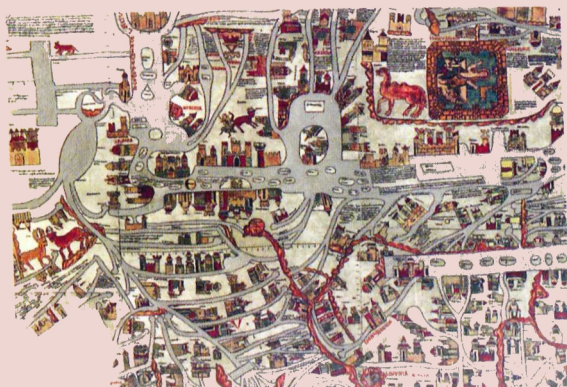


ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 15 2009



Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest



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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 15 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the academic year 2007–2008. As usual, the first section contains articles based on outstanding MA theses. This year's thematic block arose from the Department's 15-year anniversary celebration. This was a chance to make merry academically over the firm roots medieval studies have put down in this region. Marianne Sághy organized the program for the event and serves as editor of the 15-year anniversary section. We invited alumni from fourteen countries to write about developments in medieval studies; they are from different years of the Department's operation – although, understandably, more from the early years – who have in the meantime become leading experts in their field in their own countries. Each author took a slightly different approach depending on his or her own interests and experiences, but there are many common threads woven through the essays. All the essays refer to institutions where research and teaching on medieval studies is current and include website addresses as well as other contact information. Each essay also reviews educational developments in medieval studies; taken together the essays show the evolution of the discipline from local roots. Current medieval publications – journals, articles, and monographs – are noted along with the names of prominent researchers (many of them our alumni). This section includes our traditional guest article; this year it is the address Giles Constable delivered at the anniversary celebration on recent trends in medieval studies.

Part II of the yearbook follows the practice of the previous volumes of the *Annual* in describing the main events of the academic year 2007–2008 and presenting our new graduates' work through abstracts of the MA theses and PhD dissertations that were defended during this period. This year we include the reminiscences and *laudatio* that were offered to Professor Emeritus János Bak on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

For more information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, and upcoming events, please consult our newsletter, *Medieval News*, and our website (<http://medstud.ceu.hu>). We would also like to call our readers' attention to the intense publication activity of our department, which is reflected, among other works, by the hitherto published eleven volumes in the CEU Medievalia series, administered by CEU Press (www.ceupress.com).

We would like to thank the PhD students who worked on various aspects of preparing this volume: Mircea Duluș, Darko Karačić, and Lovro Kunčević. Their contributions are much appreciated.

RHETORICIZING EFFEMINACY IN TWELFTH-CENTURY OUTREMER: WILLIAM OF TYRE AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Luka Špoljarić 

Albert, a canon of St Mary's in Aachen, spent the early years of the twelfth century waiting agog for news from the Holy Land and penning them down. Even though miles away from the subject of his inquiry, he was keen to compose a history of the First Crusade and the first generation of Latin settlement in the Levant. In this work, as he came to report on the Crusader army at the siege of Nicaea in 1097, Albert decided to set its qualities against those of the Byzantines, or rather, "the Greeks," as he and his contemporaries called them. He achieved this juxtaposition by having Kiliç Arslan, the Seljuq sultan of Rum (r. 1092-1107), whom the Crusaders had just defeated, proclaim the following words:

The imperial army is made up of soft and effeminate Greek people, who have been rarely troubled by the exercise of wars, and could be easily overcome by the strength of hard men, and, once overcome, decapitated.¹

But, Albert continued, the Turkish foe spoke of the Crusaders as being quite the opposite:

these men whose names, strength, and warfare and talents you have learnt from the letters, and against whom it is difficult to wage war – know that they are very courageous men, knowledgeable about the wonderful ways of horses, and they cannot be frightened away by fear of death in battle or by any sort of weapons.²

¹ This article is based on the parts of my MA Thesis, "William of Tyre and the Byzantine Empire: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Image" (Budapest: Central European University, 2008). I would like to express my gratitude to professors József Laszlovszky and Niels Gaul for their advice and help during my research. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007) (hereafter: Albert of Aachen, *Historia*), 254–255: *Imperatoris exercitus gens Graecorum mollis et effeminata, bellorumque exercitiis raro vexata, facile in virtute robustorum potuit superari, superata decollari.*

² Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 254–257: *Hos vero quorum nomina, et virtutes et bella et industrias litterarum*

Luka Špoljarić

Albert's classification of the entire Greek people as essentially effeminate was not an isolated case; the notion had been present in Latin literature long before the Crusades resuscitated it. Classical Roman authors had often written condescendingly of what they saw as Greek unmanliness,³ and it is in precisely these writings that the Crusade chroniclers saw confirmation for their own views of contemporary Byzantines.⁴

William of Tyre and the *Outremer*

Yet, this article does not deal with the whole body of Crusade literature. It rather strives to elucidate the rhetorical employment of the said *topos* in a specific work – the *Historia Ierosolymitana*, written by William the archbishop of Tyre (ca. 1130–1186),⁵ a historian from the Crusader states or, as they were commonly referred to in the West, the *Outremer*, the lands on the other side of the sea.⁶ While other Crusade

noticia didicistis, et adversum quos difficile est bellum committere, scitote viros fortissimos, miro equorum volumine doctos, in prelio non morte, non aliquo genere armorum posse absterri.

³ For a discussion of the Roman stereotypes of the Greeks, see Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 381–405.

⁴ For example, Crusade chroniclers often evoked the famous line from Virgil's *Aeneid* "I fear the Greeks even when they bear gifts" when they reported on the treachery of the Byzantines. According to Odo of Deuil (1110–1162), a participant in the Second Crusade, "the proverb," as he calls it, was even known among some laymen; see Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and tr. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948), 26–27.

⁵ The original title of the work is not known; *Historia Ierosolymitana* was suggested by Peter Edbury and John Rowe in their work on William of Tyre, arguing that it is a possible title based on the incipits of two English manuscripts; see Peter W. Edbury and John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) (hereafter: Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*), 1. When Robert B. C. Huygens made a critical edition of William's work, he opted for *Chronicon* as the title instead: Willelmus Tyrensis Archiepiscopus, *Chronicon*, 2 vols., ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievals 63, 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986) (hereafter: WT). In this article, following the example of Edbury and Rowe, I will use the shorthand title *Historia*. It should also be noted that the study of these two authors is still a standard reference work for William's life and work.

⁶ Other studies have dealt with William's depiction of the Byzantine Empire; first, the topic was touched upon by Edbury and Rowe (*William of Tyre*: 130–150); they discussed nearly all the episodes in which the empire appears in the narrative. Next, Bernard Hamilton returned to the question and his main contribution lies in discussing William's views on the Orthodox Church, see Bernard Hamilton, "William of Tyre and the Byzantine Empire," in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook and Judith Herrin (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 219–233. More recently, Marc Carrier has focused on Crusader perceptions of the Byzantines, see Marc Carrier, "L'image des Byzantins et les systèmes de représentation selon les chroniqueurs occidentaux des croisades 1096–1261," (PhD dissertation, Université

chronicles are written from what one might tentatively call a “Western European” perspective, the *Historia* records the view of an intellectual of the highest calibre who had been born and raised in the *Outremer*.⁷ For even though William saw himself and his kingdom as part of the whole of Latin Christendom, in some respects his work is characterized by a different sensitivity. Furthermore, he was also a chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, a person thoroughly savvy on the intricacies of Levantine politics. This becomes all too evident when reading his history of the First Crusade and the Crusader states founded subsequently, on which he was working from ca. 1170 until 1184.⁸ At that time the Crusader states were in dire straits, with Nur ad-Din (r. 1146–1174), the ruler of Northern Syria, gradually outmanoeuvring Amalric, king of Jerusalem (r. 1163–1174), for the possession of Egypt. The situation was indeed serious since there was no significant help from the rulers of Western Europe; because of the disenchantment with the Crusading movement following the failure of the Second Crusade. William thus looked to exploit his knowledge and skills to fashion a sympathetic image of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, one which would provoke a response and help from his targeted audience in the West in this time of need.⁹

It is the ambivalent political relationship between Jerusalem and Constantinople that will be considered here, however.¹⁰ On the one hand, the ties were close. The

Paris I–Panthéon Sorbonne, 2006) (hereafter: Carrier, “L’image des Byzantins”). Carrier analyzes the image of the effeminate Greek on pp. 77–96, but without discussing how it served William’s rhetoric specifically. Finally, in this context I would like to mention Savvas Neocleous’ recent PhD dissertation, “Imagining the Byzantines: Latin Perceptions, Representations and Memory c. 1095–c. 1230” (Dublin: Trinity College, 2009).

⁷ William was born in Jerusalem ca. 1130 and studied liberal arts, theology, and civil law in the schools of Paris, Orléans and Bologna from ca. 1146 to 1165. For a more in-depth account of his life and career, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 13–22.

⁸ It is important to note that William made major revisions to his work in 1181, after which, being up-to-date, he continued the narrative until the events occurring in the year 1184. This excludes the possibility that following the 1182 Constantinopolitan massacre of Latins he changed earlier parts of the work, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 27–29. Also, *Historia* is not the only work William wrote. He authored two more works, both of which are now considered lost: *Gesta orientaliū principū* and an account of the decrees of the Third Lateran Council of 1179, in which he participated.

⁹ Having studied in France and Italy in the period following the Second Crusade, William was bound to have experienced at first hand the resentment that the returning crusaders felt towards the Latins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose treachery was seen as one of the reasons for the campaign’s ultimate failure. For his own testimony, see WT 17.6.

¹⁰ For the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the 1170s until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) (hereafter: Hamilton, *Leper King*); also see Bernard Hamilton, “Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,” in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for Her 80th Birthday*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1988), 353–375. The best study on

Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) abandoned the policy of his predecessors who had sought to establish their rule over the Crusader states through military expeditions; his father, John II (r. 1118–1143), had envisaged this in 1137, as had his grandfather Alexios I (r. 1081–1118) in 1108. Manuel was rather looking to affirm himself as an overlord, emphasizing the ceremonial recognition of his authority and offering financial and military help to the Crusader states, which in turn, as Nur ad-Din was growing in strength, welcomed this policy.¹¹ Established finally in 1158, the alliance between the two continued without major interruptions for a quarter of a century, until 1182.¹² William fully endorsed this policy in his work, presenting Manuel as the most glorious of earthly rulers.¹³ Threatened by Nur ad-Din, the Crusader states were, in his view, supposed to turn to the Byzantine emperor, who commanded more prestige, wealth, and military power than any other monarch in the region. On the other hand, Manuel's grip over the *Outremer*, even if asserted with subtlety, grew stronger over the years and became a delicate diplomatic matter for Jerusalem, ultimately reflecting on William's work. Two episodes illustrate this point. First, when in 1164 Bohemund III, prince of Antioch (r. 1163–1201), was captured by Nur ad-Din, he had no choice but to turn to Manuel for help in raising the money for his ransom. The emperor agreed, but made it conditional on the prince accepting the reinstitution of a Greek patriarch in Antioch.¹⁴ Bohemund agreed and the following year Athanasios I Manasses (r. 1157–1170) was installed in the cathedral in place of the Latin Patriarch Aimery of Limoges (r. 1140–1193).

the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Manuel is still that by Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (hereafter: Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I*).

¹¹ See Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I*, 69. Here one can mention Manuel's entrance into Antioch in 1158 and the visit of King Amalric to Constantinople in 1171. On both of these occasions, Manuel used elaborate staging to stress imperial supremacy over the Crusader states.

¹² Manuel drew the Kingdom of Jerusalem into the imperial orbit through an alliance strengthened by marriage between King Baldwin III (r. 1143–1163) and an imperial niece, Theodora; see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 69–70.

¹³ I have analyzed William's rhetorical strategy in constructing the images of Manuel, John, and Alexios Komnenoi in another article, see Luka Špoljarić, "Byzantium Remodelled: The Komnenian Emperors in William of Tyre's *Historia*," in *From Holy War to Peaceful Cohabitation*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Press, forthcoming) (hereafter: Špoljarić, "Byzantium Remodelled").

¹⁴ Once they had set up their states in the aftermath of the First Crusade, the Latins did not choose to establish new bishoprics, but rather to expel the Greek Orthodox bishops from their sees, installing people from their own ranks instead. For more on this issue, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980) (hereafter: Hamilton, *Latin Church*).

Byzantine influence over the Crusader states on both occasions continued to grow even stronger, and in 1169 Manuel sponsored a new cycle of wall mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, accompanied by a prominent dedicatory inscription and an imperial portrait in the sanctuary of the church. This commission did not pass unnoticed among scholars, since the emperor effectively reclaimed the honor of the protector of the Holy Places from the kings of Jerusalem.¹⁵ Still, the emperor acted with the consent of the Crusader states; it was a price King Amalric conceded to pay in exchange for Manuel's support of his expeditions to Egypt. Now, turning to William, it may seem surprising at first that, given the political implications of these two events, neither of them is mentioned in his work. The reason is that Manuel's actions, even if in agreement with the Crusader states, did not fit the picture the archbishop of Tyre wanted to present to the West. As this article will argue, this silence constituted a part of the same rhetorical strategy as the evocation of Greek effeminacy, a strategy that was employed in order to uphold the Latins as the legitimate and, through the First Crusade, divinely approved defenders of the Holy Land.¹⁶

Defending the Right to the Holy Land

William referred to the Greeks as effeminate people using the words *effeminati* and *molles* in three key instances: (1) upon the entrance of the Crusader army into the Byzantine territory during the First Crusade; (2) during John II's insistence on annexing Antioch; and (3) following the fall of Byzantine fortresses that were once part of the County of Edessa to Nur ad-Din.¹⁷ In these instances effeminacy evoked a purely military connotation. For the sake of clarity it is useful to turn to the

¹⁵ The program also had a greater political and theological significance, an "ecumenical twist" as Christopher MacEvitt put it, claiming for Manuel also the role of Constantine's successor as arbiter of Christianity. For more on the wall mosaics and their political-theological implications, see Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) (hereafter: MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*), 157–179, and Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 69–85.

¹⁶ In this article the term "Latin" is used with the meaning that William used it, designating all the people of Western medieval cultures, regardless of their ethnic background. In the same way, the term "Greek" reflects William's usage in addressing the Greek-speaking population of the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁷ WT 2.4.; WT 15.1.; WT 17.17.

research of Marc Carrier, which has shown that the perceived military effeminacy of the Greeks was constructed as an antithesis to the ideal of a knight fighting battles in manly hand-to-hand combat. The Greeks were often accused by the chroniclers of employing mercenaries to fight their battles and using units of archers, which caused damage without exposing themselves to danger.¹⁸

William labelled the Greeks as effeminate for the first time in the second book of his work. As he was recounting the passage of Crusader armies through the empire's European provinces, he "officially" introduced the empire into his narrative and painted a rather gloomy picture while at it. He offered a unique view of its history by evoking the idea of the *translatio imperii*,¹⁹ and pointing at Nikephoros I (r. 802–811) as the first Greek emperor in Constantinople, whose ascension to the throne had brought the felicitous rule of the Latin emperors to an end. He concluded that it was the effeminacy of the Greeks that had led to the loss of the empire's European provinces.²⁰ This episode complemented the one in the first book, where Peter the Hermit, legendary leader of the People's Crusade, met the patriarch of Jerusalem, who complained to him about the weakness of the Greeks and their inability to come to the aid of the Christians in the Holy Land.²¹ William, writing at the time when Manuel strove to reclaim the role of the protector of the Holy Places, reacted by stressing in these key instances of the narrative the inability of the effeminate Greeks to resist the Muslims at the eastern borders and the barbarians at the western borders. In this way he sought to legitimize the First Crusade, which had established the Latins as protectors of the Holy Land, defenders of the most sacred places of Christianity.

This rhetorical strategy did not change as William continued to narrate the events which occurred as the empire regained its strength. As cooperation against the infidel became a possibility, the audience was presented with a scheme in which the Byzantine Empire played the part of an ally – but only of an ally. So when a

¹⁸ For more on the notion of the military effeminacy of the Greeks, see Carrier, "L'image des Byzantins," 78–83.

¹⁹ According to this idea, based on Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four successive kingdoms mentioned in the Book of Daniel, power proceeded from the Babylonians to the Medes and the Persians, then to the Macedonians and after them to the Romans. For later variations of the concept of the *translatio imperii*, see Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium 962–1204 Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 93–101.

²⁰ WT 2.4: *Erant et alie in eodem tractu provincie, Achaia, Thessalia, Macedonia et Tracie tres, que pari cum aliis involute sunt calamitate. Nec solum has predictas provincias sua Greci amiserant mollicie.*

²¹ WT 1.11. Albert of Aachen, William's source for the episode, made no mention of it; see Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 4–7.

Byzantine emperor challenged the Latin rule over Antioch and Northern Syria, he over-stepped the line William had drawn for him. Regardless of the fact that John and Manuel came to be presented rather favorably due to their involvement in the wars against the Muslims, it was because of their effeminate people that they were not to be entrusted with the defence of any part of the Crusader – held territory, muchless Antioch, “that noble and splendid mistress of many provinces, the first seat of the prince of the apostles.”²²

First, John’s expeditions to Northern Syria have to be noted. In the year 1137 the emperor, this “man of great courage,”²³ came with an army of “people summoned from all tribes and tongues, with a countless number of cavalry and a vast array of chariots and four-wheeled carts.”²⁴ The goal was to subdue Cilicia and Antioch to his rule. Soon Cilicia was incorporated into the empire, while Raymond, prince of Antioch, was confronted with the request to let the Byzantines garrison the citadel inside his city and accept imperial suzerainty. Commenting on these demands set forth by the emperor, William took the opportunity to employ the rhetorical device of effeminacy for the second time in his work:

For it seemed a very harsh and serious matter that the city, which our nation had acquired at such peril and which had been restored to the Christian faith at the expense of precious blood of fortunate princes, should fall into the hands of the effeminate Greeks.²⁵

Unmanly Greeks, therefore, would not be able to defend Antioch in the face of Muslim attacks. Their effeminacy was juxtaposed with the “precious blood of fortunate princes,” by which the archbishop of Tyre evoked the valour of the army of the First Crusade who had besieged the city for eight months. Furthermore, William concluded that since the Greeks had lost the city on more than one occasion because of their weakness, they were sure to lose it again.²⁶ Well aware

²² WT 1.9: *nobilis et eximia provinciarum multarum moderatrix et princeps civitas, principis apostolorum sedes prima.*

²³ WT 15.1: *dominus imperator, sicut vir erat magnanimus.*

²⁴ WT 14.24: *convocatis de universis imperii finibus populis, tribubus et linguis, in multitudine curruum et quadrigarum et inauditis copiis equitum congregatis in Syriam descendere maturabat.*

²⁵ WT 15.3: *Durum enim videbatur et grave nimis, quod civitas tanto nostre gentis adquisita periculo, tantoque sanguinis feliciū principum dispendio christiane fidei restituta, que tantarum semper fuerat caput et moderatrix provinciarum, in manus effeminati Grecorum populi descenderet.*

²⁶ WT 15.20.

of the contested legitimacy of Crusader rule over Antioch in the face of Byzantine claims, he chose to employ the rhetoric of effeminacy as a counter-argument. Thus, the imagined innate physical deficiencies of the Greeks here took precedence over their legal claims. Yet, the fact that at the end of the previous book one finds John coming with a vast army to Northern Syria, and that even two chapters prior to the one discussed presently he is described as a magnificent war leader, fighting side-by-side with the Crusaders against the infidel during the siege of Shaizar, may point to William's inconsistency. Presented in this way, however, John epitomized both the ideal way in which the emperor was supposed to act towards the Crusader states and its opposite. Thus, while the audience was presented with an image of the emperor fighting valiantly against the Muslims, by rhetoricizing effeminacy William defined the empire's limitations in relation to the Crusader states.

And he was soon to corroborate his argument, not missing the opportunity to label the Greeks as effeminate by aiming at their military incapability for the third and final time. In 1150, Emperor Manuel bought from Beatrice, the dowager countess of Edessa, the fortresses in her possession.²⁷ Soon,

the news reached Nur ad-Din that the people of Edessa, in despair of retaining the land, had surrendered their fortresses to the Greeks, soft and effeminate people, and that the king [Baldwin III] marched there to conduct the people away.²⁸

Nur ad-Din now perceived that the land of the count was left without the aid of the Latins. Accordingly, taking advantage of the softness of the Greeks to whose charge it had been resigned, he began to trouble it sorely.²⁹

As the Greek inability to defend the Holy Land and Northern Syria was thus proven, William decided to make the most of it. The importance of this particular event

²⁷ Edessa fell to Nur ad-Din's forces in 1144. However, fortresses in the western part of the county were still in Latin hands at that time; see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, 66.

²⁸ WT 17.17: *Audiens itaque Noradinus quod rex ad educendum populum ingressus fuerat et quod de conservanda regione omnino desperantes Grecis, viris effeminatis et mollibus, opida resignaverat.*

²⁹ WT 17.17: *Videns igitur Noradinus terram comitis Latinorum auxilio destitutam, de Grecorum mollicie, quibus commissa erat, presumens, frequentibus irruptionibus et quas Greci non satis supportare noverant, eam cepit aggravare.*

for his argument can be seen in his eagerness to stress the effeminacy of the Greeks twice in the same chapter. Moreover, by grouping both *molles* and *effeminati* in the rhetorical figure of *synonymia*, William, vigorous in emphasizing the need to preserve the entirety of the Crusader territory, sought to give his message emotional force.³⁰

Considering these three episodes together, it can be concluded that the rhetoric of effeminacy was employed in a climactic structure: (1) to underline the empire's inability to defend its territories against the Muslims and barbarians and thus to legitimize the First Crusade; (2) to reject the claims of the reinvigorated empire to parts of the Crusader territory; and (3) as a final proof when the Greeks immediately lost the Crusader fortresses that had been entrusted to them. The fact that William introduced effeminacy so early in these instances reveals that while writing on the events of the past he developed a well-defined strategy in response to the growing influence of Manuel Komnenos in the Crusader States. It is important to note that it was never used against Manuel directly, who was rather fashioned into a "one of us" type of figure, different from the people he ruled.³¹ However, even if that was the case, William deemed it necessary to check his subtle ambitions in the Holy Land. He made sure to point out that the Greeks had been tested in the past, but that they failed to preserve the territory for Christianity in the face of Muslim attack. They were simply not manly enough. The archbishop of Tyre adopted the *topos* of the effeminate Greek from the previous Crusade chronicles and, with his quill, put it into the service of his own propaganda.

Still, William's use of effeminacy as a rhetorical device can be further clarified by analyzing situations where it could well have been used, but was not. This was the case when the empire fought the infidel but lost. In 1176 Manuel mounted a great campaign, a Crusade in fact, against the "the monstrous race of the Turks and their wicked leader, the sultan of Konya."³² As William portrayed it, Manuel's

³⁰ For more about *synonymia*, see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 292–295.

³¹ In three key instances of the narrative William highlighted Manuel's connection to the Latins and difference from the Greeks: 1) as Manuel ascends the throne (WT 15.23); 2) during his 1159 campaign in Syria (WT 18.25); and 3) during the 1182 massacre of the Latins in Constantinople (WT 22.11). See more in Špoljarić, "Byzantium Remodelled;" but also Carrier, "L'image des Byzantins," 339, who reached the same conclusion.

³² WT 21.11: *contra inmanissimam Turcorum gentem et impium eorum ducem, Yconii soldanum*. For Manuel's campaign against Konya and its Crusade character, see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, 95–98; also see Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096–1204* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) (hereafter: Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*), 211–215.

aim was to “extend the Christian name,”³³ but in the end he suffered a great defeat at Myriokephalon. Here the archbishop of Tyre did not attribute the loss to Greek unmanliness; rather, by finding the reason for such a massacre in “our sins,” he defined the whole of Christianity – both Western and Eastern – as “us.” Manuel’s imperial army, acting in its own sphere, fought the Muslims as a Christian army. The Crusader states were not challenged in their rule over the Holy Land and there was no need to employ effeminacy as a rhetorical device. But another, even more telling, example can be adduced. In the autumn of 1169, the Byzantine army and navy, together with the forces of King Amalric, undertook a joint expedition against Fatimid Egypt, laying siege to Damietta. William reports how, even though the expedition failed, “their [Greek] commander *megaducas* and all the other fought *manly* and *boldly* [emphasis mine] in the battle array.”³⁴ The way that William characterized the actions of the Greeks on the battlefield as “manly” (*viriliter*) – thus using an adverb formed from a stem (*vir*) semantically opposite to the one (*femina*) he ascribed to their nature in previous instances – is striking. It clearly points to the fact that William used effeminacy simply as a rhetorical device. Here it was the Byzantine-Jerusalemite expedition against the infidel that was presented, an outcome of a policy which William ardently supported, with little need to evoke effeminacy. William’s writings, therefore, do not show an ideological consistency on his part, a firm belief in the Greek natural deficiencies, but rather a pragmatic ambivalence.

Epilogue: A Turn towards Moral Judgement

The period of cooperation between the empire and the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not last for the entire period that William was working on the *Historia*. The final episode that featured the Byzantine Empire retold the 1182 massacre of the Latins in Constantinople, the very event that signified the break in political ties. Consequently, it reflected on the way William chose to present “the Greeks,” and, as will be shown, even referring to effeminacy was used for a different effect.

³³ WT 21.11: *pro ampliando christiano nomine*.

³⁴ WT 16.20: *Eorum tamen magistratus megaducas et alii viriliter et satis strenue, quotiens opus erat, in acie decertabant*. “Megaducas” or *megas doux* was the title of the commander of the Byzantine fleet and on this occasion Andronikos Kontostephanos was the one in charge; see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, 74.

William informed his audience that “an important change concerning the empire had occurred in Constantinople”³⁵ – a change which he went on to elaborate further in the four subsequent chapters.³⁶ Emperor Manuel had died in 1180 and his eleven-year-old son, Alexios II (r. 1180–1183), succeeded him on the throne. A regency was formed under the boy’s mother, Mary of Antioch, who continued Manuel’s policy of alliance with the Crusader states.³⁷ An opposing party led by Andronikos Komnenos seized power in 1182, however, and with help from the Greeks of Constantinople “rushed to the quarter of the city occupied by our people and put to sword the remnants of them who had been either unwilling or unable to flee with the others.”³⁸

Prior to narrating the massacre, however, William sought to give an account of what had happened in Constantinople following Manuel’s death. He pointed at *protosebastos* Alexios, Manuel’s nephew, as the *éminence grise* in the empire and offered a brief character sketch:

Although, like all Greeks, he was extremely effeminate and completely given over to the lustful sins of the flesh, he was avaricious and sparing of the imperial treasure, as if he had earned it himself by the sweat of his brow.³⁹

³⁵ WT 22.11: *apud Constantinopolim grandis circa imperium facta est permutatio.*

³⁶ WT 22.11–14.

³⁷ Bernard Hamilton inferred this from the statement of Eustathios of Thessalonike (ca. 1115–1195/6), who, writing on Andronikos’ seizure of power, commented that Bohemund III, Prince of Antioch, and Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem (r. 1174–1185) “owed genuine friendship and help after Manuel’s death to his unjustly treated son Alexios,” see Hamilton, *Leper King*, 160, quoting Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, tr. John R. Melville Jones (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988), 57.

³⁸ WT 22.13: *una cum civibus in eam urbis partem, quam nostri incolebant, irruentes residuum populi, qui aliis abeuntibus aut noluerant, aut non poterant exire, deservientibus gladiis peremerunt.* For more about the 1182 massacre, see Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 224–229, and Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 40–43. Brand saw the event as “a landmark in the developing hostility of East and West” (p. 41), which would ultimately lead to the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

³⁹ WT 22.12: *licet Grecorum more mollis esset supra modum et carnis curam toto studio in inmundis perficere satageret desideriis, avarus tamen erat et thesauris parcebat imperialibus, tanquam si eos proprio sudore comportasset.* The Byzantines also had something to say about *protosebastos* Alexios in this respect; the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155–1216) characterized him as “unmanly,” see *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984)(hereafter: *O City of Byzantium*), 137.

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Here Alexios' lustfulness went hand in hand with his effeminacy, two traits that were William ascribed to the entire Greek people. Unlike before, when effeminacy had been referred to only in specific military contexts, here the label indicated a judgment of a way of life, used in order to reject not only Alexios, but *all* the Greeks as morally decadent. To understand the meaning behind effeminacy used in this context, it is useful to draw on Marc Carrier's work again.⁴⁰ As he argued, it was the opulence of the Byzantine Empire – which William did not fail to mention on more than one occasion,⁴¹ and which the emperors themselves were striving to show⁴² – that came to be considered as the reason that its people, by enjoying this life of luxury and carnal pleasures, became effeminate and gave way to sin. And it is precisely the sins of the Greeks that William now chose to highlight, as for the very first time in the *Historia* he had labelled the Greeks heretics just few lines before:

The Greek nobles, especially the near kindred of the emperor [Manuel], and the rest of the people as well, naturally conceived an insatiable hatred towards us, and this was increased by the difference between our sacraments, and those of their church, which furnished an additional incentive to their jealousy. For they, having separated insolently from the church of Rome, in their boundless arrogance looked upon everyone who did not follow their foolish traditions as heretic. It was they themselves, on the contrary, who deserved the name of heretics, because they had created or followed new and pernicious beliefs contrary to the Roman church and the faith of the apostles Peter and Paul *against which the gates of hell cannot prevail* (Matt. 16:18).⁴³

⁴⁰ For more on effeminacy as a sign of moral decadence, see Carrier, "L'image des Byzantins," 83–89.

⁴¹ The best example is William's description of his visit to Constantinople in 1179/80, see WT 22.4. The archbishop's discussion on the Fatimid Egyptians, whose effeminacy was explicitly connected to the wealth and pleasures they enjoyed, presents an interesting parallel, see WT 19.13.


⁴² For example, Niketas Choniates wrote how the German embassy at the court of Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–1195; 1203–1204) looked indignantly upon emperor's fine clothes and pearls, thinking of them as befitting a woman; see *O City of Byzantium*, 262.

⁴³ WT 22.11: *Unde Grecorum nobiles et maxime eius consanguinei, sed et reliquus populus odium insatiabile adversus nostros conceperant accedente etiam ad indignationis cumulum et odiorum fomitem et incentivum ministrante sacramentorum inter nos et eos differentia. Arrogantes enim supra modum et a Romana ecclesia per insolentiam separati, hereticum omnem eum reputant qui frivolas non sequitur traditiones, cum ipsi magis hereticorum sibi nomen adaptent, dum contra Romanam ecclesiam et apostolorum Petri et Pauli fidem, adversus quam porte inferi non possunt prevalere, novas et pestilentes opiniones aut gignunt aut sequuntur.*

Here one can clearly see the line William drew between Manuel, the benefactor of the Latins on one side, and his Greek kindred along with the rest of the people on the other. The ascension to power of the group concentrated around the anti-Latin-oriented Andronikos, along with the subsequent massacre of the Latins in Constantinople was bound to provoke a reaction from him. Thus, in its final appearance in the *Historia* the empire was firmly placed outside the world of Christendom and, yet again, the archbishop of Tyre chose to evoke the effeminacy of the Greeks. However, there was no longer a need to employ a subtle rhetorical strategy aimed at stressing the legitimacy of Latin rule over the Holy Land in the face of the claims of an imperial patron. Instead, calling to the reader's mind the moral corruption of the Greeks, it acted as a further indictment for the accusation of heresy.⁴⁴ Indeed, much had changed since the days when it was the whole of Christianity that had suffered at Myriokephalon.

⁴⁴ William here targeted the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire and not the Eastern Christian population of the Crusader states, which in fact rarely earned a mention in his work and was not an object of religious categorization – the sole exception being the Maronites, whom he mentioned only when discussing their ecclesiastical union with Rome. For a study of Latin attitudes towards the Eastern Christians in the Crusader states, see MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*. On the relations between the Latin Church and the Eastern Churches in the Crusader states, see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 159–211.

INNOVATION AND SELF-REFLECTION IN SOPHONIAS' PARAPHRASIS OF *DE ANIMA*

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In the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century the imperial ambassador Sophonias composed paraphrases on several Aristotelian texts, among them a paraphrasis on *De Anima* (*On the Soul*). Despite the diversity and depth of the Neoplatonic commentary tradition based on *De Anima*, this particular Aristotelian treatise appears to have been outside the usual scope of Byzantine intellectuals. While Aristotle was considered an authority in the field of logic, his psychological views were thought of as controversial and disputable. In this context, the appearance of Sophonias' paraphrasis appears to be an interesting exception. Inevitably, one comes to pose the question of the reasons for such text to appear. What was Sophonias' motivation? For whom was the text intended, and for what purpose(s)? Moreover, the paraphrasis is accompanied by a preface of a rather self-reflective character. Namely, in this introduction to his commentary Sophonias gives an account of methodologies of writing commentaries employed in the preceding tradition and proposes an improvement – his own approach to commenting, which combines the advantages of the previous methods in order to achieve a more efficient understanding of the text.

This article attempts to reconstruct the context of Sophonias' preface to his *De Anima paraphrasis* on several levels. The first part of the exposition is dedicated to a prosopographical reconstruction based on the available evidence for Sophonias' life and activities. This section seeks to display the historical and intellectual background in order to analyze the possible intentions and purposes of the text itself. The second part of the article is dedicated to a detailed analysis of the preface and focuses both on the reflection of the author on the methodology of commenting on an Aristotelian text as well as on Sophonias' claim for novelty.¹

A Prosopographical Reconstruction

Three different identifications have been suggested for the historical figure which we know under the name of Sophonias (or Sophronias/Sophronios), who lived

¹ This article is based on my work, "Sophonias the Philosopher. A Preface of an Aristotelian Commentary: Structure, Intention, and Audience," MA thesis, Central European University (Budapest: 2008).

and worked at the end of the thirteenth and through the first half of the fourteenth century (before 1294-1351).² First, an ambassador of Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) named Sophonias took part in the negotiations between the Byzantine imperial family and the house of Montferrat. Second, Sophonias the commentator wrote several paraphrases of Aristotle's treatises. Finally, there was a conspirator against the rule of Andronikos II – a certain Sophronios³ who conducted a secret correspondence with Charles of Valois (1270-1325), John Monomachos and his brother Constantine, Constantine Limpidaris, and another associate whose name is unknown.⁴ Angeliki Laiou, who gives a detailed account of the exchange of letters from 1307 to 1310 among Charles of Valois and his Byzantine supporters, mentions a certain monk Sophronias and discusses the content of his letter and the probability of his identification with the ambassador Sophonias.⁵ Some details of Sophronias' letter to Charles of Valois seem to support the hypothesis of a biographical background similar, if not the same, to Sophonias the philosopher, but no proof of this identification has yet been advanced.

According to Laiou's interpretation of Sophronias' letter⁶ compared to the letters of John Monomachos and Constantine Limpidaris addressed to Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay respectively, Sophronias wrote in a manner suggesting closer familiarity with the addressee than Monomachos and Limpidaris; unlike them, he did not have to introduce himself and confirm his dedication to the Valois cause. On the contrary, his letter functioned as a kind of guarantee of the trustworthiness of the other two. Another argument from 1294 for the plausible identification of Sophronias with Sophonias the Byzantine ambassador is the remark of the author of the letter concerning the possibility of meeting Charles of Valois in France, "as if he were accustomed to such trips."⁷ On the basis of this evidence Laiou concludes that Sophonias and Sophronias might have been the same person and that the difference in the names could have been for reasons of

² Erich Trapp, et al., ed., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976-1983), entry 26424 (hereafter: *PLP*).

³ Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium (1204-1330)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 131 (hereafter: Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*).

⁴ Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: the Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 212 (hereafter: Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁶ For the publication of this collection of letters, see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 213, footnote 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 216.

discretion or that these two might be the secular and the monastic versions of the same name.⁸ Marie-Hélène Congourdeau,⁹ discussing the correspondence between Simon of Constantinople (ca. 1235-ca. 1325) and Sophonias based on an analysis of *Tractatus de Objectionibus Graecorum contra Processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio*,¹⁰ also suggests the possibility that Sophonias was the author of the letter to Charles of Valois written in 1310.¹¹

On the other hand, Sophonias the ambassador and the commentator on Aristotle are almost unanimously identified as the same person in the secondary literature.¹² Some scholars have raised doubts regarding this identification based on the dating of the manuscripts of the paraphrases ascribed to Sophonias the commentator.¹³ This opinion has not found much support, however, and as Sten Ebbesen has pointed out, "at the present stage of research it still looks probable that Sophonias composed all the paraphrases normally attributed to him, and that he did so towards the end of the thirteenth century."¹⁴

Based on the identification accepted by most of the scholars working on the early Palaeologan period, one can differentiate several principal events in Sophonias' biography: a dispute followed by correspondence with Simon of Constantinople, O.P., an embassy to Italy between 1294 and 1296, probable negotiations with Frederick III (1296-1337), and, later, conversion to Catholicism.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ M.-H. Congourdeau, "Frère Simon Le Constantinopolitain, O.P. (1235?-1325?)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* (hereafter: *REB*) 45 (1987): 165-174 (hereafter: Congourdeau: "Frère Simon Le Constantinopolitain").

¹⁰ Ibid., footnote 22.

¹¹ Congourdeau gives a different dating for the same letter, 1306 or 1307, in "Note sur les Dominicains de Constantinople au début du 14e siècle," *REB* 45 (1987): 175-181 (hereafter: Congourdeau: "Note sur les Dominicains").

¹² See Congourdeau: "Frère Simon Le Constantinopolitain," 168; Congourdeau "Note sur les Dominicains," 180; Henry J. Blumenthal, "Sophonias' Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*," *Néoplatonisme et philosophie médiévale* 6 (1997): 309 (hereafter: Blumenthal: "Sophonias' Commentary"); Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 131; Sten Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's "Sophistici Elenchi"* 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 333 (hereafter: Ebbesen, *Commentators*).

¹³ Michael Hayduck, "Preface to *Sophonias in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis*, by Sophonias," in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (hereafter: *CAG*) 23, 1, ed. Michael Hayduck (Berlin: Berolini, 1883), v, footnote 2 (hereafter: Hayduck, "Preface.") In dating the time of composition of the *De Anima Paraphrasis* one has to take into consideration that in the late 1800s Greek palaeography was still not a very advanced discipline.

¹⁴ Ebbesen, *Commentators*, 333.

