Kosmographie*, 396.
[48] *Kosmographie*, 404.
[49] *Kosmographie*, 409.
[50] See the text above.
[51] *Kosmographie*, 373.
[52] This theory is developed by G. Jacob in *Ein Arabischer Berichterstatter aus dem 10. Jahrhundert über Fulda, Schleswig, Soest, Paderborn und ändere Deutsche Städte* (Berlin, 1891); "Zwei arabische Berichte über Deutschland aus der Zeit Kaisers Otto des Grossen," in *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1892), hereinafter referred to as "Zwei arabische Berichte," or *Arabische Berichte aus Gesandten an Germanische Fürstenhofe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Leipzig: Gruyter, 1927), hereinafter referred to as: *Arabische Berichte*.
[53] See, for example, Westberg, *Kommentariy*, 8.
[54] Lévi-Provençal, E., *La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Age* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), 171, hereinafter referred to as Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*.

tion "Ibrahim Ibn-Yahya."[55] The French scholar himself believed that all the authors are speaking about one and the same person.[56] The last argument came in 1965 when some parts of the geography of Al-'Udhri to which Qazwini referred were published. In the fragment about Lorca, Ibrahim is called Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub Al-Israili At-Turtushi.[57] This seems to resolve the problem of the author's identity.

With the exception of the name, almost nothing is known about Ibrahim. The idea that he was a Spanish merchant is accepted, at least tacitly, by almost all historians. Only Westberg[58] considers him to be African, but his arguments do not seem convincing. The following argument can be made about Ibrahim's probable motherland. Despite the fact that he called himself At-Turtushi or "Tortosan," he must have lived elsewhere. There would be no rason to call oneself "At-Turtushi" if one lived in Tortosa, but if one moved, such an addition to the name would be plausible. Moreover, the addition to the Arabic name, indicating the place of origin usually appeared when a person left his home and went somewhere else.

The question about Ibrahim's occupation appears more important. Two opinions are usually put forward in this respect. According to the one presented to the fullest extent by Jacob, Ibrahim was a member of an embassy. The other theory states that Ibrahim could hardly have been enrolled in a diplomatic mission and must have visited the Slavic countries for commercial purposes,[59] perhaps even dealing with the slave-trade.[60] The most radical partisan of this theory is R. Jakimowicz, according to whom Ibrahim had contacts only with his colleagues—Jewish merchants—and travelled across Europe, going from one Jewish community to another.[61]

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[55] Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 206, notes.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ahmad ibn-Umar ibn-Anas Al-'Udhri, *Fragmentos geografo-historicos de Al-Masalik ils Gami Al-Mamalik*, ed. A. Al-Ahwani (Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid, 1965), 8, hereinafter referred to as Al-'Udhri, *Fragmentos geografo-historicos.*

[58] *Kommentariy*, 83.

[59] Westberg, *Kommentariy*, 72, 84.

[60] K. Brockelmann *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vols. 1-2 (Weimar-Berlin, 1898-1902); additional vols. 1-3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937 - 1942), 1 Supplementarband, 404.

[61] R. Jakimowicz, "Kilka uwag nad relacja o slowianach Ibrahima ibn-Jakuba" [Some Observations Concerning Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's Report on the Slavs], *Slavia antiqua* 1 (1948), 439-459, 440. See also: M. Canard, "Ibrahim ben-Yaqub et sa relation de voyage en Europe." In *Études d'orientalisme dediées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962), 2, 503-508, 506.

As there are no references to Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub in other sources, information about him can be gleaned only from the text itself. However, the text seems to have been modified by later compilers, and the fragment quoted by Al-Bakri is too short to be considered an independent report. In an attempt to reconstruct the original text, one can enlarge it, adding the fragments concerning Western Europe, but they differ markedly from the report on the Slavs by their content and style. The report about the Slavs seems to be similar to a chapter of the Anonymous report.[62] It begins with the definition of the geographical position of the Slavic countries, presents different Slavic peoples, and focuses its main attention on political and military matters.

As for the passages about Western Europe, they are very different from the description of the Slavs. All of them deal with wonders: in Fulda, it is a statue of the Crucifixion; in Rouen, a person with a long beard; in Schleswig, a feast. The language is very different as well. In the description of the Slavs, Ibrahim mentions himself only to confirm his data. On the contrary, when Ibrahim describes Schleswig, he expresses his own impressions, saying that the singing of its inhabitants is like the barking of dogs.[63]

The fragment about Lorca has a particular place in Ibrahim's legacy[64]

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[62] The Anonymous Report is a collection of accounts on peoples living to the North of the Islamic world, compiled at the end of the ninth century for administrative use. Its fragments can be found in many treatises, such as the books by Ibn-Rosteh, Gardizi, Marvazi, Mutahhar Al-Maqdisi, Al-Farisi, and in the anonymous Persian geography *Hudud Al-'Alam*, among others . The information about the Slavs, contained in the Anonymous Report, is analysed in my MA Thesis.

[63] Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, 404.

[64] As this fragment is very important, it seems useful to quote it as well. Now we have three different versions of it, and the translation given below is a compilation of them. "Among the ancient stories about it [Lorca], I saw the narration of Ibrahim ben-Ya'qub Al-Israili At-Turtushi. He said that the king of the Rum had told him in Rome in 350 A.H.," Al-Udhri, *Fragmentos geografo-historicos*, 8; Al-Udhri mentions it in 450 A.H. saying: "Ibrahim ben-Ahmad At-Turtushi told me: 'I heard the king of the Rum saying to me,'" Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, 373; "Ibrahim ben-Yusuf At-Turtushi said that the king of the Rum had told him in 305 A.H.:" Al-Himyari, in Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 171; "I want to send to the ruler of the faithful in Al-Andalus a [intelligent - Al-Udhri] count with a gift [Al-Qazwini gives only the gift]. One of my greatest concerns in his affairs and my most important request to him [Al-'Udhri and Al-Himyari only] is that I know for sure that in the noble hall there is a church in one of the parts of which there is an olive tree. When the Christmas night comes, it appears [*tawarrat* - Al-'Udhri] (or: covers itself with leaves [*tawarraqat* - Qazwini]), (or: emanates a light [*tunawiru* - Al-Himyari], produces ovary [in the night - Al-'Udhri] and brings fruits the next day. I know that the martyr [whose grave is there - Al-Himyari] enjoys a high place with God, and I ask [the ruler of the faithful] kindly to be kind and polite to the priests of that church so that they give me the bones of the martyr. This is more important to me than any delight."

Al-Qazwini says that Ibrahim told Al-'Udhri that story himself.[65] This episode provoked extensive discussion. Kowalski, for example, rejects such a possibility, but does so on the basis of an incorrect dating.[66] Later scholars consider the theoretical possibility that such a conversation did take place.[67] However, Al-'Udhri's text shows that this author has never written about his talk with Ibrahim. Al-'Udhri says, indeed, that the information is taken from Ibrahim ben-Ya'qub, but the story about the conversation is obviously an invention of Al-Qazwini or the result of his misunderstanding the text. Mistakes of this kind are quite usual for Al-Qazwini. For him, the name Mieszko is not that of the king, but of a city.[68]

The passage concerning Lorca can be considered as a part of Ibrahim's narration. Combining all the texts which are now available, one may come to the following conclusions:

Ibrahim must have written this report himself. This is evident by the fact that in some episodes he speaks about himself in the first person.

Ibrahim's report is an account of his voyage to Europe.

Some details suggest that Ibrahim was not guided primarily by commercial interests. When Ibrahim describes Prague, for example, he commits a strange mistake for a tradesman, saying that the Russians come to Prague from Cracow. Since the Jewish merchants who lived in Europe knew Kiev to be an important trade centre, it is difficult to understand why Ibrahim is silent about it.

Another consideration is that Ibrahim had specific interests. When speaking about the Obodrites, he describes first their method of building fortresses. When mentioning Mieszko, he writes about the organisation of his army. It is strange for a merchant to collect information about the Slavic fortresses and to describe in his book the way in which they were built. Finally, the most interesting feature is that Ibrahim even attempts to generalise his data, evaluating the force of the Slavs as potential enemies. This description seems, therefore, to be a report of a scout to his lord. In this case, the lord was Al-Hakam II (961 - 976), the caliph of Córdova.

Ibrahim tries to provide his master with detailed information about

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[65] *Kosmographie*, 373.

[66] Kowalski accepts here the Al-Himyari's date of 305 A.H., *Relacja*, 39, which he himself rejects in another place, *Relacja*, 40-41.

[67] M. Kowalska, *Sredniowieczna arabska literatura podróznicza* [The Medieval Arabic Travel Literature] (Warsaw-Cracow: PWN, 1973), 45. According to Kowalska, when the talk took place, Ibrahim was about eighty, and Al-Udhri , about twenty years old.