The Correspondence with Simon of Constantinople

As mentioned above, Sophonias corresponded with the Dominican, Simon of Constantinople (ca. 1235-ca. 1325).¹⁵ A letter that Simon wrote to Sophonias¹⁶ has been preserved and though still not edited, it has been discussed by Marie-Hélène Congourdeau in her brief study of Simon and his correspondence.¹⁷ The letter recalls a theological discussion Simon and Sophonias convened in the Dominican monastery in Euripos, where Simon resided from the age of twenty-six to the age of sixty-four.¹⁸ Congourdeau points out that this dispute was used by Sophonias as preparation for his future negotiations with the pope in Rome.¹⁹ Therefore, Congourdeau concludes, the letter was written after 1294.²⁰ At the same time, it must have been written earlier than 1305, as in the letter Simon addresses Sophonias as a friend to be convinced regarding the Latin position on the *filioque*,²¹ and it is known that Sophonias had converted to Catholicism by 1305.²² Although Congourdeau does not discuss the contents of the letter in detail, she mentions that in this particular text Simon made extensive use of Aristotle, which he did not apply to the rest of his correspondence. Therefore, Congourdeau argues that Simon's addressee, Sophonias, the ambassador of Andronikos II, is identical with Sophonias, the commentator on Aristotle.²³

¹⁵ See also Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 51 and 126; Hayduck, "Preface," v, footnote 2.

¹⁶ See also Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter: BAV) MS Gr 1104, f.23-46v.

¹⁷ Congourdeau, "Frère Simon Le Constantinopolitain," 165-174; and idem, "Note sur les Dominicains," 175-181.

¹⁸ Congourdeau, "Frère Simon Le Constantinopolitain," 166.

¹⁹ Congourdeau, "Note sur les Dominicains," 180.

²⁰ Ibid., 181.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Sophonias' conversion is attested by the Toulouse preacher Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac in his tract preserved in the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, MS UU 55. Congourdeau argues that Gaillac must have written it later than 1307 in Pera. This conclusion is based on the mention of Maximos Planoudes' death. Gaillac describes the events in Constantinople between 1305 and 1307. There he mentions the complaints of a certain Greek monk, Sophonias, provoked by his persecution by the Greeks because of his conversion to the true faith. Therefore, by the time of these events Sophonias had already converted to the Catholic faith.

I base the information introduced here on Congourdeau, "Note sur les Dominicains," 176-178.

²³ Congourdeau, "Note sur les Dominicains," 180 and footnote 25.

The Embassy

In 1294 Sophonias was sent to Italy to the court of Charles II d'Anjou (1254-1309) in Naples to negotiate a marriage between Andronikos' son, Michael IX Palaiologos (r. 1294-1320) and Charles' niece, Catherine of Courtenay (1274-1307/8).²⁴ Afterwards he was sent to Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) in Rome. This embassy was part of the marriage negotiations which Andronikos II started in 1288, when Michael IX was eleven years old. The marriage to Catherine of Courtenay was perceived as a diplomatic maneuver, as she had inherited the title of titular empress of Constantinople.²⁵ A successful ending of the negotiations would have meant a Byzantine triumph against Western claims on the restored empire. In addition, the dowry of Catherine of Courtenay was strongly desired not only by Andronikos II, but also by the house of Aragon and the French court.²⁶ Andronikos' renunciation of the union of the churches formed another obstacle to him achieving his intentions.

Sophonias' embassy was described by George Pachymeres in his *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*.²⁷ According to Laiou "the embassy of Sophonias points up once again the need for the Byzantines to reconcile themselves with the papacy before the marriage negotiations could be concluded."²⁸ Pachymeres comments that Sophonias was sent as a personal emissary of Andronikos in order to avoid writing an official letter according to the protocol. Namely, "in such letter it would have been necessary to address the pope as 'most Holy,' which would have been the greatest crime in the estimation of those secure

²⁴ George Pachymeres, *Georges Pachymère, relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* (CFHB) xxiv (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1984). See also *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, vol. 4, ed. Franz Dölger (Munich: Beck, 1960): No. 2156a.

²⁵ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 49.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ George Pachymeres, *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. I. Bekker, 2, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Weber, 1835): 3-652 (hereafter: Pachymeres, *Historiae*): 202.8-203.3: Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς πρέποντα γάμον τῷ παιδὶ παρσκευάζει. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἱερομόναχον Σοφονίαν, ἄνδρα σοφὸν τε καὶ συνετὸν, ἀποπέμπει πρὸς Πιουλίαν τὸ κινούμενον κῆδος διαπρεσβεύσεσθαι. ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἀπελθὼν περιήργει (ἐδέησε γὰρ καὶ εἰς πάντα ἐκείνον γενέσθαι, κὰν οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον γράμμασιν ἱκανοῦτο τοῖς ἐκ βασιλείως, οἷς δεῖ ἀγιώτατον γράφειν τὸν πάντα καὶ κρίμα τὸ μέγιστον γίνεσθαι, ὡς τοῖς ἀσφαλῆσι τὴν πίστιν ἐδόκει), πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν οἱ προσλιπαροῦντες ἄλλοθεν, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ῥηγὸς ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, τὰ ἐν χειρὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ποιοῦμενος περὶ πλείονος, καὶ ἄλλως τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα τῆς Ρώμης ὑπειδόμενος ὑπερηφανίαν, τῆς φροντίδος ἐκείνης ἀπαλλαγείς ἔγνω ἐπὶ θατέρῳ τῶν ἀξιούντων τὰ τοῦ κήδους συστήσασθαι.

²⁸ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 50.

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in the [Orthodox] faith.”²⁹ Based on this evidence, Laiou argues that the choice of a monk as ambassador was not incidental: “such a man might more easily than a layman deal with the probable overtures of the papacy.”³⁰ Sophonias’ embassy, however, did not succeed and therefore he returned to Constantinople in March 1296. As far as the marriage of Michael IX is concerned, he finally married Rita-Maria of Armenia.³¹

Negotiations with Frederick III

Possibly during his stay in Italy he also discussed a Byzantine-Aragonese marriage with the king of Aragon and Sicily, Frederick III (r. 1296-1337), as suggested by Laiou,³² who presents an account of Frederick’s letter to his brother James II in which he announces his coronation as king of Sicily and his intention to turn to the Byzantine-Aragonese alliance in order to assure support for his hold over the island. Aid was expected as a result of negotiations for the marriage of Frederick’s sister, Yolanda, to Michael IX. Based on the fact that by the time the letter was written (April 3, 1296), Michael was already married (an event apparently unknown to Frederick), Laiou argues that Frederick must have held these negotiations not with Andronikos II, but with some accredited Byzantine residing in Italy at that time. Therefore, she suggests that probably the Byzantine in question was Sophonias and that his return to Constantinople in March 1296 may have been connected with these discussions.

Intellectual and Scholarly Activities

There is no evidence on the educational background of Sophonias; he must have received thorough rhetorical and philosophical training.³³ As C. N. Constantinides observes,

²⁹ Ibid., 202.11-14, tr. Laiou: ἐδέησε γὰρ καὶ εἰς πάντα ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι, κὰν οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον γράμμασιν ἱκανοῦτο τοῖς ἐκ βασιλείως, οἷς ἔδει ἀγιώτατον γράφειν τὸν πάντα καὶ κρίμα τὸ μέγιστον γίνεσθαι, ὥς τοῖς ἀσφαλῆσι τὴν πίστιν ἐδόκει.

³⁰ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 50.

³¹ Ibid., 51.

³² Ibid., 56.

³³ On late Byzantine education in general see C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-ca. 1310)* (Nikosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982), 125 (hereafter: Constantinides, *Higher Education*); Sophia Mergiali, *L’enseignement et les lettrés pendant l’époque des Paléologues* (Athens: Kentron Ereunes Byzantiou, 1996); E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*

Sophonias' paraphrases suggest that he used them for teaching activities, but there is no extant evidence confirming this assumption.³⁴ Where and with whom Sophonias received his education and what scholarly circle(s) he participated in is likewise unknown. He was a contemporary and friend of Joseph the Philosopher (ca. 1280-1330).³⁵ One may only offer hypotheses concerning other acquaintances of Sophonias; e.g., the fact that George Pachymeres mentions his embassy to Italy together with their common interest in Aristotle may well suggest that they knew each other.

Sophonias wrote paraphrases of several of Aristotle's treatises: *Categoriae* [Categories], *Parva Naturalia*, *Sophistici Elenchi* [Sophistical Refutations], *De Anima* [On the Soul], *Analytica Priora* and *Analytica Posteriora* [Prior and Posterior Analytics].³⁶ Critical editions of most of Sophonias' paraphrases are published in the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*,³⁷ namely, the paraphrases of the *Categoriae*,³⁸ *Sophistici Elenchi*,³⁹ *De Anima*,⁴⁰ *Parva Naturalia*,⁴¹ and *Analytica Priora*.⁴² Those on the *Analytica Priora* and *Parva Naturalia* were edited under the name of Themistius, those on the *Categoriae* and *Sophistici Elenchi*⁴³ as anonymous.

One might infer from Sophonias' writings the kind of sources he was acquainted with and had access to. According to Sten Ebbesen's account of *SE*,⁴⁴ Sophonias was acquainted with Nikephoros Blemmydes' compendium of logic and with the scholia of Leo the Magentine. The sources he based his paraphrasis on in *DA* on will be discussed below at greater length. It is also worth mentioning that from the four edited paraphrases by Sophonias (the paraphrases of the *Categoriae*, *Sophistici*

(Leiden: Brill, 2000); and N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (rev. ed., London: Duckworth, 1996).

³⁴ Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 125.

³⁵ Ibid. See also B. Tatakis, *La Philosophie Byzantine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), 246 (hereafter: Tatakis, *La Philosophie byzantine*); M. Treu, "Der Philosoph Joseph," *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift* 8 (1899): 1-64 (hereafter: *BZ*); Constantinides, *Higher Education*, 108.

³⁶ Blumenthal: "Sophonias' Commentary," 309. Interestingly, Constantinides attributes three more paraphrases to Sophonias: *Ethica Nicomachia*, *Physica* and *Metaphysica* (in *Higher Education*, 125). I have not found, however, evidence supporting that statement.

³⁷ Namely, in *CAG*, 23, ed. Michael Hayduck (Berlin: Berolini, 1883) (hereafter: *CAG*, 23) and *CAG*, 5, 6, ed. Paul Wendland, G. Reimer (Berlin: Berolini, 1903) (hereafter: *CAG*, 5, 6).

³⁸ *Anonymi in Aristotelis Categorias Paraphrasis*, in *CAG*, 23, 2, 1-87.

³⁹ *Anonymi in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos Paraphrasis*, in *CAG*, 23, 4, 1-68.

⁴⁰ Sophonias, *Sophonias De Anima Paraphrasis*, in *CAG*, 23, 1, 1-175.

⁴¹ Themistius, *Themistii (Sophoniae) In Parva naturalia*, in *CAG*, 5, 6, 1-44.

⁴² Idem, *Themistii Quae Fertur in Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum I Paraphrasis*, in *CAG*, 23, 3, 1-164.

⁴³ Hereafter: *SE*.

⁴⁴ Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries*, 333.

Elenchi, *De Anima*, *Parva Naturalia*, and *Analytica Priora*) only the first three are accompanied by a preface. Moreover, the preface opening the *DA paraphrasis* is the only one that is not a mere summary of the following philosophical doctrine, but offers separate subject matter and agenda.

Sophonias De Anima Paraphrasis

In his preface, Sophonias provides a classification of the types of Aristotelian commentary and therefore methods of interpretation and clarification of the *DA* used before him in the Greek tradition. He explains the characteristics of paraphrasis as compared to a “proper” commentary,⁴⁵ and, finally, introduces his own way of writing a commentary as a distinct type.

Before proceeding to the analysis of Sophonias’ preface itself, it is necessary to specify what is to be understood under the labels of “proper commentary” and “paraphrasis.”⁴⁶ In this article, I am applying the term “commentary” as a collective denomination for the class of exegetic texts as a whole. Its subdivisions, such as *synopsis*, *eisagogē*, *epitomē*, *stoicheiōsis*, *paraphrasis* or lemmatic commentary I am addressing as subgenres classified under the genre of commentary. The first three types of commentary mentioned above (*eisagogē*, *epitomē*, *stoicheiōsis*) function mainly as summaries and introductions to Aristotle’s theory regarding a certain subject. The lemmatic commentary functions as a reference to a particular statement within the text. Unlike the paraphrasis, it is clearly distinguished from the main exposition. The lemmatic commentary coexisted with the paraphrasis and from the evidence of the extant texts it appears to have been more widespread. Both types of commentary were applied to Aristotle’s texts in order to provide explanations and a better understanding of the theoretical matter at hand. This need was provoked by the various difficulties which one encounters in Aristotle’s treatises, e.g., unclear diction or unclear argumentation.

⁴⁵ Sophonias differentiates two kinds of Aristotelian commentary in his preface: “proper” commentary and paraphrasis. Generally speaking, by “proper” commentary he refers to the *scholia* written on the different treatises of Aristotle. If one considers, however, that Sophonias’ main source is the lemmatic commentary produced by John Philoponus, then it is more specific to refer to the “proper” commentary as “lemmatic.” Hereafter I will refer to it using both expressions: “lemmatic” or “proper” commentary. To refer to its practitioners I will appropriate the Greek term used by Sophonias in opposition to “paraphrasts,” namely, “exegetes.”

⁴⁶ Whether there is a difference between the commentary (the *scholia*) and the paraphrasis is a question explored by Katerina Ierodiakonou in her case study of Michael Psellos’ paraphrasis of *De Interpretatione*, see Katerina Ierodiakonou, “Psellos’ Paraphrasis on Aristotle’s *De interpretatione*,” in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. Katerina Ierodiakonou, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2002): 157-181 (hereafter: Ierodiakonou: “Psellos’ Paraphrasis.”)

Commentary: A Definition

Based on the general assumption that a text is intended for a certain audience, I have reconstructed the historical context of Sophonias' paraphrasis in order to identify its probable target audience. That is, by defining the areas of Sophonias' activity (diplomacy, teaching, theology) I aim to explore whether the paraphrasis, and specifically its preface, can function within any of them. The paraphrasis, however, can also address its own author. That is, an exegetical text is also a result of one's attempt to clarify a certain problem for him/herself. In the case of Sophonias' preface and the presentation of Sophonias' "novel" methodology of commenting one could argue that the justification he is offering is intended not only for his audience, but also provides a self-reflection on the motivation for writing on an often-discussed subject.

John Dillon's rather expanded "definition" of the types of commentators and commentaries provides some additional insights concerning two of the main aspects of the essence of the commentary.⁴⁷ First, a commentary is dependent and preconditioned by the text upon which the interpretation is produced. As Glenn Most points out,⁴⁸ "there is nothing natural about the general form of the commentary itself."⁴⁹ That is, the commentary arises from the text; it accompanies it by functioning as a reference, clarification or expansion tool.

The appearance and existence of a commentary prove, on the one hand, that the text itself is not self-explanatory.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it states and confirms the authority of the treatise commented on.⁵¹ The fact that a commentary is

⁴⁷ John Dillon, "A Case-Study in Commentary: The Neoplatonic Exegesis of the *Prooimia* of Plato's Dialogues," in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 206-223.

See *ibid.*, 206: "The first is the straightforward scholarly desire to explain obscurities in diction or reference in a source work, and this leads naturally to a commentary of the philological and antiquarian type... The second impulse is one afflicting particular persons of a philosophical or theological disposition, which seeks to explain away inconsistencies or inconsequentialities in, or unworthy aspects of, an otherwise enormously respected work, by showing that the author did not intend a given passage to be taken literally, or that two apparently inconsistent or even contradictory passages can be reconciled by taking them to refer, say, to two different stages of a given process, or to the same phenomenon at two different levels of reality."

⁴⁸ Glenn Most, "Preface," in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): vii-xv (hereafter: Most, "Preface").

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

always produced on a respected, well-known, significant work is the second aspect suggested by Dillon's definition.

The "relatedness" of the commentary constitutes it as an entity without an independent existence and function; the commentary's nature is inevitably characterized by a certain "secondariness."⁵² Therefore it is always dependent on certain preconditions, such as the availability and accessibility of the original text and the cultural and institutional context that created the importance of the text commented on and its authority.⁵³ Furthermore, a commentary not only demonstrates the importance of the treatise commented on, but it also shows that in some cases its authority is "no longer entirely self-evident"⁵⁴ and therefore it needs to be re-confirmed, re-distributed and re-imposed within a certain social context.⁵⁵ In some cases, however, a commentary is not brought about by the need to re-establish the authority of the text, but by the commentator's intention to partake in the scholarly tradition on the subject and thereby to (re-)establish his/her own authority.

A commentary is also characterized by its aim and functional aspects. The reason behind the commentary is the text commented on; hence, the commentary is chronologically posterior. Nevertheless, its aim is to overcome the time distance and to re-establish the meaning of the original in its initial integrity.⁵⁶ Thus, it proceeds in the same way as the primary exposition, sometimes preserving its structure, in sometimes not. A commentary, however, is always brought about by some sort of deficiency in the understanding of the original. The meaning has been either lost or become unclear, either the reasons for its importance are forgotten and need to be re-confirmed or the perception of the text is no longer functional in its context. Therefore, the task of the commentator is to transmit the meaning of the original in such a way as to be perceived as coherent by the reader. To state it concisely – the commentary's purpose and intention is to interpret, summarize or paraphrase the original text so that it makes sense again. It has to be noted, however, that the "deficiency" in the understanding of the original text, unless it is due to damage to the material which physically contains the exposition, is not inherent, but comes from the contemporary perception of that work. That is to say, in different contexts different theses from the same

⁵² Ibid., vii.

⁵³ Ibid., viii-ix.

⁵⁴ Ibid., x.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ By "integrity" here I refer to the coherence of the meaning of the text commented on.

treatise are perceived as problematic, unclear, and therefore in need of additional explanation. Consequently, the solutions of the interpreters change according to the shift in the problematic places.⁵⁷

The Preface.

Categorization of the Previous Commentators According to their Methodology

Sophonias' preface to his paraphrasis on *DA* extends to 79 lines in print⁵⁸ and is considered the most "profitable" part of the text for the identification of its peculiarities. Sophonias does not give any personal information at the beginning of the paraphrasis nor does he specify the motivation for or the audience for his work. This particular piece of the text, however, is the one that says the most about the author's intention and purposes.

The preface contains a categorization of the preceding Greek commentary tradition. Straightforwardly, Sophonias describes what he understands as the distinctive features of a "proper" commentary and a paraphrasis before he enumerates what he considers to be the most prominent representatives of the two types of exegetic writing on Aristotle's texts. His predecessors accomplished the task of commenting in two different ways and that divides them into two groups according to their methodologies. The first group, the so-called "proper" commentators⁵⁹ (οἱ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξηγηταί),⁶⁰ is characterized by keeping the original diction of Aristotle in the lemmas and clarifying it by attaching the interpretation bit by bit to the main text. They preserve the diction (λέξις) of Aristotle as it is, that is, they transmit the text in its original form. The clarifying interpretation is attached as a separate unit – both spatially and conceptually:

⁵⁷ Most, "Preface," xiii: "But problems are not an inherent aspect of a text: they are created by a reading which asks questions of the text to which the text only partially responds. Hence the kinds of problems a commentator will discover in his text are at least in part a result of the approach he takes to it. What counts as a problem in different periods? How do different kinds of commentaries try to solve these problems? What counts as a solution? Under what circumstances can the commentator admit that he cannot find a solution?"

⁵⁸ Sophonias, *Sophonias in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis*, in *CAG* 23, 1 (hereafter: Sophonias, *De Anima*), 1-186.

⁵⁹ Throughout this article I choose to refer to the "proper commentators" as either "exegetes" by appropriating the Greek term ἐξηγηταί, or "scholiasts" when relevant.

⁶⁰ Sophonias, *De Anima*, 1.5.

For the ones who were proper commentators, expounding the text in an individual manner and in its specifics, attached their commentary to the interpretation. Observing the diction of the Philosopher sound as well as [at the same time] in division, they also brought forth their own explanation for the sake of clarity [of the original].⁶¹

If one compares this final remark regarding the clarification of “their own explanation”⁶² with the description of the paraphrastic methodology which follows (in which the diction is not united or complemented by the proper comments of the commentator⁶³), that could suggest a certain conclusion about Sophonias’ presentation of the role of the individuality of both the exegetes (ἐξηγηταί) and the paraphrasts (παραφρασται). According to Sophonias’ description the “proper” commentary is delivered by its author, while the paraphrasis is composed as if it were Aristotle himself explaining. The “proper” commentary seems to intend an interpretation which has the status of an independent text with parallel content related to the main exposition. Most important, it is a product with clearly distinguished authorship. The exegete is an author in his own right – presenting a style and argumentation that support and explain Aristotle’s theory. Such commentators are Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius, Ammonius, and John Philoponus.

The second group includes the so-called paraphrasts. Unlike the “proper” commentary, a paraphrasis is embedded in the main body of the exposition, which makes it easier to read and therefore understand the passage. Unlike the exegetes, the paraphrasts do not keep the original diction of Aristotle, that is, the primary form of the text, because their method of clarification consists mainly of extending it by using rhetorical figures or by inserting proper sentences in order to unfold the concise meaning and to clear the reasoning.⁶⁴

A second feature of the paraphrasis is the so-called *αὐταγγελία*,⁶⁵ namely, as Sophonias formulates it, to put on the garment of Aristotle himself (*αὐτὸν γὰρ*

⁶¹ Ibid. 1.5-8: οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅσοι περ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξηγηταί, ἰδίως ἐκθέμενοι καὶ κατὰ μέρος τὸ κείμενον τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἐπισυνήψαν, σώαν τε καὶ τῇ διαίρεσει τὴν λέξιν τοῦ φιλοσόφου τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν προσέφερον εἰς σαφήνειαν. [emphasis mine]

⁶² Ibid. 1.8: καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν προσέφερον εἰς σαφήνειαν.

⁶³ Ibid. 1.13-14: τὴν μὲν λέξιν παρήκαν αὐτήν, οὔτε διηρημένην οὐδ’ ἠνωμένην τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι συνταξάμενοι.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 1.14-17: μόνον δὲ τὸν νοῦν συνεσταλμένον τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς περινοίᾳ ἢ που καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἀσαφείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας δεινότητι (πολὺ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ γοργόν) ἐξαπλώσαντες καὶ καθάραντες καὶ σχήμασι καὶ περιόδοις κοσμήσαντες.

⁶⁵ I choose to preserve the Greek term without translating it.

ὑποδύντες Ἀριστοτέλην) and to speak through Aristotle's mask (καὶ τῷ τῆς αὐταγγελίας προσχρησάμενοι προσωπεῖω), that is, to keep the exposition in the first person singular as if the author of the paraphrasis were Aristotle himself.⁶⁶ In such a way, the reasoning of Aristotle is perfected, that is, completed. It seems as though the paraphrast does not leave traces and marks of his own individuality as a thinker, at least as far as Sophonias' description of the paraphrastic method suggests. Perhaps this is the reason for the general perception of paraphrases as compiled texts without particular originality meant to serve the needs of a relatively elementary instruction in philosophical matters.⁶⁷ Such a general conclusion, however, should be avoided as it has been disproved by research on individual cases (e.g., Themistius, Michael Psellos, Theodore Metochites).⁶⁸

The preservation of the diction, the αὐταγγελία, and the completion of the primary text contribute to the easier comprehensibility of the paraphrasis and the knowledge it delivers. By adding some insights which they found to be the most useful achievements within the topic and by bringing forward a multitude of theories connected to each chapter, the paraphrasts emphasized the most important arguments and enriched the knowledge available for those who studied philosophy.⁶⁹ By doing so, they demonstrated their scholarly excellence.⁷⁰

Sophonias seems to imply that although both the lemmatic commentary and the paraphrasis have the goal of making the text clearer and explaining the difficult passages, the paraphrasis is much more successful as an instrument of education. That is illustrated by his claim that its usage renders the road to philosophy "easy to follow" (εὐπορον).⁷¹ That expression, in my opinion, leads in at least two directions.

⁶⁶ For similar usage of the αὐταγγελία, see Ierodiakonou, "Psellos' Paraphrasis," 165 and Sten Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's "Sophistici Elenchi"* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 64-82.

⁶⁷ Ierodiakonou, "Psellos' Paraphrasis," 164 and 166.

⁶⁸ Robert Todd, "Introduction" in Themistius, *On Aristotle On the Soul*, tr. Robert B. Todd, (London: Duckworth, 1996), 1-13 (hereafter: Todd, "Introduction"); Ierodiakonou, "Psellos' Paraphrasis," Börje Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and The Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium*, (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2003).

⁶⁹ Sophonias, *De Anima*, 1.23-27: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάσις καὶ ἐπιβολάς, ἃς ἐφεύρον, τὰς χρησιμωτάτας ἐπισυνῆψαν καὶ θεωρημάτων πλῆθος ἐκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων προσέφερον, τῆς τε ἐπιστημονικῆς αὐτῶν ἕξεως ἔλεγχον τοῦ τε πολυμαθοῦς καὶ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀκρότητος, εὐπορον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ὑπολείποντες [emphasis mine].

⁷⁰ Ibid., 1.25-28: τῆς τε ἐπιστημονικῆς αὐτῶν ἕξεως ἔλεγχον τοῦ τε πολυμαθοῦς καὶ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀκρότητος, εὐπορον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ὑπολείποντες, ταῖς τε ἀνακνυπούσαις ἀπορίαις γενναιοτάτας τὰς λύσεις ἐπήνεγκαν. [emphasis mine].

⁷¹ Ibid., 1.26-27: καὶ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀκρότητος, εὐπορον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς

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On the one hand, it marks the general statement that the lemmatic commentary and the paraphrasis of Aristotle's doctrines are considered philosophical enterprises. On the other hand, they are both preparatory for dealing with philosophy *per se*, namely, with Aristotle's theory. In that sense, both types of commentary could assume a propaedeutic function – to make one able to deal with the proper matters of philosophy. Therefore, how each of these two prepares the “apprentice” is important. The lemmatic commentary, situated physically beside the main text, below it, or interspersed, exists on its own as a separate text with individual style. It presents an independent explanation, sometimes a complementary, but distinct, theory. As it is distinguished from the main text, it is perceived as a reference tool. In contrast, the paraphrasis, a periphrastic exposition, presents the meaning of the text, and therefore shows different ways of constructing a treatise, a different methodology, and way of expression. Consequently, it succeeds both in transmitting knowledge and in introducing the language and rhetorical techniques of philosophy to the reader in an easy and fluent way. Thus, a paraphrasis appears to be an educational tool intended mainly for the initial levels of the study of philosophy.

Finally, at the end of the revision of the preceding commentary tradition Sophonias gives some examples of authors of paraphrases. According to him, that sort of exegetic work was done first by Themistius, and then by others, the latest of whom was Michael Psellos.⁷²

Limitations and Rules of Both Exegesis and Paraphrasis

Sophonias continues clarifying the difference between the two groups, while criticizing the weaknesses of both methods of commenting:

And those [the exegetes] were induced only to show the content and to clarify the meaning, as far as the phrasing permitted, thoroughly following the systematic method once for all: the others [the paraphrasts] added some most useful [authoritative] observations and considerations, which they had discovered, and brought forward a multitude of theoretical insights regarding each chapter, proof of their scholarly skill, their polymathy and their excellence in all [regards];

⁷¹ ὑπολείποντες [emphasis mine].

⁷² For an analysis of one of Psellos' paraphrases (of *De Interpretatione*) see Ierodiakonou, “Psellos' Paraphrasis.”

leaving the path to philosophy easy to follow from that point on for those [who came] after them, they offered most noble solutions to the difficulties which had emerged. So, to say it all in a conclusion pertaining to all, each of them approached his task in his own way.⁷³

Sophonias appropriates John Philoponus' commentary on *DA* as the main source for his paraphrasis.⁷⁴ As he himself states in the preface "following the exegetes in the majority and especially Philoponus, we inserted whole sections into ours, as they were phrased with those verbally."⁷⁵ Sophonias classifies the commentary approach of Philoponus as representative of the methodology of the exegetes. The structure of Philoponus' text is the structure of a lemmatic commentary. Sophonias criticizes such a methodology of exegesis first for the discontinuity of the original diction. Then he points out that an exposition with such a structure is not easy to follow and the reader can easily lose track of the line of reasoning. Finally, Sophonias claims that the exegetes do not properly use the "conjunctions, additionally the occasional transposition of whole colons and the addition or omission and exchange of periods according to the rule."⁷⁶ At the same time, they were much occupied "proffering problems and solutions, so that ... it was not easy for some to observe the continuity."⁷⁷ Sophonias concludes that the result of applying the lemmatic commentary can be to forget the beginning of the exposition or to approach what follows in a confused manner.⁷⁸ Although the exegetes seem to have chosen a not-so-appropriate form of interpreting the reasoning of Aristotle, however, they have

⁷³ Sophonias, *De Anima*, 1.23 -2.4: καὶ οἱ μὲν μόνον σαφηνίσαι τὸ κείμενον καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐκφάναι προήχθησαν, ὅσον ἡ λέξις ἐχώρησε, τῷ τεχνικῷ καθάπαξ ἐπόμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἐπιβολάς, ἅς ἐφεύρον, τὰς χρησιμωτάτας ἐπισυνήψαν καὶ θεωρημάτων πλῆθος ἐκάστω τῶν κεφαλαίων προσέφερον, τῆς τε ἐπιστημονικῆς αὐτῶν ἕξως ἐλεγchon τοῦ τε πολυμαθοῦς καὶ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀκρότητος, εὐπορον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ὑπολείποντες, ταῖς τε ἀνακυπτούσαις ἀπορίαις γενναιοτάτας τὰς λύσεις ἐπήνεγκαν· καὶ τὸ ὅλον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, οἰκείως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προθέσει ἀπήντησεν ἕκαστος.

⁷⁴ Philoponus' *De Intellectu* (Book III of his *De Anima* commentary) is partially preserved in Sophonias' paraphrasis. For a detailed study see Simone van Riet, "Fragments de l' Original Grec du *De intellectu* de Philopon dans une Compilation de Sophonias," *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 63 (1965): 5-40.

⁷⁵ Sophonias, *De Anima*, 3.3-4: καὶ τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς ἐπόμενοι καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ μάλιστα Φιλοπόνῳ ὅλας περικοπάς, ὡς κατὰ λέξιν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνοις, τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐνέθεμεν.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 2.15-16: συνδέσμων ἀκαίριαν, ἐτι δὲ καὶ κῶλων ἔστιν ὅτε μεταθέσεις ὧν καὶ προσθήκην ἢ ἔλλειψιν καὶ περιόδων κατὰ τάξιν ὑπαλλάγῃν.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 2.17-19: τῇ τε τῶν ἀποριῶν ἐπεισαγωγῇ καὶ τῶν λύσεων πολλὰ κατατρίβουσιν, ὡς μὴ εὐχερές τισιν εἶναι [...] τὸ συνεχὲς ἔχειν.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 2.19-20: ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύειν ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῇ μεταξυλογίᾳ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς συγκεχυμένως προσφέρεσθαι.

offered a great deal in order to resolve the difficulties which arise from the text itself. In comparison, the paraphrastic method offers the one who uses it an elegant solution for the problem of making the interpretation easier to comprehend. It results in a continuous exposition with unified diction and a homogenous style.

From the discussion so far, it appears natural that Sophonias chose to deal with the text of *DA* through the technical *instrumentarium* of the paraphrasis. Whatever hypothesis about the audience and the purposes of this work one might hold, to prefer a type of commentary which leaves “the path to philosophy easy to follow from that point on for those [who come] after them”⁷⁹ is a justifiable motivation. On the other hand, although the paraphrasts had “offered most noble solutions to the difficulties which had emerged,”⁸⁰ Sophonias claims that he does not prefer and he does not “like to be content with the latter [paraphrasts] if it is not also possible to profit from the [results of the] first group [the exegetes].”⁸¹ One’s first impression is that Sophonias is inconsistent in his claims and – even more – contradicts himself in his own statements. A Further consideration of this difficulty gives a more satisfactory explanation. Sophonias has structured his treatise using the continuous and fluent form of the paraphrasis, at the same time including the exegesis offered by John Philoponus in his lemmatic commentary. The lemmas from Philoponus’ text are followed by excerpts from his interpretation, sometimes revised and significantly shortened by Sophonias. The punctuation of Aristotle’s passages is altered as well; long sentences are often divided into several shorter ones, therefore, the phases of the argument become easier to distinguish. The word order is sometimes corrected as well.⁸² The second part of the question, that is, why did Sophonias choose not to refer to some of the paraphrasts (e.g., to Themistius) instead of to Philoponus as far as the interpretation goes must be related to the intention of his treatise. Both types of commentary allow the development of the exegesis of philosophical significance. Therefore, the choice of source must be dictated not by the efficiency of the approach, but by the content of the argumentation and the theoretical platform it creates. The

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1.26-27: εὐπορον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοὺς ὑπολείποντες.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1.27-28: ταῖς τε ἀνακυπτούσαις ἀπορίαις γενναιοτάταις τὰς λύσεις ἐπήνεγκαν.

⁸¹ Ibid. οὐδὲ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς παρ’ ἐκείνων, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐξέσται τυχεῖν.

⁸² One can find examples of the change of word order and the substitution of some conjunctions, for instance, in the paraphrase of *DA* 413^b24. Aristotle’s text reads as follows: “καθάπερ τὸ αἰδῖον τοῦ φθαρτοῦ.” Sophonias paraphrases: “ὥσπερ τοῦ φθαρτοῦ τὸ αἰδῖον.” Another example is the paraphrase of *DA* 415^b8. Aristotle states: “ἔστι δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ ζῶντος σώματος αἰτία καὶ ἀρχή,” while Sophonias changes it to “Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ ζῶντος σώματος ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία.” Aristotle’s text is quoted according to the edition of William D. Ross, *Aristotle. De anima* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

question of how Philoponus' theory of the soul and intellect could serve the possible purposes of Sophonias' paraphrasis, however, requires a separate comparative study of both texts, which cannot be completed within the limits of this article.

Description of Sophonias' Method. "Innovation"

Finally, Sophonias' own methodology of commenting remains to be discussed. In his account of Sophonias' exegetical methodology in the paraphrasis of the *SE*,⁸³ Sten Ebbesen distinguishes four constitutive characteristics similar to the features of the scholastic exegesis. The first is the addition of glosses in the main exposition. The second is the substitution of synonyms for single words in otherwise unchanged sentences. The third is the replacement of imprecise or difficult phrases by means of clearer ones. The last is the addition of examples.⁸⁴ This summary of Ebbesen's description of Sophonias' exegetic methodology provides a useful paradigm for the analysis of Sophonias' approach to the text of *DA*.

Sophonias' preface gives an account of the previous Greek commentary tradition according to methodological criteria and provides a categorization and explanation of its divisions. He does not comment on Aristotle's method; the main focus is the different ways of approaching a philosophical text and not the different ways of approaching a philosophical problem itself. The structure of Sophonias' preface to some extent, however, reflects and repeats Aristotle's methodological enterprise in *DA*. On the one hand, Aristotle is revising the previous theories on the essence of the soul and then trying to develop a universal method of inquiry about the essence – of the soul, first – then, eventually, of the essence of every single being, and finally of the essence itself. Sophonias' preface has the same characteristics – a revision of the previous methodological approach and the development of a new one that overcomes the disadvantages of the former. "Following the exegetes,"⁸⁵ but adopting the form of paraphrasis, he aims to provide sufficient explanation, that is, to keep up to the standards of the others, and in addition to offer "something **new** and to some extent **useful** in the studies of Aristotle" [emphasis mine].⁸⁶

⁸³ Ebbesen, "Commentators and Commentaries:" 333-341.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 335.

⁸⁵ Sophonias, *De Anima*, 3.3-4: καὶ τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς ἐπόμενοι καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ μάλιστα Φιλοπόνῳ ὅλας περικοπὰς, ὡς κατὰ λέξιν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνοι, τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐνέθεμεν. [emphasis mine]

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2.34: τὰχ' ἂν τι καινὸν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοτελικοῖς καταλήψιαι. [emphasis mine]

Sophonias twice refers to his approach as “novel” (τι καινόν) in the preface.⁸⁷ It is important to interpret his claim for innovation in both the context of the purposes of his text and the general context of the notion of “Byzantine originality” or καινοτομία, which has been the subject of continuous discussion in the scholarship.⁸⁸ Whether the Byzantines strove conservatively to preserve their Hellenic and Roman heritage or transformed it significantly is not the subject of this article; in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century context it may suffice to refer to a famous letter written by Manuel Moschopoulos (while imprisoned) defending himself against the accusation of “innovation.”⁸⁹ The opposition of imitation versus innovation,⁹⁰ however, influences the understanding of Sophonias’ place in the commentary tradition on Aristotle. He claims the invention of a different methodology which, however, produces a rather standard commentary. Where, then, is the novelty? I would argue that Sophonias’ claim for “originality” should not be taken as a statement of revolutionizing the exegetical methodology. It should be understood as its “improvement.” Sophonias is not denying the preceding tradition; he analyses it and complements it in order to offer a more profitable approach. Therefore, his “innovation” is an improvement by rearranging the already existing material, that is, the approaches of the exegetes and the paraphrasts. The result of this process is a third type of methodology which is added to the previous two. It complements the already existing tradition of commenting without altering the material essentially.⁹¹

⁸⁷ The second occurrence is *ibid.*, 2.6: καὶ εἰ μὴ καινόν τι τὸ παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τί που καὶ συνεισφέρον χρήσιμον. [emphasis mine]

⁸⁸ See the overview of this discussion by Alexander P. Kazhdan, “Innovation in Byzantium,” in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. R. Littlewood (Oxbow Books: Oxford, 1995), 1-17 (hereafter: Kazhdan: “Innovation in Byzantium.”)

⁸⁹ See L. Levi, “Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo,” *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 10 (1902): 55-72.


⁹⁰ Kazhdan, “Innovation in Byzantium,” 11.

⁹¹ Börje Bydén proposes an additional aspect of Sophonias claim for “novelty”: “...in the Early Palaeologan Aristotelian commentaries...literary innovation served as an excuse for writing and publishing commentaries at a time when hardly anybody had the ability to offer significant new philological or philosophical insights, but many people wished they had had,” see Bydén, “Literary Innovation,” 33.

Concluding Remarks

Among the leading intentions throughout this study was to explore possible hypotheses about the purposes and audience of Sophonias' treatise by analyzing the features of its preface. Therefore, Sophonias' categorization of the preceding Aristotelian commentary tradition and his discussion of the various methods of commenting constitute the focus of this analysis. As a result, I argue that the most probable reason for the composition of Sophonias' paraphrasis is that it was meant to serve educational purposes, that is, to introduce certain apprentice(s) to Aristotle's theory on the soul. Sophonias developed a method different from that of the exegetes and the paraphrasts in order to deliver the subject matter in a more efficient way. That is, the "innovative" character of his approach has to be understood as an improvement, not a change, in the commentary tradition on Aristotle. Sophonias' improvement is methodological and, therefore, does not concern the elaboration of Aristotle's psychological theory. One still has to consider it, however, as an important characteristic of this late Byzantine commentary. The claim for "novelty" is also an example of the self-reflection and self-representation of the commentator. That is to say, Sophonias' justification for introducing a different approach from the previous commentators was intended to serve his audience as well as himself. Although this cannot be ascertained unequivocally, it is clear that the promotion of an "innovative" approach within the studies of Aristotle is a key element within the inquiry about the purposes and audience of Sophonias' paraphrasis.

A NETWORK ANALYSIS – SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF THE CISTERCIAN REFORM FROM 1098 - 1400

Parker Snyder 

A network analysis is useful in a study of a complex system whose organizing principles are not necessarily known. Such a methodology seemed appropriate applied to the Cistercian expansion.¹ In this paper, spatial and temporal patterns are read like a text to gather a general picture of the monks' strategies before administrative structures had been formalized. It proceeds on the assumption that patterns themselves may reveal tactics and strategies not mentioned or elaborated in the written record.²

A network is a schematic structure consisting of stationary *nodes* and straight-line *links* whose parts share features in common. The Cistercian reform can be modeled as a network because of the twin pillars of the organization's structure: parental visitation among *filia* (daughter houses) and an annual chapter in Burgundy where most of the abbots were in attendance. In this paper, I treat each foundation as a *node* and each filial relationship as a *link*. The attributes of the network, such as tight, dense clusters or long-distance, aligned foundations hint at the various ways in which the network developed. For instance, long-distance, aligned foundations generally indicate royal support while short, clustered foundations hint at a local resource base such as a local clan or wealthy benefactor.³

¹ Jeff Mendes and S. N. Dorogovtsev, *Evolution of Networks – From Biological Nets to the Internet and WWW*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) (hereafter: Mendes and Dorogovtsev, *Evolution of Networks*).

² See Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1-23, in which she argues that the earliest reference to a text allegedly authored by Abbot Stephen Harding in 1119 can be dated no earlier than 1160, later challenged by Chrysogonus Waddell in "The myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources," *Cîteaux* 51 (2000): 299-386. For Waddell's own philological and diplomatic work on early Cistercian documents, see "The Cistercian Institutions and their Early Evolution," *L'espace cistercien*, ed. Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 27-38. In my opinion, Waddell's analysis of early Cistercian documents is quite thorough and his argumentation sensible. His work is more nuanced than Berman and he does not dismiss out of hand the 1119 papal bull Berman regards as a forgery; rather he is hesitant to assign dates to early documents. Instead, he gives a range of possible dates and takes pains to correct scholarship in previous critical editions. A sensible and brief explanation of the early institutional life of the order is given by John R. Sommerfeldt in a review of C. H. Berman's, *Cistercian Evolution* (2000) in *Church History* 70: 2001, 786-788.

³ This article is adapted from my MA Thesis, "Cistercian Network Analysis, A Road Map Through the Mental Imagination of the First Generations of Monks," (Central European University: Budapest, 2008).

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Monastic networks vary in terms of size and connectedness. Of all the twelfth century reforms the Cistercians were by far the largest and most vertically integrated. By the time of the death of Bernard of Clairvaux in 1153 some 350 foundations dotted a landscape map of Europe at a considerable distance from one another (Figure 1). Invariably, these foundations were in one way or another linked together in a monastic network. Furthermore, the economic, ecclesiastical and social conditions of these foundations were highly variable and a number of factors were at play during a monastic foundation, so continental patterns must be elaborated or explained by way of regional examples. Thus, this paper proceeds with a continental analysis and then explores general patterns with the aid of the Hungarian network.

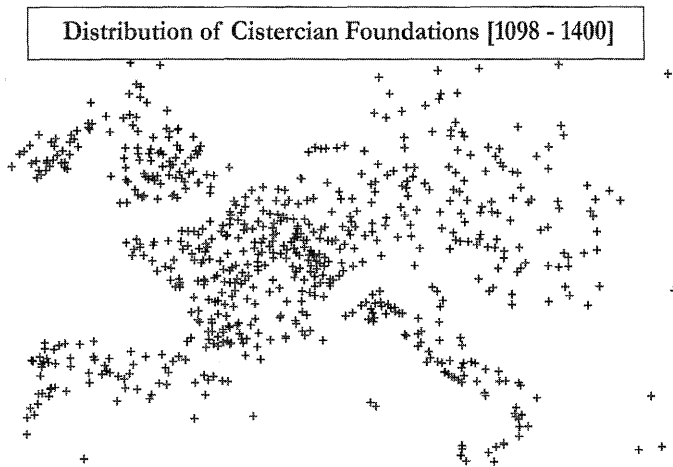


Fig. 1. A scatter plot can be appreciated even without a map. The spatial distribution of the foundations made from 1098 to 1400 reveals a rough outline of the continent. The sheer density of nodes is evidence that the reform began in Burgundy. The white spaces reveal irregularities in a uniform Christian landscape—mountains, sea, Arab Spain, and so on.

Past Scholarship Related to a Network Discussion

Previous scholars have charted and mapped the reform but none have paid exclusive attention to temporal or spatial patterns. Notably, L. J. Lekai described the organization's twelfth century expansion and included a set of reasonably accurate

maps according to modern boundaries.⁴ Marcel Pacaut's monograph includes a number of statistical tables and a data analysis by region, although the maps in the appendix are only approximations.⁵

At the continental level, Frédéric Van der Meer's *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* (1967) stands alone in its ambition to produce a continental mapping of the vast filiation system.⁶ Van der Meer's work includes a set of detailed color-coordinated maps. I am indebted to this work but do not rely upon it as source, as a number of corrigenda have been published to correct its mistakes. In the nineteenth century, Leopold Janauschek, a Cistercian monk and scholar, compiled the *Originum Cisterciensium Liber Primus*,⁷ a catalogue of foundation dates and alternative place names, including such minutiae as the succession of abbots and dates of relocation. The filiation system is charted in a three-meter-long supplement in the appendix and I used it as a source to construct the network maps that follow.

Continental patterns must be substantiated at the regional level for a network discussion to be meaningful. Fortunately, a number of regional studies helped me to corroborate continental data. For instance, historical geographer R. A. Donkin explored the economic network of the Cistercians in England.⁸ Constance Hoffman Berman discussed adoption and incorporation in southern France, a process whereby the network expanded by adding existing monasteries.⁹ Among other regional studies are James France's work on the Cistercians in Scandinavia, tracing the influence of ecclesiastical networks¹⁰ and Michała Walickiego,¹¹ who explored the diffusion of Cistercian

⁴ L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977) (hereafter: Lekai, *Ideals and Reality*).

⁵ Marcel Pacaut, *Les Moines Blancs: Histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux* (Paris: Fayard, 1993) (hereafter: Pacaut, *Les Moines Blancs*).

⁶ Frédéric Van der Meer, *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris: Edition Sequioa, 1965).

⁷ Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Liber Primus* (Vienna: Vindobonae, 1877).

⁸ R. A. Donkin, "Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian estates During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 33 (1960), 141-165; "The Cistercian Grange in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to Yorkshire," *Studia Monastica* 6 (1964), 95-144; "The Cistercian Order in Medieval England: Some Conclusions," *Transactions and Papers* (Institute of British Geographers), No. 33, (1963), 181-198.

⁹ Constance Hoffman Berman, *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern-French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-Three Monasteries*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 76 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1986).

¹⁰ James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992).

¹¹ Michała Walickiego, ed. *Sztuka Polska, przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XII wieku* [Polish Art, Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture to the End of the Twelfth Century], Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968).

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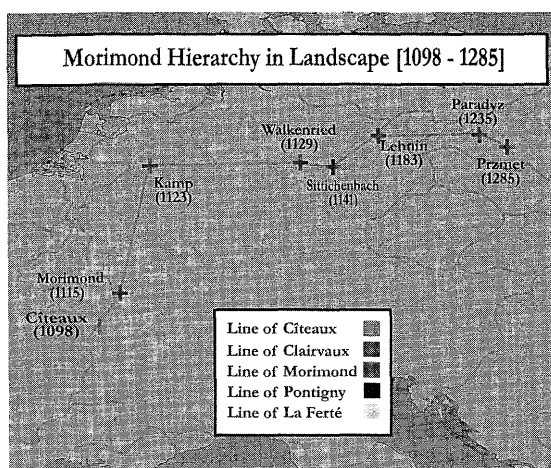


Fig. 2. Foundations in bold show the genealogical line of Przemet (1285), a filia of Morimond, placed in the landscape as a line of successive foundations from Burgundy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This pattern suggests patronage obtained locally in contrast to long-distance foundations characteristic of the Clairvaux line.

architecture in Poland.¹² A set of dynamic maps fills a gap in Cistercian scholarship at the continental level with an analysis of the spatial and temporal patterns of some seven hundred foundations, as scholars have done for the Premonstratensian and Carthusian orders.¹³ Furthermore, this study takes advantage of historical GIS (Geographical Information Systems), relying upon analytical computer methods to enrich a scholarly understanding of a twelfth-century monastic reform.¹⁴ After all, monasticism is a way of life intimately connected with the landscape and notions of space.¹⁵

The geographical coordinates were obtained for a great many foundations from a database compiled by scholar monks at the Carthusian charterhouse in Florence.¹⁶

¹² Ewa Łużyńska, *Architektura Klasztorów Cysterskich* [The Architecture of Cistercian Monasteries], tr. Marzena Łuczkiwicz (Wrocław: Oficyna Wyd. Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2002).

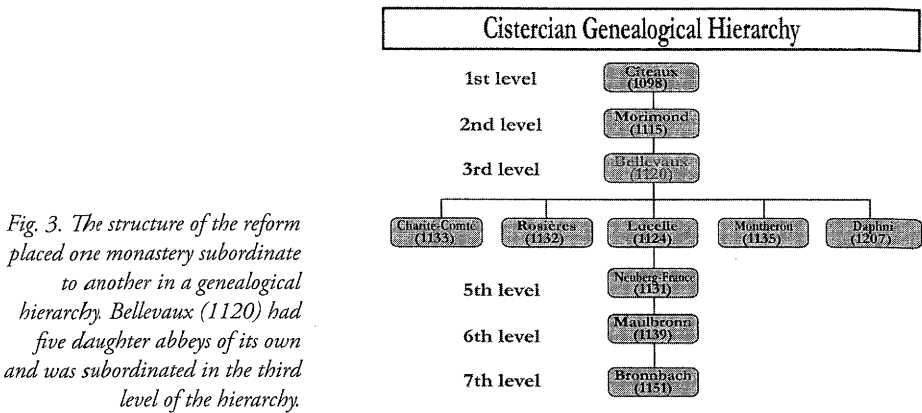
¹³ These studies can both be found in a volume dedicated to the archaeologist Philip Rahtz. See James Bond, "The Premonstratensian Order. A Preliminary Survey of the Growth and Distribution in Medieval Europe," *In Search of Cult*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 153-182 and in the same volume: Mick Aston, "The Development of the Carthusian Order in Europe and Britain: A Preliminary Survey," 139-150.

¹⁴ Previous studies have assigned maps only minor importance. Those in Pacaut's (1993) monograph appear to be copied from Van der Meer's *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* with disregard for accurate placement of foundations. I deal with data reliability later in the paper.

¹⁵ Historical GIS relies upon attribute-based data to study history. For a primer on the subject and a number of applied mapping projects, see Anne Kelly Knowles, *Placing History, How Maps, Spatial Data and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Cistercians, "Monasteries in Alphabetical, Chronological and Geographical Order;" available from <http://cistercensi.info/abbazie/monasteri.asp?lin=en> (accessed 9 May 2008). It is a challenge in GIS to obtain

A Network Analysis - Spatial and Temporal Patterns of the Cistercian Reform from 1098 - 1400



Genealogical lines and parent abbeys derive from a list in Pacaut.¹⁷ The name and date of each foundation can be found in Janauschek's *Originum Cisterciensium Liber Primus*.¹⁸ A modest effort was made to sample the data for accuracy by looking for abbey remains in current satellite imagery. Some abbey remains were easily verified. For those that were not, I compared the maps produced for this study with regional studies of Cistercian foundations. Subsequent scholars will want to improve on my study where time constraints prevented me from doing so.¹⁹

One might ask, in what way the network should be sub-divided or demarcated

accurate data; the monks at Certosa di Firenze have published Cistercian foundation data on-line. Cistercian scholars will find this an invaluable resource.

¹⁷ Pacaut, *Les Moines Blancs*.

¹⁸ Cistercian scholars owe a debt to Janauschek for his painstaking endeavor to gather foundation data for monasteries from cartularies and charters. Although nunneries were quite numerous and present in the life of the Order as early as the twelfth century, I will not deal with them in this study.

¹⁹ Data for abbeys with no known coordinates were obtained by other means. For these, I consulted secondary literature for mention of the abbey by name. For those few abbeys with no mention in the literature save a diocese, I relied on a toponym to relate the abbey to its historic location. For the remaining ten or so abbeys with no known locations, I positioned the abbey at the center point of the smallest determinable geographical extent. An approximation where information was lacking or could not be verified is justified because of the role of uncertainty on a continental scale. If kept to a minimum, say less than 2%, the statistical majority would fall within an acceptable degree of error. Positioning medieval monasteries in the landscape is challenging. For just one example among many, consider the Cistercian foundation of Pilis in the town of Piliszentkereszt, a Hungarian place name that refers to a certain Holy Cross monastery. The monastery from which Piliszentkereszt takes its name is not the Holy Cross monastery, but rather a Pauline monastery that was incorrectly identified after the Ottoman Turkish period. The monastery for which Pilis was mistaken lies some distance away.

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internally? The Cistercians were placed into circaries (administrative divisions), but no evidence suggests that the divisions were more important than filiations. The filiation relationships seemed to have been the path by which resources shifted. Abbots moved easily from one house to another and monks resettled from region to region along filiation lines.²⁰ It makes little sense, aside from pragmatic considerations, to confine a survey to linguistic, nation-state or kingdom boundaries – or any boundaries for that matter – therefore this study transcends artificial delimiters and crosses kingdom divisions of Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and so on (Figures 2 and 3).

Spatial Patterns at the Continental Level

What can be inferred from continental patterns? A number of distant foundations suggest an invitation from nobility or royalty. Foundations evenly spaced over time suggest a pattern of colonization whereby a detachment of monks departed to settle a neighboring region. A large number of concurrent foundations suggests adoption, the consolidation or acquisition of monasteries into the network. A continental analysis for these characteristic patterns follows.

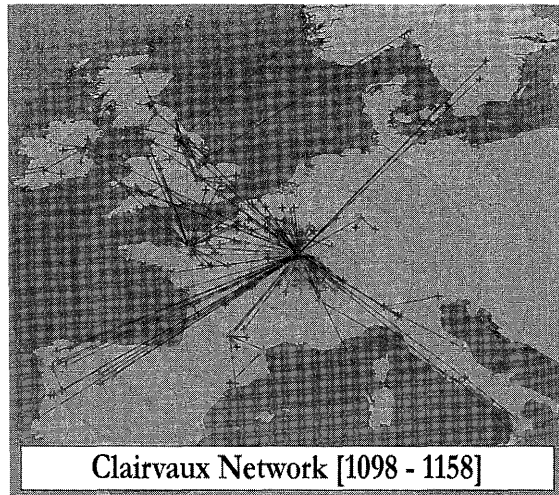
When Bernard of Clairvaux entered as a novice along with thirty of his friends and family, a fledgling monastic reform entered its first period of growth. Within a span of three years four abbeys were founded within a radius of 120 km – La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Morimond (1115), and Clairvaux (1115).²¹ After the foundation of Clairvaux (1115) at least one new foundation was added each year.²² The first four foundations line up in the shape of a cross: Clairvaux to the north, Pontigny to the west, Morimond to the east, and La Ferté to the south. The position of these abbeys with respect to the Cîteaux approximated their future

²⁰ The thirteenth-century Abbot Stephen of Lexington studied at the Oxford schools before joining the Cistercians. He professed his vows at Quarr (1221) on the southern coast of England and two years later was made the abbot of Stanley, a nearby daughter abbey of Quarr (1223). After six years he assumed the headship of Savigny (1229), and fourteen years later was elected abbot of Clairvaux (1243). Each translation of Stephen along the filial lines shows that the network was a way for a promising young monk to be promoted. A century after these lines were established, filiation lines had become the organization's internal map for the promotion of talent. Furthermore, the number of years Stephen of Lexington was at Quarr (2), Stanley (6), Savigny (14) and Clairvaux (15) closely parallels the number of daughter abbeys each had filiated at the time of his election. The duration a talented abbot would remain was then something of a predictor of the influence each abbey could exert to keep him there.

²¹ Abbeys are named in the local vernacular, i.e., Savnik in Slovakian instead of Szepes in Hungarian.

²² 1116, 1117, 1122 and 1196 were exceptions according to Pacaut, *Les Moines Blancs*.

Fig. 4. Many monasteries were subordinate to Clairvaux through long distance foundations in Scandinavia, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland; although most foundations are positioned on an axis running diagonally from top-left to bottom-right, the predominant network pattern radiates outward.



geographical influence. Thus, Clairvaux went on to dominate the north, Pontigny the west, Morimond the east and La Ferté – though not as large as the others – was influential to the south. I believe this pattern is intentional, that Cîteaux wished to foster certain genealogical branches in certain geographical regions.

The expansion picked up speed when Bernard arrived with considerable enthusiasm and missionary zeal. Four foundations occurred immediately after his arrival, followed by a lapse of several years during which the monks built up the requisite resources for a second expansion. An explosion of growth occurred from 1118 to 1121, and the addition of daughter abbeys turned the fledgling reform into an infant network. Thus, the foundations of Cîteaux-Preuilley (1118), Bonnevaux (1119), Cour Dieu (1119), Aumône (1121), Loroux (1121) were scattered to the west, with Bonnevaux to the south. Those of Clairvaux-Trois-Fontaines (1118), Fontenay (1119) and Foigny (1121) were planted to the north. Those of Pontigny-Bourras (1119), Caudouin (1119), and Gondon (1123) were planted to the southwest. The foundations of Morimond were located to the northeast—Bellevaux (1120), Creste (1121), and Kamp (1123), while those of La Ferté, Tiglieto (1120) and Locedio (1124), were planted across the Alps in northern Italy. Each genealogical line shows evidence of distinct regional priorities. In the period from 1098 to 1128 no fewer than 31 abbeys were founded. The monks arrived as far east as central Germany in Ebrach (1127), as far north as Kamp (1123), as far south as Tiglieto (1120), and as far west as Loroux (1121) in northern France.

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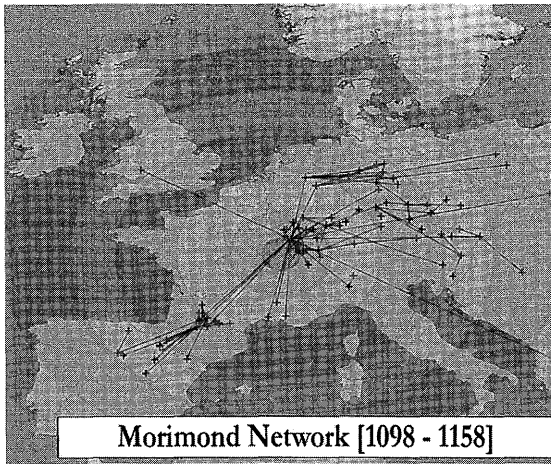


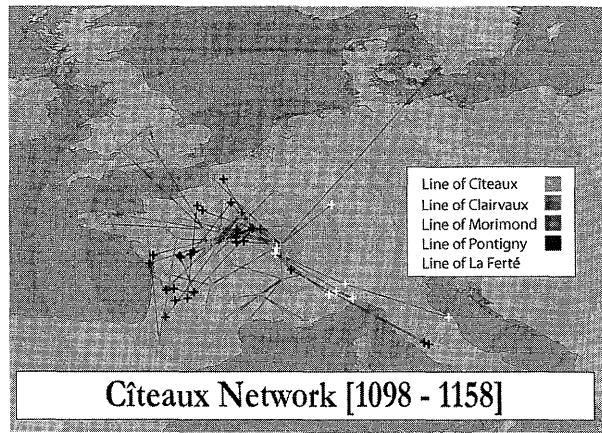
Fig. 5. Morimond's links are randomly oriented to the east and aligned radially only to the southwest, while the prevailing pattern is that of colonization. Notice the regional character of the line—the bulk is in the Holy Roman Empire—while a foundation not shown is Belmont (1157) in the Holy Land.

During the thirty years from 1128 to 1158, the Cistercians arrived at the geographical extent of their influence in the Middle Ages, as far west as the Kingdom of Portugal and as far east as the foundation of Belmont (1157) in Syria as a result of a crusade. The monks went north to settle in southern Scandinavia and south to settle in the Italian peninsula. During these thirty years growth was concentrated in the core area, but foundations were also in dense concentration in the British Isles and in northern and southwestern France. Scattered growth occurred in Bohemia, Poland, Germany, Leon and Castille (Figures 4, 5, 6).²³

After sixty years, continental patterns were well defined. The line of Clairvaux extended predominantly on a diagonal from the British Isles to the tip of the Italian peninsula and contained a number of long-distance links (See Figure 4). The foundations of Morimond contained a number of non-aligned links that proceeded in a steplike-fashion from west to east (Figure 5). Foundations direct from Cîteaux extended broadly but followed a dominant axis from north-central Europe to the western Iberian Peninsula (Figure 6). Foundations in the genealogical line of Cîteaux and Morimond tended to be filiated in varying non-aligned directions to nearby monasteries, suggesting that they grew by means of colonization and occurred regularly through time. The characteristics of the line of Clairvaux followed a different pattern. Links were likely to be made direct to

²³ See James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004) for the vast panorama of effects monastic culture had on the landscape; in this volume he discusses manors and granges, deer parks and rabbit warrens, fisheries and fishponds, churches and chapels, orchards and vineyards.

Fig. 6. Discussion about the line of Cîteaux presumes La Ferté and Pontigny as small enough to be included. As such, Cîteaux represents 23, one quarter of the network hierarchy, a line of 24 direct foundations in two distinct periods: 1098 to 1147 and 1200 to 1240. In the first sixty years its influence was confined to medieval France and England.



Clairvaux, whether close to the core area or distant from it, aligned in orientation like the spokes on a bicycle wheel. The network maps reveal internal networks that were distinct from one another but overlapping – that of Clairvaux and that of Cîteaux and her eldest daughters – the latter showing less of a centralized tendency and fostering more connections between its members.

Thus, certain spatial patterns prevailed. Cîteaux remained influential throughout the network, planting direct foundations without regard for geography. Each of the lines proceeding out from the first four daughters, however, maintained a regional priority and certain monasteries became regional hubs, such as Kamp (1123) and Savigny (1147). Rather than a broad, diffuse, step-like outward expansion, the continental pattern created regional hubs, monasteries that articulated future growth in a number of different directions. Some areas far removed from resource-rich Burgundy were quite prosperous. On a whole, the landscape distribution was rather disparate compared to the Carthusian and Premonstratensians, whose foundations show a greater propensity to cluster. From a bird's eye view, Cistercian foundations tended to cluster within the core area, on either side of the Pyrenees, on the island of Sicily, along the western Iberian Peninsula, and on the eastern coast of Ireland.²⁴ These spatial patterns will now be put in the context of the overall temporal development of the reform.

²⁴ Leinster, Meath, Oriel and Ulster.

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Temporal Patterns at the Continental Level

If a rock is thrown into the center of a pond ripples will propagate outward from the center in concentric circles (Figure 7).²⁵ The pond model is useful to describe growth in the Cistercian monastic reform, whereby the countryside may represent the surface of the pond and propagating waves represent successive detachments of monks departing for neighboring lands. The expansion can then be seen to proceed in a wavelike fashion.²⁶

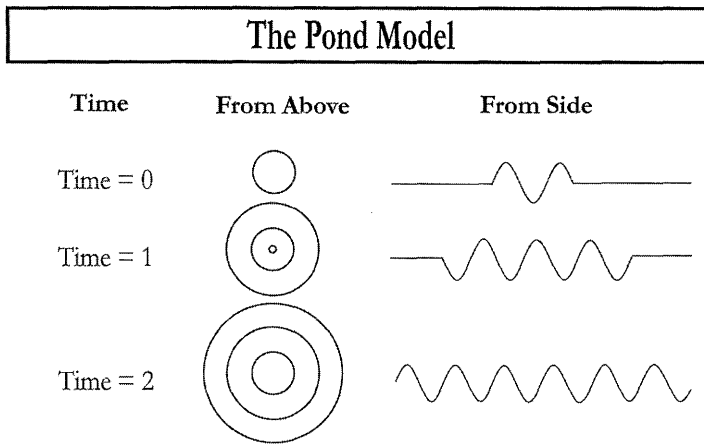


Fig. 7. A rock enters a pond at time zero and waves begin to disperse. Provided there is no obstruction waves propagate outward, but as the waves get further away from the center they get weaker. This model will be used to describe the Cistercian expansion as the dispersion of an innovation through a uniform plane.

²⁵ The Pond Model derives from the mechanics of waves when a disturbance is introduced in a continuous plane. See, for example, Art Hobson, *Physics: Concepts and Connections*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995): 195-201. In principle, a wave is a disturbance that travels through a medium and transfers energy.

²⁶ Of course, there were non-uniformities in twelfth-century Europe. The proximity of the Swiss Alps, the presence of the Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula, and competition from the Premonstratensians all complicate the simple model, but the pond model is still useful as a starting point. Just as the ripples on a pond oscillate between peaks and troughs, it took some time to gather sufficient resources for the exodus of yet another detachment monks. If the model were elaborated, it would include a few smaller rocks scattered in the pond to represent other sporadic changes in the system, such as the arrival of the reform in major population centers or an influential bishop who begins to promote the reform.

Growth can be divided arbitrarily into eight concentric circles. In contrast to the period 1098 to 1128, when 60 percent of growth occurred within 250 km, only 20 percent of growth occurred in this same ring from 1128 to 1158. During this latter period, a much greater number of foundations lay in a concentric ring from 250 to 500 km away, in the regions of northern, western and southern France and the western part of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, growth had gone well beyond the core area in the period 1128 to 1158 and a great number of abbeys added during this time period were added in regions outside of the core area. Thus, with exceptions the pond model can help to explain the temporal character of the expansion.

As suggested by the pond model, over five-year intervals from 1128 to 1158 the expansion shifted outward from the core area. In the first five-year period from 1128 to 1132, growth was concentrated in the core area at a distance less than 500 km. Foundations in this time period were almost exclusive to the core area although several foundations were made in England and one in Austria. During the next five-year period, from 1132 to 1137, growth remained concentrated in the core area, but further growth followed in the Holy Roman Empire, southern and northern France, England, northern Italy, and across the Pyrenees in Castille and Leon. Furthermore, in each of the new regions, growth continued to fill in the blank spaces on the map.

Consider a smaller time interval to elucidate the events of the period further. If five-year time intervals are chosen, the pattern can be made even more precise. During the five-year intervals from 1132 to 1158 the growth rates were 12, 12, 19 and 13 abbeys per year. If, however, the adoption of Savigny and its dependents monasteries is excluded, the growth rate adjusted to ignore this single addition would be an average of about 13 abbeys per year. During the five year interval from 1143 to 1147 only four abbeys were added within in the 0 to 250 km core area whereas forty percent of the abbeys were added from 250 to 500 km, most in northern and western France and southern England. As the pond model suggests, growth occurred outside of the core area in successive waves. Thus, by the five-year period from 1142 to 1147 there was little growth in the core area while most of the growth occurred in a ring from 250 to 500 km away. It was not until the death of Bernard in 1153 that growth across the entire network slowed after an ordinance of the General Chapter in 1152 sought to bring a halt to new foundations. Thereafter Clairvaux continued to add foundations while the Cîteaux line did not.

To summarize the temporal patterns, the Cistercians generated a self-functioning monastery at the rate of one per month for nearly two decades. Assuming Cîteaux

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played a role in decision-making, it seems that at a growth rate of one per month the organization added new foundations as part of a concerted effort to expand. Once new foundations were settled, these foundations were responsible for relaying information to Burgundy so further decisions could be made. I consider the sheer volume of growth as part of a strategy or plan to expand the network (Figure 8).

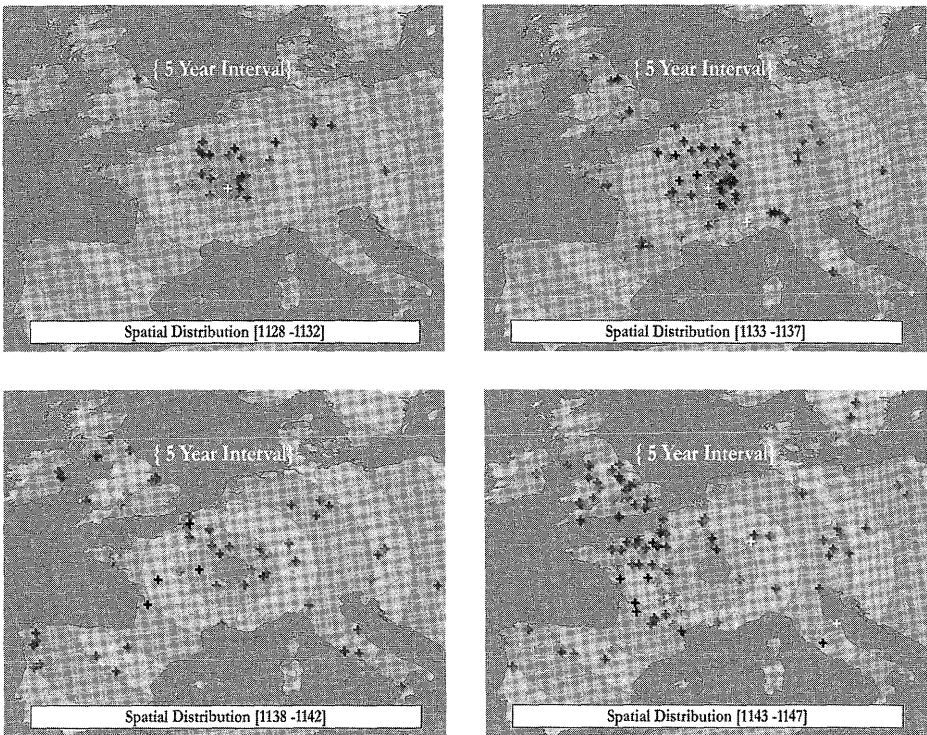


Fig. 8. From left to right and top to bottom, see the distribution in five-year intervals move away from the core area. Compare 1133 to 1137 with the interval one decade later, 1143 to 1147, for a noticeable shift outward. This is the period of takeoff as the Cistercians were welcomed by a wider population.

The Cistercian Expansion as the Development of a Network

It appears that these “zones of influence” were part of some sort of a strategy to multiply Cistercian foundations. Since the organization required regular attendance at the motherhouse, when each new member admitted in a given year was introduced to the rights and responsibilities of membership, the expansion must have been a

focal point of the General Chapter, if not explicitly in terms of growth objectives for the coming year, then indirectly by way of introducing new members.

Furthermore, requisite human resources would have derived from the existing network and a discussion of which monks would move to new foundations would likely have taken place. According to network theory, an organization builds its membership by attracting new members to popular nodes, a principle known as *popular is attractive*, which suggests that once established in the landscape, new abbeys were attached to those with the most foundations already. The most popular abbeys or those with the largest *degree of connectivity* became even more popular, a principle of network theory that causes certain nodes on a network map to become more important than others.²⁷ Certain hubs then became depositories of region-specific information.

Why was an integrated network in the interest of Cîteaux? The very notion of reform holds an ideal as a model for others to follow. Those who wish to live up to the ideal must conform to a standard practice. Subordinate relationships helped each monastery to conform to the ideal. The vertical hierarchy placed Cîteaux at the top and her four eldest daughters beneath, who in turn each gave birth to their own filia. In this way, the Cistercians were the most vertically integrated of all the reforms. Because of the twin pillars of the *Carta Caritatis* – the General Chapter and parental visitation – monasteries could influence subordinate daughters through visitation and meet with all the others at the annual chapter meeting.²⁸ Regular communication helped the network control for quality while giving abbots independence in their own affairs. If an abbot became errant in his practice or when resources were shifted the network became a direct conduit for interaction, otherwise its substantial effect was psychological as it emboldened fidelity to the reform.²⁹ This web of connected monasteries was in a modern sense an international organization.

²⁷ Mendes and Dorogovtsev, *Evolution of Networks*, 1-15.

²⁸ See Chapter V of the *Carta Caritatis Prior* as given in the appendix in Lekai, *Ideals and Reality*. Parental visitation was established with this decree: “Let the abbot of the senior church visit once a year all the monasteries he has founded; and should he visit more often, let them for that reason rejoice all the more.” See Chapter VII for the establishment of the General Chapter: “Let all the abbots of these churches come to the New Monastery once a year on the day they decide among themselves, and there let them treat of the salvation of their own souls; if something is to be emended or added to in the observance of the Holy Rule or of the Order, let them so ordain it, and let them reestablish among themselves the good of peace and charity.”

²⁹ This strict vertical hierarchy is in contrast to a network with closed loops, where members interact with one another and thereby share ideas and exchange resources. For a discussion on the difference between network structures see Mendes and Dorogovtsev, *Evolution of Networks*, 1-15.

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Besides the transfer of resources among its members, the network gave each of its members an opportunity to participate in a representative legislative body. Each year in Burgundy abbots gathered in a week-long General Chapter to introduce new members and correct errant abbots required by the *Carta Caritatis* to submit their faults. Returning to Scandinavia, Poland, and Iberia, abbots would bring news from all the other parts of Europe. This annual gathering is cited in the secondary literature as unique for its time and this large meeting must have had the character of an international summit. The influence of abbots as opinion setters and the convenience of distributing a message so easily led Emperor Frederick Barbarosa to send a letter to the chapter in 1177 to inform the abbots that he had accepted the supreme pontiff Alexander III, “sensing that in doing so was to notify the church at large.”³⁰ A half century later, in 1212, Arnaud Amaury, former abbot of Cîteaux and archbishop of Narbonne, sent word of the victory over the Spanish Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa, knowing that returning abbots were likely to pass along the announcement.³¹ By way of the General Chapter, when news arrived in Burgundy it was sure to reach the rest of Europe.

The development of the Cistercian network was concurrent with others, such as the universities, decretal collections, and Lateran councils, and must be understood in the context of the so-called twelfth-century renaissance, in which a rebirth of culture and institutions was seen across Europe.³² The following section proceeds with a regional example to show how a network worked in the diffusion of the reform throughout Europe.

A Regional Case Study — The Hungarian Network

What can be said about a network that developed almost entirely outside of the primary period of expansion? Hungarian foundations were made during the mid-twelfth, late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries during a time when Cistercians

³⁰ Hugh Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism, Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 192.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

³² For a discussion of the twelfth century renaissance see Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Meridian Books, 1955), or more recently, Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge, 1996). A study of the relationships between information networks would be an interesting research topic. For instance, what was the relationship between the Cistercian General Chapter and the diffusion of papal decrees? A close reading of the General Chapter resolutions from [1116 - 1285] may provide examples of this type of information dissemination.

A Network Analysis - Spatial and Temporal Patterns of the Cistercian Reform from 1098 - 1400

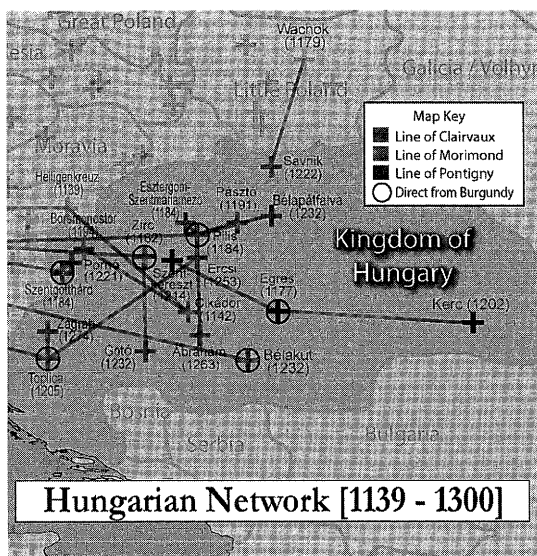


Fig. 9. Map showing the network connections between Cistercian foundations in Hungary. Half of the Clairvaux foundations had direct connections to the west in Burgundy, whereas the Morimond foundations exhibit patterns typical of central Eastern Europe, where monasteries were filiated to nearby neighbors, such as Savnik in the north, which is believed to have been involved in the north-south trade with Poland.

found favor with Hungarian kings, bishops, and noble families. For over a century a number of benefactors invited the monks to be integrated into existing ecclesiastical and economic networks.³³

The Cistercians in Hungary have been studied by a number of scholars who have divided the patronage on the basis of king, bishop, and clan/family.³⁴ The number of foundations roughly descends in number among these three groups. In Hungary, it depended on the time period; in the late twelfth century the king's patronage was strong and in the early thirteenth century clan support prevailed. The abbey of Cikádor was established in Hungary in 1142 at the invitation of King Géza II (1141-1162), in the lifetime of Bernard, from the abbey of Heiligenkreuz (1139)

³³ The region of medieval Hungary included Transylvania, all of present-day Slovakia, and the region adjacent to the Adriatic Sea that includes present-day Croatia.

³⁴ For a Hungarian catalogue of medieval monastic foundations see Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Cloisters and Chapters in Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000); For a summary in English of the Cistercian foundations in Hungary see Romhányi's "The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary: Political Activity or Internal Colonization?" *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (1994): 180-204 (henceforth: Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians.") For a catalogue in Latin of Hungarian foundations see F. L. Hervay, *Reportorium historicum ordinis cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984); for an analysis of the first Hungarian foundation, Cikádor, see László Koszta's article, "A cisterci rend története Magyarországon a kolostoraik alapítása idején 1142 - 1270 [The History of the Cistercian Order in Hungary during the Period of Establishment, 1142 - 1270], *Magyar egyháztörténeti vázlatok* 1993, No. 1-2, 115-128.

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in the line of Morimond. Scholars have noted that reverse patronage, Hungarian bishops in support of Heiligenkreuz, continued for some time and that at one time Heiligenkreuz considered relocating to Hungary. Yet no subsequent foundations were made in Hungary for nearly four decades. Foundations were resumed when King Béla III (1172-1196) ascended the throne. He financed five foundations during his reign, three of which were in the direct line of Clairvaux. I will now elaborate the social context in which the Cistercians were invited to establish their foundations (Figure 9).