[68] *Kosmographie*, 415.

the Slavs. He creates a kind of a map of Europe, describing all the countries up to Russia and Prussia. Like Al-Mas'udi, he divides the Slavs, doing so not on ethnic basis but on a political one, mentioning only the kings[69] and speaking about the Velets, who did not have monarchs, only at the end of his description. This political description may have demonstrated to the Cordovan leaders with whom they would deal with if they had contacts with the Slavs. Moreover, Ibrahim knows very well for whom he writes and always attempts to confirm his data. Realising that the Moslem ruler would hardly believe in the existence of the city of the Amazons, he refers even to Otto I.

The Andalusian monarchs of that time seemed to have had a certain interest in Europe. Al-Hakam II, for example, had a book on European history and geography written for him by Bishop Gudmar.[70] He was perhaps interested not only in information of strategic character but also in wonders. Ibrahim, therefore, includes this information in his report. If the report was written for Al-Hakam II, one can suppose that an order was given to Ibrahim in the Cordovan chancellery. The Andalusian rulers apparently possessed information about the Germans with whom they exchanged embassies, but the Slavs were an enigma to them. They made use of the old practice of sending a person to explore and report.[71] Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub, who knew at least one European language, was a very suitable candidate for that mission. As we shall see, it is highly probable that Ibrahim was a member of an embassy. However, this refers only to his stay in Germany. Apparently, he met no Slavic ruler; otherwise, he would have mentioned it. His voyage to the Slavs seems to be primarily of an informative nature.

Something should be said about the way in which Ibrahim's report was used after it was written. The data of strategic character were taken out of his text and placed in an administrative guide, replacing there the old fragment from the Anonymous report. Al-Bakri seems to have used this guide.[72] As for Al-Qazwini, his geography is oriented towards the description of curiosities, and it would be natural to suppose that he

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[69] A good example of this approach is the fact that Ibrahim calls the country of the Obodrites by the name of its ruler.

[70] Al-Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, 3, 67.

[71] About this practice see Lévi-Provençal, E., "Notice sur l'installation des Razis en Espagne," in *Arabica*, t. II, 1955, fasc. II, 228-230.

[72] Some fragments of Al-Bakri's treatise are obviously influenced by the Anonymous Report. This refers to his accounts about the Burtas, Bulgars, and Magyars. M. Defremery, *Des peuples du Caucase* (Paris, 1849), respectively 19, 21 and 21-23.

used Ibrahim's work, but in his own way, taking thence the description of wonders.

Various opinions exist in historiography concerning the date of Ibrahim's travel. According to Jacob, Ibrahim visited Europe in 973. In that year, some time before his death, Otto I received a Bulgar embassy and then an embassy from Africa.[73] The fact that Otto I received the embassies at Quedlinburg, which in no circumstances can be identified with Ibrahim's Madhin B.r.gh, can, according to Jacob, be explained by the possibility that the Bulgar ambassadors may have accompanied Otto I to Merseburg, with which Madhin B.r.gh is identified. There, in Merseburg, Otto I received the African embassy.[74] This dating has some weak points. First, the description of Ibrahim's trip to Prague shows that the identification of Madhin B.r.gh with Merseburg is probably erroneous. After 967, Naccon is no longer mentioned as the ruler of the Obodrites.[75] Finally, Ibrahim does not write anything about the Christianisation of Poland, despite the fact that he speaks in details about the religion in Bulgaria.

The year 965 is proposed as an alternative dating. Identifying *Madhen Brg* with Magdeburg, Westberg says that 965 was almost the only year in which Otto I was in that city at the end of his life. In 965 the emperor issued some charters there.[76] This point of view is actively supported by Kowalski. Analysing the date quoted in Al-Himyari's text (305 A.H.),[77] Kowalski supposes that in the original text, it was written 355 A.H. Since the year 355 A.H. began on December, 28, 965, Kowalski thinks that Ibrahim has committed a mistake.[78]

When Al-Qazwini quotes Ibrahim's narration about Lorca, in which the only date is indicated, he relies upon Al-'Udhri. As Ibrahim is referred to directly after Al-'Udhri, who is, thus, the second stage by

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[73] *Annales Hildesheimenses*, ed. G. Waitz, SS. rer. Germ. 8, 23.

[74] *Zwei arabische Berichte*, 135. About the reception see Wittekindus, *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, ed. P. Hirsch, SS. rer. Germ. 60, 152, hereafter referred to as: Wittekindus, *Sachsengeschichte*. This dating is also supported by Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 1 Supplementarband, 410.

[75] From 967 Mstivoi starts being mentioned as the ruler of the Obodrites, Wittekindus, *Sachsengeschichte*, 142. Wittekindus calls him Mistav.

[76] Westberg, *Kommentariy*, 77, 78. These documents are contained in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Diplomatum regni et imperatorum Germaniae. t. V. Conradi I, Heinrici I et Ottonis I diplomata* (Hannover, 1879 - 1884), 411 - 416). They are dated from June 26 to July 9, 965.

[77] Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 171 (text), 206 (translation).

[78] *Relacja*, 41.

which the narration about Lorca passed, one can suppose that Al-Himyari took the fragment in question from Al-'Udhri. Moreover, Al-'Udhri is the author closest in time to Ibrahim. One shall, therefore, address Al-'Udhri's treatise for information about the date of Ibrahim's journey. The respective fragment by Al-'Udhri, however, supports none of the above-mentioned dates. According to Al-'Udhri, Ibrahim met with Otto I[79] in 350 A.H. in Rome.

The year 350 A.H. began on February, 20, 961 and ended on February, 9, 962. Some noteworthy events in Otto I's life took place during this period. On January 31, 962, Otto I entered Rome where on February 2, he was crowned emperor. A few days later, on February, 14, 962, he left the city.[80] It is quite possible that Ibrahim met with Otto I in the beginning of February 962. The sources show that Otto I often received ambassadors after considerable victories. In 955, having beaten the Magyars on the river Lech and the Slavs at Recknitz, he *plurimos legatos suscepit, Romanorum scilicet et Graecorum Sarracenorumque*.[81] In 973, the ambassadors were received after Otto, having defeating the Lombards and the Arabs, had returned from his third Italian campaign.[82] It is possible that something similar occurred in 962. Otto had a very good opportunity to meet representatives of the Islamic world in Rome, both as emperor and as patron of the Roman church.

The fact that Ibrahim met with Otto I in 962 must be harmonised with Ibrahim's description of his meeting with the Bulgar ambassadors in Magdeburg. The only explanation is that Ibrahim must have visited Otto I's court at least twice—the first time in 962 in Rome and a second time, probably in 965 in Magdeburg. Two conclusions can be drawn from this fact. On the one hand, Ibrahim was obviously not a stranger to the German court, which explains, why the Bulgar ambassadors and the emperor himself were so sincere with him. He was a representative of

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[79] And not with Pope John XII (955-964) as Al-Hajji thinks, Al-Hajji, A.A., *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with Western Europe during the Umayyad Period A.H. 138 - 366/ A.D. 755 - 976: An Historical Survey* (Beyrouth: Dar Al-Irshad, 1970), 248-251. Al-Hajji's theory seems to be vulnerable to some questions: (1) How could the Pope receive a Jew, who, in addition, came from Islamic Spain? (2) Why did the Pope share his diplomatic projects with a Jewish merchant? (3) How could the Pope send a count to the caliph? (4) Why does Ibrahim, who is usually very careful with his materials, commit such a glaring mistake, applying in the same text the title "King of the Rum" to two different men, both of whom he saw personally?

[80] G. Richter, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter von der Gründung des Fränkischen Reichs bis zum Untergang der Hohenstaufen*. III Abteilung. *Annalen des deutschen Reichs im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Halle, 1890), 1: 88.

[81] Wittekindus, *Sachsengeschichte*, 135.

[82] Wittekindus, *Sachsengeschichte*, 152.

Córdoba, and, therefore, the emperor could tell him about his intentions concerning his relations with Al-Hakam II. On the other hand, Ibrahim's journey apparently acquired new features, and one can note his lengthy stay in Europe. The fact that Ibrahim remained in Europe at least more than one year can also be confirmed by the texts themselves. The information which can be found there refers to all the seasons of the year—the winter (references to cold and ice),[83] the spring (wood-grouse uttering mating calls),[84] and the summer (work in the fields).

During his stay in Europe, the chronological frame of which cannot be established more precisely given the actual state of our knowledge, Ibrahim must have undertaken several trips. It is difficult to reconstruct his exact itinerary. Jacob's idea that all the fragments concerning the European towns quoted by Al-Qazwini stem from Ibrahim[85] seems possible, but not much more than that. The text itself is very much reduced. It is not known, however, which regions and towns Ibrahim visited and which he did not. Ibrahim apparently visited Prague and the country of the Obodrites. He gives precise distances, and the character of the descriptions suggests that they have been made by an eyewitness. As for the descriptions of Poland, Prussia, the City of Women, the Velets, and the inhabitants of the Adriatic coast, the information is of general character and seems to be taken from other informants. Should one think otherwise, one would have to explain how it is that Ibrahim visited Cracow but did not learn that the Russian merchants only passed by that city or how he saw the force of the Prussians in battle. His information about the Velets is, as shown above, a compilation. As for Bulgaria, Ibrahim explicitly says that he did not visit that country.