Though Hungary was far from the royal court in Paris, since the mid-twelfth century King Béla III had been improving his contacts with Western powers at the same time that Hungarian clerics had been going west for ecclesiastical training. Lukács is the first Hungarian who can be identified in Paris, at the school of Gerard La Pucelle sometime before 1156; he later became head of the church in Hungary as archbishop of Esztergom.³⁵ Other clerics followed him, such as Job, who studied at Sainte Genieve from 1177-1181; Jakab, Adorján, and Bethlehem were other Hungarian clerics who studied in the schools of Paris.³⁶ Those who trained in the West brought back modern ideas about ecclesiastical management along with connections to Burgundy that became important for Cistercian foundations.

Although Archbishop Lukács' relationship with King Béla III was ambivalent at best, similar to the relationship between Thomas Beckett and Henry II, Lukács was responsible for strengthening relations between the Hungarian church and Parisian intellectual circles. It is likely that when Cistercian monks were studying in Paris they encountered Hungarian clerics who were doing the same. These encounters would later have forged relationships between Hungarian clerics and Cistercian abbots. The foreign relations of King Béla III improved after the death of his wife, Anna Châtillon (1184), when a second marriage allowed him to align himself with the West. After trying unsuccessfully to arrange a marriage in the Byzantine court where he had been raised as a child, he looked for marriage prospects elsewhere, trying first to marry Matilda, granddaughter of Henry II, and then settling upon an arrangement with Margaret of France, sister of Philip Augustus. Margaret had been married to Henry the Young, king of England, but because of political hostility between England and France there was a fight over her dowry, which is said to have been of considerable size. Laszlovszky suggests that "the proposed marriage was a

³⁵ József Laszlovszky, "Nicholaus Clericus: a Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 222 (hereafter: Laszlovszky, "Nicholaus Clericus").

³⁶ Adorján became bishop of Transylvania and Jakab became bishop of Vác, *ibid.*, 222.

very good offer for the French and English kings and offered a good solution for their long lasting quarrel over Margaret's dowry."³⁷ These were the conditions that may have precipitated a renewed invitation to the Cistercians to settle in the east.

The period of rebirth of Cistercian foundations under Béla III, roughly the last quarter of the twelfth century, began with the foundation of Egres (1177) sometime before Béla's marriage to Margaret. The influence of Hungarian clerics trained in the French court may have influenced his decision to ally himself with the West. Laszlovsky argues that "Béla III and his wife had a very close relationship with the Cistercians" and that they used Cistercian monks as their confessors.³⁸ Meanwhile, Bernard was active in the conflict over papal succession in his support of Innocent II over Anacletus II. The period of the renewal of Cistercian foundations in Hungary came at the time when the cult of Thomas Beckett was established; he was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in 1171 and made a saint in 1173, a year before Bernard of Clairvaux himself was raised to the same status.

It is known that Margaret of France was close to Thomas Beckett, having been accompanied by him on her journey to England. If, during this period, King Béla III had strengthened his contacts with the West by his marriage to the daughter of Louis VII, then his support of the Cistercians would have perpetuated the cults of two key personalities from the west – Thomas Beckett and Bernard of Clairvaux. Propagating the cults would have sent a signal West that the king of Hungary supported the papacy in its struggle with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Just as Roger of Sicily had used Clairvaux earlier in the century to garner support in his political struggles, so might Béla III have used the Cistercians to improve his standing with foreign powers. Thus, Hungarian clerics in French schools and Béla III and his relations with the West were two of the evolving social networks that grew concurrently with the Cistercians' presence in Hungary.

At the time of Béla III there was also a developing economic network that may have been a possible motive for the introduction of Cistercian organization to strengthen the regional economy. Several of the Hungarian foundations were made directly from monasteries in Burgundy that were of considerable size and influence. The monastery of Clairvaux was responsible for Zirc (1182), while Acey was the mother of Pilis (1184) and Trois-Fontaines the mother of Szentgotthárd (1184). On the basis of these network connections, there was a transfer of modes of production

³⁷ Laszlovsky, 222-224.

³⁸ Laszlovsky, "Nicholaus Clericus:" 224.

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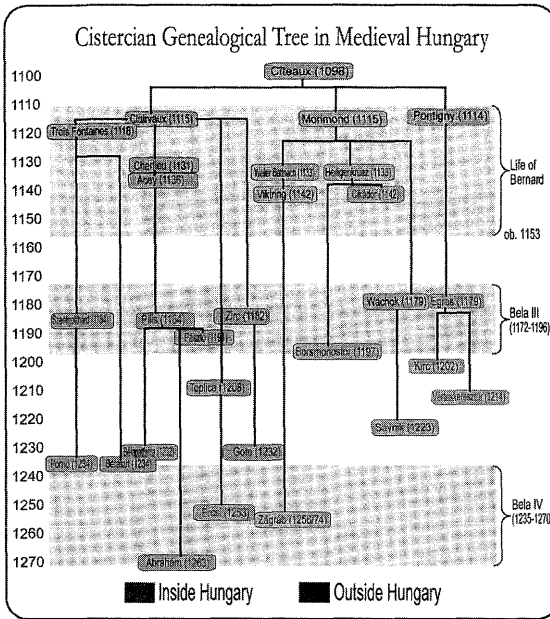


Fig. 10. This temporal distribution shows relations between Hungarian Cistercian monasteries. Resources were exchanged along these network lines, such as the translation of John of Limoges, who was abbot of Zirc (1208-1218) before becoming prior of Clairvaux. Drawn with time increasing vertically, monasteries aligned horizontally were founded at approximately the same time.

and agricultural and industrial technologies from west to east.³⁹ Romhányi describes how “all monasteries but three were situated on main commercial routes such as the most important waterways or the road used since ancient times.”⁴⁰ Proximity to trade networks would have encouraged the Cistercians to manufacture finished goods. Archaeological investigations uncovered a water system at Pilis that is similar in its design to that of Fontenay.⁴¹ Water power could have been used, as it was elsewhere, to power bellows in blast furnaces. Egres was connected with the salt trade. Zirc and Cikádor received incomes from tolls.⁴² Pásztó was in a market town and the patron of the parish church, St. Nicholas, was connected to long distance trade. The economic network in which the monasteries were established hints at relations with suppliers, financiers, and traders for raw materials and finished goods. By the time of their arrival in Hungary the Cistercians had become financiers and could have been valuable agents in a burgeoning economy. If the Cistercians

³⁹ For a study of the economic basis for Cistercian foundations in Hungary see Romhányi, “The Role of the Cistercians:” 181-199.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 184.

⁴¹ Ibid., 188.

⁴² Romhányi, “The Role of the Cistercians:” 185.

were not used as colonizing assets as they were elsewhere to introduce agriculture into unpopulated regions, they could have been used by the Hungarian kings as a stimulus to regional economy. King Béla III could then have taken advantage of the extant network to which they belonged to strengthen the economy of his kingdom. After having outlined the growing social networks related to the invitation of the Cistercians, I will now describe the Hungarian network with an emphasis on the filial connections between abbeys (Figure 10).

During the reign of King Emerich (1196-1205) and King Andrew II (1205-1235), seven foundations were made: Bélakút (1232), Bél (also known as Gotó) (1234), Esztergom (1200), Kerc (1202), Pornó (1221), Savnik (1216), and Ercsi (1253).⁴³ Of these foundations, which spanned a period of four decades preceding the Mongol invasion, Bélakút and Savnik were founded by sons of King Andrew, Kerc was supported financially by the king but was a daughter abbey of Egres, while the remaining four abbeys can be considered clan or family foundations.⁴⁴ Among these only Savnik, suggests evidence of colonization. This abbey was subordinate to Wąchok (1179) in the line of Morimond and may have been connected with the north-south mining trade. Kerc was founded the furthest from the others, in present day Romania, a daughter of Egres. Kerc was unique among the others in that it was the only late foundation supported financially by the king.

This foundation would have increased the trade network which Béla III had expanded earlier by relying on the Cistercian network. Scholars have noted that Kerc lay adjacent to a trade route that connected Transylvania with the Balkans and led to Constantinople. This abbey, though situated in a heavily forested area, was eager to take part in long distance trade.⁴⁵ It may have traded with Hermannstadt (Sibiu, Nagyszeben), a town in close proximity at a distance of 35 km and one of the major towns of the Saxons. After the abbey's dissolution all of its estates and belongings were given to the town. Kerc can be considered an asset in Béla IV's economic plan, although a general expansion plan seems to be missing from the later Hungarian foundations, which occurred under various circumstances. One further note: Hungarian kings relied upon the abbots as foreign diplomats, particularly

⁴³ See Hervay or Romhányi for details of the circumstances of these foundations. My purpose here is to deal strictly with the connections to broader social and economic networks; to deal with each foundation individually lies outside the scope of this study.

⁴⁴ Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians:" 182.

⁴⁵ Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians:" 183.

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the abbot of Pilis, who often functioned as an envoy of the king abroad.⁴⁶ To this general picture mention of a key individual must be added – John of Limoges, who was transferred along filiation lines from Clairvaux and made abbot of Zirc (1208 to 1218). John of Limoges was arguably one of the most influential personalities in Hungary at the beginning of the thirteenth century, suggested perhaps by his appointment as prior of Clairvaux when he left Hungary. This was an important position in the Cistercian network because the abbot of such an influential house would likely often have been called away on business and the prior would remain behind with de facto control over a numerous population of monks. Intelligent, pious abbots could reform a lax monastery.

I have shown how the Hungarian foundations formed relationships with resource-rich Burgundy with the local support of ecclesiastical and economic networks. The Clairvaux line is characterized by a pattern of long-distance, radial links and a number of these terminate in the Hungarian kingdom, where the monks were welcomed for over a century. In this way, a regional case study helps to explain the patterns visible at the continental level.

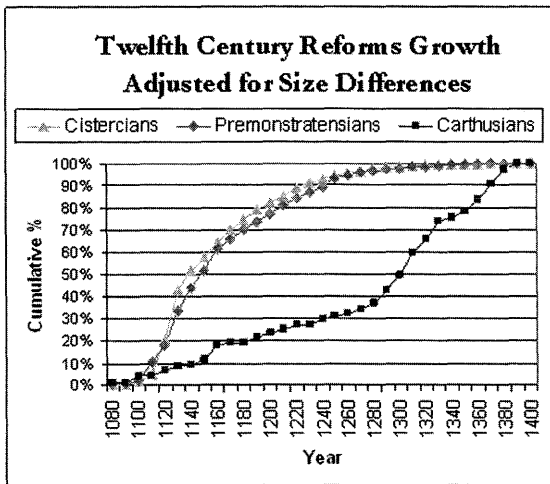


Fig. 11. The curves are adjusted to factor out differences in the size of monasteries. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians grew earlier and shared similar growth curves, while the Carthusian growth was protracted over some three centuries. These estimates do not include closures or dissolutions.

⁴⁶ Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians:" 193.

Conclusions

Constance Hoffman Berman minimized the role of networks in her monograph *The Cistercian Evolution*, arguing that the reform, even by the 1160s, was still a collection of haphazard associations not necessarily uniform in practice. However, the temporal and spatial patterns in the landscape present evidence to the contrary. The sheer volume of coordinated growth suggests classifying the reform as a network. Regardless of whether the expansion was deliberately planned at Cîteaux, there was a surge in monastic foundations nonetheless, and the sheer volume suggests evidence that the network was functional and integrated.

THE CATTLE OF MUHI. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARIAN VILLAGE

Kyra Lyublyanovics 🇮🇵

Introduction

Animal bones recovered from archaeological sites are artefacts in the sense that their deposition was influenced by a number of cultural filters such as the preference for certain animals, the preference for age classes and sexes, animal exploitation practices, butchering methods, cooking traditions or the way garbage was disposed of. Thus, animal remains reveal information on past animal and human populations, their mutual interactions, and the way animal products were manipulated during various kinds of social negotiations. In cases when no written evidence is available, the analysis of such remains can contribute significantly to our understanding of the past.

Material and Methods

The medieval Hungarian settlement of Muhi, first a small village, later a significant market town flourishing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, finally vanished in the 1640s during the Ottoman wars. Muhi was located in northeastern Hungary, between the small Sajó and Hejő rivers, south of the towns of Miskolc and Diósgyőr (Fig. 1).¹ It seems that Muhi had already taken on the function of a regional center by the end of the thirteenth century.² The main reason for this development was that in this period Muhi already lay at an important crossing point of public roads³

¹ This article is based on my thesis, “Before the Cattle Trade: Animals and People in Muhi, a Thirteenth-Century Hungarian Village,” MA thesis (Central European University, 2008).

² P. Tóth, *Szemponatok a borsodi mezővárosok középkori és kora újkori történetének vizsgálatához. Points of View in the Analysis of the Medieval and Early Modern History of Market Towns in Borsod County*. Studia Miskolciensia 1 (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1994), 115.

³ I. Draskóczy, “Miskolc birtoktörténete a középkorban” [Land property in Miskolc in the Middle Ages], in *Miskolc története, Vol. 1. A kezdetektől 1526-ig* [The History of Miskolc, Vol. 1: From the Beginning until 1526], ed. P. Tóth and A. Kubinyi (Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár – Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1996), 115 (hereafter: Tóth and Kubinyi, 1996); É. Gyulai, “Miskolc középkori topográfiája” [The medieval topography of the town of Miskolc] in Tóth and Kubinyi, 1996 (henceforth: Gyulai, Miskolc középkori topográfiája).

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related to its economically favorable topographical position, a region where the Bükk Mountains meet the Great Hungarian Plain. Since these two types of areas produced different products, the location was perfect for organizing trade.

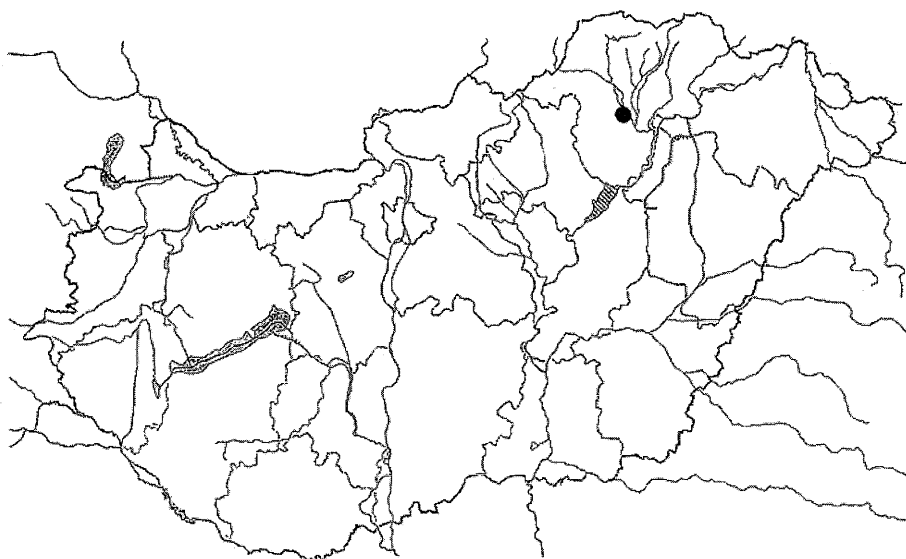


Fig. 1. Muhi's location in present-day Hungary

Archaeological research on the settlement began in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. While these early archaeological investigations are of little use from the point of view of modern research, the Muhi Project started by the Herman Ottó Museum in Miskolc in 1995 made it possible to organise large-scale excavations, where a huge number of animal bones came to light and were collected. Three areas of the former settlement have been excavated: one in the settlement core, one on the outskirts of the settlement, and one in the agricultural area that belonged to the village⁴ (Fig. 2.). In this paper, I

⁴ On the excavations in Muhi see: J. Laszlovszky, T. Pusztai and G. Tomka, "Középkori falu, mezőváros és út a XI-XVII. Századból/Muhi Templomdomb – Medieval Village, Market Town and Road from the 11th-17th Century," *Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autópálya régészeti leletmentései – Paths into the Past. Rescue Excavations on the M3 Motorway*, ed. P. Raczky, T. Kovács, and A. Anders (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudomány

analyse the animal bones recovered during these excavations in order to shed light on the thirteenth-century economic situation, animal husbandry, animal-keeping practices, and meat consumption customs in medieval Muhi. Given the almost total absence of relevant textual data, these results are only available because of detailed osteoarchaeological analysis.⁵

Muhi had emerged as a center for regional trade by the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, which means that a group of elite inhabitants must have existed, who, presumably due to their participation in regional trade, provided the financial basis for the settlement's development. It was thought that they would have lived near the center of the village. Thus, it was expected that a relatively clear differentiation would be observable between the kitchen refuse of the buildings on the main street and that recovered on the outskirts of the village. In particular, I hypothesized that bone fragments of body parts representing better quality protein would be found in the center of the settlement, near wealthier residences, in greater numbers.

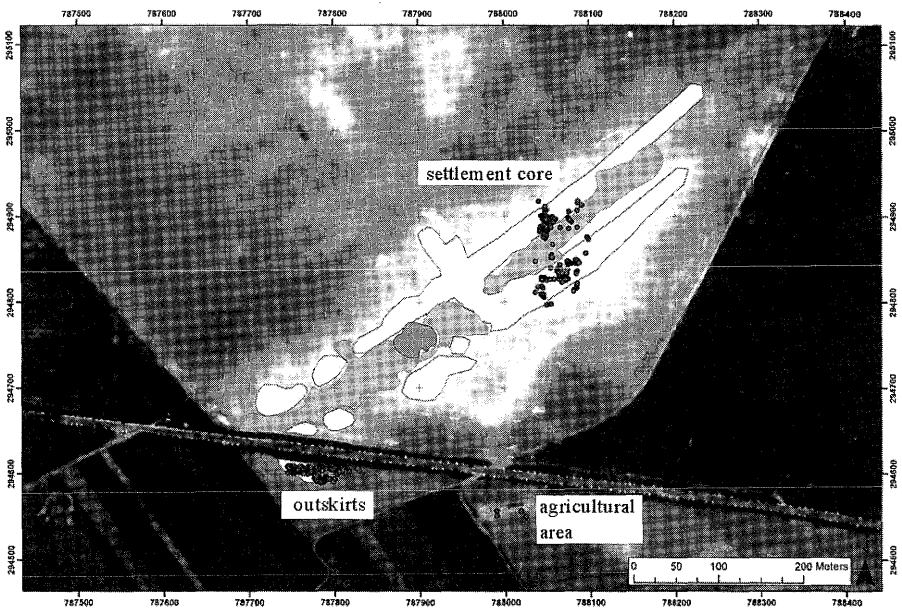
Egyetem Régészettudományi Intézet – Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1997), 144-150; T. Pusztai, "Muhi középkori mezőváros régészeti kutatásának topográfiai előkészítéséről" [The topographical preparations for the excavation of the market town of Muhi], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 33-34 (1996), 33-60; T. Pusztai, "A középkori Mohi mezőváros építészeti emlékei" [Architectural remains of the medieval market town of Muhi], *Népi építészet a Kárpát-medencében a honfoglalástól a 18. századig* [Folk architecture in the Carpathian Basin from the Hungarian Conquest to the eighteenth century], ed. M. Cseri and J. Tárnoki (Szentendre-Szolnok: Damjanich János Múzeum - Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum, 2001), 331-363; G. Tomka, "Közép- és kora újkori településrészlet Mohi mezőváros belterületének peremén" [The ranges of the medieval market town of Mohi from the middle and early modern ages], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 37 (1999), 417-446 (henceforth: Tomka, "Közép és kora-újkori településrészlet").

⁵ Here it is not possible to provide a detailed description of the standard methods used in archaeozoological analyses. Primary archaeozoological data were collected directly from the bone material. These data are mostly biological in nature and include information on the taxa and skeletal elements. These biometrical data, however, cannot be placed directly into a cultural context. It is necessary, therefore, to collect secondary data which are based on the primary data. These are not direct measurements but ratios, estimations, distributions, and tendencies which lend themselves to cultural interpretation. For information on collecting primary and secondary data, as well as mathematical methods used in archaeozoology, see: E. J. Reitz and E. S. Wing, *Zooarchaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); T. O'Connor, *The Archaeology of Animal Bones* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2004); and S. J. M. Davies, *The Archaeology of Animals* (London: Routledge, 2002). The bone measurements used in this study were taken according to the standard established by Angela von den Driesch in *A Guide to Measurements of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites*, Peabody Museum Bulletin 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1976).

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Animal Exploitation: Meat, Draft Power, Secondary Products, and Raw Materials

Altogether 20 145 animal bones were found and identified from the archaeological site of Muhi. This material was collected by hand, without sieving or flotation; the hand collection, however, was thorough and fragments of 0.5-1 cm were recovered. Within this assemblage, a total of 7 834 bone fragments came to light from the layers dated to the twelfth-thirteenth century, thirteenth century, and thirteenth-fourteenth century. These faunal remains were studied as a single unit because they overlap



*Fig. 2. The three excavation areas in the aerial photograph of the site.
(White: settlement area; light gray: main street; dark gray: church; black dots: excavation units)*

temporally and since the bulk of this sample comes from the thirteenth century these remains principally reflect animal keeping in this historical period. Some fragments (2 055 pieces) could not be identified precisely because they were too fragmentary; they were not included in the species ratio calculations, although they could still be studied from a taphonomic point of view. Human bones were also omitted from the

analysis. Thus, altogether 5 759 precisely identified bone finds (NISP)⁶ were available for close study. The remains of the following species were recovered:

Domestic species

Cattle (*Bos taurus* L. 1758)
Horse (*Equus caballus* L. 1758)
Donkey (*Equus asinus* L. 1758)
Sheep (*Ovis aries* L. 1758)
Goat (*Capra hircus* L. 1758)
Pig (*Sus domesticus* Erxl. 1777a)
Dog (*Canis familiaris* L. 1758)
Cat (*Felis catus* L. 1758)
Domestic hen (*Gallus domesticus* L. 1758)

Wild species

Red deer (*Cervus elaphus* L. 1758)
Roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus* L. 1758)
Wild boar (*Sus scrofa ferus* L. 1758)
Hare (*Lepus europaeus* L. 1758)
Wolf (*Canis lupus* L. 1758)
Hamster (*Cricetus cricetus* L. 1758)
European ground squirrel souslik (*Spermophilus citellus* L. 1766)
Great sturgeon (*Huso huso* L. 1758)
Catfish (*Esox lucius* L. 1758)
Carp (*Cyprinida* sp.)

The diversity of species is usually low in village assemblages since they are dominated by the same domesticates: cattle, sheep, goat, pig, horse, and sometimes dog or domestic hen; since the assemblages consist mainly of kitchen refuse, dog and cat remains tend to be relatively rare. Wild animals usually represent around 2% of the whole faunal assemblages from villages.⁷ Thus, the ratio of the species in Muhi reflects proportions commonly found in villages (Table 1). The number of domestic animals is overwhelming compared to wild species; wild animals contributed very little to the residents' nutrition. It is certain, however, that the meat of hare, wild boar, roe and red deer was also consumed occasionally. The nearby environment was also exploited for gathering antler as raw material for tool manufacture, an activity which required precise knowledge of male deer spring territories where they shed their antlers. Legal regulations for hunting in this period, a possible explanation for the low ratio of wild species, are not fully known due to the lack of documentary sources.

⁶ Number of identified specimens (NISP) is the standard term in archaeozoology for the number of precisely identified fragments included in the faunal analysis. This number is taken as 100% in relative frequency calculations. A group of fragments obviously deriving from the same bone counts as a single item.

⁷ M. Daróczy-Szabó, "Állattartás középkori falvainkban" [Animal husbandry in our medieval villages], in A. Kubinyi, J. Laszlovszky, P. Szabó, ed., *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon. Gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and Agriculture in Medieval Hungary. Economic History, Material Culture, Archaeology] (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008), 91-94.

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Cattle dominate the picture in Muhi, while both small ruminants (sheep and goat or *caprinae*)⁸ and pigs constitute a fifth of the total material. Horse remains are relatively few but still not negligible. Other species make up only a small percentage.

Species	NISP (Number of identified specimens)	MNI	Ratio of the whole (100% = 5759 pieces – 15 antler fragments = 5744)*
Cattle	2810	100	48.92%
Horse	496 (incl. one partial skeleton)	20	8.64%
Donkey	1		0.02%
Sheep and goat	1138	21	19.81%
Pig	1000	36	17.41%
Dog	61 (incl. one partial skeleton)**		1.06%
Cat	17		0.30%
Domestic hen	71		1.24%
Domestic animals total	5594		97.39%
Red deer	12		0.21%
Roe deer	8		0.14%
Wild boar	11		0.19%
Hare	5		0.09%
Wolf	1		0.02%
Hamster	77 (incl. two skeletons)		1.34%
Souslik	1		0.02%
Fish	35		0.61%
Wild animals total	78		2.61%
TOTAL	5744		100%

Table 1. The ratios of species at Muhi.

* The antlers are not included in the ratio of the whole. There were ten antler fragments of red deer and five antlers of roe deer at the site, but the presence of antler is not necessarily an indication of meat consumption.

** Partial or whole, articulated skeletons are counted as one find since they surely belong to one and only one individual. Counting all skeletal elements in such a case would bias the picture.

⁸ Sheep and goat are counted together since their bones are very difficult to distinguish and the zooarchaeological literature usually handles them together as small ruminants.

The Cattle of Muhi. Animal Husbandry in a Thirteenth-Century Hungarian Village

The composition of the faunal material, on the one hand, reflects the proportion of domestic to wild taxa usually observed at Arpadian Age villages, but on the other hand, it displays a somewhat different ratio within the domestic species. Approximately half of the remains were identified as cattle. The dominance of this taxon was expected; the proportion of cattle to other species, however, is much higher here than in other village faunal assemblages.⁹ These small-size, *brachyceros*-type cattle were exploited for their meat, hide, bones, manure, and draft power and probably for their milk as well. Milking is a form of exploitation that leaves no manifestation on the bones (with very few exceptions); therefore, it is difficult to prove whether cows were milked or not on the basis of the bone material. Written evidence about dairy products is also relatively scarce in Hungary;¹⁰ the fact that adult female cattle dominate the Muhi assemblage supports the assumption that cattle were also exploited for dairy uses. Among the pathological cattle bones from Muhi there are specimens with lesions that are probably related to hard work; such pathologies develop easily on cows used both for traction and lactation. Another sign of heavy lactation is the thinning of the compact bone, because the animals extract calcium from their skeletons to maintain the ideal chemical composition of milk; such extreme cases, however, are not known from Muhi. Most of the cattle remains where the sex could be identified derive from cows, supporting the idea that milking was an everyday activity, even for draft animals.

Beef is regarded as the cornerstone of medieval Hungarian meat consumption. Only in later texts, however, does written evidence exist to support this theory.¹¹

⁹ The comparison was based on the following Arpadian Age villages: Szarvas-Rózsás, Kardoskút-Hatablak and Tiszalök-Rázom (published by Sándor Bökönyi: Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Mammals* [Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988]), and Kána (analysed by Márta Daróczi-Szabó, unpublished, personal communication). The absolute dominance of cattle was observed in both Muhi and Kána, while this species represented a much lower ratio in the other assemblages. This, however, can also be explained by the fact that at Kána and Muhi the number of finds was much higher, i.e., the sample was more representative, and the methods of excavation and analysis were more controlled.

¹⁰ Cistercian monasteries were the first institutions where dairy products are documented; butter is mentioned in 1157; cheese was produced by almost all monastic communities, A. Paládi-Kovács, *A magyar állattartó kultúra korszakai* [Periods of Hungarian Animal Husbandry] (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Kutatóintézete, 1993), 140). Peasants also must have been involved in producing cheese, since this food is mentioned in 1358 as a usual "gift" that had to be given to the landlord (even though it is not known whether the cheese was made from cow, sheep or goat milk', Gy. Székely, *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* [Studies in the history of peasantry in fourteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 297.

¹¹ In the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period an exceptionally high quantity of beef was consumed; at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century the annual Hungarian beef

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Traction work and beef production require antagonistic anatomical features: carcasses of large, long-legged animals used for traction have more bone and muscle and less fat, which means that they are not as suitable for primary beef production.¹² The conscious large-scale production of beef for the market and specialization in cattle breeding only began in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries in Hungary. Even though written sources reveal that the practice of cattle being kept and fattened only for meat was present in wealthier settlements, there is no osteological evidence for this tradition in the thirteenth century. The fourteenth-century Italian chronicler Matteo Villani mentions that in Hungary oxen and cows were raised which were not used as draft animals,¹³ while sixteenth-century documents reveal that old animals retired from traction work were still consumed at that time.¹⁴ It is likely that animals retired from draft work were slaughtered and consumed in Muhi, meaning that they were usually killed as adults. This theory is supported by the fact that in Muhi most of the cattle died when they were of a mature age. Oxen were used for traction mainly on big estates; in settlements where inhabitants were not wealthy, ox bones occur relatively infrequently, which seems to be the case in Muhi, where only two ox bones were recovered. Cows also might have been used for traction on smaller pieces of land. Pathologies which can be traced back to work overload were discovered in some cases in both the settlement core and on the outskirts; this also suggests that the preference for slaughtering older animals was prevalent over the whole settlement. Calves were sometimes killed, but certainly not on a regular basis. All this reflects an economical form of animal exploitation; probably none of the thirteenth-century inhabitants of

consumption was about 63 to 69 kg per head, compared with 47 kg in towns in south Germany and 26 kg in southern France (I. N. Kiss, "Agricultural and Livestock Production: Wine and Oxen. The Case of Hungary," *East-Central Europe in Transition – From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. A. Maczak, H. Samsonowicz and P. Burke [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 88-90.) However, it is important to keep in mind that meat consumption would not have been the same in cities, towns, and small villages.

¹² J. F. Kidwell and J. A. McCormick, "The influence of size and type on growth and development of cattle," *Journal of Animal Science* 15 (1956): 114.

¹³ A. Miskulin, *Magyar művelődéstörténeti mozzanatok Giovanni és Matteo Villani krónikáin alapján* [Movements in Hungarian Cultural History on the basis of Chronicles by Giovanni and Mateo Villani] (Budapest: Stephaneum 1905), 72-73 (hereafter: Miskulin, *Magyar művelődéstörténeti mozzanatok*). Matteo Villani reports that these animals were fattened on pastures, and after slaughter their fat and skin were sold while the meat was salted and fried in large cauldrons together with the bones. Then the fried meat was dried and made into powder which could be stored for a long time without spoiling.

¹⁴ L. Bartosiewicz, *Animals in the Urban Landscape in the Wake of the Middle Ages – A Case Study from Vác, Hungary* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 1995), 40 (hereafter: Bartosiewicz, *Animals in the Urban Landscape*).

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the village could afford to keep and feed cattle only for beef production, not even the higher status people living in the settlement core. Even though the remains of animals imported and animals raised in the settlement cannot be distinguished using osteoarchaeological criteria, it is very likely that most of the animals slaughtered and consumed were raised in Muhi and not imported from other regional markets.

species	foetus	neonatal	juvenile	subadult	adult	senile	unidentifiable
cattle NISP=2810		5	206	4	891	3	1701
horse NISP=496			13	2	263	1	217
sheep and goat NISP=1138	1	7	95		216	1	818
pig NISP=1000		7	193		284		512
dog NISP=61		1	4		38		18
cat NISP=17			3		11		3
hen NISP=71			9	5	27		30

Table 2. Mortality profiles for the main domestic species.

Few horse bones were recovered. They are less fragmented than those of other species, which suggests that they were probably not consumed. The fact that all age classes were present in the assemblage also suggests that horse was not eaten, at least not regularly. This custom was most certainly prevalent among the ancient Hungarians at the time of the Hungarian conquest,¹⁵ but theoretically it was abandoned after conversion to the Christian faith. In comparison with another coeval village, Kána, however, some doubts arose. In Kána's case, it is certain that horse was sometimes consumed, since a few hack marks and cut marks were found on fragments of bones which are associated with good quality meat.¹⁶ The ratio of horse bones is almost the same on the two sites, as are the mortality profiles. On this basis it can be suggested that horse meat was also, in all probability, consumed in Muhi now and then, although there is no clear archaeological evidence for this. Horses must have been valuable animals, and in some cases even injured animals were kept alive until their injuries healed, especially in

¹⁵ Paládi-Kovács, *A magyar állattartó kultúra korszakai*, 103.

¹⁶ Márta Daróczi-Szabó, personal communication.

somewhat wealthier households.¹⁷ Transportation with horses was much faster than with oxen; horses were used as light draft animals for transporting less heavy loads at higher speeds. The chronicler Matteo Villani mentions that in Hungary castrated horses were often used for light draft work.¹⁸ For heavy tillage, however, oxen were preferred for their strength, even though their speed was more limited. None of the horse bones displayed pathologies that can be traced back to work overload, something that may also support the supposition that horses were better cared for than draft cattle.

The meat of small ruminants and pigs played a similar role in the diet in general, although there were differences between inhabitants of the settlement core and people living on the outskirts (see Butchering and Meat Supply, below). Sheep were also kept for wool (and perhaps for milk), so sheep were usually kept alive longer, while pigs were more likely to be slaughtered at a young age. The occasional slaughter of lamb was also an option, but the mortality profile for sheep more closely reflects natural herd mortality than management practices (Table 2).

The economical character of pig keeping in households may be the reason for the relatively high ratio of swine in the assemblage; their proportion is higher than might be expected in this period. Pigs were certainly kept by households and probably roamed through the village eating human offal of various kinds, especially during the winter. However, in other seasons they may have been fattened on the meadows in herds and, probably, on acorns in the forests of the Bükk Mountains in the fall and early winter. The legal regulation of this practice, however, is unknown.

Dog keeping is difficult to reconstruct on the basis of the few bone finds recovered. It is possible that dogs played a certain role in superstitious beliefs, even though not much was found at Muhi which may indicate their role in any kind of popular ritual behavior beyond formal church rites. A number of dog remains in ritual contexts have been recovered from the Arpadian Age village of Kána¹⁹ and elsewhere in Hungary,²⁰ suggesting the continuation of certain not-well-understood

¹⁷ The articulated skeleton of a horse came to light in the settlement core. The pelvis was pathologically curved, probably due to a fracture that had healed with some dislocation. This animal could only have survived and healed if the damage was recognised and the necessary conditions (rest, proper nutrition, no work) were guaranteed.

¹⁸ Miskulin, *Magyar művelődéstörténeti mozzanatok*, 72.

¹⁹ Márta Daróczy-Szabó, personal communication, 2008.

²⁰ István Vörös put together a list of such finds. Dog remains – skulls or skeletons – were put into ovens in seven cases (Esztergom, Sály, Fenékpusztá, Csátalja, Bóly, Szarvas and Tiszalök); dog skulls in pots were recovered only in Fancsika, and, recently, in Kána. Dog remains are recovered from pits practically

beliefs dating from pre-Christian times. The fact that such phenomena appear in different geographical areas means that such beliefs were widespread; therefore it is presumed that they were also known and maybe practiced in Muhi, even though no unambiguous archaeological evidence has been discovered.

Only a few domestic birds seem to have been kept in the village. The meat and eggs of domestic hens only complemented the diet of the villagers and apparently were not consumed in large quantities.

Animal exploitation not only included use of their meat and draft power, but also their skins and various skeletal elements, which were used in tool manufacturing. The processing and use of animal skins is usually not visible directly in the archaeological record since skins only survive under special conditions. Bone tools, however, are found in relatively consistent numbers in excavations.

The bones of animals served as raw material for many types of tools. They were available everywhere, cheap, relatively easy to shape, and had no other use except glue-making. Altogether, 55 pieces were identified as tools or as debris from bone manufacturing in the thirteenth-century Muhi sample. A large number of these (20 pieces) were sledge runners, although gaming pieces, handles and other objects of less certain function were also found. The raw material was provided by animals kept in the village and shed antler collected in the forest. In most cases, bones of horses were used for bone tool production since they were usually not damaged by butchering.

The presence of debris and unfinished, discarded, and re-worked pieces demonstrates the local character of production (something that also continued in the later layers). Although some workshop debris was found, there was no trace of centralised large-scale production of bone tools; Muhi seems to have been self-sufficient in this respect.

Butchering and Meat Supply: Shedding Light on the Social Structure

Some scholars argue that before the fifteenth or sixteenth century the emphasis was more on the quantity rather than on the quality of food, and it was only the increased availability of food for the masses that led to the demand for more sophisticated cooking.²¹ However, in strongly hierarchical societies, day-to-

everywhere, I. Vörös, "Kutyááldozatok és kutyatemetkezések a középkori Magyarországon I" [Dog sacrifices and dog burials in medieval Hungary, Pt. I], *Folia Archaeologica* 41 (1990): 136.

²¹ M. van der Veen, "When is Food a Luxury?" *World Archaeology* 34, No. 3 (2003): 412 (henceforth: van

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day consumption is characterised by differences between households, groups of households and types of settlement.²² Since these social differences were reflected in everyday practices, the analysis of archaeological kitchen refuse can provide useful data to study this problem.

Butchering marks serve as an indicator of the way the carcass of an animal was partitioned during primary and secondary butchering as well as meat distribution. Patterned butchering marks and the presence of standardised and selected meat parts have been interpreted as evidence for wholesale meat supply.²³ Where the meat supply was centralised, professional butchers slaughtered the animals and carried out the primary butchering, which produced primary butchering waste (i.e., parts of the body which represent no meat or very low quality meat, such as horn cores and lower extremities; some of these went to workshops and were processed for other uses). The meat was then sold and transported to households where domestic food processing took place, resulting in kitchen waste. István Vörös argues that medieval cattle carcasses were not deboned after slaughtering, but sold with the bones left in the meat and thus secondary butchering and defleshing took place at households even in large urban centers.²⁴ In my view, this is far too general a statement; I would rather say that secondary butchering took place in the shop or household (depending on the structure of the meat supply) where the sections of carcass were cut into segments to fit the cooking vessels and conform to traditional meat recipes. In cases where the slaughter and whole butchering process took place in households all the skeletal elements will be found in the refuse associated with the household.

I investigated the cut marks on cattle remains since bones of this species were recovered in the highest number from Muhi. Hacking marks appear in a number of spots, mostly at the joints, but also on diaphyseal fragments. István Vörös has pointed out that the basic processes of primary butchering are defined by anatomical structures,²⁵ therefore butchering marks often appear at joints where the carcass was easier to cut into pieces. This method was followed by professional

der Veen, "When is Food a Luxury?")

²² van der Veen, "When is Food a Luxury?": 415.

²³ Bartosiewicz, *Animals in the Urban Landscape*, 35.

²⁴ I. Vörös, "Egy 15. századi budavári ház állatcsontleletei. A budavári piacok húsellátása a csontleletek alapján/ Tierknochen aus einem Haus (15. Jh.) im Burgviertel von Buda. Fleischversorgung der mittelalterlichen Märkte in Burgviertel von Buda," *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 1992, 227-239: 232 (hereafter: Vörös, "Egy 15. századi budavári ház állatcsontleletei").

²⁵ Vörös, "Egy 15. századi budavári ház állatcsontleletei," 232.

butchers using specialized tools. It is, however, important to bear in mind that the method of butchering is also a cultural choice depending on the desired outcome, even if anatomical structures seen through modern eyes define the most practical, “efficient” way of partitioning the carcass.

The first step in the “standardised” butchering practiced in medieval Hungary was to cut the spine into two along the longitudinal axis, then the ribs were cut off; the foreleg was cut into two pieces at the elbow joint, the hind leg at the ankle joint and larger parts of the carcass were transported to the market.²⁶ In Muhi, however, butchering patterns do not seem to have been standardised. Cut marks appear practically anywhere on the skeleton without a strong preference for any particular body areas. Even though the number of cut marks on the distal end of cattle humeri are a bit higher than at other spots, this can also be explained by the fact that the solid compact tissues of this bone part have a better chance of survival in the soil. The number of cut marks on the whole skeleton, nevertheless, is unusually low; they were found on only 234 pieces, which represent only 8.2% of all cattle remains. A possible explanation is that bones were often not hacked but also broken up to extract the bone marrow. A relatively high number of cuts on the lower extremities would indicate that the feet were removed together with the hide, however, there are no traces of anything similar here. Vertebrae split into two “standard halves” may be an indicator that professional butchering tools like cleavers were used; in Muhi’s case, animals carcasses were not split longitudinally. Only the vertebral processes were sometimes cut or chopped off.

It is likely that animals were slaughtered in households and families killed their own animals instead of buying meat at the market. This corresponds to the general assumption that standardised butchering and the appearance of professional butchers is one of the indicators of a settlement’s urbanisation, confirming that Muhi was not urban. Another reflection of the absence of a standard meat market is that the ratio of species is different in the refuse bone samples coming from the main street and from the outskirts of the settlement (Fig.3). It seems that the inhabitants in both areas of Muhi mainly consumed beef, even though the proportion of cattle is higher in the settlement core, while the bones of small ruminants and pigs are more prominently represented on the outskirts of Muhi.

²⁶ Vörös, “Egy 15. századi budavári ház állatsontleletei,” 232.

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It might be assumed that wealthier inhabitants of the settlement core could afford to consume larger amounts of beef as well as keeping horses, while somewhat less advantaged people living on the outskirts consumed more pork and *caprinae* – animals that are easier to raise. This kind of social distinction is, however, at first sight not supported by the somewhat puzzling mortality profiles. Even though it is

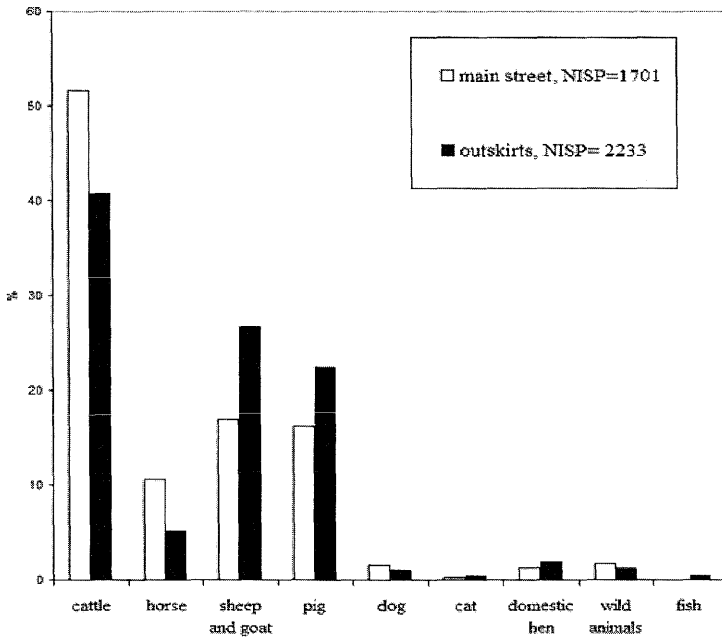


Fig. 3. The ratio of species along the main street and on the outskirts of Mubi village

expected from the ratio of species that wealthier inhabitants of the settlement core could afford to consume larger amounts of meat from young animals, a usual form of luxury food, the mortality profiles seem to be almost the same in both areas; in fact, more calves and piglets were found in the outskirts area than in the settlement core, while the proportion of juveniles to adults is very similar in the cases of swine and *caprinae*. This, however, may also be explained by functional differences between the two parts of the village. If people living on the outskirts were more involved in herding (as is suggested by the species ratios and the presence of a

circular ditch, identified as a sheepfold, in the agricultural area),²⁷ this would have resulted in a higher cull of young individuals related to natural mortality. Thus, the relatively high number of juveniles does not necessarily reflect the better financial position of people living away from the village core but only their more direct participation in tending swine and sheep-goat herds. It would have been easier to keep sheep and goats on the outskirts since these animals were usually kept in larger groups and thus would require larger open areas for stalling, while one or two cows or horses could easily be kept in small stables behind houses. Since pigs were often fed on plants, worms, and acorns provided by the environment, swine kept in large numbers also required open space. This functional difference between animal keeping in the settlement core and on the outskirts would explain the difference in the ratio of species. While inhabitants along the main street could afford to keep cattle and horses in stables in their backyards, the less advantaged people on the outskirts of Muhi village mainly kept sheep and swine and did not have the same access to beef products.

All skeletal elements are found in equal proportions in both areas, supporting the assumption that animals were also slaughtered in the households in the settlement core. Thus, all body parts entered the food chain and ended up in kitchen refuse. The average size of fragments is 6.1 cm in the outskirts area and 6.8 cm in this area, so the 6-7 cm “pot-compatible” size is a standard. The places where the carcasses were partitioned seem to be more or less the same, without any trace of a standardised butchering method. There are, however, differences in the number of butchered bones: hacked bones are much more common in the settlement core (95 pieces) than in the outskirts area (32 fragments). In the outskirts area, the number of knife cuts is almost twice as high as the number of hacking marks. This may indicate the presence of proper (and expensive) tools in the households along the main street, while in the outskirts only the primary carcass partitioning (which is impossible to do with a simple knife) was carried out with an axe. In both cases, however, most of the bones were simply broken up by percussion, producing spiral fractures.

The number of cattle metapodia fragments is quite high in both areas. This may be explained by the fact that metapodia have a better chance of survival in the soil and they are easy to identify. Otherwise, there is no sign of any preference for certain body parts. Meat

²⁷ Pusztai, “A középkori Mohi mezőváros építészeti emlékei,” 348; Tomka, “Közép és kora-újkorai településrészlet,” 417-446.

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quality evaluation results in a homogenous picture (Fig. 4); medium quality meat provided the bulk of the meat protein in both areas.²⁸ The ratio of low-quality meat is, indeed, a bit higher in the outskirts area as a consequence of the high number of metapodial fragments. This may be traced back to skin processing being more common in peripheral areas of the village due to larger free space. There is, however, no difference between the two parts of the village in terms of body parts representing high quality meat.

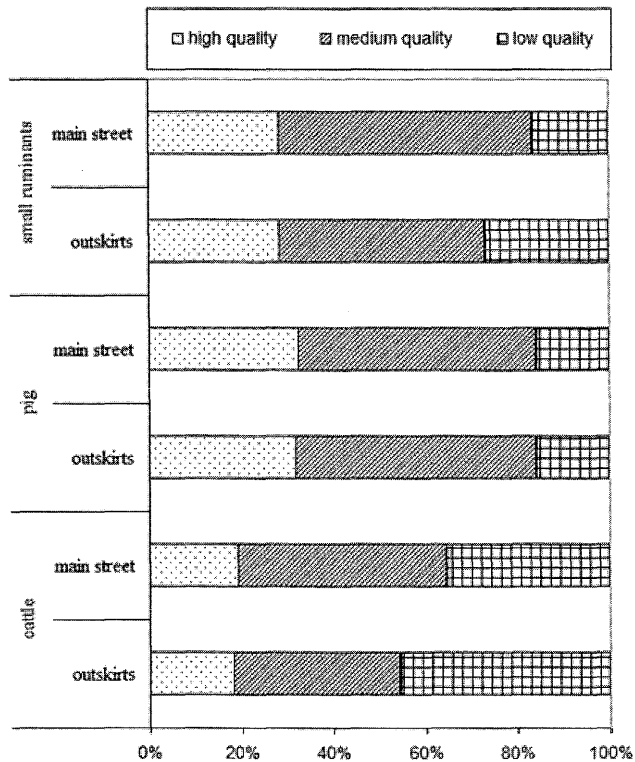


Fig. 4. Meat quality

²⁸ For the evaluation of meat quality I used the method of Hans-Peter Uerpmann (H.-P. Uerpmann, "Animal Bone Finds and Economic Archaeology: A Critical Study of the 'Osteo-archaeological' Method," *World Archaeology* 4, No. 3 (1973): 307-322.) This method is somewhat problematic, as it does not take cultural differences into consideration; however, it is still the internationally acknowledged method for meat evaluation in the archaeozoological literature.

Even though the results are somewhat ambiguous, it is important to remember that the available *topoi* on social status and meat consumption in medieval Hungary, i.e., the models for identifying status from kitchen refuse, are mainly based on assemblages from elite sites and urban contexts. I am not convinced that these are completely valid for medieval rural society as well.²⁹ The social differentiation reflected in the kitchen garbage is therefore not revealed in a spectacular but rather a subtle way in this case.

Conclusions

It has been presumed that the areas excavated in the settlement core and the outskirts of the village represent different layers of society and the various architectural structures associated with them. It was, therefore, hypothesised that in accordance with the social status of the inhabitants the composition of kitchen refuse would differ in these areas in terms of species ratios, mortality profiles, meat quality, butchering methods and preferred body parts.

Household slaughtering and the maximum exploitation of the animals' potential are characteristic of the whole settlement. The separate analysis of the excavated areas, however, makes it clear that the ratio of species is indeed different in the settlement core and on the outskirts of the village, large domesticates being more prevalent in the settlement core and *caprinae* and swine occurring in larger proportions on the outskirts. This supports the hypothesis on social differentiation. The mortality profiles, however, seemed to contradict the idea that slightly more upper class people dwelt in the core. Strikingly enough, there was no significant difference between the quality of meat consumed in the two areas in terms of preferences for body parts representing better quality meat. In accordance with a more recent theory on medieval meat consumption and social status, it seems

²⁹ The amount of meat consumed by peasants in the Middle Ages is not really known. Even in England, where the number of surviving written documents is much higher than in Hungary, certain contradictions are evident. Their concept of meat quantities, "much" and "little" meat, must have been quite different from ours. Poverty among peasants also has various interpretations. The concept of meat quality is further complicated by the fact that – depending on the cooking traditions – practically every piece of meat was edible: a stew could be made from the feet, head or liver; the marrow was picked out of the bones, which were then simmered in water to make a rich broth that was used as a base for other dishes, B. A. Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 128. The situation is even more complicated in medieval Hungary, since there are scarcely any reliable records on the quantities of meat available to peasants or their concepts of poverty and meat quality.

that in Muhi the amount of meat available was the real measure of status, while meat quality was only of secondary significance. A single cow (or steer) produced a much greater amount of meat than a single sheep or even pig, which means that based on the species ratios inhabitants living in the core area had access to larger quantities of meat. This signifies the presence of not a striking, but still noticeable, social differentiation. There is, however, a lack of supporting faunal data from contemporary Hungarian villages. Meat consumption customs of peasants in this period are still obscure and the problems of applying models derived from elite contexts to rural ones are still awaiting a solution. It is also important to remember that archaeological assemblages do not reliably reflect all aspects of trading activities. Financial and social differentiation will be reflected in consumption patterns, food being a primary indicator of wealth. In thirteenth-century Muhi wealth was probably associated with the varying amounts of meat available to individual households. Nevertheless, the basis for social differentiation is not known, and it is important to remember that certain aspects of nutrition are not reflected in the archaeological record; if, e.g., wealth were expressed in eating sheep entrails daily it would never be detected using archaeological methods. A more precise picture could have been achieved at Muhi by analysing plant and faunal data from individual households. Even though this was not feasible there, further studies may yet provide a deeper insight into this problem.


The results are thus somewhat ambiguous; the picture emerging from the finds does not exactly correspond to the expected results since more clear social differentiation expressed in a variety of meat consumption behaviors was expected. Social differentiation is present, but in a much subtler form than expected. It seems that the rapid economic growth of the village, and, consequently, a more predominant financial differentiation, only began later.

It is again a commonplace, but at the end of this analysis it has become evident that more research is needed on the animal husbandry of Arpadian Age villages. Newly excavated and assessed materials such as Kána and Muhi provide a picture quite different from the one constructed on the basis of previous studies. The problem of horse-meat consumption and the role of dogs in superstition provide fascinating research topics for further studies, as well as the connections between settlement type and social differentiation as reflected in kitchen refuse. Other aspects, such as connections between ethnic dynamics, trade dynamics, animal husbandry and meat consumption and its regional differences, are still somewhat unclear due to the lack of properly excavated and analysed assemblages.

The Cattle of Muhi. Animal Husbandry in a Thirteenth-Century Hungarian Village

At Muhi, the analysis of later layers as well as the investigation of remains from individual households will contribute to our deeper understanding of the settlement's history and development. The first results show the increasing importance of cattle, in accordance with the theory that Muhi participated in the Late Medieval cattle trade and thus its inhabitants would have had easier access to beef. All these data, however, can only be properly interpreted if they are embedded in an archaeological, cultural, and historical context. The study of social status on the basis of kitchen refuse is a dynamically developing branch of zooarchaeology, which will, I hope, provide increasingly precise methods and models for the complex task of evaluating Hungarian bone samples.

THE DYNASTIC HORIZONS OF THE ÁRPÁDS AND PIASTS, ca. 1150-1250

Wojciech Kozłowski 

This comparative study aims to present, in brief, an interesting parallel development of marriage “policy” in Hungary and Poland in the High Middle Ages. Both states emerged on the European political map in the second half of the tenth century, linking the Ruthenian East and the Balkans with Western Europe. After nearly two centuries of mutual political and military cooperation that rested on a number of dynastic marriages, these states drifted apart during the second half of the twelfth century. Whereas Hungary was rising in power, Poland pulled back to more local politics.¹ This did not happen either automatically or rapidly, however, but was a gradual process which I will illustrate below from the marital point of view. Although the period selected, 1150-1250, seems somewhat artificial, it is meant to be so. The last interdynastic marriage took place around 1140 and in the meantime the last “universal” duke of Poland, Bolesław the Wrymouth, died in 1138. No more Árpád-Piast marriages were concluded until that of Salomea and Coloman in 1214.² I would call these several decades, nevertheless, a “new opening.” They completely reshaped Hungarian-Polish relations to such an extent that their further development in the middle of the thirteenth century linked the history of Hungary and Poland for the next couple of centuries.³ The marriage of 1214 was a precedent for those of 1239 and 1256;⁴ therefore, I decided to establish a final date for my discussion around 1250, examining this almost-hundred-year-long period of marital links.

¹ This study was written thanks to a scholarship from the International Visegrad Fund that allowed me to undertake studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, in the academic year 2007/2008. This article is based on my MA thesis, “Prelude to the Angevins: Marriages of the Árpáds and Piasts Reconsidered (986 - ca. 1250)” (Central European University, Budapest, 2008) (hereafter: Kozłowski, “Prelude”).

² Partially due to Byzantine domination of Hungary between 1140-1170, see Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni; Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).

³ For a more extensive justification for this claim see Kozłowski, “Prelude.”

⁴ In 1239 the Polish Duke Bolesław the Shy married Kinga, a daughter of Béla IV, mainly due to the impending Mongol threat. The marriage of 1256 between another Polish duke, Bolesław the Pious, and Jolanta, a younger daughter of Béla IV, fitted into a new foreign policy run by the Hungarian king after the Mongol onslaught. See also László Szende, “Magyarország külpolitikája 1242-1246 között” [The Foreign Politics of Hungary between 1242 and 1246], *Első Század* 2 (2000), 299-349.

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Some general features of a dynastic marriage must necessarily be discussed; marriage in medieval society should be seen as a serious issue for several reasons.⁵ Firstly, according to Christian teachings a couple, once married, was supposed to live life together. Putting aside exceptions which could happen in practice and not from denying this basic idea, parties had to take into consideration in advance that a marriage could last for decades. Separating from a wife could happen, of course, but in the case of dynastic marriages it immediately had political repercussions. Therefore, I would claim that concluding a marriage was understood as more than gaining immediate profit; it was also seen to include the construction of a solid basis for long-lasting cooperation. In a sense, it was a clear signal of political options that were chosen by those who made the marriage contract. Furthermore, a marriage was an *expressis verbis* declaration of the will to cooperate and, hence, it created extraordinary space for diplomatic and political undertakings. At the same time, all the by-standers received clear information that from now on the contracted pair should be seen somewhat as a team. A dynastic marriage was closely linked to prestige, however; wide-ranging and honorable marital connections were greatly appreciated because they inevitably enhanced the status of a dynasty among other European houses. Subsequently, this usually broadened the sphere of political influence and resulted in both diplomatic and economic profit. On the other hand, a dynastic marriage had its own serious consequences, and its long-term perspective was not necessarily the most solemn. Namely, a marriage, once concluded, acted as a “give-me-a-reason” device. Depending on the political situation, it could equip one party with many claims against the other involving particular territories, land estates, regions or even thrones. Moreover, a marriage normally meant offspring, who in one circumstance would be very desirable but could be problematic under another conditions. Hungarian-Polish relations seen through their marriages were never free from any of these considerations.

It should be mentioned here that dynastic marriages, generally speaking, also aroused other than political consequences. A bride arriving at the court of her

⁵ Some readings concerning the problems of a medieval marriage: D. L. D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100-1300* (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1993). For an anthropological approach see Jack Goody, *The Oriental, the Ancient, and the Primitive: Systems of Marriage and the Family in the Pre-industrial Societies of Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and idem, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

prospective husband was accompanied by her own entourage, which often represented its own unique culture and social behavior. Therefore, such a marriage could become a great opportunity for cultural intersection, for broadening the social horizons of both sides and, as a result, a starting point for an exchange of more than political “goods.” These aspects of marital agreements, however, are not part of my study here.

Methodological Remarks

The following discussion relies on a database which I created using published genealogical material. For the Polish figures I used mainly *Piastowie. Leksykon biograficzny*, which summarizes the up-to-date status of scholarly research, in some cases amending data in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*.⁶ For some problematic Polish data I consulted the works of Kazimierz Jasiński, well-known Polish genealogist.⁷ I collected the data concerning the Árpáds from the genealogical tables published in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14 század)*.⁸ For any other figures, chiefly regarding other dynasties, I also referred to the genealogical tables available in the last volume of the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*.⁹ My main goal was to gather all the marriages that were concluded (thus, engagement alone was not enough) within both dynasties in roughly the period 1150 to 1250.¹⁰ I believe that the data collected reveal some interesting trends in the marital policy of both houses.

Nevertheless, before getting to results of my survey,¹¹ I describe the methodology I have applied. Firstly, the term “marriage” should be elaborated here by a small

⁶ *Piastowie. Leksykon biograficzny* [Piasts. Biographical Lexicon], ed. Stanisław Szczur and Krzysztof Ożóg (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1999) (hereafter: *Piastowie*).

⁷ Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy i legnicko-brześci* [Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts. The Piasts of Wrocław, Legnica and Brześć], Vol. 1, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973).

⁸ *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14 század)* [Lexicon of the Early History of Medieval Hungary (from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Century)], ed. Gyula Kristó, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 61-65.

⁹ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. Robert Auty, et al. (Munich: Artemis-Verlag, 1991-1999), vol. 9.

¹⁰ I have, however, ignored the second marriage of Elisabeth (1152-1209) (see Table 2) into the Wettins, concluded no later than 1190, because after her first marriage to Sobiesław II of Premislids she was already in Bohemian political circles and, therefore, the marriage into the Wettins cannot be counted as Piast politics. Moreover, the second marriage of Henry the White (1227/30-1266) (see Table 5) to Helena of Saxony also has been omitted because it was concluded c. 1260, which is chronologically beyond the dates of this study.

¹¹ Tables summarizing this data can be found at the end of this study. I have not included standard genealogical family trees because they do not add to the utility of the tables.

addition to its natural understanding. In case of the Piasts who married other members of the dynasty, for the sake of statistical convenience and in order to keep the same standards for all figures in the database, a Piast-Piast marriage meant statistically two separate marriages, because it expressed a dynastic horizon for two parties, no matter that both of them originated from the same dynasty. Similarly, all Hungarian-Polish marriages were counted twice in order to support two different perspectives, the Piasts' and the Árpáds'. Secondly, I introduced several other terms to describe concepts in the database. The term "direction" is crucial for the whole piece of research. This term gives a general impression of the marital objectives, i.e., what sort of political units were addressees of the dynastic efforts of the Piasts and the Árpáds. The "direction" was treated here somewhat superficially, but I found it necessary to obtain useful statistical data. "Empire" embraces all relations with the German-speaking and formal subjects of the Holy Roman Empire. "Byzantium" refers to all relations that concerned Hungarian Balkan-Byzantium politics, except for those which referred to the post-crusade political order and were characterized as "Crusade." "Ruthenia" took a broad meaning likewise. I distinguished the "Empire," however, from the term "Bohemia," because this was a neighboring state and therefore it played a special role in the politics of Hungary and Poland. For the same reason, during the more detailed interpretation of the data, I decided to disaggregate the "Empire" into smaller entities to make it possible to recognize the leading trends.

The whole database comprises eighty-five marriages that took place in the period from approximately 1150 to 1250. The choice criteria were based on the following factors: First, I set up a universal chronology. The starting point was the death of Bolesław III the Wrymouth in 1138, and the end point was 1256, i.e., the marriage of Bolesław the Pious to a Hungarian princess, Jolanta. This was, however, not enough for approaching the data accurately; therefore, I also created a relative chronology based on a system of *quasi-generations*. I defined five parallel *generations* of the Piasts and Árpáds which formed the core of my interpretation. A *generation* used as an analytical concept may vary in length; all references to *generation* here refer to my definition.

A *generation* was constructed on the following basis: I distinguished a "zero" generation that included two main figures – Bolesław III, duke of Poland, and Béla II, king of Hungary. Although there was a twenty-year-long break between them,¹² the marriages of their children took place in the 1130s at the earliest. This

¹² Bolesław III was born in 1086, and Béla II was born in 1108.

was the case with the children of Béla II and the children of Bolesław III, which were born, however, from his second marriage to Salomea. His descendants from the first marriage – Władisław II and Ryksa – I have included in the zero generation because the former was three years older than Béla II (b. 1108), and the latter (b. 1116) was between Béla II and Bolesław the Curled Hair (b. 1121/22), the oldest son of Bolesław III by his wife Salomea. Thus, I considered here two main factors supporting this particular order: 1) the level of descent in reference to the zero generation; and 2) the relative closeness of the dates of birth. Other factors, like the dates of marriages, cannot be used here because some people married several times over decades or some of them were engaged in their early years and married later. It would be problematic, therefore, to consider all the exceptions and specific cases that appeared over a century of dynastic marriages. I am completely aware that my statistical approach to human behavior has several drawbacks. Statistical data, nevertheless, are useful to track trends and reveal the big picture of a given process. The first marriages included in the database were contracted in 1136-1138, whereas the last ones took place in 1259 (in the Piasts' case) and in 1264 (in the Árpáds' case). I violated universal chronology a little by ignoring the marriage of Kinga and Přemysl Otakar II in 1261. The reason is that Kinga was a daughter of Anna and a granddaughter of Béla IV, i.e., according to my relative chronology she would have belonged to the sixth generation, which was not part of the research reported here.

Analysis of the Data

My basic aim in this discussion is to reconstruct the dynastic horizons of the Árpáds and the Piasts. Secondly, I will compare both houses within generations in a search for both common and distinctive features. Finally, I will summarize the data in total to show a big picture of the whole period.

The first generation¹³ comprised twelve people, eight Piasts and four Árpáds. All the Piasts, except for Bolesław the Tall and Ryksa (Richeza),¹⁴ were the descendants of Bolesław III from his second marriage, to Salomea, a daughter of Henry of Berg.

¹³ See Table 1, below.

¹⁴ One important note here. Ryksa (called also Richeza) should not be confused with her aunt of the same name, who lived 1116-1156, and, as I mentioned earlier, was included in the "zero" generation. To avoid misunderstandings I always use "Richeza" in brackets when referring to Ryksa, the daughter of Władisław II.

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Bolesław the Tall was the oldest son of Władisław II, i.e., of the first-born son of Bolesław III. Ryksa (Richeza) was Bolesław the Tall's sister. On the Árpád side, only the children of Béla II who married are part of this study. There were three times as many marriages among the Piasts as among the Árpáds. Table 1 (at the end of this article) shows that their marital policy at that time presented an interesting variety of choices. Two-thirds of the Piasts' marriages linked them to their closest neighbors. This reveals their regionally centered spectrum. Nevertheless, these numbers change significantly if I remove the very prestigious marriages of Ryksa (Richeza). She was a distant relative of the emperor and, therefore, an inviting potential partner. She probably left Poland in 1146 with her father, who was forced to seek refuge at the imperial court. There the emperor engaged her to the king of Castile. Hence, omitting Ryksa's (Richeza) spouses, the Piasts' dynastic horizon is confined to only neighboring countries, mainly Ruthenia (40%) and the Holy Roman Empire (30%). Two of the marriages arranged by the emperor were concluded with possible political partners whose domains were located near the Piast territories. This fact underlines the importance of east-west relations. At the same time, the Árpáds evidently married their neighbors to the north and south. Taking into consideration that in Hungary the period from 1140 to 1170 was a time of Byzantine domination,¹⁵ apparently only a Polish marriage was free of Byzantine influence. I would imagine, however, that the Ruthenian direction was meant to counterbalance a growing pressure from the south. There is no doubt that marriage to a Byzantine princess was part of the imperial policy towards Hungary. Not going into details, the available data strongly suggest that in the first generation both dynasties were content to enter into marital contracts with their immediate neighbors. Thus, I would argue that there was not much difference between the dynastic horizons of the Árpáds and the Piasts.

The second generation¹⁶ embraced six Piasts (five of them were children of Mieszko the Old of Great Poland, and one, Mieszko I Płatonogi, originated from Silesia) and seven Árpáds (all children of Géza II, except for Mary, who was a daughter of Władisław II). The marital politics of Mieszko the Old continued the patterns of the previous generation. He married his children to the closest neighbors to his Great Poland domain – Brandenburg and Pomerania. His relations with Bohemia and Halich could also be understood as a part of his Little Poland politics,

¹⁵ I would like to express my gratitude here to Professor József Laszlovsky, who drew my attention to this period and called it the era of Byzantine domination.

¹⁶ See Table 2.

where he was partly successful in attempting to secure his power. This regionally centered spectrum was interrupted only once, by a marriage with the family of the Lotharingian dukes. Mieszko the Old secured his domain by marriages to the north, west, southwest, and southeast. No data about the marriage of Mieszko I Piłtonogi suggest that this was not a prestigious relationship. The general pattern of the Piasts' nuptial horizon, therefore, emulated the first generation, unlike the Árpáds, who effectively attempted to step into broader European politics. Statistically, the only direction that repeated after the first generation was Byzantium; however, in political matters these marriages are hardly comparable. Dynastic interests shifted from the northern and northeastern borders to the northwest: the Babenbergs and Přemyslids. These two directions also reflected a regionally centred spectrum like the Piasts, but with marriage-contracting partners who were more esteemed. Furthermore, whereas Mieszko the Old's dynastic range reached as far as the court of the Lotharinian dukes, Béla III first attempted to ally with the English court, but finally received a daughter of the king of France. This significantly expanded the dynastic horizon of the Hungarian house. A marriage to a Venetian doge revealed growing Hungarian interests in the Dalmatian coast. Thus, the Árpáds' marriage policy in the second generation crossed the Adriatic Sea and leaped over the empire. The second generations of both dynasties differed; whereas the Piasts were slowly focusing on the regional context, the Árpáds successfully attempted a more ambitious nuptial policy. The Dalmatian issue compelled them to get closer to Venice, but penetration of the Italian peninsula had started earlier with anti-Byzantine politics associated with the Normans.

The third generation¹⁷ comprised nine Piasts and four Árpáds. The Piasts originated from various Polish principalities, which was a result of the increasing disintegration of the larger entities of their ancestors. Four Piasts came from Great Poland, three from Silesia, one from Little Poland, and one from Mazovia. All the Árpáds in this generation were children of King Béla III. Analysis of the marriages of the Piasts gives the impression that nothing had changed compared with the previous generations. Constant marriage affiliations continued with Ruthenia and Bohemia (both have equal percentages here as in the second generation) and Pomerania. Depending on the interpretation, however, the number of Pomeranian marriages could have risen to four and, if that were so, the number of Bohemian couples would fall to one. Whatever was done, it does not change the general notion

¹⁷ See Table 3.

that the Piasts were unwilling to cross their regional horizon and look for marriage partners somewhere more distant in Europe. This is, I think, a clear reflection of their politics. The growing dismemberment of Poland and repeated internal clashes among the Piasts shaped their politics to a great extent. None of them yet represented a power attractive to prominent European houses. Moreover, the permanent desire of individuals to check their Piast opponents forced them to enter less prestigious but more practical local alliances, which proved helpful in dynastic quarrels. To a certain degree, such contests were increasingly focused on single strongholds and plots of land rather than whole principalities; nonetheless, more serious fights did not cease. The marriage of Henry the Bearded to Hedwig of Andechs should be considered here as a specific feature of the duchy of Silesia. Henry was a grandson of Wladislas I of Silesia, who was forced to take refuge in the empire after his younger brothers rebelled in 1146. Sons of Wladislas I, Bolesław I the Tall (the father of Henry the Bearded), and Mieszko I Płatonogi, regained Silesia in 1163, but they never gave up their close relations with the imperial court. Henry the Bearded successfully continued this tradition.¹⁸ The only “exotic” marriage in the third Piast generation was, seemingly, that with a Bulgarian princess, which is, however, a much disputed issue.¹⁹ Thus, I will not draw too many conclusions from it.

Four Árpáds in the third generation married almost as many times as did nine Piasts. About 60% of their marriages could still be considered as regional, but their variety, especially towards Byzantium and post-Crusade rulers, shows that Hungary was carrying out active and flexible politics, which were adjusting immediately to historical development. The Byzantium region was particularly important for Hungary because it was the most powerful opponent in the Balkans and apparently the marital policy of Hungary was used to appease it. The nuptial horizon broadened even further, in comparison with the second generation, since it reached the Iberian Peninsula, put a foothold in northern Italy, and even touched northeastern France. Simultaneously, Ruthenia and Poland completely disappeared

¹⁸ It would be interesting to make a further study of the dynastic horizons of particular Piast families. At first sight some features stand out which might be elaborated. For instance, the Great Poland branch paid close attention to Pomerania, the Little Poland and Masovian branches tended to turn to Ruthenia, and Silesian dukes concentrated more on the West.

¹⁹ Jerzy Rajman has stated that all we know for sure about the wife of Casimir of Silesia is her name – Wiola. Information about her Bulgarian roots comes from Jan Długosz, but in Rajman’s opinion this does not make much sense. There was no reason for this marriage, he argues, see, *Piastowie*, 715-716. On the contrary, Stanisław Sroka repeats without hesitation from Długosz that Wiola was a daughter of Tsar Kolojan, see *Piastowie*, 721.

as Hungarian connubial targets. Furthermore, Bohemia, which was a double marriage contractor in the second generation, this time was chosen only once, but from the very top – Přemysl I Otokar, the king of Bohemia, married Konstanze. The turn of the thirteenth century found Hungary conducting active marital politics that had already resulted in close relations with the influential European dynasties. This was also the time when Hungarian foreign policy “remembered” the North; the next generation re-entered the Polish and Ruthenian region. There is no doubt, however, that between the first and the fourth generations the Árpáds developed their dynastic horizon on an unprecedented scale, whereas the Piasts did not.

The fourth generation²⁰ embraced six Piasts and six Árpáds. Geographically the Piasts originated from Mazovia (three), Silesia (two), and Little Poland (one), and all of them were born at the beginning of the thirteenth century. They were grand- or great-grandchildren of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and lived in a Poland that was very different from that of Bolesław III. This generation also introduced Piast-Piast marriages, which reappeared on an even greater scale in the fifth generation. Such marriages were the effect of the further dismemberment of Poland and are plain evidence of the growing decline of the Piasts’ political horizons. 45% of the marriages in this generation occurred within the Polish dynasty. Consequently, this meant that nearly half of the dynastic “manpower” was not used to expand the house’s influence outside, but played on a very local political scene. Thus, the Piasts’ domestic politics gained the upper hand in juxtaposition with their foreign policy. Moreover, such internal alliances were, I think, more efficient for them in securing their own domains against other claimants than any outside relations. Following the tradition which had arisen in at least the first generation, some marriages were concluded with Ruthenian dukes of regional importance and with Bohemia. Nevertheless, the latter relation was extraordinary for the Piasts because the father of the bride was Přemysl Otokar I, king of Bohemia. Such a prominent marriage occurred, however, within the Silesian branch, which had distinguished itself before for its wider and more prestigious marital horizon. Another high-status marriage took place in 1214, when Coloman, a son of Andrew II, king of Hungary, received Salomea, a daughter of Leszek the White, duke of Cracow. This relation was, in my view, merely due to the Ruthenian politics of Andrew II, i.e., a reawakened Hungarian interest in northern politics pushed the Árpáds into the Piasts’ arms. In this case, the Hungarian dynasty emulated its Byzantine politics of soothing

²⁰ See Table 4.

and weakening rivals by marrying them. Moreover, behind this marriage stood the powerful idea of creating a new kingdom east of Poland for members of the Árpád dynasty. Therefore, it seemed worth fighting for.

Six Árpáds in the fourth generation were children of Andrew II, with the exception of Stephen, who was born much later than his siblings, actually after the death of his father. Therefore, he was taken from the Hungarian court to Italy by his mother and did not play a political role in the country. Moreover, he probably married after 1250, which puts him outside the scope of my study. Stephen was, nevertheless, the father of Andrew III, a future king of Hungary, but this issue concerns events in the second half of the thirteenth century. Returning to Stephen's older siblings, I want to stress that continuity (compared with the third generation) was sustained in only two directions – Crusader states (within the Byzantium region) and the Kingdom of Aragon. These are, I think, expressions of permanent dynastic and political interest that seemed profitable for all the actors involved. In the second and third generations the Árpáds were anxious to marry Babenbergs, who ruled Austria. The fourth, and later the fifth, generations experienced a “connubial shift” to the North and to the West, in search of powerful political partners behind the Babenberg domains. This was surely the case in the fifth generation, when the Austrian house died out and the question of inheritance subsequently emerged. Bulgaria became a completely new nuptial region of Árpáadian attention. Entering these relations was, however, in accordance with the Balkan politics of the previous century, and with the fall of Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade Hungary expressed even more eagerness to dominate its southern neighbors. I mentioned the Árpáadian flexibility towards Byzantium in the third generation and I want to recall this issue again here. After the reign of Béla III, the Kingdom of Hungary attained an authoritative position in the region and could run its politics by means of power. The idea of expansion was there, and marriages clearly depict the directions where the vital concerns of Hungary lay. Rediscovery of the North is evidence of that. I think that the Polish and the Ruthenian marriages concluded after eighty years of total indifference played a crucial role in the Árpáds' northern expansion. This expansion, launched under Béla III, lasted for the next two hundred years and was automatically inherited by the Angevins in the fourteenth century. The Árpáds' longing to subordinate Serbia and Bulgaria led them to marry Byzantine and post-Crusade princesses continuously. According to this statistical study, I would strongly argue that an analogical desire to dominate/incorporate southwestern Ruthenia (Halich Land)

led the Árpáds to similar connubial contracts not only with Ruthenian dukes but also with the Piasts, especially those ruling in Cracow. I think, however, that for some time the Árpáds were not aware of the significant role of the Piasts in Lodomeria and Halich, but this is another issue.

The fifth generation included fourteen Piasts (four from Great Poland, one from Little Poland, two from Mazovia, and seven from Silesia) and seven Árpáds (all children of Béla IV). For the Piasts, the Piast-Piast type of marriage became more important; two-thirds of all marriages in this generation occurred among Piast relatives. The reason for the increase in such relations is similar to that in the fourth generation, but on a larger scale. The majority of the Piasts were fully engaged in local and domestic Polish politics, constructing intra-dynastic alliances. Other nuptial partners remained traditional – bordering imperial lords and the Pomeranian dukes. In this milieu, the two Hungarian marriages to royal daughters were extraordinary. To demonstrate this, it is enough to show the following numbers. For all thirty-nine marriages that took place before 1239 only two (5%) were with royal daughters – the marriages of Mieszko the Old (the first generation) and Henry II the Pious (the fourth generation). Even counting a marriage of 1214 with a royal son would give less than 8%. I argue, therefore, that for the Piasts of the thirteenth century, entering such relations was politically beneficial and prestigious. Furthermore, it was totally unlike the period before 1140, which had been dominated by partnerships giving a slight advantage to the Piasts.

At the same time, the Árpáds continued their northern politics. I have already mentioned a shift in their politics toward the empire. In the fifth generation another thing is striking, however; for the first time there was no marriage with the Byzantine region. Béla IV was preoccupied with Northern politics and the numbers show that 60% of all marriages were related to Halich and Poland. Moreover, there was a single marriage to a Cuman, which was mainly connected to internal Hungarian politics. All of these give an impression that Hungary in the fifth generation dropped its European-wide contacts and replaced them with less prestigious ones. This would partially be an accurate conclusion; however, it had plain political reasons, which cannot be discussed here. For the sake of honesty I need to add here that under Béla IV marriages also took place with the Bohemian king and, later at Béla IV's deathbed, with the Kingdom of Naples. Thus, it would be improper to claim that the Árpáds withdrew completely from a European dynastic policy. This somewhat deceptive picture of the mid-thirteenth century in my statistics arises from the chronology which I described previously and applied here.