Ibrahim's description of the Slavs is quite rich and unique. Ibrahim knows two groups of the Slavs, those whose dwellings were on the Adriatic coast and those who lived in Western Europe. The second are clearly divided from the first, at least as Ibrahim says, by their force. As for the Eastern Slavs, they are totally ignored. Only in one place can a second-hand reference be found indicating that Poland shares a border with Russia. Ibrahim seems to be interested only in those Slavs who dwelt in the lands with which Germany bordered. Ibrahim provides a detailed and exact account on them, basing his classification of the Slavs on their states. As it seems, this can be explained by Ibrahim's task—to give an account on the countries situated to the east of Germany.

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[83] Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, 387.
[84] Westberg, *Kommentariy*, 82.
[85] *Arabische Berichte*, 5,6

THE LATIN BISHOPS AND THE BALKAN BISHOPRICS

Stephan Nikolov

In its essence the ninth-century papal Balkan policy was based on the idea of restoring the old Illyrian diocese. In the years between 860 and 882, the popes Nicholas I (858-876), Hadrian II (867-872), and John VIII (872-882), were faced with the opportunity of reestablishing the old Illyrian diocese which had been detached from Roman jurisdiction by the iconoclastic Byzantine emperors in the eighth century.[1] This possibility was generated by the Frankish advance in Pannonia,[2] the Photian crisis within the Byzantine

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[1] For discussion about the time of the change see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 170, (note 1); J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 307- 380 and the bibliography included; ILLYRICUM, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Al. Kazhdan, vol. 2 (New York-Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991).

[2] A. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 24-26 and ff.; and C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," in *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. K. Schläferdiek, *Kirchengeschichte als Missiongeschichte*, vol. 2.1 (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978), 279ff., esp. 289-292; H. Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung* (Vienna-Berlin: Seidler, 1987), 293. On the relation between the increasing Frankish influence and the papal policy in the region see A. L. Kuhar, *The Conversion of the Slovenes* (New York, 1959), 73-79; H. Dopsh, "Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik - Zu den Hintergründen des Methodius Konfliktes," *Mitteilungen der Gesellchaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 126 (1986): 303-340.

[3] F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1948), 105-109.

[4] F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1970), 50ff; P. Duthilleul, *L'Évangélisation des slaves* 4/5 (Paris: Bibliotheque de théologie, 1963), 60ff.; A. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, 33ff; and C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," 289-292; H. Dopsh, "Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik," 317-319 and note 13.

[5] Some of the titles concerning Bulgaria are the following: V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na Bâlgarskata dârzhava v srednite vekove* [History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages], vol.1-2 (Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnica, 1927), 31-118; S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930), 73-75. P. Mutafchiev, *Istorija na Bâlgarskija narod* [History of the Bulgarian Nation] (Sofia, Pridvorna Pechatnica, 1943), 145 and P. Mutafchiev, *Kniga za Bâlgarite* [A Book on the Bulgarians] (Sofia: Izd. BAN, 1988), 18ff.; a study which makes interesting conclusions concerning the conversion of the Bulgarians as a crucial change in their national mentality. For its critique see V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I* [Prince Boris I] (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1969), 220-317; P. Petrov, "Za godinata na nalaganeto na hristijanstvoto v Bâlgaria" [On the Year of the Establishment of Christianity in Bulagaria], *Izvestija na Instituta po Istorija*, 14/15 (1964): 284-291; P. Georgiev, *Martiriumât v Pliska i nachaloto na hristijanstvoto v Bâlgaria* [The Martyrium of Pliska and the Beginnings of Christianity in Bulgaria] (Sofia: BAN, 1993), 110-134.

church,[3] and the wavering ecclesiastical policy of the local rulers, namely Rastislav of Moravia,[4] Boris-Michael of Bulgaria,[5] and the Croatian princes.[6]

The papacy had already had some success in exerting its influence over the western part of Illyricum by using Frankish and Roman missionaries among the Croats in the first half of the ninth century.[7] Latin clergy came to the western Balkans from the Carolingian empire and the patriarchate of Aquileia (Cividale).[8] The dukes Borna (+821), Mislav, Trpimir (845-864), and Domagoj (864-877) were Christians and Frankish vassals.[9] The papal interest was also logically extended to Bulgaria as part of this country had formerly belonged to Illyricum. When Boris-Michael turned to Rome, after being baptised by the Byzantine bishop in 863/4, and asked for Latin clergy to organise the Bulgarian church, his initiative was welcomed by Pope Nicholas I. The pope recognised the opportunity to reestablish the diocese, founding bishoprics in Bulgaria and Croatia. Hadrian II went further by attempting to gather these two new bishoprics under the umbrella of the archbishopric of Sirmium, renewed in 869, together with the principalities of Chozil and Rastislav.

To attain this aim, Rome exchanged an extensive correspondence with the Byzantine emperors, Michael III (843-867) and Basil I (867-886), and the patriarchs, Photius (858-867; 877-886) and Ignatios (842-858; 867-877). The pontifical chancery sent numerous letters to Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, twenty-two of which survive. Papal representatives participated in the two Councils of Constantinople (869/70 and 880). A four-year mission headed by the Latin bishops resided in Bulgaria. In 869, Pope Hadrian II elevated Methodius to become the archbishop of Sirmium.

It is widely believed that the popes Nicholas I and Hadrian II agreed with the establishment of a Bulgarian archbishopric in the late 860s. The general explanation in regard to Boris-Michael's turn to Byzantium in 870 is that discord with Rome was over whether the khan could have the right to choose his archbishop.[10] This conclusion relies on evidence from the *Vita Nicolai* and *Vita*

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[6] Some recent surveys on Croatia: N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u Srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb, 1990), 44-46; F. Šanjek, *Povijest Crkve u Hrvata* [History of the Church of the Croats] (Zagreb, 1992), 48-52; D. Gruber, *Povijest Istre* [History of Istria] (Zagreb, 1924; reprinted Zagreb: Krscanska Sadasnjost, 1986), 97; N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* [The First Centuries of Croatia] (Zagreb: Hrvatska Sveućkišna naklada, 1994), 92-99; I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek* [Croatian Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1996), 256-268.

[7] F. Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb, 1877), 6-7; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 44-46; F. Šanjek, *Povijest Crkve u Hrvata*, 48-52.

[8] D. Gruber, *Povijest Istre*, 96- 97; N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća*, 92-99 and I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji*, 256-268.

[9] F. Šanjek, *Povijest Crkve u Hrvata*, 48-52.

Hadriani, two documents composed by Anastasius, which indicate that the disagreement over the particular person, either Formosus, Marinus, or Sylvester, was one of the main reasons for the Bulgarian reorientation.[11] The *Liber Pontificalis* reports that the Roman-Bulgarian negotiations were on the future Bulgarian archbishopric. Though Anastasius is generally considered a reliable source, his information concerning the word *Bulgaris archiepiscopus* contradicts the logic of the events, the papal argumentation, and the representatives.[12]

Undoubtedly, Anastasius was an influential person in Rome. He was a "Bibliothecarius" of Nicholas I, acting not only as a translator but, in many cases, as a manipulator of the papal correspondence and politics. His point of view can be found in the tenor of the entire papal communication with Constantinople concerning the Photian crisis. The papal librarian played a crucial role in the relationship between Rome and Constantinople in the observed period. In general, he tended to corroborate the papal position on this matter. However, in 866, Anastasius wrote a letter, only generally reviewed and approved by Pope Nicholas, and this "pontifical" letter to Michael III provoked the Byzantines to condemn Nicholas in the next year.[13]

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[10] V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 85, in regard to the reason for the pope's refusal argued against A. Lapôtre, *L'Europe et le Saint Siège à l'époque Carolingienne*, vol.1, *Le pape Jean VIII (872-882)* (Paris, 1895), 57-58. This interpretation is shared by V. Gjuzelev (see note 5) and most of the students of this issue. See P. Duthilleul, *L'Évangélisation des slaves*, 82-83; A. Vlasto, *The Entry*, 160; G. Litavrin, "Vvedenie Hristianstva v Bolgarii" [The Introduction of Christianity in Bulgaria], in *Prinjatije hristijanstva narodami Central'noj i Jugo-Vostochnoj Evropy i kreš tenie Rusi* [Conversion into Christianity of Central- and South- European Nations and the Christening of Russia], ed. G. Litavrin (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 50; J. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1983), 109; T. Smjadovski, "The Latin Mission," vol.2, 15-16; V. Gjuzelev, "Kratâk ocherk vârhu otnošenijata mezhdu Rimskata câркva i Bâlgarskoto carstvo prez srednovekovieto (IX-XIV v)" [A Short Survey of the Relations between the Roman Church and the Bulgarian Empire in the Middle Ages (Ninth through Fourteenth centuries)], in *Katolicheskata duhovna kultura i nejnoto prisâstvie i vlijanie v Bâlgarija* [Catholic Spiritual Culture and its Presence and Influence in Bulgaria] (Sofia: Gea-Libris, 1992), 72-73.