Conclusion

Summarizing this discussion of five generations, I emphasize a simultaneous process of an Árpád rise in power and a gradual Piast decline. This process was noticeably reflected in the dynastic horizons of both houses. The Piasts had the widest horizon in the first generation, which at that time exceeded that of the Hungarians. This was, however, no longer the case in later generations. Whereas the Piasts confined themselves to regional politics, the Árpáds reached the Western borders of Europe and managed to prolong connections with it for two generations. A number of marriages with the post-Fourth-Crusade Byzantine emperors reflected the vigorous Hungarian politics in the Balkans, while connections with the northern Italian cities betrayed their ambitions along the Adriatic Sea. In the fourth generation the first Piast-Piast marriages occurred – a clear mark of a shrinking political and dynastic horizon. Thus, when Bolesław I received the hand of Gertrud in the first Piast-Piast marriage c. 1234, Jolanta of Hungary was just about to marry Jacob I, king of Aragon. The Piasts throughout nearly all five generations married bordering dukes and territorial lords. On the contrary, the Árpáds were marrying not only their immediate neighbors but also into powerful allies which were crucial for their expansionist politics. All these results, I think, reveal another important feature. Namely, the Piasts were actually unable to conduct an expansionist political program which would have put them in confrontation with rival powers that were controlled by the high-status royal European dynasties. Thus, their dynastic horizon was adjusted to the sort of politics which they were in fact doing. On the contrary, step-by-step the Árpáds were entering a serious contest with Byzantium for the Balkans and a struggle with Venice for Dalmatia, not to mention attempts to control Austria. Such ambitious politics encroached on the vital interests of “big” European houses and, consequently, they opened their courts to the Árpáds. The more successful the Hungarians were the easier it became to broaden their dynastic horizon.

As a result, by the middle of the thirteenth century the Piasts’ and the Árpáds were no longer comparable. In addition, a change in Hungarian politics in the fifth generation automatically reshaped the dynastic horizon. My analysis, buttressed with the historical context, shows that the Hungarian dynasty was eager to marry parties who contemporarily played an essential role in their politics. Therefore, I can state that not only was there a striking gap between the Piasts’ and the Árpáds’ dynastic perspectives in the middle of the thirteenth century, but also Hungarian

The Dynastic Horizons of the Árpáds and Piasts, ca. 1150-1250

northern politics at the turn of the thirteenth century took shape as a result of the Árpáds' choice and a changed direction for their further expansion. Hence, the marriages with Ruthenia and the one with Poland in 1214 were effects of this renewed northern policy. According to the data, the two following marriages of 1239 and 1256 were extraordinary for the Piasts, who had scarcely managed to marry into any nuclear royal family for a whole century, and suddenly they received two royal daughters as spouses. The partnership of the early Middle Ages, interrupted for eight decades, seemed to reemerge, but undoubtedly in very different circumstances. The Piasts and the Árpáds were no longer of equal status.

Piasts

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Bolesław I the Tall	1127-1201	Zwienisława	Wszewołod, duke of Kiev	c. 1142	Ruthenia	
		Krystyna	Unknown imperial house of lower wealth	c. 1160	Empire	
Rykxa (Richeza)	1130/40-1185	Alfons VII, king of Castile		1152	Castile	
		Raimund II Berenger, duke of Provence		1161	Provence	
Bolesław the Curled Hair	1121/22-1173	Wierzchosława	Wszewołod, duke of Novogrod	1136	Ruthenia	
		Mary	?	c. 1160	?	
Mieszko the Old	1122/25-1202	Elisabeth	Béla II Árpád	1136-38	Hungary	
		Eudoksja	Izaskaw Monomach, grand duke of Kiev	1150-54	Ruthenia	
Dobroniega Ludgarda	1128/35-1160	Dytryk	son of margrave of Meissen	1146-1150	Empire	Meissen
Judith	1130/35-1171/75	Otto	Albrecht the Bear, mrg. of Brandenburg	1148	Empire	Brandenburg
Agnes	1137-1182<	Mścisław	Izaskaw Monomach, grand duke of Kiev	<1151	Ruthenia	
Casimir the Just	1138-1194	Helen	Conrad II Premislid, duke of Znojmo	1161<	Bohemia	

Árpáds

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction
Géza II	1130-1162	Eufrosina	Mścisław Monomach, grand duke of Kiev	c. 1146	Ruthenia
Wladislas II	1131-1163	?			
Stephen IV	1132/3-1165	Mary	princess from Byzantium	?	Byzantium
Elisabeth	?	Mieszko the Old	Bolesław III the Wrymouth of Poland	1136-1138	Poland

Piasts

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Odon	1145-1194	Wyszestawa	Jarosław Ośmiomysł, duke of Halich	c. 1180	Ruthenia	
Wierzchosława-Ludmiła	<1152-1223	Frideric I of Bitsch	Mathew I, duke of Lotharingia	c. 1166	Empire	Lotharingia
Judith	<1154- <1201	Bernard III of Anhalt	Albrecht the Bear, mrg. Of Brandenburg	c. 1173-1177	Empire	Brandenburg
Elisabeth	c. 1152-1209	Sobiesław II, duke of Olomunc	Premislids	c. 1173/4	Bohemia	
Bolesław	1159-1195	Dobrosława	Pomerania: Dymin or West Pomerania	1180/1 or 1187/9	Pomerania	
Mieszko I Płatonogi	<1146-1211	Ludmiła	?		?	

Árpáds

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Stephen III	1147-1172	Agnes	Henry II Babenberg of Austria	1166	Empire	Austria
Béla III	1148-1196	Anna Chatillon	Konstanz, duchess of Antioch	1170	Byzantium	Antioch
		Margaret Capet	Louis VII, king of France	1186	France	
Géza	c. 1150- <1210	?	princess from Byzantium	?	Byzantium	
Elisabeth	>1189]	Frideric, duke of Bohemia	Premislids	c. 1157	Bohemia	
Odola	>1169]	Świętopełk	Wladislas II, king of Bohemia	1164	Bohemia	
Ilona (Helena)	1199]	Leopold V, duke of Austria	Babenberg	1174	Empire	Austria
Mary	?	Nicolaus	Michiele Vitale II, Venetian doge	1167	Venice	

Legend

c.	?	<1200	>1200	1208?	1122/25	1271 ↓

Table 3. Dynastic marriages in the third "generation."

Piasts						
Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Adelajda Zbysława	1157/66- >1213	Dypold II	Premislids	1175-80	Bohemia	
Casimir	1178/79-1230	Wiola	tsar Kolojan of Bulgaria (dubious!!)	1217-1220	Bulgaria ??	
Henry the Bearded	1165/70-1238	Hedwig	Bertold VI of Andechs	1186-1190	Empire	Bavaria
Wladislas Laskonogi	1161/66-1231	Łucja	Jaromir, duke of Rugia	1186	Pomerania	
Salomea	1162/64-?	Racibor	Bogusław I, duke of West Pomerania	1173-76	Pomerania	
Anastazja	<1164- >1240	Bogusław I, duke of West Pomerania		1181	Pomerania	
Wladislas Odonic	c. 1190-1239	Jadwiga	Mściwoj I, procurator of Gdańsk Pomerania or Świętopełk, duke of Moravia of Premislids	1218-20	Pomerania	Bohemia
Leszek the White	c. 1186-1227	Grzymisława	Ingwar, duke of Łuck	1208?	Ruthenia	
Conrad	c. 1187/8-1247	Agafia	Światosław, duke of Premisl	1208?	Ruthenia	

Árpáds

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Emeric	1174-1204	Konstanz	Alfons II, king of Aragon	1198-1200	Aragon	
Margaret	1175- >1229	Issakios Angelos	emperor of Byzantium	1185	Byzantium	Byzantium
		Boniface of Montferrato	king of Thessaloniki	1204	Crusade	Thessaloniki
		Nicolaus	a knight of the Saint Omer Order	1210	Crusade Flandres	
Andrew II	c. 1177-1235	Gertrud	Bertold IV, duke of Istria and Kraina	c. 1200	Empire	Austria
		Jolanta	Pierre Courtenay, the Latin Emperor	1215	Crusade	Byzantium
		Beatrice Este	Azzo IV of Este	1235	Ferrara	

Table 4. *Dynastic marriages in the fourth generation.*

Piasts

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction
Salomea	1211-1268	Koloman	Andrew II Árpád, king of Hungary	1214	Hungary
Bolesław I	c. 1208-1248	Gertrud	Henry II the Pious of Silesia	c. 1234	Piast-Piast
		Anastasia	Alexander, duke of Bełz	1247	Ruthenia
Siemowit I	c. 1215-1262	Perejasława	Danil, duke of Halich	c. 1248	Ruthenia
Casimir I	c. 1211-1267	Hedwig	?		?
		Konstanz	Henry II the Pious of Silesia	c. 1234	Piast-Piast
		Eufrosina	Casimir I of Opole & Racibórz	c. 1257	Piast-Piast
Mieszko II the Obese	c. 1220-1246	Judith	Conrad, duke of Mazovia	<1239	Piast-Piast
Henry II the Pious	1196/1207-1241	Anna	Premisl Otokar I, king of Bohemia	1214-18	Bohemia

Árpáds

Name	Life dates	Marriage partner	Father/Dynasty	Date of marriage	Direction	
Mary	1203/4-1237/8	Ivan II Asen, tsar of Bulgaria		1221	Bulgaria	
Béla IV	1206-1270	Mary	Theodoros Laskaris, emperor of Nicea	1220	Crusade	Nicea
Elisabeth	1207-1231	Louis IV, duke of Thuringien		1221	Empire	
Koloman	1208-1241	Salomea	Leszek the White, duke of Cracow	1214	Poland	Cracow
Andrew	c. 1210-1234	Mary	Mścisław, duke of Novogrod and Halich	1226/7	Ruthenia	
Jolanta	c. 1219-1251	Jacob I, king of Aragon		1235	Aragon	

POETRY OF POWER: QUEEN MARY OF HUNGARY (1382-1395) IN A VENETIAN MIRROR

Ilona Ferenczi 

The fourteenth century has been called a century of calamities by historians.¹ Marked by famines and plagues, endemic warfare and peasant risings, the Hundred Years' War, the Avignon papacy and the Great Schism, it was also a period when royal authority was attacked by the power of the barons. In Hungary and Poland the death of Louis the Great on 16 September 1382 without a male heir resulted in great confusion and the emergence of a number of pretenders to both thrones. The eldest daughter, Mary, eventually crowned king of Hungary, had been engaged to Sigismund of Luxembourg (brother of the Holy Roman Emperor), was later promised to Louis of Orléans (brother of the king of France), and was for a short interval deposed from the throne as a result of the demands of Charles of Durazzo, king of Naples and relative of Louis the Great. The situation was similar with Louis' younger daughter, Hedvig, crowned king of Poland, who had been engaged to William of Valois, but eventually given in marriage to Jogaila of Lithuania, son of the last pagan ruler in Europe.

This period of turbulence is rich in written accounts where charters and donations are concerned, but its disclosure in literature and international politics is still incomplete. Lorenzo Monaci's *Carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae*² is a 560-line Latin hexametric poem.³ Monaci was the

¹ Barbara W. Tuckman, *A Distant Mirror* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

² This article is based on Ilona Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics: Queen Mary of Hungary in Lorenzo Monaci's *Carmen* (1387)," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2008), published as Ilona Edit Ferenczi, *Poetry of Politics: Lorenzo Monaci's Carmen (1387), The Daughter of Louis I, Queen Mary of Hungary in Venetian Eyes* (Saarbrücken: VDM Publishing House, 2009). The only surviving manuscript of the poem "*Carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae*" is in the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 11507, in Rome, Mario Poppi. "Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere cretese," *Studi veneziani* 9 (1967): 170 (hereafter: Poppi, "Ricerche"). It was first published as "Laurentii de Monacis Veneti carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae" in *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Crete cancellarii chronicon de rebus Venetis etc.*, ed. Flaminio Cornelius (Venice, 1758), 321-338 (hereafter: Monaci, *Carmen*), later included in *Analecta Monumentorum Historicorum Literariorum*, Vol. 1, ed. Franciscus Toldy (Pest: Acad. Hung. Typographus, 1862) (hereafter: Toldy, *Analecta*), 112-132, and translated by Sándor Márki, "Monaci Lőrinc krónikája Kis Károlyról" (Lorenzo Monaci's chronicle about Charles the Little) *Középkori krónikások*, ed. Ferenc Gombos (Budapest: Albin, 1910) vol. 10, 131-153.

³ "Composto nella redazione definitiva verso il 1388, il carmen narra i fatti d'Ungheria, dalla chiamata a

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notary⁴ accompanying the Venetian ambassador, Pantaleone Barbo, on a mission to Hungary in 1386 to negotiate an alliance with Queen Mary of Hungary (1382-1395) and the Queen Mother Elizabeth. By the time Barbo arrived, the queens had been taken prisoner by a rebellious group of barons. Monaci rushed home to secure naval help from the Signoria for their rescue.

Mission completed, in 1387 Monaci met Queen Mary, whom he recorded as commissioning him to write a history of Hungary with special emphasis on the role of Venice in the events that took place in Hungary at the close of the century. Instead of a historical account, Monaci wrote a poem; instead of compiling a history of Hungary, he summarized her recent past.

Mary's Rule in Hungary

On 17 September 1382, twelve-year-old Mary was crowned “king of Hungary” (*rex Hungariae*) and the queen mother, Elizabeth, was appointed as regent. For the first time in the history of Hungary, a woman was elected to rule the country. Contemporary sources note the peculiarity; a woman had been crowned king: *domina Maria filia enior antedicti regis in civitate predicta coronata fuit in regem*. In the formulations of her charters and letter formulas Queen Mary asserted that she followed her father by birthright and ascended to the throne as if she were a son, but entitles herself “queen.” By 1384, the aristocracy was divided into two parties: one supporting, another opposing the queens.

In 1385, the Horváti clan invited Charles of Durazzo to take the Hungarian throne. Charles was in line to succeed to the Hungarian throne, the next male offspring of the Angevin House on the Neapolitan branch. Sigismund fled to Bohemia at the news that Charles of Durazzo had landed in Dalmatia. The queens and their party were forced to submit to their distant Angevin relative. Charles was

Buda di Carlo II al suo ferimento a morte a causa di una congiura,” Poppi, “Ricerche,” 169-170.

⁴ Coming from a family of notaries and educated in this tradition, Lorenzo Monaci (1351-1428) was also a prolific man of letters. His poetry and historical writings were well-received and appreciated by his contemporaries as well as posterity. He wrote both vernacular and Latin poetry, composed orations, epistles, and a history of Venice. He became a member of the *avogadori di comun* in 1363, *notarius auditorum sententiarum* in 1371, *notarius Venetiarum* in 1376, and *notarius curiae maioris* (composed of functionaries and the doge's counsellors) in 1386. Monaci took part in the Republic of Venice's annexation of Argos and Nauplion in 1388. Foreign diplomacy took him to Hungary, Germany, and France. He was governor of Crete for forty years.

crowned king of Hungary on 31 December 1385. In a summary of the events “one of the three pretenders to the throne thus came at arm’s length to his goal, another one gave up, and the third one just interfered in the struggle.”⁵

The thirty-nine-day-reign of Charles of Durazzo meant a “cohabitation” of the new king with the former queens in the castle of Buda. Was it a “double rule”? Debate over this problem⁶ has pointed out the insecure political situation: the chancellor would not specify the name of which king he was issuing charters in, and both the king and the queens signed donations. In this atmosphere a plot was organized by the queens’ party against Charles of Durazzo which cost him his life. Balázs Forgács, hired by Palatine Garai and the queen mother, assaulted and mortally wounded King Charles on 7 February 1386. As a result of this the queens were attacked at Gara (Gorjani) during a journey to appease their subjects in rebellious territories. All the queens’ men were killed, including Palatine Miklós Garai and Balázs Forgács. Only the son of Miklós Garai escaped alive and the two queens were imprisoned. During the months of captivity in the fortress of Újvár (Novigrad), Ban János Horváti had Elizabeth strangled in front of her daughter. The young queen was freed by joint troops of Sigismund and Venice. When she encountered Sigismund in Zengg (Senj), the latter, having accepted the conditions imposed by the barons, had already been crowned king of Hungary.

Queen Mary in a Venetian Mirror

Lorenzo Monaci’s poem is an epic about the Neapolitan king, Charles of Durazzo, who seized the Hungarian crown in the time of the queens, Elizabeth and Mary. Epics were very much *en vogue* in the Middle Ages because they addressed the political and ideological concerns of the age. Such a concern was “the search, never fulfilled, for a final perfection; equilibrium amidst the instabilities of power; the difficulty

⁵ Szilárd Süttő, *Anjou Magyarország alkonya* (The dusk of Angevin Hungary) (Szeged: Belvedere, 2003), 101.

⁶ Iván Bertényi, “Beszélhetünk-e kettős uralomról hazánkban (II.) Kis Károly országlása idején?” (Can we speak of double rule in Hungary during the reign of Charles II?), *Studia professoris – Professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005); Szilárd Süttő, “Volt-e kettős uralom Magyarországon Kis Károly országlása idején? Válasz Bertényi Ivánnak” (Was there a double rule In Hungary during the reign of Charles II? Reply to Bertényi Iván), *Aetas* 2-3 (2006): 232-246; Iván Bertényi, “Kettős hatalom hazánkban 1386 elején. Viszontválasz Süttő Szilárdnak,” (Double rule in our country at the beginning of 1386. Reply to Süttő Szilárd), *Aetas* 2-3 (2006): 247-256.

in distinguishing between good and evil; and anxiety about the succession.”⁷ The ancient Latin epics were central cultural and educational texts in the time of Monaci, and due to their universal concern with apocalyptic struggles between good and evil they readily offered themselves to adaptation by the Christian epic poets, too.⁸ Epic poetry in antiquity and the Middle Ages proved to be not only literature, but a form of historiography. It was regarded as “a representation, in mixed narration, of significant events in the past of a community.”⁹ Monaci not only narrated historical facts, but pronounced universal truths about them. The genre he chose allowed the author to make his position clear and to make value judgements. Undertaking the open detraction of the Neapolitan king, Charles of Durazzo in an epic poem, Monaci presented Charles as a representative of the universal image of the bad king and Mary as the image of the good ruler.

Monaci assesses Charles of Durazzo on two levels; in the contemporary political situation he is unfit as king of Naples, which he manages disastrously, and not suitable for the Hungarian throne, a kingdom which he comes to exploit. On the level of the universal, Charles represents the prototype of the bad king. In Monaci’s judgement Charles set off to restore the dire condition of Naples with Hungarian wealth,¹⁰ but he only disclosed this to his wife. The author judges that in Charles’ decision to go to Hungary reason fell prey to desire.¹¹ The people welcomed his arrival as the end of the internal political turmoil, but the scale of the political fights diminished compared to the universal disturbance of the natural order that the coronation of the usurper unleashed. Following Charles’ coronation, a tornado swept through Buda Castle, destroying houses and blowing the roofs off palaces, accompanied by the maddening noise made by a quarrel of crows bickering and fighting until they bled. The image of the world about to succumb to chaos is very powerful, foretelling the bloody events to follow and Charles’ tragic end.

⁷ Philip Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1993) (hereafter: Hardie, *The Epic*), xi.

⁸ Hardie, *The Epic*, 1.

⁹ Page Dubois, *History, Rhetorical Description and the Epic* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1982) (hereafter: Dubois, *History*), 1.

¹⁰ *Pauperiem taceo; Hungariae si gentis habenas
Attigero, Hungaricis supplebo viribus haustum
Apuliae regnum.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 124-126.

¹¹ *Victa cadit ratio superata cupidine regni.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 94.

Double Mirrors

The poem has two titles, suggesting two focuses: *Carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae*, fixing Charles in the centre of events, and *De miserabilis casus Reginarum Hungariae*, defining the two queens as the most important characters of the plot.¹² The work has two dedications:¹³ Monaci dedicated his work to Queen Mary and to the captain of Crete, Peter Aimò,¹⁴ a former ambassador to Hungary.¹⁵

The double agenda Monaci pursued for the benefit of Mary and in the service of Venice as well as his own career is shown not only by the titles and the double dedication of the poem, but also by his statement of the motive for writing it. On the one hand, he praises the queen for her wisdom and manly concerns in commissioning him to write a history of Hungary. He presents his *oeuvre* as the chivalrous initiative of a Venetian public figure to defend the Hungarian queen against Italian gossip: Surely your Majesty is not unfamiliar with what was being widely spoken in Italy and especially between the Tuscans, that Charles, king of Apulia, was the furthest from the ambition of the Hungarian throne, who thought no such thing, was invited by you and your fairest mother to the sceptre and urged, though innocent, and betrayed by the cause had been surrounded by your trickeries and was deprived from the light of his life. ... Thus I send this to your majesty, to defend you and your innocent mother, if it can, from the disgraceful sin and the insolent teeth of the mass throughout the centuries.¹⁶

¹² "Carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae" in *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Cretae Cancellarii Chronicon de Rebus Venetis etc.*, ed. Flaminio Cornelius, and "Pia Descriptio miserabilis casus illustrium reginarum Hungariae," in Toldy, *Analecta*; the two titles are based on two manuscripts Cornaro mentions in his first edition of Monaci's works.

¹³ "Ad Serenissimam Dominam Mariam Hungariae Reginam" in the dedicatory letter preceding the poem, hereafter *Dedication*, and "Ad Egregium Strenuum Militem Dominum Petrum Aimò Insulae Cretensis Capitaneum" before the *Carmen* itself.

¹⁴ Captain of Crete in 1385-1386, the first ambassador to be sent by Venice after the queens' ascension in Hungary *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006.

¹⁵ *Dum tu frena Regis Create, clarissime miles...* Monaci, *Carmen*, 1.

¹⁶ *Sane Maiestatem Tuam non lateat, quod in Italia, et praesertim apud Etruscos, late ferebantur, Carolum Regem Apuliae, ab ambitione Pannonici culminis remontissimum, nil tale meditantem, ad sceptrum Hungariae per Te, et serenissimam genitricem tuam sponte vocatum, et sollicitatum, insontem, et proditum ab re, vestris fuisse circumventum insidiis, et vitali lumine spoliatum.... Transmitto igitur illud Maiestati Tuae, Te, et innocentissimam genitricem, si quid potest, ab infami culpa et procacis vulgi dentibus per secula defensurum*, Monaci, *Dedication*.

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Monaci casts himself in the role of the chivalrous poet rushing to the defense of the virtuous, virgin queen. It is humanist self-fashioning and building the image of the queen as the prototype of a gentle and frail lady in need of the protection of strong men and the alliance of strong states.

Contrasting Charles and the Queens

Monaci presents Charles of Durazzo as usurper, an unlawful ruler without a well-founded claim to the Hungarian throne. The poet chose a traditional rhetorical method for the *mise en valeur* of the qualities of Queen Mary: working with contrasts. The author holds up to his audience a negative mirror of Charles of Durazzo, the proud, ambitious, and deceitful king. In his shadow and in the turmoil of events Mary almost has to be lured out from behind her mother's skirt to reinforce the idea of the good ruler.

Popularizing female rule in Hungary was no easy task. The few attributes that characterize Mary (*generosa Maria, Altera natarum, solium regale parentis*),¹⁷ her few short monologues and actions, are used by Lorenzo Monaci to draw an image of a gentle virgin, crowned king of Hungary; a submissive woman with the manly qualities of a ruler. As a virgin, Mary's gender is hidden in her role;¹⁸ she is portrayed as a woman whose gentle rule dissatisfies the barons.¹⁹ She is, however, the legitimate ruler of Hungary based on royal lineage and noble blood. She steps as a king into the lineage of rightful royal ancestors, two of whom are mentioned: King Stephen, the "apostle" of Hungary, and Mary's father, King Louis the Great.

Mary is set in the *Carmen* in the company of powerful women rulers like her mother, Elizabeth Kotromanić, who assumed the regency during her reign; Joan of

¹⁷ Monaci, *Carmen*, 45-46

¹⁸ *Scandit inaequali auspicio generosa Maria,
Altera natarum, solium regale parentis,
Virgineumque caput sacrum diadema coronat.
Hanc regem appellant animis concordibus omnes
Regnicolae, illustant hoc regis nomine sexum.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 45-49.

¹⁹ *... sic pestibus implent
Regnum virginei spreto moderamine sceptri;
Postquam animus procerum insolita dulcedine captos
Imperii blandi affectus tenuere superbi.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 78-81.

Naples, the scandalous but successful Neapolitan queen, loved by her people;²⁰ and Margaret, wife of Charles, the wise, prophesying queen, whom history proved right in her warning. As a royal child, Mary is submissive to the queen regent and her advisors. Contrary to her wish to retain the throne, she followed the instructions of the queen mother, although in Monaci's assessment this affected her deeply; while the mother complains, the child does not retaliate but accepts the situation with silent tears.²¹ In Elizabeth's argumentation, the loss of power is not as bad as if they would meet the end of Joan of Naples; "God forbid," she says, „that we have the violent death of Joan.”²² Monaci uses the *topos* of the wise old oracle, representing collective memory, to warn the people not to forsake the rule of the queens. The old man depicts the end of Joan's reign and the results of the mid-fourteenth century famine on the peninsula as punishment for the Neapolitans for having forsaken their queen, and suggests that this will happen to the Hungarians, too, if they are disrespectful of the memory of Louis the Great and thus the reign of his daughter.²³

Queen Margaret, wife of Charles of Durazzo, is an example of the good wife, pleading with Charles not to leave. She is deserted by her husband,²⁴ but as a wife she stays loyal to him, asking to be allowed to follow him. Not being able to hide her pain, the crying child, Queen Mary, eloquently declares: "I will not give up the crown of my father which is rightfully mine, allow me to leave Hungary and follow my husband into exile."²⁵ By this she becomes the symbol of loyal wife as well.

²⁰ Ciro Raia, *Giovanna I di Angio regina di Napoli*. (Naples: Tullio Pironti Editore, 2000).

²¹ *Dum tantas rumpit genitrix miseranda querelas,
Filia nil contra; lacrymarum flumina fundunt
Lumina; multiplicat gemitus rude pectus amarus,
Et crebri intorsum singultus verba vocabant.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 322-325.

²² ... *quod absit,
Restat ut aesquemus violenta morte Johannam.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 320-321.

²³ *Apuliae populos pacem, sortemque secundam
Inconstanti animo libertatemque ferentes,
Atque novarum avidos rerum inclinare superbo
Praedoni, et tantae dominae calcare ruinam
Non puduit.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 267-271.

²⁴ ... *insidias speculatus ab omni
Parte Sigismundus deserta coniuge fugit.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 211-212.

²⁵ *Viscera redentem lacrymosa puella, dolorem
Dissimulare nequit, sic apta voce locuta :
Nolo, refutare, ingeminat, diadema paternum
Et mihi iure datum. Hungariam, permittite, linguam,
Exul ad expulsum coniux properabo maritum.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 301-305.

Mary's features are constructed on the one hand through her roles as a virgin ruler, a royal child, and a wife, on the other hand, in contrast to those possessed by Charles. Her humility contrasts with his pride; her renunciation contrasts with his ambition; her clarity and directness of speech define her as an eloquent ruler and are juxtaposed to the lies and deceitfulness of the Neapolitan. Charles lies to the queens about his reason for coming to Hungary;²⁶ he asserts that he came to pacify the kingdom, but the queens know that he speaks dishonestly and is driven by the desire to rule.²⁷ Charles alleges respect for the memory of Louis the Great,²⁸ but cunningly prepares a takeover of power by gathering people for the election.²⁹

Mary's three verbal manifestations in the poem summarize the essence of her position: she is the daughter of Louis the Great, wife of the brother of the Holy Roman emperor, and anointed ruler of Hungary. Her monologues in the role of the rightful ruler are characterized by courage. These acts of courage make her, according to the medieval interpretation, less like a woman (less weak) and more like a man (more virile).³⁰ It is when she is weak that Mary becomes strong. Just like Richard III, Mary also refuses to "un-king"³¹ herself. She would rather die or go into exile than forsake the sacred legitimacy of her royal blood and lineage.

By refusing to give up the crown Mary emphasizes the indelible character of sacred kingship. The deposition is not valid because the unction cannot be annulled by words; the coronation of a female ruler is as valid as that of a male king. Monaci presents her as a gentle virgin queen, silent and moved to tears by the loss of the throne,³² and a responsible ruler, defining her position by political

²⁶ ... at ille

*Pectoreum gratae pietatis imagine falsa
Conatus velare nefas.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 214-215.

²⁷ ... falso licet ore locutum

Reginae credant regni cupidine tractum. Monaci, *Carmen*, 222-223.

²⁸ ... Parens reverenda, soror carissima, reddit,

*Dum calidus nostros agitabit spiritus artus
Magnanimi patris, et meritorum haerebit imago.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 239-241.

²⁹ ... rerumque invadit habenas,

*Moxque velut pacem sancturus, grande sub astu
Colloquium edicens, vulgorum seditiosa
Colluvie complet Budam.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 245-248.

³⁰ Nancy Black about Esther and Judith in *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

³¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 35.

³² *Dum tantas rumpit genitrix miseranda querelas,*

speech. Monaci depicts her as the rightful queen for Hungary and the universally accepted ideal of a good ruler. Mary is the hero of the poem, characterized by wisdom, eloquence of speech,³³ manly concern for history, nobility and the invincibility of the soul of an elderly person, strength and endurance of character, as well as gratitude to the Venetians.

Monaci uses the rhetorical device of directly addressing both rulers; he addresses Mary to tell her that her fame will live forever, and addresses Charles to tell him that the news of his disgrace will last for eternity. "Flee to Naples," Monaci warns Charles before his murder, and continues: "Think about what the sign on your ship says: that you will be shipwrecked and will not be interred. Desiring a kingdom without any right, you will die and lie unburied."³⁴ "Neither the great wealth, your kingdoms, nor depriving the queens were worth anything. The all-powerful fate denied you even the grave. You will be the subject of a sad poem and will stand as a negative example for kings for centuries to come."³⁵

On the chessboard where the queen wins because the king is annihilated, Lorenzo Monaci records with sharp accuracy the movements of the other players, too. Elizabeth, the queen mother, is the most dynamic character of the *Carmen*, supported by one group of barons and opposed by another. She controls, instructs, uses diplomacy, pleads, and plots. Her dramatic presence is powerful and she writes

*Filia nil contra; lacrymarum flumina fundunt
Lumina; multiplicat gemitus rude pectus amarus,
Et crebri introrsum singultus verba vocabant.
Corde puellari, mirum, tantum potuisse
Iacturam regni, et tantum licuisse dolori.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 322-327.

³³ *Adiecisti insuper in supremo colloquio...* [Besides you added with elevated speech], Monaci, *Dedication*.

³⁴ *Effuge in Apuliam, et letalem desere terram.
Contemplare tuae signum fatale carinae,
Quam tu armamentis spoliata pectore gestas.
Quid nisi naufragium pertenditur absque sepulcro?
Ardua regna petens sie vi, sine iure parentas.
Sulcantem sine remigio, e temone profundum,
Qui tandem in media perit insepultus arena.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 447-453.

³⁵ *Nunc quid opes, quid regna tibi, quid profuit altis
Reginas sceptris spoliare potentibus! Ecce
Heu dolor, heu levis ad dandum tam grandia regna
Urbibus ex tantis, eadem nunc illa sepulcrum
Omnipotens fortuna negat, per secula magnum
Exemplum aerumnae humanae, et miserabile carmen
Certe eris, ac speculum et documentum Regibus ingens.* Monaci, *Carmen*, 554-560.

her own history. Despite the fact that in the *Dedication* Lorenzo Monaci sets out to defend the reputation of both queens,³⁶ the poem leaves Elizabeth with the stain of the murder of Charles of Durazzo and the image of the “scheming woman.”³⁷ In Monaci’s construct, Elizabeth is the powerful queen regent, defined by her political actions and their justification; she is the one who abdicates in the name of her daughter, and the one who regains the throne of Hungary by arranging the murder of Charles.

Elizabeth is nowhere around at the time of the commission of Monaci’s poem, having been killed by the rebellious barons so she can be sacrificed as a scapegoat³⁸ on the Venetian altar. The constructs about her and the other characters of the poem were made by Monaci in the knowledge of the *status quo* of events in 1387: Elizabeth and her advisor, Miklós Garai, dead, carry the blame for the murder of the rival king; Mary, ruling at Sigismund’s side, becomes the model of an exemplary wife and Venetian-friendly queen. Her image survives as a literary construct of the Venetian poet-notary from amongst the debris at the end of the fourteenth-century Hungarian internal turmoil, as well as the larger Mediterranean political landscape.


Monaci’s poem is a synthesis of poetic principles, rhetorical devices, ancient models, and Christian symbols. It presents a certain version of the events in late fourteenth-century Hungary while exhibiting strong Venetian consciousness and humanist pride in an artfully subtle way.

³⁶ *Transmitto igitur illud Maiestati Tuae, Te, et innocentissimam genitricem, si quid potest, ab infami culpa et procacis vulgi dentibus per secula defensurum.* Monaci, *Dedication*.

³⁷ For more on the topos of the scheming woman, see Michelle Bolduc, *The Medieval Poetics of Contraries* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006).

³⁸ János Bak “Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary,” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 1997), 222- 233.

ANGEVIN COURTLY ART AS REFLECTED IN THE GILDED CHAPEL OF OUR LADY IN PÉCS

Veronika Csikós 

My research focuses on fragments of fourteenth-century statuary excavated in Pécs at the archeological site of the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.¹ My aim is to envisage the fragments in their contemporary artistic, cultural, and political context in two steps of investigation. First, I sketch their possible relations and roles in the artistic interaction in fourteenth-century Central Europe and second, I attempt to interpret these observations by combining methods of art history and micro-history. I conclude that the fragments were direct reflections of, if not an integral part of, Angevin courtly art, which was almost completely devastated during the Ottoman invasion of the country. Through this research I investigate what kind of art the Angevin court promoted, as reflected in these fragments.

The Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs

In 1978, excavations began north of the Saint Peter and Paul cathedral in Pécs to clarify what architectural changes had taken place at the building complex of the Bishopric Castle in the course of the fourteenth century.² Considering that Pécs was the second richest bishopric in Hungary during this period and could therefore invest in artistic production, the archeologists expected to find traces of intensive building activity at the religious center of the town. The excavation results confirmed their expectations. Among other features, the remnants of a fourteenth-century building that terminated in a polygonal end on the east were discovered around 1982.³ During this excavation, fragments of architecture and sculpture were

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis, “The Statues of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady at Pécs –The French Connection in the Sculpture of Hungary and Central Europe” (Central European University: Budapest, 2008).

² For the first publication of the archeological excavations see Mária G. Sándor, “Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs – Siedlungs- und Baugeschichte im Überblick,” in *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung*, International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] Hefte des Deutschen Nationalcomitees 22, ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő (Munich-Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999), 15-20 (hereafter: ICOMOS 22).

³ For the excavated building see Docs. No. 25424, 25635, 28155, 28156 in the National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest.

found in a grave (without human remains) and were accepted as part of the original furniture based on both the archaeological and art historical research.⁴ Based on the testimony of the written evidence, this building was identified as what medieval sources call the “Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.”⁵

The history of building activity and the architectural structure

Among the written sources that are relevant for the building’s history, the earliest known is the 1355 charter of Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362), in which he confirms the foundation of the chapel by Bishop Nicholas Poroszlói-Neszmélyi (1346-1360) and grants an indulgence for its altars.⁶ Scholars have tended to see this source as evidence for dating the foundation of the chapel to 1355; this year, however, can only be understood as a date *ante quem*.⁷ The end of the same text supports this further, since it enumerates eight altars of the chapel that were consecrated, thus already in use in 1355.⁸

At this time, the chapel could have been a single-nave edifice that had side chapels running along both sides of the nave (Figure 1). On the east, it terminated

⁴ For the first publication on the sculptural finds see Mária G. Sándor, “Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai” [The Stone Carvings of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], ICOMOS 22: 61-98 (hereafter: Sándor, “Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai,” 1999).

⁵ The description of Hungary by Nicholas Oláh served as the basis for identifying the chapel: *Ad septentrionale latus templi est collegiatum sacellum divae virginis auratae sacrum, in quo sepulchrum visitur Nicolai olim episcopi Quinque Ecclesiensis, exempli veri episcopi* ... For the full text see: Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria-Athila*, ed. Colomanus Eperjessy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 15 (hereafter: Olahus, *Hungaria*). A charter of Pope Boniface IX mentions the chapel under the name *Deaurata* (gilded) in 1401. *Non obstantibus ... quod ut, asseris, altare sancti Stephani regis, situm in capella deaurata beate Marie Virginis castri Quinqueecclesiensis, quod sine cura est, cuiusque fructus ... quinque marcharum argenti ... valorem annum non excedunt, nosceris obtinere*, in *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Budapest, 1889), 307. See also Ede Petrovich, “A pécsi Levéltár épülete” [The building of the Pécs Archive], *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 8 (1963): 161-171; idem, “Az egyetemalapító Vilmos pécsi püspök és Janus Pannonius sírhelye” [The burial place of Janus Pannonius and Bishop William, founder of the university of Pécs], *Baranyai Helytörténetírás* 1 (1968): 162 (hereafter: Petrovich, “Egyetemalapító”).

⁶ Josephus Koller, *Historia episcopatum Quinqueecclesiarum*, vol. 3 (Pozsony [Bratislava]: Landerer, 1784), 63-64 (hereafter: Koller, *Historia*).

⁷ Ibid., 63, the text of the charter attests that Innocent VI confirmed the foundation of the chapel: *Capella, quam ... fundasse et construxisse dicitur*. See also György Tímár, “Szenttisztelet Pécsen” [Cult of saints Pécs], *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 9, ed. Márta Font (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2001), 96-101. Font explicitly states that the chapel was founded before 1355.

⁸ *octo altaria ... dedicata et consecrata existat* [corrected by Koller: *existent*], see Koller, *Historia*, 64. The editor of the bull of Pope Innocent VI, Josephus Koller himself, attests that the chapel was founded before 1355. See Koller, *Historia*, 18. A few decades later, Michael Haas from the parish of Pécs dated the building of the chapel to around 1348.

Angevin Courtly Art as Reflected in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs

in a polygonal choir that was supported by buttresses; the character of its western enclosure – where the entrance was probably located – is unknown. The later fate of the chapel is rather ambiguous. After the Ottoman capture of Pécs in 1543 the chapel lost its original function, although it was not completely destroyed since some remains of its walls were still visible in the eighteenth century.⁹ It is not known when or why the ruins disappeared entirely, only to be revealed next by archeologists in the late twentieth century.

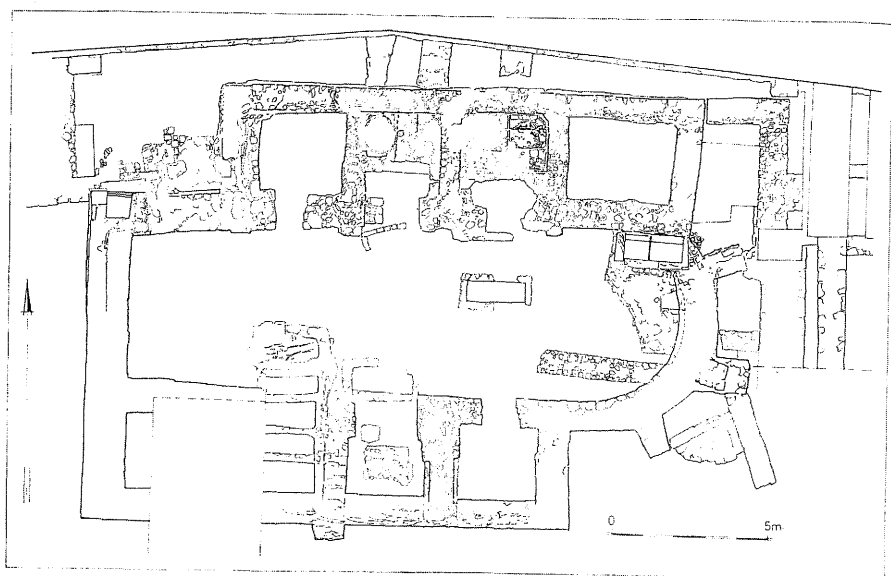


Fig. 1.: The ground plan of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady at Pécs

Mária, G. Sándor. "Die mittelalterlichen Gebäude und Gebäudereste der Bischofsburg zu Pécs" *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung, International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] Heft des Deutschen Nationalcomitees 22*, ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő (München-Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999), 32, Picture 14.

⁹ Under Bishop György Klimó rebuilding activity was begun north of the cathedral, about which Josephus Koller reports: *In eodem Castro ... Collegiatum Sacellum B. V. Aurarae, cujus Vestigia sub Georgii Klimó cum Statua Deiparae, ... deprehenda fuerunt...* see Josephus, Koller, *Prolegomena in historiam episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum* (Poszony, 1804), 148-149 (hereafter: Koller, *Prolegomena*).

As a free-standing and richly decorated building, the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was a private chapel, the prime function of which was to support its founder's individual salvation. In this role, Bishop Nicholas was believed to have been buried as close as possible to the main altar, thus probably in the grave where the sculpture fragments were found, although no human remains were recovered from this grave during the excavation. Besides its location, another piece of evidence is known about his burial place. In Nicholas Oláh's description of Pécs in 1536 he indicates that the penitential belt of the founder bishop was hanging above the tomb, suggesting thereby that a kind of saintly cult was being formed around him.¹⁰

The chapel preserved its burial function later on as well, which is known both from the written evidence and the excavations, which revealed approximately seven graves on the site of the building.¹¹ Today, regrettably, only three persons are known to have been buried in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady: Bishop Nicholas, his successor, William (1360-1374), and a later bishop of Pécs, Sigismund Ernuszt (1473-1505).¹² This may indicate that the chapel was later used by high-ranking clerics for burial, a hypothesis which is also supported by an eighteenth-century description of Pécs by an unknown author who claims that "many bishops and ecclesiastical men lie" in the chapel.¹³

The founder, Bishop Nicholas, also took care to shape the liturgy of the chapel. As the *Pécs Missale* explicitly states,¹⁴ he brought the relics of a saintly bishop, Livinus, from the remote Ghent to the Gilded Chapel.¹⁵ As well as the relics, Nicholas also brought the mass of this saint to Pécs; it can be assumed that this mass was celebrated in the chapel.¹⁶

¹⁰ Olahus, *Hungaria*, 15. Oláh also emphasizes the humility and generosity of the bishop to the poor.

¹¹ For the excavation documentation, see note 3, above.

¹² During the eighteenth-century rebuilding mentioned above a ring inscribed with the name "Bishop William" was found north of the cathedral, which would indicate that Bishop William was buried here, see Petrovich, "Egyetemalapító," 161; Josephus Koller also states that this bishop was buried here, see Koller, *Prolegomena*, 149. Petrovich raises the possibility that Koller identified the chapel based on a statue of the Virgin Mary that was found with the ring. About the burial of the other bishops, see Tamás Fedeles, "Eine Bischofsresidenz in Südungarn im Mittelalter. Der Burg zu Fünfkirchen (Pécs)," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 13 (2008): 207.

¹³ "Pécs város leírása" [A Description of Pécs], Pécs, Egyetemi Könyvtár. Ms. No. 67058, see also Petrovich, "Egyetemalapító," 164.

¹⁴ *Missale secundum morem alme ecclesie Quinqueecclesiense* (Venice, 1499) CCXX, quoted in Koller, *Historia*, 15. See Tamás Fedeles, "Körmenetek Pécsen a 14–15. században" [Processions in Pécs in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries], *Pécsi Szemle* 10 (2007): 21 (hereafter: Fedeles, "Körmenetek").

¹⁵ See note 20. About the Livinus altar of the Gilded Chapel of our lady see Koller, *Historia*, 64.

¹⁶ Fedeles, "Körmenetek," 21.

Angevin Courtly Art as Reflected in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs

Besides serving individual aims, a further aspect of the function of the chapel may be reflected in the placement of the inner spaces as side-chapels, as this arrangement is known from churches that serve communities of ecclesiastical orders.¹⁷ The written evidence also casts light upon the collegiate character of the chapel: Oláh calls the chapel *collegiatum sacellum divae virgini auratae sacrum* in his description.¹⁸ Haas, in his *Gedenkbuch* of 1852, mentions the chapel as a *Kollegiatkirche*, comparing it to another one dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹⁹ This all suggests that the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady had certain functions of a collegiate church, even if it never received this title officially. Archeologists raised a further possibility, namely, that the chapel was functionally attached to the medieval university of Pécs, based on identifying the building east of the chapel as a main edifice of the university.²⁰

The Sculptural Fragments: Unknown Angevin Courtly Art

During the excavations in 1982 sculptural fragments – parts of architectural decoration and statues – were found in a grave in the chapel and accepted as having belonged to the chapel decoration.²¹ Some objects preserved traces of painting and even gilding, which made it possible to explain the ascription in the name of the chapel. The group consists of both limestone and marl fragments and is dated to the fourteenth century based on the style, which harmonizes well with the building if the chapel founding is dated before 1355.²²

¹⁷ Compare, e.g., the Pauline churches of Tüskevár and Csátka, see Géza Entz, “Főúri építkezések” [Building Activity of the Aristocracy], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 406, figs. 1-2.

¹⁸ Oláh, *Hungaria*, 15.

¹⁹ Haas, *Gedenkbuch*, 24.

²⁰ Mária G. Sándor, “A pécsi Püspökvár feltárt középkori egyházi és világi épületei” [Sacred and Secular Buildings Excavated in the Bishopric of Pécs], *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 37 (1992): 105-107. The biggest problem with this hypothesis is that no “university chapels” are known from the practice of medieval universities in Europe.

²¹ See note 4.

²² For the dating of the fragments see: Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat*, 458; and the catalogue entries about each of the remnants: Mária G. Sándor, “Női szent szobrának töredéke” [Fragment of a female saint], “Püspökszent szobrának torzója” [Torso of a Bishop Saint], “Térdelő női szent vagy angyal töredéke” [Fragment of a Kneeling Saint or Angel], “A pécsi középkori egyetem címerkőve” [The Stone of the Coat of Arms of Pécs University], “Kezében füstölőt tartó angyal szobortöredéke” [Sculptural Fragment of an Angel Holding a Censor], “Domborműves párkánytag két próféta alakjával” [Relief with the Figures of Two Apostles], “Relieftöredék két női alakkal (Angyali üdvözlés részlete)” [Relief Fragment with Two

The recovery of these fragments in a secondary deposit (in the grave) has made it difficult for archeologists and art historians to interpret them. Conflicting ideas arose, especially concerning the original function of certain fragments. Specifically based on their place of discovery, one hypothesis claims that the fragments – together with additional pieces found near the cathedral of Pécs – were parts of one and the same tomb that was raised above the grave they were excavated from.²³ The other idea concerned different functions for different groups of fragments based on the material and stylistic diversity. This approach sees the limestone fragments as parts of statues that were standing on pillar consoles.²⁴ Their size – somewhat smaller than life-size – would correspond with this function because it would make these figures visible from a distance. Also, fragments of baldachins excavated from the same grave can be imagined as applied above the statues following the usual practice of the era. Concerning the marl fragments, Imre Takács interpreted one of them as belonging to the stone retablo of the main altar of the chapel.²⁵

Stylistically, the fragments have been separated into two groups, which is also supported by differences in the material – limestone and marl. The limestone pieces suggest a stylistic orientation towards South German fourteenth-century sculpture, while the forms of the marl fragments suggest a workshop that was trained in the Île-de-France region.²⁶

Female Figures Part of the Scene of the Annunciation]] and Imre Takács, “Pálcakeretes kőlap töredéke két álló figura részletével” [Stone Slab Fragment with Parts of Two Standing Figures], “Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával” [Relief fragment with the Torso of a Female Figure] *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* [Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia 1000-1541], ed. Imre Takács and Árpád Mikó (Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Kiadványai, 1994), 270-273 (hereafter: *PR*).

²³ Mária G. Sándor, “Az Aranyos Mária-kápolna,” [The Gilded Chapel of Our Lady] *Magyar királyi és főrendi síremlékek* [Royal and Peer Tombs in Hungary] ed. Zoltán Deák (Budapest: Urbis, 2004), 106-108 (hereafter: *Síremlékek*); For the theoretical restoration of the tomb with a baldachin see Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremlékének rekonstrukciója az Aranyos Mária-kápolnából” [A Reconstruction of the Tomb of Bishop William of Bergzabern in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], ICOMOS1999: 92-99. For a mock-up and a detailed explanation see: Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremléke,” [The Tomb of William of Bergzabern] 109-117; the maquette of the tomb is depicted and described in Doc. Nr. 38709. in the National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest.

²⁴ I would like to thank Imre Takács for calling my attention to this character of the statues.

²⁵ Imre Takács, “Domborműves fríz részlete” [Piece of a Frieze with Reliefs] *Sigismundus. Rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387-1437* [Sigismundus. Rex et imperator. Art and Culture in the Age of Sigismund of Luxemburg 1387-1437], ed. Imre Takács (Budapest-Luxemburg: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), Cat. No. 1.32., 112 (hereafter: *Sigismundus*).

²⁶ Imre Takács, “Királyi udvar és művészet Magyarországon a késő Anjou-korban” [The Royal Court and Art in Hungary in the Late Anjou Period], *Sigismundus*, 76-78.

The marl fragments have attracted more attention, mainly because the quality of carving led scholars to point to direct stylistic analogues in the French style console figures of the Franciscan church in Vienna.²⁷ This identification opened up further paths of investigation. First, it raised the possibility of identifying the workshop and therefore interpreting the fragments in the con-

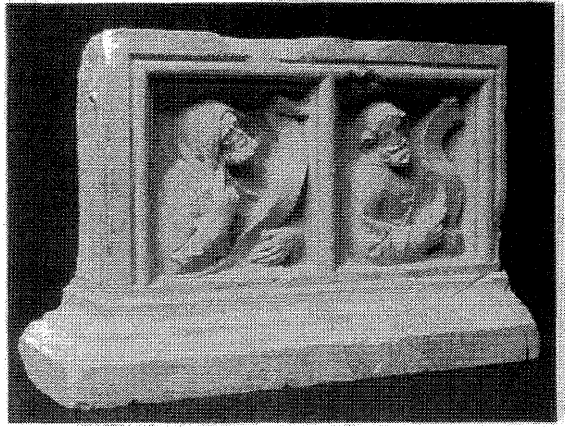


Fig. 2.: The so called "relief with prophets"
 Imre Takács, "Blason de Guillaume Bergzabern, évêque de Pécs" in *L'Europe des Anjou :
 Aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle.*
 (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 333.

of contemporary Central European art, which is the aim of this paper. Secondly, it connected the group to the monumental sculpture produced for the Angevin royal court, thereby providing an opportunity to form a picture of courtly art of the Angevin era.

²⁷ Ibid.

Analysis of the fragments

One particular fragment led art historians to the conclusion that this second of fragments was carved by a Viennese workshop. The so-called "relief with prophets" is a rectangular piece of marl approximately forty centimeters long that depicts four figures as busts on the front (Figure 2). Although it is not entirely precise from an iconographical point of view, the figures have traditionally been identified as prophets based on the fact they hold scrolls in their hands. Scholars have emphasized that the relief is of outstanding quality, which is clearly manifested in the use of exact proportions and in the fine formulation of the architectural and figural details. The profile of the figure niches is finely carved and the folds of the figures' mantles are precisely shaped.

Besides all these fine details, the artistic formulation skill of the masters, whoever they were – is clearly reflected in how they arranged the composition on a single piece of stone. The figures are neither too small nor too large for the space they are in, which they therefore take entirely but gently in their possession. They are depicted as busts; the composition arranges their arms, hands, heads, and their hair – the curls of which seem to echo the movement of the figures themselves – to give the impression that these busts are complete figures.

The superb way the stone material is handled can be acknowledged as the "fingerprints" of the masters, which can best be demonstrated on the mantle of the figures. These are dominated by carefully polished surfaces left without folds, the lines of which rarely break the surface, but then continue in a more determined way. This manner of carving results in the sensation of a vivid surface forcing the line to give up being simply inert and calling it into the process of formulating the figure. Only in this way do the surfaces of the mantle that are left without articulated folds – "empty" take on a powerful role in holding the composition together.

Harmonizing correspondences of artistic formulation (with the same in mind as the difference between prophets and apostles) is what makes the console figure on the southwestern portal of the Franciscan church in Vienna close to the Pécs relief (Figure 3). The presence of both richly carved and "empty" polished surfaces at the same time in the Vienna figures reflects the same manner of carving as in the case of the "relief with prophets" carving. The plain surfaces on the lower parts of the figures slip into each other along the line of the folds are mirrored exactly in the mantle of the Pécs prophet. The way the figures use the space that is available to them is also apparent. Apparently, it does not really matter what kind of space it is – flat or curved – the flexibility strengthens its borders. Consequently, the figures on the Pécs relief

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Fig. 3.: A figure of prophet from the southwestern portal of the Viennese Franciscan Church.

Photo by the author.

seem flat, while the other pair in Vienna is not closely bound to the corbels they are carved on. Again, the formulation of the details (e.g., the facial or hand types, the latter quite clumsy but still charming) is quite similar.

The similarity between the Pécs and the Viennese reliefs promotes the idea of accepting these two groups as created by one and same workshop. This also corresponds well to the approximate dating around 1350 due to the historical circumstances of building both the chapel and the Viennese church.²⁸

This conclusion is supported by a comparison of the Viennese reliefs with the other Pécs carvings – for example, the torso of a carefully carved figure of an angel swinging a censor. In this case, I would highlight how each element of the motion of swinging is genuinely in the angel's composition. The left hand may have

held one end of the chain that crosses the body in a horizontal line that is continued in the line of the right arm. From here, the chain to the censor turns down vertically, accompanied by folds of the cloth. It seems as if the chain carries the quintessence of the whole movement; in this sense, it stands very close to all the prophet reliefs, where their scrolls perform the same function that the censor here does.

The relief, which once depicted a scene from the Annunciation or the Visitation, shows the same artistic character as all the reliefs mentioned above.²⁹ Found in an

²⁸ For the building history of the Viennese Franciscan church see: Mario Schwarz, "Die Minoritenkirche in Wien," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher (New York: Prestel, 2000), 318-322.

²⁹ Imre Takács, "Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával," in *PR*, 273.

unknown place in the area of the Bishopric Castle, this relief is a good example of how the sculptural material of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady may be expanded by fragments found earlier.

The argument that the workshop making the marl decoration for the chapel may also have worked on the Franciscan church in Vienna seems acceptable. In order to find out more about the historical context in which this workshop would have come to Pécs, I will investigate the circumstances that characterized its Viennese activity.

The Workshop in the Service of the Habsburg Ducal Court in Vienna

The workshop's oeuvre and its commissioner

In contemporary Habsburg Vienna, the workshop had several commissions, which have been addressed by many scholars. In the “grand horizon” narrative of art history in Austria in the 1960s, scholars mainly investigated the tympana reliefs of the façade decoration of the Franciscan church, attributing to them the influences of different – mainly Italian or Austrian – stylistic orientations.³⁰ The other prominent part of the façade decoration, the jamb statues, was brought into the common view of art history by Gerhard Schmidt.³¹ Besides seeking their stylistic analogues within the borders of medieval Vienna, he strove to find parallel stylistic phenomena in Western Europe and identified similarities between these figures and the contemporary sculptural tradition of the Île-de-France.³² As a result, he established a stylistically independent group of statues which he called the oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* (Franciscan workshop).³³

³⁰ Peter von Baldass, “Die Plastik der Österreichischen Früh- und Hochgotik,” *Gotik in Österreich* (hereafter: *GÖ*), ed. Rupert Feuchtmüller, Wilhelm Mrazek, Walther Buchowiecki, and Peter von Baldass (Vienna: Forum Verlag, 1961), 91 (hereafter: Baldass, *Plastik*, 1961); Josef Zykan, “Die Plastik” *Gotik in Niederösterreich*, ed. Fritz Dworschak and Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1964), 126-127; Karl Ginhart, “Die Bildnerei in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” (hereafter: Ginhart, *Bildnerei*) *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Vienna, Bd VIII*, ed. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna: Selbstverlag für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1970) (hereafter: *GBÖ*), 1-2; Robert Wlattnig, “Die Skulpturen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Wien,” Ph.D. dissertation (Vienna, 1988), 6-7 (hereafter: Wlattnig, *Skulpturen*).

³¹ Gerhard Schmidt, “Zu einigen Stifterdarstellungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich,” In *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 128-129 (hereafter: Schmidt, “Stifterdarstellungen”).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Gerhard Schmidt, “Die Wiener ‘Herzogenwerkstatt’ und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 33-31 (1977-78): 181 (hereafter: Schmidt, “Herzogenwerkstatt”).

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Assuming that parts of the façade decoration were handled independently from each other resulted in attributing different stylistic orientations to them, and some parts of the façade were never mentioned or analyzed. Until then, researchers had thought in terms of stylistic connections and their network, not about harmonizing the various concepts of the stylistic orientation of different statues of one and the same façade. From the perspective of the present investigation, however, it is necessary to give a working definition for what I mean by “Franciscan workshop.” Can the prophets, which are the prime examples for demonstrating close ties between the Pécs and Viennese groups of sculpture, be considered as created by this workshop?

The sculptural decoration of the façade of the Franciscan church comprises the carvings of the south, central, and north portals. The pair of console figures at the latter I would not attribute to the Franciscan workshop because these figures are stylistically close to similar carvings in the Stephansdom choir, which are dated around 1340.³⁴ All the other parts of the façade decoration – the tympana reliefs, the jamb, and console figures (including those connected to Pécs) – is what I would acknowledge as the *Minoritenwerkstatt*’s work, even if some differences in their artistic solutions are clearly visible.

I would primarily account for the differences with the restoration of the façade that re-worked the surface of the figures and thereby rendered stylistic analysis rather difficult. If an art historian still wishes to attempt to establish conclusions about the stylistic composition of the decoration, he or she must rely on comparing figural types, motifs of movement and cloth, characteristics of arranging the composition and using space rather than stylistic issues.

The tympanum reliefs, which have most been frequently compared to local examples, can be linked to the jamb figures through the use of similar motifs. The motif, for example, of holding a book in a hand covered by the mantle is comparable in the cases of both Saint John the Evangelist (tympanum) and Saint John the Baptist (jamb) or the way parts of the mantles hang towards the ground, which suggests the use of the same artistic sample.

³⁴ Hans Schweigert, “Figurale Konsole,” in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Gotik*, ed. Günther Brucher (Vienna: Prestel, 2000), 339-340; for the comparable corbel figures of the Stephansdom, Arthur Saliger, analyzing three figures, discusses iconographical features rather than their stylistic origin, see Arthur Saliger, “Drei Konsolen für einen Wasserspieler, Flötenspieler, Trommler, Hornist,” *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, Sonderausstellung Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 24. April bis 31. August 1997, ed. Renata Kassal-Mikula (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1997), 73-74 (hereafter: *850 Jahre St. Stephan*).

This decoration also hints at who the commissioner of the work could have been. Among Christ's mourners depicted on the middle tympanum, a figure without a halo also appears. Wearing a cap on his head and elegant secular clothing, this man is traditionally identified as the duke of Austria, more precisely as Albert II (1330-1358), based on the dating of the façade's decoration.³⁵ An appropriate note in the necrology of the church emphasizes Albert II's role in connection with the decoration. The text lists a certain Jacobus Parisiensis, who it states "built" *nostram portam*.³⁶ This person has been convincingly identified as a monk from Zwettl abbey whom Albert II himself took as his confessor. Due to this position, Jacobus could have contributed to the making of the church decoration as a donor.³⁷

Besides the figural decoration of the Franciscan church façade, two other statues have been linked to the Viennese oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt*: a figure of Saint Dorothy (now in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien)³⁸ and a figure of Saint Thomas (now applied to a pillar of the choir in the Stephansdom). The parallels between these two figures and the jamb statues of the Franciscan church are convincing indeed: the cloth at the chest describes the same motif on the figures of Saint Helena and Dorothy; their posture and formulation of several details (e.g., the curls of the hair) are also comparable.³⁹ Saint Thomas, perhaps, stands a little bit farther from the male saints of the Franciscan church jamb, but the concise formulation – although a distinctive element – does not separate it from the *Minoritenwerkstatt*'s oeuvre.

The attribution of these statues to the workshop raises further questions, i.e., whether the *Minoritenwerkstatt* was responsible for decorating the choir of the Stephansdom in Vienna as well. Speaking for this fact is that the commissioner here – similarly to the workshop's other work – was closely related to the Habsburg court. If this was the case, that means that two workshops – the *Minoritenwerkstatt* and

³⁵ Ruprecht Feuchtmüller, "Das Westportal der Wiener Minoritenkirche," in *Kunst in Österreich*, 1 vol., ed. Ruprecht Feuchtmüller (hereafter: Feuchtmüller, "Westportal"), 102.

³⁶ Feuchtmüller, "Westportal," 102.

³⁷ Ibid.; Horst Schweigert, "Kreuzigung Christi," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher (New York: Prestel, 2000), 342 (hereafter: Schweigert, "Kreuzigung").

³⁸ Arthur Saliger suggested that the statue belonged to the sculptural setting of northern choir, basing his opinion on stylistic rather than iconographical considerations. See Arthur Saliger, "Heilige Dorothea," in *850 Jahre St. Stephan*, 82.

³⁹ The appearance of the same motif on the figure of Dorothy as on an apostle on the jamb of the Franciscan Church brings statue of the female saint very close to the jamb figures. For the statue of Saint Dorothy see Arthur Saliger, "Heilige Dorothea," in *850 Jahre St. Stephan*, 82.

so-called *Herzogenwerkstatt* (Ducal Workshop) – were responsible for creating the inner sculptural decoration of the choir, probably at the same time.⁴⁰ This parallel commission for the same decoration is known from the example of the Franciscan church façade, where the console figures of the north portal were similarly made by the workshop working in the Stephansdom choir, thus the *Herzogenwerkstatt*.

The workshop's origin

Where were the masters originally trained before carving the decoration of the Franciscan church façade? In the absence of relevant written sources, it is the statues of their reconstructed oeuvre that help suggest a place of origin. In the course of research, most of these works of art have been variously compared to different – Austrian, Italian and French – analogues, all of which were remote enough to assume a direct influence.⁴¹ While this paper cannot promise to bring this inquiry to a halt, I would point out that one group of the decoration was considered to have closer stylistic parallels. Gerhard Schmidt compared the jamb figures of the central portal to contemporary donor statues in the Navarre chapel of the Mantes-la-Jolie cathedral.⁴² By pointing out similarities in many layers of artistic formulation, Schmidt found close links between the Viennese and the French works and raised the possibility that the *Minoritenwerkstatt* was trained at Île-de-France.⁴³ It is possible that the donor of the church building, Jacobus Parisiensis, may have come from Paris, as his name would indicate. Apart from the fact that “Parisiensis” clearly reflects his origin, nothing would argue for him being familiar with the royal sculpture of Île-de-France, neither would the fact that he was a monk in Zwettl before serving the Austrian duke.

The parallels are rather promising between the statues that Schmidt mentions, the figures of St. Helena and a female saint from the Chapelle de Navarre. Based on this, direct influence from France seems to be acceptable, although why the similarities are not so striking in the cases of the other statues remains to be decided. This may partly be accounted for by the different iconographical characters of

⁴⁰ Gerhard Schmidt raised the idea that some masters of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* worked in the *Herzogenwerkstatt* as well, see Schmidt, “Herzogenwerkstatt,” 181.

⁴¹ See note 31.

⁴² Gerhard Schmidt, “Zu einigen Stifterdarstellungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich,” in *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 127–128, figs. 126–128. (Hereafter: Schmidt, “Stifterdarstellungen”).

⁴³ Ibid.

the statues in Vienna and in Mantes, but Michael Viktor Schwarz has rightly pointed out that heavy restoration is primarily what hinders arriving at more solid conclusions.⁴⁴ In light of what the Pécs fragments may add to the knowledge of the Viennese statues as their analogues, I would accept the concept of a probable French origin for the workshop.

Patrons from the Angevin Royal Court: Courtly Demands in the Hungarian Bishopric

The investigation of the circumstances that characterized the Pécs workshop's Viennese activity make it possible to identify that it worked on courtly commissions. This casts a new light on the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in that it needs an explanation of what led such a workshop to fulfill the commission of a bishop in Hungary.

Given that there is little written evidence about medieval art in Hungary, some resources remain that reveal that the founder of the chapel, Bishop Nicholas Poroszlói-Neszmélyi, originally worked for the royal administration in the Anjou court before accepting the Pécs bishopric. Born probably in Wrocław, he was invited to Hungary by Queen Elizabeth the Elder around 1331 to serve as a teacher of the child Louis I.⁴⁵ It may reflect the royal pair's satisfaction with his services that he received the titles of royal chaplain and secret chancellor.⁴⁶ Parallel to this, Nicholas received ecclesiastical rewards as well; he was given smaller religious titles before being appointed to the archbishopric seat of Kalocsa around 1344.⁴⁷ Perhaps

⁴⁴ Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), 294.

⁴⁵ Antal Pór, "Neszmélyi Miklós, Nagy Lajos király tanítója" [Nicholas of Poroszlói, the Educator of Louis I], *Katholikus Szemle* 21 (1907): 472 (hereafter: Pór, "Neszmélyi").

⁴⁶ A charter from 4 October 1344 states that he became secret chancellor. At the same time, this document calls him as royal chaplain: *Nos magister Nicholaus, quondam informator dominin Ludovici...reges...comes capelle et secretarius cancellarius eiusdem... Anjou-kori Oklevéltár Documenta Res Hungaricus Tempore Regum Andegavensium Illustrantia*, vol. 4, ed. Gyula Kristó (Budapest, 1996), 454. See also Pór, "Neszmélyi," 472; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* [The Secular Genealogy of Hungary 1301-1457] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), vol. 2, 175.

⁴⁷ Queen Elizabeth supplicated Pope Clement VI in a charter from 9 May 1343 to receive the canon title of Esztergom for Nicholas. *Supplicat Helisabeth regina Hungariae ... qiatems sibi in personam Nicolai, clerici Wratislaviensis diocesis, informator seu pedagogi Ludovici regis Hungariae...Acta Clementis VI. pontificis Roniani Monumenta Vaticana, Res Gestas Bohemicas illustrate I*, ed. Klicman Ladislaus, et al., (Prague: Typis

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because he failed to get this title acknowledged officially by the pope, Nicholas was awarded the bishopric of Pécs in 1346.⁴⁸

The fact that the Gilded Chapel was decorated by a workshop which had served the duke of Austria may have been a reflection of Bishop Nicholas' courtly past. Being a person who had frequent access to the royal court and enjoyed its lavish artistic output every day, Nicholas definitely had preferences for the genre, iconography, and style of any artistic production. As a patron of art in Pécs, the newly elected bishop would have tried to adapt models from the court to the chapel he founded. He would have been able to turn this demand into reality by taking advantage of the personal connections that he had made at the royal court. It is plausible that through his connections at court he got to know the French-trained workshop and invited them to contribute to the decoration of the chapel he founded. It is also reasonable to presume that the workshop did not come directly from Vienna to Pécs, but they would have had earlier opportunities to meet in the Anjou court.

One argument for this is that the same French stylistic orientation characterized other Central European courts as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that the fragments from Anjou Hungary, likewise influenced, can be closely connected to a commissioner from the royal court. A good example of this is the beautiful piece of marble tomb slab that was found in the area of the royal coronation and burial place, the Székesfehérvár cathedral.⁴⁹ Carved with professional care in order to let the

gregerianis, 1903), 108 (hereafter: *Monumenta Vaticana*). He also possessed the canon seat of Veszprém and the prebend title of Győr. See *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* [Collection of Charters from the Anjou-period], ed. Ferenc Piti (Budapest-Szeged: Szegedi Magyar Medievisztikai Kutatócsoport, 2007) vol. 27 (1343), 208 n., 196. In 1345, he was appointed to the canon seat of Pécs as papal chaplain, see *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarica* [sic] *sacram illustrantia*, ed. Augustin Theiner (Rome, 1859), 9 n., 707 (hereafter: *Vetera monumenta*); Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 475. About the fact that he was appointed to the archbishopric seat of Kalocsa by the chapter of Kalocsa, see Pór, "Neszmélyi," 745.

⁴⁸ The earliest charter in which Nicholas is called bishop of Pécs (in the name of Pope Clement VI) is dated to 13 February 1346 in *Vetera monumenta*, vol. 1, 727. See Pór, "Neszmélyi," 479. In April of the same year, Nicholas paid 3000 *florenos* to the Holy See as a half of the prize for some kind service (*quinque servitia*), which may be identified as the bishopric title. I would like to thank Cristian-Nicolae Gaspar for putting this information at my disposal.

⁴⁹ Dezső Dercsényi, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Royal Cathedral of Székesfehérvár] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943), 100-101, 123, figures 86-87; *Művészet I. Lajos király korában* [Art in the Period of Louis I.'s Reign], ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Lívja Varga (Székesfehérvár: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 108 n., 201-202; Pál Lövei, "Az Anjou síremlékek újonnan előkerült töredékeiről" [Newly Excavated Fragments of Anjou Tombs], *Síremlékek* 81 (2004): fig. 146; *PR*; Imre Takács, "Szarkofágfedlap töredéke" [Fragment of a Tomb Slab], *Sigismundus*, 110.

sharpened edges interfere harmoniously with the gentle surface of parts that form the cloth, this female tomb slab has been favorably compared to the achievements of contemporary Île-de-France sculpture.⁵⁰ Based on the fact that this tomb slab is believed to be from the tomb of Louis I's daughter, Princess Catherine, it may be associated with a commission from the court. Furthermore, the tomb slabs of the abbots of Pannonhalma, Szigfrid (1355-1365) and Ladislaus Czudar (1365-1372), who certainly had connections at court, have been interpreted as representative of this stylistic direction, transmitted via Austria or Bohemia.⁵¹

Turning to the first (the so-called German-style) group of fragments from Pécs, the question that should immediately be posed concerns the appearance of another style parallel to the French one. The question of this workshop's origin and the reasons for its invitation to Pécs are not clear. In this regard, the stylistic character of the fragments gives a hint. In Hungary, fragments with a similar German stylistic orientation are known from the Pilis Cistercian abbey north of Budapest. Although it is tempting, regrettably it is not possible to arrive at conclusions about the relation between the workshops at Pilis and at Pécs, that would necessitate the discovery of further pieces. Their commissioner, Abbot Henry of Pilis, was an inside member of the courtly circle and may have been in contact with Bishop Nicholas.

Nicholas' contribution to the work of the German workshop can be seen in the iconographical features of the fragments. For example, the torso of a figure clothed in casual dress with the inscription "Nicholas" on its base can be regarded as a sign of this. It would be quite unrealistic to assume that this statue depicted the donor himself; because its format is close to several other limestone figures of saints it would have stood in the row of saint figures as Saint Nicholas. The historical person Nicholas may have been connected to this torso in another way; he may have ordered its carving because the saint was his patron. It cannot be excluded, however, that Nicholas himself was indeed depicted in the chapel. Two heads with bishop's miters are known from the remains; assuming that one

⁵⁰ Imre Takács, "Szarkofágfedlap töredéke" [Fragment of a Tomb Slab], *Sigismundus*, 110.

⁵¹ Ernő Marosi, "Pentimenti. Korrekciók a 14-15. századi magyar művészet képén" [Pentimenti. Corrections to the Image of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Hungarian Art], *Tanulmányok Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies for the Seventieth Birthday of Tibor Koppány], ed. István Bardoly and László Csaba (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 100; Pál Lövei, "Szigfrid apát síremléke" [The tomb of Abbot Sigfrid], *Mons Sacer 996-1996. Pannonhalma ezer éve* [Mons Sacer 996-1996. A Thousand years of Pannonhalma], ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi főapátság, 1996) vol. 1, 312.

belonged to the torso mentioned above, the other still might have been part of a portrait. The concept of letting historical persons appear in the cycle of the limestone decoration of the chapel is further supported by the iconography of a bust. The gesture of the left hand crossed over the chest and the typical clothing of a robe fixed by a string at the shoulders refers quite explicitly to a knightly figure in the mirror of European analogues.⁵² These characteristics of the original iconography prompt an association with Nicholas as a commissioner. He, as a man of the court, could have desired to leave some reference to his career and origin in the iconography of the decoration of the chapel that he had founded. The probable complexity of the entire iconographical program of the limestone decoration – perhaps including the Last Judgment and a cycle of the Life of Christ – would have had to be genuinely harmonized in the small space and would have befitted a man well educated in theology, as Nicholas was, who also took care that his own priests should be well educated.⁵³

The courtly connection of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady did not end with the death of Bishop Nicholas in 1346. His successor, William of Berzgabern-Koppenbach (1346-1360), was bound with similar closeness into the network of the royal courtly circle. Similarly to Nicholas, William also came from abroad to serve Louis I of Anjou and was charged with the duties of royal chaplain and secret chancellor, by which he contributed actively to making advantageous compromises in Anjou diplomacy.⁵⁴ He also followed Nicholas in being an ambitious commissioner as the bishop of Pécs. He created the university there – the first one in Hungary – and probably he also initiated the making of artifacts, probably including some parts of the decoration of the chapel. William's contribution either to the building or to the decorating of the building may be reflected in the fourteenth century carving which depicts his coat of arms. Scholars have connected this carving to the chapel's decoration because it is made of the same marl as some of the excavated sculpture fragments. For the time being though, why it was not deposited in the grave where

⁵² According to current knowledge, Nicholas' brother, Mathias, was a knight among those close to the bishop. That would raise the possibility that the statue may be related to him, although this can only be accepted if further sources support it. About Mathias as a courtly knight, see *Vetera monumenta*, 706 and Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 468.

⁵³ *Vetera monumenta*, 727; Koller, *Historia*, 28; Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 479.

⁵⁴ The currently known data about the life of William Bergzabern-Koppenbach was gathered and interpreted the most recently by István Petrovics. For the resources and the further literature, see István Petrovics, "A középkori pécsi egyetem és alapítója" [The Medieval University of Pécs and its Founder], *Aetas* (2005): 31-35.

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all the other fragments were found cannot be explained.⁵⁵ The fact that William was buried in the chapel suggests that he was closely connected to the building.⁵⁶

The intense connections of the two bishops, as probable commissioners of the Gilded Chapel, with the royal court support the idea that the decoration of the chapel at Pécs was made directly for a courtly commission. The stylistic orientation and the origin of the workshop support this interpretation. In this sense, the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady can be considered as reflections of the almost completely devastated sculptural art of the Anjou court by hinting at what artistic traditions it preferred and selected, what norms it established from them, and how it then created trends that could be adapted and disseminated throughout the country.

⁵⁵ The carving was found at a location east of the chapel. Because this place was interpreted as the site of a building of the medieval university of Pécs by the archaeologists, the carving was long held to be the coat of arms of the university. See Sándor, "Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai," 1999, 90; Mária G. Sándor, "A pécsi középkori egyetem címerköve" [The Carving Depicting the Coat of Arms of the Medieval University of Pécs] in *PR*, Cat. No. IV-39, 271-272. Imre Takács has suggested convincingly that the carving depicts not the coat of arms of the university but of its founder, Bishop William, see Imre Takács, "Blason de Guillaume Bergzabern, évêque de Pécs," in *L'Europe des Anjou: Aventure des princes angevins du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 333.

⁵⁶ For the fact that William was also laid to rest in the chapel see note 12.

PELBÁRT OF TEMESVÁR AND THE USE OF IMAGES IN PREACHING

Edina Ádám 

A number of textual and pictorial sources attest that during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century religious images in various media were used extensively in public religious practices. This intriguing aspect of preaching, however, has long been neglected by the field of sermon studies and only recently has the secondary literature begun to pay closer attention to it.¹ My aim here² is to contribute to the topic by examining the interrelation between text and image in a series of model sermons deriving from the *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*,³ a collection composed by the Hungarian Observant Franciscan, Pelbárt of Temesvár (ca. 1435 – 1504).⁴

The Textual Evidence

Pelbárt's work contains several unambiguous references to visual representations and/or to their use.⁵ These passages can be arranged in two groups based on their

¹ The most relevant works for this study are: Miriam Gill, "Preaching and Image in Later Medieval England," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (hereafter: Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*) (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 155–180; Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini: Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002) (hereafter: Bolzoni, *La rete*); Sara Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 1170–1208.

² This article is based on my MA thesis: "Pelbárt of Temesvár and the Use of Images in Preaching" (Central European University, 2008).

³ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis* (Augsburg, 1502) (hereafter: Pelbárt, *Sermones, PA or PH*). All sermons cited from the *Pars aestivalis* series are from: <http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/patartalom.html> (Accessed: January 17, 2009), citations from the *Pars hiemalis* are used with permission of the editors, who are working on the online critical edition.

⁴ On the life of Pelbárt of Temesvár see: Áron Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt élete és munkái* (Pelbárt of Temesvár: His Life and Works) (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1880). On the genre of model sermon see: Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); Phyllis Roberts, "The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," in Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, 41–63; and David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 89–90.