[11] F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 50 ff; P. Duthilleul, *L'Évangélisation des slaves*, 82-83; A. Vlasto, *The Entry*, 160; G. Litavrin, "Vvedenie Hristianstva v Bolgarii," 50; J. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1983), 109; T. Smjadovski, "The Latin Mission in Bulgaria," *Palaeobulgarica* 2 (1978): 15-16; V. Gjuzelev, "Kratâk ocherk," 71-83, esp. 72-73; C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," 279ff. esp. 289-292; H. Dopsh, "Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik," 303-340; R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 150-154; R. Sullivan, "Khan Boris and the Conversion of Bulgaria," 55ff.

[12] See *Vita Nicolai* and *Vita Hadriani* in *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 2 (Paris, 1892; reprint, 1956), (henceforth quoted as *LP*), 165: 609 and 185: 639, respectively.

[13] F. Dvornik, "The Emperors, Popes, and General Councils," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 1-23, esp. 15-17; and "The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research," in *Berichte zum XI Intern. Byzantinistischen Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 1-56, esp. 28 and note 99.

The *Liber Pontificalis* provides a different interpretation or neglects to mention some events described in Anastasius' correspondence. The visit of Constantine and Methodius to Rome (868) does not figure in his *Vita Hadriani*. If this visit was important for the papacy, it was not due to the brothers' missionary activity but rather because of the venerated relics of St Clement from the Crimea.[14] In his letters to Gauderich, Bishop of Velletri, Charles the Bald, and Pope Hadrian II, Anastasius shows himself as Constantine's friend and admirer and calls the "philosopher" a man of saintly life and a great teacher.[15] However, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, there is no evidence of the deeds of the Slavic apostles or of the papal support to Methodius in Moravia, and the Archbishop of Sirmium is not mentioned at all.[16]

The *Liber Pontificalis* lacks accuracy in its description of the first Latin mission to Bulgaria. Anastasius omits the fact that two years before Formosus arrived in Bulgaria, the Greek clergy had already been preaching there more or less successfully. The conversion of Boris-Michael, himself, Anastasius ascribes to a Latin presbyter, a certain Paul. According to the *Vita Nicolai*, the first official mission to Bulgaria, led by *magnae sanctitatis episcopi* Formosus of Porto and Paul of Populonia, had the task of baptising the Bulgarians.[17]

Anastasius also wrote two slightly discrepant interpretations of the Council of Constantinople (869-870). The description of the Council in Anastasius' letter to Pope Hadrian II and that in the *Vita Hadriani* are quite different.[18] In the *Vita*, Anastasius does not mention that the

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[14] R. Jacobson, "Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), 55-60; I. Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission," *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 220-236.

[15] Anatasius to Gauderich, Bishop of Velletri (875?), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 436ff.; Anastasius to Charles the Bald (875), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 433-436; Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Hadrian II (870/871) (Preface to the Translation of the Acts of the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 407ff.

[16] The dubious reputation of the reliability of Anastasius' information can be additionally illustrated through his role in the discord between Charles the Bald and Rome in the early 870s. Their relations assumed a very bitter form in 870/871 when the Frankish king received a letter from Rome that had never been read by the pope but was written by Anastasius on the pope's behalf. The scandal was avoided just after Charles referred directly to Hadrian II and received an answer without the go-between of Anastasius. See F. Kempf, H. G. Beck, E. Ewig, and J. A. Jungmann, *History of the Church*, vol. 3, trans. A. Biggs (Wellford: Burns & Oates, 1980; reprint 1991), 147 and P. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Bloomington, IN: Univ. of Indiana Press, 1978), 151-152.

[17] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia de vitis Romanorum pontificum. Nikolaus I, MPL*, 128: 608: *ad praedicandum genti illi eos ire decrevit* (...). In *LP*, 164: 608: *ad predicandam gentem illam eas ire decrevit*.

Fathers of the Council gave the Bulgarian envoys, who were in Constantinople, a letter for Boris-Michael. In Anastasius' letter to Hadrian II, however, he did mention this fact. Zlatarski interpreted the locus in the Fathers' letter to Boris-Michael to be an agreement between the Roman legates and the representatives of the eastern patriarchies on Bulgarian ecclesiastical affairs.[19] The evidence for the letter sent by the Fathers of the Ecumenical Council to Boris-Michael appears in Anastasius' letter to the pope, a communication which reflects current events as they were regarded at the moment of its writing. However, the Fathers' missive to Boris-Michael is not described in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which was an official ideological document addressed to the future.

Another discrepancy between the two documents is also quite obvious. In his letter to Pope Hadrian II, Anastasius says nothing about the problems raised between the papacy and Bulgaria. In fact, the paragraphs in the *Vita Hadriani* describing the negotiations between Boris-Michael[20] and the pope during 868-869 were added after the description of the Council of Constantinople of 870. Additionally, Anastasius was not a witness to events at that time, having fallen into disgrace for more than a year.[21] Obviously, the *Vita* reflects a later papal position on Bulgaria; that is, how the establishment of the Bulgarian archbishopric was regarded by John VIII, but not by Nicholas I or Hadrian II. Therefore, the *Vita*, having been completed later than the events had occurred, was consequently corrected according to current needs of the papal policy. In that sense the *Liber Pontificalis* might be regarded as an attempt to elaborate the past.

The rank and the status of the papal representatives in Bulgaria between 866 and 870 indicates that neither Nicholas I nor Hadrian II intended to

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[18] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia de vitis Romanorum pontificum. Prefacio, MPL*, 129: 21 A-B, also the *MGH* edition: Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Hadrian II (870/871), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 413ff.: *excerpto quod datum est missis Vulgarorum quoddam scriptum Graecis verbis et litteris exaratum, continens quasi loci servatores Orientis inter loci Romanos et patriarcham Ignatium arbitros* (>arbitri<) *existentis iudicaverint, Vulgarorum patriam quae in Illyrico constituta est, diocesi Con*[stantino]*politanae subiuciendum*. For an interpretation of the letter and this locus see: V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 140-143; see also the corresponding place in the *LP*, 182 -184: 632-637, where this is omitted.

[19] Ibid.

[20] *LP*, 185: 639.

[21] A. Lapôtre, *L'Europe et le Saint Siège à l'époque Carolingienne*, vol. 1, *Le pape Jean VIII (872-882)* (Paris, 1895), 111-112. F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 139-141.

[22] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia de vitis Romanorum pontificum. Nikolaus I, MPL*, 128: 608: *ad praedicandum genti illi eos ire decrevit* (...). in LP, 164: 608: *ad predicandam gentem illam eas ire decrevit*.

approve immediately an archbishopric in this newly converted country. As a matter of fact, all the papal representatives in Bulgaria between 866 and 870 were missionary bishops, and it seems doubtful that any of them would have been appointed to be archbishop. The first official mission to Bulgaria was led by Formosus of Porto and Paul of Populonia.[22] The pope's official legates to Constantinople, Bishop Donatus of Ostia, the presbyter Leo, and the Apostolic deacon Marinus, were, at first, only travelling with Formosus and Paul on the way to present the papal opinion on the appointment of Photius as patriarch.[23] In 867 just before his death, Nicholas I personally chose priests to complete the mission in Bulgaria and assigned the bishops Grimoald of Polimartia and Dominicus of Trivena to head the mission. The new pope, Hadrian II, confirmed the decisions taken by Nicholas. In February 868, when Boris-Michael suggested that the Apostolic deacon Marinus (who had participated in the papal embassy to Constantinople in 866) be consecrated by the pope, Hadrian II answered by dispatching Leopard, Bishop of Ancona, and a subdeacon Sylvester to Pliska. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Sylvester was designated by the pontiff to be elected as the "Archbishop of the Bulgars."[24] He was not approved, however, by the khan and quickly returned to Rome accompanied by Leopard, who brought a letter from Boris-Michael with the ultimatum: "Formosus or Marinus."

In 870, the last papal representative in Pliska, Grimoald, Bishop of Polimartia, was told about the decision of the Council of Constantinople, namely, that Bulgaria was to be under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, and was sent to Rome with Boris-Michael's long explanation about the recent events. [25]

Less well know are the facts about Bishop Paul's activity in Bulgaria. It is known that he was held in high esteem by the pope and the clergy in Rome. The papal representatives at the Eighth Ecumenical Council placed him first on the list of bishops active in Bulgaria during 866-870.[26] Some scholars believe that the Bishop of Popolunia was chosen to control his ambitious colleague, Formosus.[27]

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[23] However, they were turned back by the Byzantine border authorities and joined Formosus' and Paul's missionary activity for some forty days. See *LP*, 164-165: 608. Zlatarski's opinion (in V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 108, footnote 3) is that "the other papal legates, bishop Donatus, presbyter Leo and deacon Martin [sic!] did not take part in Formosus' and Paul's activities(...)." I agree with V. Gjuzelev, (V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I*, 201), who claims that they did. Moreover the papal legates' speech, held at the Council of Constantinople in 870, is sufficient supporting evidence. See *LP*, 182-183: 632-634.

[24] *LP*, 185: 639.

[25] Ibid.

[26] *LP*, 183: 636; T. Smjadovski, "Latin Missions," 36-53, esp. 42-45.

[27] V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I*, 229.

Formosus' status as the Bishop of Porto gave him an opportunity to be one of the most influential prelates of the Roman curia. In 866, Formosus was close to fifty years old, chaste, abstinent, a vegetarian, and very well educated.[28] His ascetic life deeply affected Boris-Michael, who dressed in a rough cassock and went every night to the chapel to pray to God.[29] The strong anti-Greek attitude of the Bishop of Porto was well known both in Rome and Constantinople.[30] Thus, it is not surprising that in the 867 encyclical letter of Photius, the papal representatives in Bulgaria (including Formosus) are described as "men who have come from the Darkness (being born in the occidental countries)."[31] The patriarch lists their "heretical" acts in ascending gradation: they introduced celibacy in Bulgaria, instructed the people in the *Filioque* dogma, and anointed people already anointed by the Greek presbyters.[32] Later, Formosus was critical of Constantine's innovations in Moravia; indeed his standpoint was far from "ecumenical."[33]

Formosus' predecessor in the see of Porto, Rodoald, was Pope Nicholas' most trusted and influential counsellor.[34] It is significant that both Rodoald and Formosus were entrusted by Nicholas I to deal with papal diplomatic issues in the Balkans. Rodoald was the legate to the Synod of 863 in Constantinople. Formosus was papal representative in Bulgaria, and later he continued to have an influential position in Rome. Nicholas I also needed Formosus to be the papal representative to Constantinople in 867.[35] In February 868, Paul and Formosus were evidently in Rome because Formosus and Gauderich of Velletri appear in the *Vita Constantini* as bishops assisting Hadrian II's consecration of Cyril and Methodius' liturgical books in the church S. Maria *ad praesepe*.[36] Therefore, Formosus was indispensable: at first, to participate in the Roman embassy to Constantinople in 867/8 and later, to participate in important affairs in Rome.

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[28] Eugenius Vulgarius, *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa*, *MPL*, 129: 831C.

[29] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS*, vol.1, 580.

[30] About Formosus' "ecumenical" point of view see T. Smjadovski, "The Latin Mission," 15-16: "Formosa [sic] must also belonged [sic] to (at least have sympathised with) the group of these clerics (who were ecumenically inclined higher clergy not sharing the exaggeratedly sharp and authoritarian line of Nicholas I with regard to Photius)."

[31] Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople to the archiepiscopal sees of the East, see *MPG*, 102: 721 A- 737B.

[32] Ibid, 736-737B.

[33] F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 139.

[34] *LP*, 162: 594.

[35] Ibid, 165: 610.

[36] *Vita Constantini*, in *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, ed. M. Kantor, Michigan Slavic Translations 5 (Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1983), 77: 17-18; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 138.

It seems that Marinus' case was of a different type. He was not a bishop. At this time he was an apostolic deacon of the Roman church. Informally, this position was as important as an archiepiscopal rank. However, he was not sent originally to Bulgaria but to Constantinople with Bishop Donatus of Ostia and the presbyter Leo, and they joined the mission in Bulgaria only because of the incident at the Byzantine border.[37] Hadrian II opposed the consecration of Marinus because the deacon had already been sent as one of the papal representatives to the Council of Constantinople (869/870). As the appointment of a bishop for Bulgaria was thought by Rome to lie in the future, the denial of the appointment of Marinus on these grounds may have served as a convenient excuse.

The papal alternative, namely Sylvester, was a subdeacon, meaning that he could not be directly ordained as an archbishop of the Bulgarians as it is written in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[38] Such an ordination was particularly impossible because Rome and Constantinople had just collided on the propriety of the elevation of Photius from layman to patriarch. That the issue was significant is obvious from Nicholas I's argument that any likeness between Photius' case and the appointment of Ambrose as the bishop of Milan five centuries earlier was not comparable because miracles had attended the promotion of Ambrose.[39] Therefore, it is inconceivable that Hadrian II would elevate a subdeacon to (archi)episcopal rank after his predecessor's quarrel with Constantinople on a similar issue and, even more, that he would do so when, at the same time, his own legates to Constantinople were entrusted with condemning Photius precisely on these grounds.

However, though Sylvester was chosen by the pope for the new Bulgarian bishopric, Boris-Michael rejected him because the Bulgarian prince apparently wanted a higher ranking member of the Roman church to be consecrated. A higher rank would have made it easier to earn an archiepiscopal rank for the Bulgarian church. Therefore, the disagreement between Rome and Bulgaria was not only over the person to be appointed as head of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical structure but on the rank of this person as well. Boris-Michael asked that the candidate be one of the Roman cardinals.[40] Formosus, Paul, Leopard, and Grimoald did not have their proper sees (*cathedrae*) in Bulgaria, for they had been

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[37] However, he was the first to break the canon of Nicaea since he was a bishop at the time of becoming pope (882). See W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London:Methuen & Co, 1972), 112.

[38] *LP*, 185: 639; see V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 1/2: 126 and note 1 on the same page.

[39] Nicholas I to Photius (863) in *Epistolae*, *MGH* 6, Epist. 85: 444-445.

[40] *LP*, 185: 639.

already married (allegorically) to their original dioceses, according to the rule originally enacted in the fifteenth chapter of the canons of Nicaea. The prohibition against the translation of bishops, therefore, was the principal reason for the papal refusal to appoint Formosus to be archbishop of the Bulgarians (and indeed, later in 897, Formosus was accused of breaking this very rule when he ascended the papal throne). Therefore, neither Nicholas I nor Hadrian II intended nor were they permitted to appoint any of their bishop-representatives as the archbishop of Bulgaria. The rank of this future head of the Bulgarian church, therefore, became the crucial point in the relations between Rome and Bulgaria.[41]

It quite dubious that the argument of Nicholas I, that a bishop can not be reappointed as the head of another bishopric, was a false explanation.[42] It is also hard to believe that Hadrian asked Boris-Michael to choose an archbishop, to be appointed by the Pope, from the other bishops residing in Bulgaria.[43] The argument of the assertion of the "ambitious nature" of the Bishop of Porto, who wanted to establish a national ecclesiastical organisation independent of Rome, is not convincing.[44] The evidence used to support such claims is John VIII's letter of 877 excommunicating Formosus.[45] We have evidence contradicting this letter, namely, the *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa*, written by Eugenius Vulgarius in 912.[46] Formosus must have had much higher goals in mind, namely, the papal throne. And, as a matter of fact, he did become pope.

From the listed sources and events, it is obvious that neither Nicholas I nor Hadrian II intended to appoint anyone to be archbishop of Bulgaria between the years 866 and 869. Nicholas I, for example, never firmly promised to appoint an archbishop to Bulgaria. The question as to whether the Bulgarians could have their own patriarch was answered by Nicholas with many conditions attached. One of them was that the legates should come back from Bulgaria and provide relevant information about the number of and harmony among Christians there. Second, a bishop for the entire country should be appointed. This bishop should

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[41] For the opposite opinion see V. Gjuzelev, "Kratâk ocherk," 73.

[42] For the opposite opinion see V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I*, 229.

[43] V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 1/2: 85, argued against A. Lapôtre, *L'Europe et le Saint Siège*, 57-58 about the reason for the pope's refusal. See P. Duthilleul, *L'Évangélisation des slaves*, 82-83; A. Vlasto, *The Entry*, 160; G. Litavrin, "Vvedenie Hristianstva v Bolgarii," 50; J. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 109; T. Smjadovski, "The Latin Mission," 15-16; V. Gjuzelev, "Kratāk ocherk," 72-73.

[44] V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 1/2: 110; V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I*, 229.

[45] John VIII to the bishops of Gaul and Germany (876) in *Epistolae*, *MGH* 7, Epist. 9: 326-328.

[46] Eugenius Vulgarius, *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa*, *MPL* 129: 823-838.

consecrate the local bishops, and they should be approved by the pope. Third, after the country had been clearly converted to Christianity, the local bishops would elect an archbishop to be approved by Rome. The *Responsa* definitely outlines these stages of the establishment of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical structure.

Thus, Nicholas I postponed the establishment of the Bulgarian archbishopric to the indefinite future. He uses the word *episcopus* in the epilogue of his *Responsa* referring to the person who would instruct the Bulgarians and their khan.[47] It was never said that Boris-Michael should choose one of the other *bishops*[48] visiting Bulgaria to be consecrated as archbishop, as some scholars claim.[49] The only person sent by Rome to be approved by the Bulgarians was Sylvester, who had never before been a bishop. An appropriate interpretation of Anastasius' text, *Quibus inter nonnulla rescripsit, ut quemcumque nominatim devotio regalis exprimeret, eum sine dubio pontificalis provisio Bulgaris archiepiscopum commodaret,* should be "anyone the prince might wish," that is, anyone suitable, subject to papal approval as well as the canons of the church.[50]

The papal assertion for refusing to approve a type of metropolitan church for Bulgaria can be easily understood. Such a status for the newly converted Bulgaria would not fit with the idea of restoring the old Illyrian diocese. The Illyrian argument was extremely suitable for resisting Byzantine and Frankish demands on Bulgaria, Croatia, Moravia, or the Serbs. The Illyrian argument was consistently used by Nicholas I, Hadrian II, and John VIII to prove Roman jurisdiction over the lands of east central Europe.

In his letter to Michael III of 860, Nicholas I clearly explained the Roman conception of Illyricum.[51] The pope connected the papal approach on the "Photian problem" to the claim over Illyricum.[52] In that sense he used the full legacy of Hadrian I since the situation was similar to that in the 770s-780s. The patriarch had been elevated from a lay status, and Constantinople had just restored the iconodulia and needed papal approval for a synod to condemn the iconoclasm. Therefore, Hadrian's demands were formulated in the very same way. However, the situation in the 800s was not exactly the same.

In his letters to Empress Irene and to Patriarch Tharasios, Pope

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[47] *Responsa*, Cap. 106: *Cum autem* ***episcopum*** [my bold] *Deo concedente per presultatus nostri ministerium habueritis, ille vos docebit omnia, quae ad officium suum pertinent, et si quae sunt, quae non capiet, ab apostolicae sedis auctoritatae resuscipiet* (...).

[48] V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I*, 226.

[49] We do not have the papal letter, so this is the only evidence: *LP*, 185: 639.

[50] *LP*, 185: 639.

Hadrian I (772-795) demanded the return of the ancient papal right to consecrate bishops and archbishops in all Illyricum.[53] This claim, together with that for Roman primacy, was omitted in the Greek translation of the Second Nicaean Council. However, the letters were included, together with all literary evidence claiming primacy in the *Hadrianum*, the pontifical epistolary treatise sent by Hadrian I to Charlemagne. Further, they can be found in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, already in use at the time of Nicholas I, and in addition, these letters can be found in the collection of Cardinal Deusderitus, dating from the eleventh century.[54]

Nicholas based his claims on this tradition when he dispatched his letter to Emperor Michael III in 860.[55] The pontiff clearly explained the Roman conception of Illyricum.[56] The pope listed the regions of Illyricum, which had been under the jurisdiction of the vicarate of Thessalonica and were later detached by the iconoclastic emperors: "old

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[51] Nicholas I to Emperor Michael (860), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 436-440. The eastern border of *Praefectura praetorio per Illyricum* went from the mouth of the river Vit, through the Succi passage (Trajan's gate southeast of Sofia), and through the Mesta valley, out to the Aegean Sea, comprising also the present-day territory of Albania, Greece, western Bulgaria, and the island of Crete. With Justinian's reorganisation in the 530s, *Illyricum Orientale* was cut roughly through the middle by the Dirachium-Scupi-Serdica line, separating it into two dioceses, *Dacia* in the north and *Macedonia* in the south. They were under the ecclesiastical rule of the newly established archbishopric of *Justiniana Prima*, together with the two Dacias, *Mediterranea* and *Ripensis*, *Moesia prima*, *Dardania*, *Praevalitana*, and a part of *Pannonia secunda*. The papal jurisdiction over the diocese had been established in the second half of the fourth century by Pope Damasius (366-384). See A. H. M. Jones, *The History of Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, vol. 1-2 (Baltimore, MD, 1986), 42-70; L. Maksimovich, "Severni Ilirik u VI veku," [Northern Illyricum in the Sixth Century] *ZRVI* 19 (1980): 16ff.; M. Zaninoviè, "The Frontier Between Dalmatia and Moesia Superior," *Pulpudeva* 4 (1983): 94ff.; F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 25-29; V. Velkov, *Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1977), 62ff.; J. Ferluga, *Vizantijska uprava u Dalmaciji* [Byzantine Rule in Dalmatia] (Belgrade, JAZU, 1957), 7-11; L. Duchesne, "L'Illyricum ecclésiastique," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892): 531-550, esp. 540; F. Papazoglu, *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba / Lés cités Macédoniennes á l'époque romaine* (Skopje, 1957), 90ff.

[52] F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, 53 ff.

[53] Hadrian's synodica and letter to Tharasios, *PL* 96, 56 and 57: 1215-1242.

[54] The documentary background of the *Hadrianum* and *Decretals* was the Italian collection elaborated by Denys the Little in the sixth century, then sent by Zacharias in 747 to Pippin III, and finally completed under Hadrian I in the eighth century, who in 774 showed the collaborated *Dionysio-Hadriana* to Charlemagne. The councils of Aachen (802), of Paris (829), Aachen (836), and Meaux-Paris (845/6) confirmed the *Hadrianum* and assumed the role of champion of the clerical right to the canons. See G. Wallach, "The Greek and Latin Versions of II Nicaea and the Synodica of Hadrian I (Jaffé no. 2448)," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 123ff. for the diplomatic aspect of the letter and its Greek translation.

[55] Nicholas I to Emperor Michael (860) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 436-440.

[56] F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, 53ff.

Epirus and new Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Dacia, Dacia Mediterranea, Moesia, Dardania."[57] In the same manner, the size of Illyricum was considered by the legates of Pope Hadrian II at the Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople. They identified Illyricum with: "the two Epirus, the new and the old ones, the whole Thessaly and Dardania, after which at that time was called the town of Dardania and which land was named Bulgaria after its conquest by the Bulgar."[58]

For obvious reasons, the Western tradition was not acknowledged by the eastern churches. The representatives of the eastern patriarchates had asked Boris-Michael's envoys about the nature of the political and ecclesiastical authorities over Bulgarian lands before the Slavic and Bulgar conquest.[59] The question assumed the fact that Bulgaria covered not only Illyrian lands but also territories from the ancient diocese of Constantinople (i.e. the lands to the east from the Succi). And indeed, the envoys' *missi* answered that the Bulgars had found Greek political authority and Greek priests. The papal representatives then moved the problem onto other grounds. They protested that a particular language did not mean a certain authority, claiming the historical right of Rome over former Illyricum.[60] They listed two more arguments: one being that the Bulgarians had chosen them (the Roman priests)[61] for teachers and the other being the argument of the status quo.[62] However, the legates of Hadrian II refused to define to the council which was the most essential of the three arguments, reserving the right of final decision for the pope. The double standard of history used by the papal legates, on the one hand, and the Bulgarian envoys and the representatives of the eastern patriarchies, on the other, created an artificial misunderstanding used by both Bulgarians and Byzantines in order to disengage Bulgaria from the Roman sphere of influence.

Most probably in 873, John VIII identified Illyricum in a similar way as Nicholas I and Hadrian II's representatives at the Council of Constantinople. John VIII instructed Paul of Ancona, his legate to Louis

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[57] Nicholas I to Emperor Michael (860) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 436-440.

[58] *LP*, 183: 636: *Sedes apostolica, iuxta quod decretalibus sanctissimorum Romanorum praesulum doceri poteritis, utramque Epirum, novam videlicet veterumque, totamque Thessaliam atque Dardaniam, in qua et Dardania civitas hodie demonstratur, cuius nunc patria ab his Bulgaris Bulgaria nuncupatur, antiqutus canonice ordinavit et obtinuit.*

[59] *LP*, 182-184: 632-637.

[60] *Hadrianus II, LP*, 183: 636.

[61] *Hadrianus II, LP*, 183: 636: (...) *quia Bulgares, (...), sedis apostolicae semet, ut superius diximus, patrocinio ordinationique specialiter committentes nobis debent nec immerito subiici, quos ultronea voluntate magistros elegere.*

[62] *Hadrianus II, LP*, 183: 636.

the German, to use the fact that all of Illyricum had been under papal authority before the coming of the "barbarians" as an argument *pro Methodio*.[63] Similar historical argumentation for Illyricum was used by Nicholas I, Hadrian II, and John VIII indicating that they considered the diocese of Illyricum as covering all of the Balkans and Pannonia, at least until 873. John VIII makes such an association in his letter to Domagoj dated 872/873. The pope implies to the Croatian duke that the Latin mission of 866-870 recaptured the Bulgarian ecclesiastical diocese which earlier had been under papal jurisdiction before being conquered by the pagan "barbarians."[64] The pope used the ecclesiastical policy of Duke Mutimir's predecessors (*progenitorum*) as an argument in his letter of 873 to the duke[65] since the pope tried to persuade the Serbians to join their lands to Methodius' diocese of Sirmium.

The theme of the eternal Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Illyricum was considerably modified in the letter of John VIII to Ignatios of Constantinople in 878.[66] The pope proves his rights to the *regionem Vulgarum*, quoting all the documentation available to him, namely, the Registers of Pope Damasius and the "deeds of many Roman popes."[67] The claim was based on the idea of the eternal right of *Ecclesia Romana* over the old Illyrian diocese, but Illyricum itself was not mentioned at all.

The use of the Illyrian argument by the popes supposes that the Balkan policy of Nicholas I and Hadrian II followed the boundaries of the old diocese ruled by a papal vicar in Thessalonica. In that sense, the anachronistic use of Illyricum indicates most probably that Nicholas I and Hadrian II would hardly seek for the establishment of a set of archbishoprics in the former diocese. No single evidence from the papal correspondence and argumentation appears to confirm the prospective archiepiscopal status of the Bulgarian and other newly established

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[63] John VIII to Bishop Paul of Ancona (873) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Fragm. 21: 283-285; *Nam non solum intra Italiam ac ceteras Hesperies parovincias, verum etiam intra totius Illyrici fines consecrationes ordinationes et dispositiones apostolica sedes patrare antiquitus consuevit, sicut nonnulla regesta et conscriptiones synodales atque ipsarum quoque plurima ecclesiarum in his positarum monimenta* [=>monumenta<] *demonstrant.*

[64] John VIII to Domagoj (873) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Fragm. 9: 178.

[65] John VIII to Mutimir (873) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Fragm. 18: 282.

[66] John VIII to Ignatios, Patriarch of Constantinople (878) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Epist. 68: 62-63.

[67] Ibid. *Nullus autem ignorat regionem Vulgarum a sanctae memoriae Damaso papa et deinceps usque ad paganorum irruptionem a sedis apostolicae praesulibus, quantum ad ecclesiasticae provisionis privilegium, moderatam, praesertim cum hoc nonnulla scripta, sed praecipie diversorum pontificum Romanorum res geste, quae in archivis antiquitus nostrae reserantur ecclesiae clarius attestentur.* See Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Hadrian II (870/871) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Epist. 9: 413.

churches. And indeed, Thessalonika,[68] the original location, was no longer suitable to be a see of the papal vicar for the Illyrian diocese because it was not possible to get it back from the Byzantine church. In that case, it is difficult to believe that a national, though subordinated to Rome, metropolitan see was intended by these popes to be established in Bulgaria.

Further, more significant modification of the use of this argument is found in the replacement of Illyricum, or *Illyrici fines*, with *regio Vulgarum* as made by John VIII. For the first time in 878 in the papal letter to Ignatios, Bulgaria is considered as a separate ecclesiastical unit. In that sense, John VIII's argumentation could be related to the argumentation of the eastern patriarchies of 870, who had attacked the Illyrian claim of Rome with the fact that Bulgaria covered more than just Illyrian territories. On the other hand, this was the result of a considerable change in papal views on the ecclesiastical structure of Bulgaria, if this country did indeed return to Roman jurisdiction.

The status of the proposed Bulgarian bishopric must have corresponded to the ecclesiastical conditions in Croatia where the bishopric of Nin was established at the time of Nicholas I (858-867). The epistolary fragment of Nicholas I, *Clero et plebi Nonensi*,[69] notes, on the one hand, an attempt by the clergy of Nin to establish a proper church organisation[70] and, on the other, the strong control by the papacy of organisational matters in Nin.[71] Thus, Nicholas I won over the western part of Illyricum by initiating the foundation of the bishopric of Nin, which was completed

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[68] Both Salona and Sirmium pretended to be the ecclesiastic center of western Illyricum in the fourth century. As for the eastern part, Damasius entrusted the archbishop of Thessalonica to be the papal vicar. This was confirmed by the popes, Siricius (384-398) and Innocent I (402-427). The archbishops of Thessalonika acted as the papal vicars of Illyricum at the time of Pope Gregory the Great. See A. H. M. Jones, *The History of Later Roman Empire*, 48; L. Maksimoviâ, "Severni Ilirik," 16ff.; F. Dvornik, *Apostolicity in Byzantium*, 27-29; L. Duchesne, "L'Illyricum ecclésiastique," 542; H. Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Hachf, 1979), 13, claims that the archbishops of Salonika were vicars for the whole of Illyricum, not only its eastern part. I agree with him in the sense that Nicholas I and Hadrian II had believed that Illyricum had been a single ecclesiastic diocese in ancient times.

[69] P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (Berolini, 1851), nr. 2161 and see F. Rački, *Documenta*, 186: *Papa Nicolaus electo et clero Nonensi: 'Sine nutu sedis apostolicae ecclesia non debet institui'*; F. Šisič, *Priruènik izvora hrvatske historije* [A Handbook of Sources about Croatian History], vol.1/1 (Zagreb, 1914), 199: *Nicolaus episcopus clero et plebi Nonensis ecclesiae*. See N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [The History of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971), 194.

[70] N. Budak, *Prva stolječa Hrvatske*, 93 and note 173. See I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, 263-268.

[71] F. Rački, *Documenta*, 186: *Ecclesia, id est catholicorum collectio, quomodo sine apostolicae sedis instituetur nutu, quando iuxta sancta decreta, nec ipsa debet absque praeceptione papae basilica noviter construi, quae ipsam catholicorum intra semet amplecti catervam dignoscitur?*

by John VIII in 880 when it became a suffragan of Rome.[72] Possibly, this bishopric was regarded by the popes as controlled by Methodius as papal vicar. One evidence is the spread of the Glagolitic tradition which is supposed to have come to Croatia no later than 885/6.[73] However, the means of the introduction of the Slavic liturgy is still a controversial subject,[74] and the lack of written sources permits only speculation that the see of St Andronicus at Sirmium[75] was intended by Pope Hadrian II to cover all the western Balkans.[76] The only connection between Methodius and Croatia is a locus in the "Short Life of Methodius." According to the "Life," Methodius overcame some heretics and Jews in a dispute, and then a great miracle happened: Zambrios destroyed Zdeslav's land by fire.[77] So, the enemies of Methodius flew.[78]

Further, it is obvious from the letters of John VIII to Branimir and Theodosius that the status of the *ecclesia Nonesis* was not very clear, for the character of the connections between Rome and Croatia was not finally set. John VIII required Theodosius to visit Rome in order to receive consecration and for Croatian representatives to swear homage to him.[79] The finalisation of the ecclesiastical structure of Croatia and, particularly, the bishopric of Nin seems to have been a long process extending (according to the available sources) to the pontificate of John VIII (872-882) and, even later, to the Council of Split (925/8).

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[72] M. Barada, "Episcopus Croatensis," *Croatia Sacra* 1 (1931): 186.

[73] R. Katičić, "Methodii Doctrina," in *Uz Početke hrvatskih početaka* [On the First Beginnings of Croatia] (Split:Knji evni krug, 1993), 67-95.

[74] For discussions on the "Southern" (from Bulgaria and the region of present-day Macedonia) or "Northern" (directly from Moravia) introduction of the glagolithic alphabet to Croatia see N. Klaić, "Historijska podloga hrvatskog glagoljaštva" [Historical Background of Croatian Glagolitic Culture], *Slovo* 15/16 (1965): 225-285; B. Fučić, "Granična područja glagoljice i ćirilice" [The Border between the Glagolithic and Cyrillic Alphabets], *Brački zbornik* 15 (1978): 17-28. Also see N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, 96-99.

[75] See *Vita Methodii*, nr. 8 and the notes.

[76] See H. Dopsch, "Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik," 320 and H. Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, 13.

[77] "Prolozhnoje itije Mefodija," *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici* 2 (Brno, 1967), 244; see also F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* [Croatian History in the Time of the Native Rulers] (Zagreb 1925), 385-387, and the notes on 386.

[78] Ibid.

[79] John VIII to Branimir (880) in *Epistolae, MGH* 7, 257; See F. Rački, *Documenta*, 13, and *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. M. Kostrenčić, vol.1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1967), 18: *Quapropter mandamus, ut reverente ad vos filecto* [(sic!) >dilecto<] *episcopo vestro idoneos legatos vestros presentaliter ad nos dirigere non praetermittatis, qui pro parte scripta omnium vestrum nos et sedem apostolicam corrificant* [sic! >certificent<] *de his, que mandatis,, ut et nos cum illis missum nostrum dirigamus ad vos, quibus secundum morem ad consuetudinem ecclesiae nostrae universus populus vester fidelitatem promittat.*

The plans of Nicholas I and Hadrian II regarding the Balkans envisioned a set of bishoprics each directly subordinated to Rome and controlled by the popes. Rome was suspicious of approving any new metropolitan sees at that time. The popes had had quite negative experiences with ambitious archbishops, such as Hincmar of Rheims, John of Ravenna, the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, and with the reorientation of the Dalmatian church to Byzantium in the 860s. The papal reluctance to appoint an archbishop in a territory that had just been won over to Roman jurisdiction can be easily explained with the conciliarism of the Frankish metropolitans at that time and their struggle against the papal monistic policy. The late 860s appear to be the culmination of this fight as we can see from the case of Hincmar of Laon from 868 onwards.[80]

In addition, the formal structure would cover that of the old Illyricum, but with considerable modifications. The geographical size of the Illyrian diocese was considered by these popes to cover all of the Balkans and Pannonia, that is, all the Slavic principalities: Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Chozil's principality of Blatno, and Moravia. Sirmium was intended to become the centre of the new Illyrian diocese. This city was an imperial residence for a period of time. An old legend attributed the origin of its bishopric to St Andronicus, one of the seventy disciples of Christ. In 381, Amianus of Sirmium made a declaration before the Synod of Aquileia that he was the ecclesiastical head of Illyricum.[81] In the fourth and fifth centuries, the rival of Sirmium, was the city of Salona, and the latter won after Sirmium was ruined by the Huns in 448.[82] However, the memory of its glorious past remained.[83]

Methodius as the archbishop of Sirmium should have been regarded by Rome as the papal vicar over all Illyricum since he was appointed as "Archbishop of St Andronicus' See." First, he was sent as papal legate to Chozil in 869, and later, in the same year, he was elevated to be Archbishop of Sirmium.[84] F. Dvornik believed that the appointment of Methodius was

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[80] See K. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), 83, 99-102, Appendix C: 258-269, esp. 261-264; P. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon*, 91-98, 114ff.

[81] *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (Florence-Venice, 1759-1798), 604B.

[82] H. Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas*, 294ff. Using the evidence of *Annales Fuldenses*, see H. Wolfram, "The Image of Central Europe in Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus*," 11.

[83] See F. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), 250ff.; F. Dvornik, *Apostolicity in Byzantium*, 46-47.

[84] N. Shivarov, "Kâm vâprosa za arhiepiskopstvoto na sv. Metodij" [On the Archiepiscopal Status of St Methodius] in *Mezhdunaroden simpozium po povod 1100 godishninata ot konchinata na Sv. Metodij*, vol. 1 (Sofia: Synodalno Izdatelstvo, 1988), 118-129, esp. 120, 124-125; See V. Vavřínek, *Staroslovìnské ivoty Konstantina a Metodìje* [The Old Slavonic Lives Of Constantine and Methodius] (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Vêd, 1963), 42 and note 133, about "učitel" used in *Vita Methodii*, 8 (quoted after V. Vavřínek).

made for several reasons. One would be to establish an ecclesiastical bond which would link Chozil of Pannonia, Rastislav of Moravia, and Rastislav's nephew Svetopluk, who was administering the territory of Nitra;[85] Sirmium was under the old Roman jurisdiction, and this act could not be regarded as hurting the interests of the patriarchate of Constantinople.[86] It is reasonable to consider that as the only archbishop in the diocese, Methodius was entrusted to oversee the local bishoprics in the region, which the popes had established or intended to establish.

The idea of the restored Illyricum failed in 870 when the Bulgarian policy was firmly set on a pro-Byzantine ecclesiastical course. Boris-Michael rejected the papal plans twice. The first denial was Sylvester's return to Rome. The second, and more definitive, reaction was the appearance of the Bulgarian *missi* at the Council of Constantinople and the pursuit of an eastern orientation of this country. The appointment of Methodius was known in Bulgaria because the last embassy of Boris-Michael to Rome was in the summer and/or autumn of 869.[87] Probably, Hadrian II had in mind the possible Bulgarian reorientation and had handed a letter to his legates, Donatus, Stephen, and Marinus, to the Council of Constantinople (September 869). This letter was intended to forewarn the patriarch, Ignatios, about the Roman jurisdiction over Bulgaria.[88] Therefore, Hadrian II wanted to offer Boris-Michael a *fait accompli*. The result was that Boris-Michael never returned to the Roman church.

In the beginning of his pontificate, John VIII employed the idea of his predecessors that the entire Illyricum should be placed under Methodius' vicarate. Thus, he sent a letter to Mutimir instructing him to join Methodius' diocese. Though the localisation of Mutimir is still a controversial issue,[89] this demand is significant because of the papal wish that the converted Slavs join Methodius' diocese. After 876-878, Rome had to modify this strategy.

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[85] F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 148.

[86] Ibid.

[87] About the time of this embassy see V. Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 1/2:131-132.

[88] Ibid. 127; *LP*:184: 637: *Ut secundum hanc epistolam santissimi restitoris tui domini Adriani summi pontificis, quam tibi ecce offerimus, industriam tuam ab omni Bulgariae ordinatione immunem, nullum illuc mittendo, custodias.*

[89] I follow the scholars proving the Serbian localisation of Mutimir, namely, F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 342, 387-397; F. Grivec, *Slovanska blagovestnika sv. Ciril i Metod* [The Slavic Apostles SS Cyrill and Methodius] (Celje, 1963), 117. F. Dvornik, *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilisation*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1956), 125 mentions Mutimir as a Pannonian Croatian duke. For most of the opinions see M. Hadžhijahić, "Pitanje rasprostranjenosti Metodove nadbiskupije ju no od Save" [On the Problem of the Extension of Methodius' Archbishopric to the South of the Sava River] *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 15 (1985): 1-23, esp. 10-14. M. Hadžhijahić, however, employs the unbelievable idea that Moravia should be considered located in present-day Bosnia.

The difficulties Methodius had met in Moravia led John VIII to revise the policy of Nicholas I and Hadrian II. The firm eastern orientation of Boris-Michael of Bulgaria in 870 and the policy of the Byzantine protégé Zdeslav (878-879) forced the pope to alter his approach to the Balkans. The first visible change became apparent after John VIII's meeting with Formosus (876) when the pope partly realised the actual situation in Bulgaria. However, he put the blame for Hadrian II's unsuccessful policy on the bishop of Porto. The missionary bishops-legates of Nicholas and Hadrian were replaced by the envoys of John VIII. From 878, people speaking the Slavic tongue, namely, John of Venice and Theodosius of Nin, were preferred as papal envoys. This fact partly reflects the position of John VIII on the use of the Slavic liturgy in Moravia.

In his letter to Boris-Michael of May 879, the pope wrote about some concessions he was ready to make concerning Bulgaria.[90] We do not have sufficient evidence of the contents of these concessions because the papal letter was never read by Boris-Michael. However, this letter coincides with one letter to Methodius (879). The title of the letter is *Reverendissimo Methodio archiepiscopo Pannoniensi,*[91] and it marks a geographical reduction of Methodius' archbishopric. During 880 in *Industriae tuae,* the archbishop of Pannonia in 879 was further restricted to being archbishop of Moravia.[92] The death of the last strong Carolingian rulers, Louis II of Italy (875), Louis the German (876), and Charles the Bald (877), deprived the papacy of stronger political support, and John VIII was constrained to make his own reorientation for a deal with the Byzantine emperor.

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[90] John VIII to Boris (879), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Epist. 182, 146: *Et ecce parati sumus, ut vos lucricifaciamus et, quiquid legatorum nostrorum offuscatione nuper offensum est, ad purum corrigere et omnia maturissime redintegrando curare et, si contigerit, non solum conpati et condolere vobiscum, sed etiam pro salute animarum vestrarum mori non recusabimus, dicente Johanne apostolo: 'Quoniam Deus pro nobis animam suam posuit, et nos debemus pro fratribus animam ponere'.*

[91] John VIII to Methodius (879), *Reverendissimo Methodio archiepiscopo Pannoniensi, Epistolae, MGH* 7, Epist. 201, 160-161.

[92] John VIII to Svetlopluc (880), *Epistolae, MGH* 7, Epist. 255, 222-224: *Industriae tuae notum esse volumus, quoniam confratre nostro Methodio reverendissimo archiepiscopo sanctae eclesiae Marabensis.*


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Recent Scholarly Work:
co-author. "Kretanje i struktura stanovnistva u naseljima Zagrebačkog Gradeca do sredine 19. stoljeća." [The Migration and the Structure of the Inhabitants in the Settlements of Gradec of Zagreb until the nineteenth century] *Zagrebacki Gradec* (Zagreb: 1994) 251-275.

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- "The *Jókai Codex* as a Hagiographical Source: The Question of its Origin." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1993-1994* (Budapest: CEU, 1995): 135-144.
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- "Pedagogicheskije idealy v kulture rannesrednevekovoj znati:obraz pravitelja - svjatogo Vaclava v agiografii X v".[The 'Holy King' as Educational Ideal for Early Medieval Nobility: St.Wenceslas in the Hagiography of 10th Century] *Evropejskaya pedagogika ot Antichnosti do Novogo Vremeni. Sbornik nauchnych trudov* [Education in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times] (Moscow: 1994).
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The Department of Medieval Studies is an interdisciplinary center of post-graduate education and research located in the Budapest campus of the Central European University. It gathers students from all over Europe who are interested in studying the medieval past. This volume offers a glimpse into the life of the department in the 1994-95 academic year. Chapters of the graduates' M. A. theses demonstrate the work conducted under the supervision of an international faculty, while the conferences, public lectures and scholarly excursions illustrate the broad range of the department's activities.