⁵ Here I use the expression "unambiguous" meaning that passages using such expressions as *depingere* or *pictura* indicate a connection to visual representations in an explicit manner. This criterion is based on that of Ildikó Bárczi, *Ars compilandi. A késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyvek forráshasználata* [*Ars Compilandi: The Use of Sources in Late Medieval Preaching Handbooks*] (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó: 2007), 91.

intended audience and function. The first group is comprised of two passages and was meant for the first audience of Pelbárt's work, that is, preachers. Similar to stage directions, these passages were not part of the text to be preached, but served as instructions. Due to their function, they are explicit about the use of images; they not only prescribe what images should be displayed, but also how and when. The passage from Sermon 66 of the *Pars hiemalis*, written for the feast of Good Friday, for instance, exhorts preachers to hold up an image of the crucifix while speaking passionately about the torments that Christ suffered on the cross.⁶ Similarly, the passage at the end of the *Pars hiemalis* instructs the preachers to display several images to the audience simultaneously with the delivery of the pertinent passages of Sermon 66.⁷

The second group of passages, in contrast, was intended for the ultimate audience, that is, the congregations of the preachers. As these passages are part of the main text, namely, the text to be preached, their function can only be determined within the context of the speeches. They are far less explicit about the use of images; they merely allude to different visual representations along with some elements of the depictions. As an example, in Sermon 9 of the *Pars aestivalis* Pelbárt refers briefly to the attributes of Saints Peter and Paul.⁸

⁶ *Secundo quoque in elevatione principaliter dolorem Christus habuit, Unde pie creditur tunc Christus flebiliter voce gemebunda succlamasse prae doloris anxietate. Eleva itaque et tu Crucifixi imaginem, et fac devotas allocutiones contemplativas. Ad populum: O homo, intueri et aspice Dei Filium hodie pro te pendentem in cruce! Vide, qualiter inter clavos cruciatur, vide sanguinem defluentem, vide vulnera, vide faciem consputam, vide caput coronatum spinea corona!* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, T.

⁷ *Item de sermone faciendo in magna sexta feria cum caerimoniis devotae repraesentationis passionis Christi. Nota memorialem signaturam procedendi. Ante omnia potes ostendere crucis lignum quasi cruentatum, cum orationem dicis ad crucem loquendo, scilicet: O crux, ave, spes unica etc., ut per talem ostensionem commoveantur corda. Primo prosequere usque ad devotam materiam de separatione Christi et valedicendo a gloriosa sua Matre. Et ibi ostende imagines haec repraesentantes. Tandem post compunctionem primam populi dic aliquas quaestiones iuxta placitum, et disputa, ut videbitur tibi, si habes audientes viros scientificos. Secundo prosequere historiam evangelicam, et poteris alteram compunctionem populi facere in flagellatione Christi per imaginem convenientem. Tunc ut scientificis satisfacias, poteris quaestiones interserere. Tertio iuxta passum Ecce homo vel Ecce rex vester ostende imaginem Christi ligatam suo modo. Quarto deinde prosequere de educatione et crucifixione et aliis subsequentibus, prout Deus dederit.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, unnumbered page. Although Pelbárt does not specify which Good Friday sermon the instructive passage belongs to, by comparing references made to the content of the sermon with those of the four Good Friday speeches, I conclude that it corresponds to Sermon 66 of the *Pars hiemalis*.

⁸ *Unde Sancta Ecclesia Paulum solet depingere cum libro et ense. Petrum autem cum clavibus, ad repraesentandum, quod Paulus per sapientiam in libris epistolarum nos docet ad salutem, et per ense, id est per meritum passionis defendit ab hostibus. Petrus autem habet claves aperienti caelum,* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 9, K.

Descriptions of the Images

According to the instructions given by Pelbárt, the images had to be displayed immediately after or simultaneously with the delivery of the relevant texts.⁹ Assuming that the text and image corresponded with or complemented each other, by examining the individual passages and consulting contemporary visual representations it becomes possible to learn about some of the essential features of the images that Pelbárt advised preachers to use.

In the passage at the end of the *Pars hiemalis*, images depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ are mentioned. First, Pelbárt refers to the use of the crucifix, a representation of the cross with the figure of Christ on it: “Before all [else] you can show the crucifix as if covered in blood.”¹⁰ From Pelbárt’s characterization (*crucis lignum quasi cruentatem*), it can be assumed that the crucifix that he alludes to was a rather realistic depiction of Christ, showing him bleeding from numerous wounds.¹¹

Pelbárt’s next reference to the use of images is: “First, go all the way until the pious subject of Christ’s separation and his farewell to his glorious Mother. And there show the images representing these [subjects].”¹² Here he refers to two visual depictions: one depicting Christ’s separation from and farewell to his Mother, known as the “Christ Taking Leave of his Mother,” and the “Payment of Judas,” which, although he fails to name it, can be deduced from the corresponding section of Sermon 66.¹³ Due to the obscurity of the passage, however, I will not take the latter image into further consideration.

The subject of “Christ Taking Leave of his Mother” was derived from devotional literature and spread widely during the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Although several variants of the depiction of this episode exist from the High Middle Ages,¹⁵ the type that Pelbárt of Temesvár seems to refer to, based on the corresponding texts of Sermon

⁹ See footnote 4, 5.

¹⁰ See footnote 5

¹¹ Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994) (hereafter: Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*), 571-574.

¹² See footnote 5.

¹³ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 444-447.

¹⁴ Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, ed., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 305-309 (hereafter: Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*); Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 35.

¹⁵ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 35.

66, is either the one showing Mary kneeling in front of her son or the one depicting both the Virgin Mary and Christ kneeling.¹⁶

The next image that Pelbárt suggests for use is the “Flagellation:” “Second, carry on with the story from the Gospel and you will be able to stir compunction one more time among the people on the topic of the flagellation of Christ using the suitable image.”¹⁷ Although the subject was derived from the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, visual representation was greatly influenced by devotional literature,¹⁸ as the relevant scriptural passages provide no specific details about the more gruesome aspects of this event.¹⁹ Judging by the rather vivid description given in Sermon 66, namely, that the undressed Christ was tied to a column while being scourged, his entire body was covered in wounds and his pouring blood wetted the ground,²⁰ Pelbárt of Temesvár alluded to one of those graphic depictions showing the servants scourging Christ.²¹

Following the display of the “Flagellation,” Pelbárt suggests the use of another image: “Third, right after expanding on the *Ecce homo* or the *Ecce rex vester* show the image of Christ tied the usual way.”²² Based on the instruction and the corresponding section of Sermon 66,²³ it seems probable that Pelbárt refers to the “*Ecce Homo*,” a type of visual narrative depicting Pilate presenting Christ to the Jews.²⁴ In the High Middle Ages such images represented Christ with his hands tied, wearing a purple robe and the crown of thorns, with Pilate by his side, standing in front of a crowd of Jews.²⁵ Pelbárt’s expression “Christ tied in the usual way,” however, casts some doubts concerning the nature of the image as it is very much in the fashion of those of the *Andachtsbild*.²⁶ Therefore it is possible that

¹⁶ *Materno ergo affectu coepit, ut aiunt, ipsa Feria quinta genibus flexis Filium petere taliter ... Interim, ut tradunt devoti et satis utique rationabiliter, Christus ut bonus filius matri valediceret, elicientiavit omnes e domo illa praeter matrem, et coram ea genua flexit. Quo viso humillima Virgo festinavit, et ipsa coram Filio procidit ad genua, coepitque piissimus Iesus taliter dicere.* Pelbárt, *Sermones, PH*, 66, E.

¹⁷ See footnote 5.

¹⁸ Ragusa and Green, *Mediations*, 328.

¹⁹ Matt. 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 19:1.

²⁰ See footnote 48.

²¹ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 127-130.

²² See footnote 5.

²³ See footnotes 48, 49, and 50.

²⁴ John 19:4-6

²⁵ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 557.

²⁶ Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984), 55-58 (hereafter: Ringbom, *Icon*).

instead of a narrative painting, Pelbárt is referring to an *Andachtsbild* depicting Christ in a close-up, dressed in the purple robe and wearing the crown of thorns with his hands tied, along with some of the most important protagonists of the event such as Pilate.²⁷

Moving on to the other type of passages, I found a clear indication of both the subject matter and the iconographic type. For instance, in Sermon 68 of the *Pars aestivalis*, he recalls the conventional depiction of the Archangel Michael weighing souls: “[His] third privilege is having the duty of weighing [the souls] as is visible in pictures, which are the books of lay people.”²⁸ Similarly, in the passage of Sermon 22 of the *Pars aestivalis* mentioned above, Pelbárt speaks of the images of Saints Paul and Peter with their attributes.²⁹

As for the iconography, Pelbárt’s references to the depiction of Saint Emeric and Saint Anthony of Padua are more intriguing. The representation of Saint Emeric which Pelbárt describes was a fairly novel type at the time when the text was composed as it became widespread only in the last third of the fifteenth century.³⁰ “It is because of this that in the Holy Church, as a mark of exceptional respect, he has the following ornament as a special attribute, to be represented holding a lily in his hand.”³¹ The description of Saint Anthony of Padua, in Sermon 9 of the *Pars aestivalis*, differs quite substantially from his traditional iconography.³² Namely, the text speaks of a depiction in which Saint Anthony is holding a fish: “It is because of this miracle, therefore, and also because of that other one described in the first division of Sermon 13 right before the letter C that Saint Anthony is depicted holding a fish.”³³ This type of representation, which according to Pelbárt originated from two miracles performed by the saint, is specific to the late medieval art of the southern German territories. Only a few

²⁷ Ringbom, *Icon*, 145-147 and figure 113-116.

²⁸ *Tertium privilegium est ponderandi officium habere, ut patet in picturis, quae sunt libri laicorum*, Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 68, I.

²⁹ See footnote 6.

³⁰ Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci Mester művészetének problémái” [Questions concerning the art of the Master of Mateóc], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 29 (1980): 49-80; see also Terézia Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából* [1000 years of Saint Emeric. Papers on the occasion of Saint Emeric’s 1000th anniversary] (Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007).

³¹ *Unde in Sancta Ecclesia ipse pro honore speciali habet hoc decus clenodii, ut depingatur cum lilio manu gestans*. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 91, A.

³² Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L’art Chrétien*, vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 118.

³³ *Propter hoc ergo miraculum et etiam propter illud aliud descriptum primo articulo sermonis 13 immediate ante litteram “C” beatus Antonius piscem gestare depingitu*, Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, H.

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examples of this type have survived, for instance, an illumination (1494/1497) and a woodcut (1484) depicting the Franciscan saints, a tapestry (1502), and a fragment of a predella (1477).³⁴

The Function of Images

Preaching during the Middle Ages was considered a way of educating the public. Alan of Lille defined preaching as a “manifestation and public instruction of morals and faith” in his preaching manual written around 1200.³⁵ Preaching, however, was not limited simply to instructing the audience on the dogmas and morals of religion, but also to teaching them how to look at and use images.³⁶ In light of this, I would argue that the functions of the passages I have identified in the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár are also instructive; they work on two levels because of the characteristically dual audience for model sermons. On one hand, they educated people directly on how to look at the sacred, and on the other, they provided models for preachers on how to teach their own audiences.

Before moving on to the examination of Pelbárt’s passages a brief digression is necessary in order to discuss the scholarly view on images at the time of Pelbárt. During the Middle Ages a threefold justification of images made their usage possible in a Christian context: their didactic, mnemonic, and emotive functions.³⁷ Scattered references to all these functions can be found in the *de sanctis*. In Sermon 68 of the *Pars aestivalis*, Pelbárt reflects on the didactic function of images, defining them as books for the laity.³⁸ As for the mnemonic function, in Sermon 71 Pelbárt says that the marks impressed on the body of Francis functionally resemble the paintings and sculptures erected by triumphant rulers

³⁴ Johannes Gründler, ed., *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi: Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Berger Verlag, 1982), 596-598, 658-660, 704-705; Éva Benkő, Klára Garas, and Zsuzsa Urbach, *German, Austrian, Bohemian and British Paintings* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2003), 17-18.

³⁵ *Prædicatio est, manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita, et auctoritatum*, Alan of Lille, “De Arte Prædicani” in *Patrologiæ cursus completus. Patres... Ecclesiæ latinæ*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1864), 210 coll. 111 (hereafter PL).

³⁶ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in the Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) (hereafter: Baxandall, *Painting*), 48.

³⁷ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 162-163 (hereafter: Freedberg, *Power*).

³⁸ *Reman type*28.

as they are all meant to keep a great victory alive in the memory of the people.³⁹ Finally, the instructional passage at the end of Sermon 97, discussed above, aptly attests to Pelbárt's awareness of the emotive function of images. These show that Pelbárt of Temesvár was fully conscious of the three functions of images and presented examples for their various uses.

As for the emotive function, with the help of the first group of images comprised of the "Christ Taking Leave of his Mother," the "Flagellation," the "Ecce Homo," and the "Crucifix" and the corresponding texts of Sermon 66, Pelbárt demonstrates how to meditate with images. Such image-assisted meditation was considered the most basic level of contemplation; it was greatly encouraged as for some it was regarded as the only accessible way to knowledge of the divine and for others it was a step towards the higher stages of imageless meditation.⁴⁰ As Gregory the Great expresses it: "We do no harm in wishing to show the invisible by means of the visible."⁴¹ The same idea is echoed in one of Pelbárt's sermons, written for the feast of Saint Thomas, where he says that the sight of the actual image of the crucifix enables people to recreate in their minds the scene of the crucifixion and to meditate on it.⁴²

The aim of image-assisted meditation was to cause an affective relation between the beholder and the image, that is, to excite the beholder to empathy.⁴³ In order to achieve the state of empathy, however, images had to be perceived in a particular way. Pelbárt, in the texts corresponding to the prescribed images, demonstrates a handful of strategies by means of which the beholder of the image can attain the desired emotional experience.

In the text relating to the image "Christ Taking Leave of his Mother," Pelbárt creates a lengthy dialogue between the Virgin Mary and Christ, interrupted by an event described in the Gospels when Jesus sent two of his disciples, Peter and

³⁹ *Hanc autem stigmatizationem fecit Christus pro renovanda memoria passionis suae in mundo, quae iam inveterata erat, paena oblita. Sed per Franciscum est in cordibus fidelium innovata, in quo et visibiliter impressa cernitur. Nimirum videmus, quod reges magnifici solent res gestas et magnas victorias depingi vel sculpti facere ad memoriam hominum.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 71, B.

⁴⁰ Ringbom, *Icon*, 19; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 179-180.

⁴¹ Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* in PL 77, coll. 990-991, quoted and tr. in Freedberg, *Power*, 164.

⁴² *...sicut Thomas vidit cum ceteris discipulis vulnera passionis Christi oculis corporalibus, et iugiter habuit in oculis mentalibus, ita nos, qui corporaliter Christum crucifixum non vidimus, frequenter aspiciamus saltem oculis mentalibus recordando de eius passione, ut ei gratias agamus de tanto beneficio redemptionis. Nam propter hoc in ecclesia ponitur ante oculos nostros imago crucifixi,* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 12, M.

⁴³ Ringbom, *Icon*, 19.

John, to Jerusalem to prepare for the celebration of Passover⁴⁴ Pelbárt's text closely relates to that of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, a meditation handbook of the late thirteenth century attributed to John of Caulibus.⁴⁵ Pelbárt begins by describing the situation: the Virgin Mary, fully aware of the peril threatening her son in Jerusalem, kneels down and begs him not to go.⁴⁶ Next, as if vivifying the figures of the image recommended to the preacher, Pelbárt has these two characters engage in a rather emotional and intimate conversation. By doing so, he directs attention to them more closely. The first section of the dialogue is dominated by Mary's speech. First, she implores her son to stay in Bethany, then, after having understood that the death of Christ is in accordance with the will of God, she asks Christ to let her die before or at the same moment as he does, or to allow her mind to be lifted in ecstasy so as not to feel any pain inside.⁴⁷ In the second section, it is mostly Christ who talks. He expresses his gratitude to his mother for accepting him in her womb, for carrying him for nine months, for giving birth to him, for nursing him, for feeding him, for sustaining a great deal of work and suffering, for serving him, for shedding tears for him, for undergoing many efforts, toils and perils for his sake.⁴⁸ The intimacy of their conversation can be seen from the manner in which they address each other. Mary calls her son "my most beloved

⁴⁴ Matt. 26:17; Mark. 14:12; Luke 22:7-13.

⁴⁵ Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, 305-309.

⁴⁶ See footnote 15.

⁴⁷ 'Quaeso te, Fili mi et Deus meus, exaudi me, matrem maestissimam, ut non ascendas in Hierusalem, nam hic, in Bethania praeparabunt tibi Martha et Magdalena agnum paschalem, ne forte inimici manus inicianit tibi.' Cui respondit Dominus: 'Non licet – inquit –, carissima mater, in hoc te exaudire, sed potius voluntatem Patris facere, ut impleantur Scripturae. Nam Isa. LIII: Oblatus est, scilicet Filius Dei, quia ipse voluit, scilicet Pater et Filius.' Cui gloriosa Mater: 'Scio' – ait –, 'Fili mi, quod sic voluit Deus Pater redimi mundum tua passione et morte, sed quia cor maternum hoc cogitans crepet amaritudine, saltem da mihi, si possibile est et convenit, antea mori, quam tu, Fili mi dilectissime, moriaris, aut simul tecum exhalare spiritum, aut in extasim mentis rapi, ut penitus nil sentiam.' Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

⁴⁸ 'O Mater praedilectissima, regrator tibi, quod me fideliter et humiliter ad verba angeli Gabrielis in uterum suscepisti, et quod mensibus novem me portasti in utero virgineo, quod me peperisti, lactasti, nutritivisti, multos labores et angustias pro me sustinuisti fugiendo in Aegyptum, ibi manens et inde rediens, et triduo me tandem requirens, annisque XXX semper mihi fidelissime et devotissime in omnibus servivisti, et quot guttas lactis tui virginei mihi dedisti sugenti, quot servitia impendisti, quot labores et poenalitates pro me sustinuisti, tot et tantas tibi refero gratiarum actiones. Vale ergo nunc, dulcissima Mater, et mane in gratia meae deitatis, quia ecce a te separabor, ut vadam ad moriendum pro genere humano.' O quantus ibi fuit fletus, quantus luctus Virginis Matris et piissimi eius Filii super matre compatiens, cogitet haec pia mens! Tandem spiritu resumpto Beata Virgo ut potuit loqui, dixit: 'Gratias tibi ago, Deus meus, qui me dignatus es eligere in matrem, cum essem paupercula ancilla tua, et quod servitia mea placuerunt tuae maiestati.' Sicque se invicem osculando vale sibi dixerunt. Dominus quoque Matrem suam Marthae et Magdalenae commendavit. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

son" (*filius meus dilectissimus*) while Christ names her "dearest mother" (*mater carissima*), "my dearest mother" (*carissima mater mea*), "the most beloved mother" (*mater praedilectissima*), and "sweetest mother" (*mater dulcissima*). Furthermore, at the end of each section, Pelbárt inserts an explicit call for contemplation.⁴⁹

The text which Pelbárt recommends for listening to while the image of the "Flagellation" is displayed is a compilation of the relevant passages taken from the Gospels of Luke and John and from various theological authorities.⁵⁰ The construction of this text resembles that of the previous one; the description of the situation is followed by a section of dialogue and a call for contemplation, between which a step-by-step account of the flagellation is inserted. Here, Pelbárt recounts how the undressed Christ, tied to the column, was brutally scourged and in so doing draws attention to some of the gruesome details that would be most likely to arouse strong emotional reactions in the intended audience.

The passage to accompany the image of the "Ecce Homo" is, like the text of the Flagellation, pieced together from the relevant passages of the Gospels and other sources in such a way that a detailed and vivid text is created. Once more, Pelbárt applies the technique of episodic progression, as in the account of the Flagellation, to recount the torture of Christ. He breaks down the story into as many separate events as possible: the soldiers led him away, crowned him, clothed him, mocked him, hailed him, struck him, put a reed in his hand, spat on him, hit his head. Furthermore, he leaves the progression unfinished, thus open to a free flow of further visualization by saying: "They were doing all this and many other such things."⁵¹ Next, he directs the attention to Christ's face, more specifically to

⁴⁹ *Pie possumus contemplari, quantum tunc flevit Beata Virgo, quam dulciter verba Filii audierit a mane usque ad illam horam separationis. ... O quantus ibi fuit fletus, quantus luctus Virginis Matris et piissimi eius Filii super matre compatiens, cogitet haec pia mens! Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, 66, E.*

⁵⁰ *Octavus dolor dicitur flagellationis. Nam cum Herodes remisisset Iesum ad Pilatum, principibus, scilicet sacerdotum, convocatis Pilatus volens eripere Christum dixit: 'Ego nullam causam invenio in homine isto ex his, quibus eum accusatis, sed neque Herodes. Nam remisit eum ad nos, et ecce nihil dignum morte actum est ei.' At illi clamabant: 'Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem debet mori.' Pilatus dixit: 'Emendatum illum corripiam et dimittam.' Tunc ergo Pilatus tradidit Iesum militibus flagellandum. Et ut doctores dicunt, ligaverunt illi Iesum nudatum ad columnam quandam, et flagellaverunt, ut non esset in eo sanitas a planta pedis usque ad verticem. Et ut dicit Gregorius Nazianzenus: Caro sacra Christi flagellata post livores sanguinem ex omni parte scaturiebat, quo etiam terra sub pedibus Iesu et columna ipsa atque flagella madefiebant. Et ut pie arbitrari possumus, cum solvissent eum tam crudeliter flagellatum, prae dolore et debilitate Dominus in terram cecidit facietenus sanguine suo irrigatam. O benedicta Virgo Maria, quo dolore tunc cor tuum vulnerabatur!*

⁵¹ *Nonus dolor coronationis spineae et punctionis. Post haec enim milites duxerunt eum in atrium praetorii, et plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti eius, et veste purpurea circumdederunt eum, et veniebant ad*

the crown of thorns, by describing the actual physical object and the injuries it caused.⁵² Then, in the end, Pelbárt progresses to the episode of Pilate presenting Christ to the Jews. This section of the text, although mostly based on Scripture, also includes passages that could aid reception of the image.⁵³ For instance, after presenting Christ to the Jews, Pilate, according to Pelbárt's text said: "Look how atrociously he is being punished, with all his body scourged, slapped in the face, spat on, pricked by thick thorns, his head painfully wounded, while he is tied up and tortured in many ways, etc."⁵⁴ Once again, attention is focused on the figure of Christ, first on his whole body, then his face, and then back to the body again. By attributing these words to Pilate, Pelbárt gets the intended audience even more involved. Namely, by addressing them in the name of Pilate, Pelbárt places them virtually in the crowd gathered at the *praetorium*, thus creating an atmosphere of immediacy.

The text accompanying the second display of the image of the crucifix is once again aimed to guide the reception of the intended audience. Initially, Pelbárt directs the attention to the whole body of Christ by commanding the beholder to: "Look and see the son of God hanging today on the cross for your sake!"⁵⁵ Next, he progresses to certain details such as Christ's wounds: "Watch how he is tormented by the nails, watch the flowing blood, watch the wounds."⁵⁶ The observation of these details still requires the beholder to look at the whole body of Christ, but with attention more concentrated on some parts of it. Finally, Pelbárt shifts the focus to the head of Christ by saying: "Watch the face that was spat on, watch his head crowned with a crown of thorns." When supposedly all eyes are fixed on the face of Christ, Pelbárt composes a fictive monologue, which proves to be extremely powerful not only because it is the tortured Christ who utters these words, but also because he addresses the members of the audience directly.⁵⁷

eum illudentes et dicentes: 'Ave, rex Iudaeorum!' Et dabant ei alapas, et dederunt arundinem in manu eius, et conspuebant in eum, et percutiebant caput eius. Haec et plura talia faciebant pro complacentia Iudaeorum et forte pecunia ab eis accepta. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, Q.

⁵² *Et Nicolaus de Lyra dicit, quod corona illa erat de iuncis marinis ad modum spinarum acutis, quorum – ut quidam aiunt – aculei sunt duri et acutissimi ad instar chalybis, habentes virtutem naturalem attrahendi humorem.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, Q.

⁵³ John 19:1-15; Matt. 27:19-29.

⁵⁴ *Videte, quam acerbè est punitus, toto flagellatus corpore, in facie alapizatus, consputus, percussus spinis densis, acerbissime perforatus in capite, ligatus et multipliciter afflictus etc.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, Q.

⁵⁵ See footnote 5.

⁵⁶ See footnote 5.

⁵⁷ See footnote 5.

Furthermore, at the end of this section, Pelbárt presents a model of how the audience should respond to the crucifix. He indicates that a strong emotional reaction is expected in the beholder: “Therefore, weep you, sinner, to Christ;” and that the beholder should be afflicted by the feeling of compunction.⁵⁸

These techniques, namely, the vivid description of events with the help of stage-by-stage progressions and the insertion of dialogue, the use of emotive language, the explicit call for contemplation, however, were not Pelbárt of Temesvár’s invention, but were closely related to contemporary meditation handbooks.⁵⁹ What Pelbárt accomplished was that he adapted and incorporated the language characteristic of meditation handbooks into his model sermons and by assigning the use of certain depictions, he demonstrated how to contemplate with the help of images.

In the case of the second group of images made up of depictions of the Archangel Michael, Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Emeric, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul. I would argue that in the case of these images the possible uses that Pelbárt demonstrates are connected with their didactic and mnemonic functions.

Concerning the didactic function of images, Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) defined the pictorial decoration of churches as books of the illiterate.⁶⁰ By the expression, “books of the illiterate” he did not mean that the images were inferior to written material, but that they were accessible to a larger audience.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the “illiterate” audience had to be armed with the necessary skills and knowledge in order to be able to “read,” that is, to properly interpret the visual representations shown to them.

In the light of this, I believe that the passages in the text of Pelbárt concerning the second group of images were intended to teach how to interpret visual representations on the level of the ultimate audience. In the case of the depiction of

⁵⁸ *Plora ergo, peccator, ad Christum: O dulcissime Iesu, o amorose Deus meus, quid nocuerunt manus tuae, quod tam atrociter sunt confixae cruci? Quid, piissime Domine, pedes sacri offenderant, quod sic sunt conclavati? Quid sacrum caput, quod sic est spinis confossum densissimis? Quid facies tua decora, quod sputis est Iudaeorum deturpata? O praedulcis Iesu, Fili Dei, ego sum, qui inique egi, ego, qui peccavi, ego, qui iniquitatem feci, et tu pro me cruci affixus es. Tu pro me poenas exsolvis, tu pro me morti damnavis.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, T.

⁵⁹ Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 26-68.

⁶⁰ Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* in PL 77. coll. 1128-29, quoted and tr. Freedberg, *Power*, 163.

⁶¹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (hereafter: Carruthers, *Memory*), 221-222.

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the Archangel Michael, Pelbárt does this by clarifying the action of weighing souls, while in the case of the other depictions he explains the attributes of the figures.⁶²

These passages, however, function on another level as well. Namely, on the level of the first audience Pelbárt wishes to give instructions on how to incorporate images into the very structure of a sermon. Pelbárt's sermons belong to the type of thematic sermons.⁶³ They begin with a theme, a brief biblical passage that is divided and subdivided and elucidated with the help of various citations. Pelbárt generally employs biblical passages, hagiographical writings, and citations from the works of the Church Fathers, however, by examining the passages discussed within the structure of the sermons, it can be seen that they also function as arguments for proving Pelbárt's interpretation of the theme.

Such a usage of images has one major consequence; that is, the images become associated with certain parts of the sermon or, as in the case of the depiction of Saint Emeric, with the whole structure.⁶⁴ The possible reason for incorporating them in the text of the sermons in such a way is that they were expected to act as mnemonic cues.⁶⁵ The reason for this was that according to authorities, storage and recollection, the two basic activities of the memory, were best stimulated by visual means as memory was considered essentially a visual process.⁶⁶ Taking this into account, what can be seen in Pelbárt's text is an effective use of visuals. Using the images incorporated in the text of a sermon, the future stimulus of a similar or the same depiction would make it possible for the audience to recall the partial or the full content of the sermon through association.

⁶² See footnotes 6, 26, 29, and 31.

⁶³ On thematic sermons, see Carlo Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

⁶⁴ The theme selected for Sermon 91 is: *Iustus germinabit sicut lilium, et florebit in aeternum ante Dominum*, Hos. 15:1. Thus, the depiction of Saint Emeric with his attribute of a lily can be associated with the entire text.


⁶⁵ Bolzoni, *La rete*, 7.

⁶⁶ Carruthers, *Memory*, 16-17.

Conclusion

The main focus of this study has been to examine the results that Pelbárt of Temesvár expected to achieve by inserting passages in his sermons referring to visual representations and/or their use in preaching. I conclude that these passages functioned on two levels which were in accordance with the dual audience for Pelbárt's model sermon collection. On the level of the first audience, that is, preachers using the collection, with the help of these passages Pelbárt demonstrated how to pass basic knowledge about visual representations to members of the congregation, how to prepare the audience for image-assisted private meditation in the course of a public preaching event, and how to incorporate images into the text of a sermon so that they functioned as mnemonic cues for the listeners. Meanwhile, on the level of the ultimate audience, that is, the preachers' congregations, Pelbárt intended to guide the reception of images and to provide training for their future reception.

REPERCUSSIONS OF A MURDER: THE DEATH OF SEHZADE MUSTAFA ON THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH STAGE

Seda Erkoç 

After the economic developments of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman world came to occupy a central place in the consciousness of the English, who first encountered it through commerce. The English were eager to learn about the Ottomans, as the Turk was not only an exotic Other or partner in trade, but also a threat that was coming closer day by day. All over Europe, information was in demand not only on the religion, culture, and costumes of the Turk or Turkish wars with European states, but also on events that were taking place within the borders of the empire. According to Matthias A. Shaaber, in the period 1476 to 1622, more news was printed in England about the Turks than any other nation after the French and the Dutch.¹

In this bulk of first-hand information coming through the official reports and records, personal letters of diplomats and ambassadors, travel accounts of pilgrims, adventurers and tradesmen, and even through the accounts of the slaves, the story of the death of Sehzade Mustafa also leaked into Europe. In 1553, Sehzade Mustafa, the eldest son of Suleyman the Magnificent and the expected heir to the throne, was strangled at the command of his father. This story was recorded by contemporary chroniclers and numerous mourning poems were dedicated to Mustafa's death on the Ottoman side.² After two years, in 1555, Nicolas à Moffan's Latin text,

¹ As quoted in Suheyla Artemel, "The great Turk's Particular Inclination to Red Herring: The Popular Image of the Turk during the Renaissance in England," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5, no. 2. (1995): 189 (hereafter: Artemel, "Red Herring").

² Basic Ottoman sources that record the event are: Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, *Hadisat* [The Events], ed. Enver Yaşarbaş (İstanbul: Kit-san Matbaacılık, 1983); Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, *Sahâif-ül-Ahbar fî Vekâyi-ül-a'sar* [Pages of the Knowledge on the Events of Years], tr. İsmail Erünsal (İstanbul: Tercuman, 1974); Hasan Bey-zade Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zade Tarihi* [The History of Hasan Bey-zade], ed. Şevki Nezih Aykut (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi, 2004); İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi* [The History of Peçevi], ed. Murat Uraz (İstanbul: Neşriyat Yurdu, 1968); Solak-zade Mehmed Hemdemi Çelebi, *Solak-zade Tarihi* [The History of Solak-zade], ed. Vahid Çabuk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989); and the poems of Yahya Bey, Samî, Funûnî, Rahmî, Fazlî, Nisayî, Mudamî entitled "Mersiye" [Mourning Poem] in Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, "Sehzade Mustafa Mersiyeleri" [Mourning Poems for Sehzade Mustafa] *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1982): 641-686.

entitled *Soltani Solymanni Turcorum Imperatoris horrendum facinus, scelerato in proprium filium, natu maximum, Soltanum Mustapham, parricidio, anno domini 1553 patratum*, appeared in Europe and set off the repercussions of the story there.³ When Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's well-known letters were published 1581, the story of Mustapha, which had been circulating in Europe in Latin and vernaculars for some time, attracted much more attention.⁴

The story of the fearsome emperor of the Turks executing his son appealed to the European audience. After these first publications, this episode of Ottoman history found its way into most of the general histories written by the influential authors of the age and it was revised, translated, and edited many times to be published in various collections on the Turks. The story also had a flavor that led to its being dramatized and performed for the public. In the period between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth century "the Suleyman-Mustafa story" became one of the most interesting and appealing tales about the Ottomans for both historians and playwrights.⁵ In this period three plays were written in England plotted around the Suleyman-Mustafa story.⁶

The aim of this article is to analyze the reconstructions of this episode of Ottoman history in the English context. Through evaluating two English plays, the anonymous Cambridge play *Solymannidae* and Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha*, with specific attention to their alterations of the Suleyman-Mustafa story, this article tries to reach a deeper reading of the texts than the present literature offers.⁷ Although these plays have been analyzed and commented on to

³ Nicolas à Moffan, *Soltani Solymanni Turcorum Imperatoris horrendum facinus, scelerato in proprium filium, natu maximum, Soltanum Mustapham, parricidio, anno domini 1553 patratum* [The Horrible Act of Sultan Solyman Emperor of the Turks and the Wicked Murder of his Son Sultan Mustapha] (Paris, 1555). For information on Moffan see D. Hoefler, *Nouvelle biographie générale: depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1852-1866).

⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*. (Oxford: Sickle Moon Books, 2001).

⁵ Histories: Thomas Newton, *A Notable History of Saracens* (London, 1575); Richard Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603); William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (London, 1567). French plays: Gabriel Bounin, *La Soltane* (Paris, 1561); Georges Thilloy, *Solyman II Quatorziesme Empereur des Turcs* (Paris, 1617); Jean Mairet, *Le Grand et Dernier Solyman ou la Mort de Mustapha* (1639); Charles von Dalibray, *Le Solyman* (Paris, 1637).

⁶ An anonymous Cambridge play, *Solymannidae*, Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha* and Roger Boyle's *The Tragedy of Mustapha, the Son of Solyman the Magnificent*, besides a later one, David Mallet's *Mustapha* (London, 1739).

⁷ The most recent literature on these plays is the influential articles and monographs of Daniel Vitkus, Jonathan Burton, Matthew Dimmock, and Linda McJannet. In numerous articles Daniel Vitkus has

some extent in conjunction with the other plays that represent the Turk in one way or another, this study will be unique in its analysis of two English texts which are repercussions of a single historical event in the light of and compared to Western historical constructions of the same story.

The English and the Ottoman Image in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

A precisely historicized depiction of English culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates that the binary opposition of colonizer and colonized, so frequently employed by historians of the field to explain the Anglo-Mediterranean relationships of the era, turns out to be meaningless in this particular context. Despite the clear picture of the economic and political position of Europe in the face of the Ottomans in the Early Modern period and the complexity of the dual relationships between the power circles of the era, most of the modern literary studies on Early Modern England prefer reading the representations of the Other in English texts with the help of a dichotomy between Western domination, conquest

focused on Anglo-Mediterranean commercial relations and the influence of these relations on the Anglo-Islamic exchange on the stage. His specific emphasis on conversion or “turning Turk” became the main focus in his recent publication, *Turning Turk, English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Matthew Dimmock in his *New Turkes, Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005) (hereafter: Dimmock, *New Turkes*) has analyzed all aspects of the representations of the Turk from 1529 to 1601. Jonathan Burton and Linda McJannet have not only affirmed the idea of going beyond the binarism of Said but also shifted the focus to some less well-known plays. For a full bibliography on the Ottoman image in Early Modern English literature see Daniel Vitkus, “Adventuring Heroes in the Mediterranean: Mapping the Boundaries of Anglo-Islamic Exchange on the Early Modern Stage,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37 no. 1 (2007): 75-95 (hereafter: Vitkus, “Adventuring Heroes,”); Idem, “Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael Frassetto and David Blanks (London: Macmillan, 1999): 207-230 (hereafter: Vitkus, “Early Modern Orientalism”); Idem, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk and The Renegado* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2000); Idem, “Turning Turk in Othello: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48, No. 2 (1997): 145-176; Idem, *Turning Turk. English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) (hereafter: Vitkus, *Turning Turk*); Dimmock, *New Turkes*; Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama 1579-1624* (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing, 2005) (hereafter: Burton, *Traffic and Turning*); Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks. Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) (hereafter: McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*).

and colonialism and Eastern inferiority, suppression and colonization.⁸ This highly misleading dichotomy, however, ends in oversimplification of the representations of the Eastern Other in general and the Ottomans in particular. As Vitkus puts it, “the assumptions of postcolonial theory and criticism simply do not apply to an Early Modern Mediterranean context...”⁹ English representations of the Ottomans and the Islamic world in general were constructed out of a flux of information from all sides as well as direct encounters and were not based on a simple colonizer/colonized ideology.

Under the influence of Said’s all-encompassing “Orientalism,” most readings of the texts accept and assert the assumption that the attitude of Early Modern Europe towards the Eastern other remained “static and stereotypical.”¹⁰ Actually, the fixed stereotypical depictions of the Eastern Other as irrational, despotic, heretical, and fanatic come from eighteenth and nineteenth century representations rather than the Early Modern ones. A general evaluation of the sources that deal with the Eastern Other in one way or another indicates that tracing continuity and coherence in the Early Modern Western depictions of the East is quite problematic. Rather, what one gets out of this evaluation are discontinuity and the transformation of ideas and identifications. Contrary to Said’s argument that Orientalism existed not through “its openness, its receptivity to the Orient,” but through “internal repetitious consistency about its constitutive will-to-power over the orient,” Early Modern texts about the Eastern Others present a variety of negative and positive ideas rather than consistent repetition.¹¹ As Çirakman puts it, “Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to have had quite ambivalent impressions that range from sympathy, admiration, amazement and anxiety to fear and hatred.”¹² Moreover, these ideas were by no means static. As a result of the constantly changing

⁸ Stephan Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Jack D’Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa: University of Florida Press, 1991); Emily Bartels, “The Double Vision of the East: Imperialist Self-Construction in Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, Part One,” *Renaissance Drama* 23 (1992): 3-24. Although these authors refute Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) (hereafter: Said, *Orientalism*), in their analyses they accept the existence of a “British Empire” in the Early Modern period.

⁹ Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 7.

¹⁰ Anthony Parr, *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 11.

¹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 222.

¹² Aslı Çirakman, *From the “Terror of the World” to the “Sick Man of Europe”: European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2002), 13.

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political, military, religious, and economic situation and the resulting alliances, the general characteristic of the attitudes towards the Eastern Other became practical ambivalence and ongoing transformation rather than ideological consistency.

Recent analysis of a variety of texts from Early Modern England has shown that the formation of English identity in this period cannot be explained by the overly simplistic categories of “self” and “other.”¹³ In great contrast to Said’s attempt to present East and West as monolithic ideological constructs, there were no such unified ideological structures as the “European” self and the “non-European/Eastern” other in the Early Modern period. “The East” or “the Orient” became a clearly defined geographical and cultural category for the English only after the formation of the British Empire and only after the beginning of “orientalism” as a style of thought “based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident.”¹⁴ Until then, and particularly in the Early Modern setting, “the East” did not correspond to a homogeneous cultural/religious/racial Other.¹⁵ For the English, a monolithic, standardized Other did not exist in contrast to which they could form Englishness, but rather the Mediterranean Other was a patchwork that included a variable set of identity categories like race, religion, and language.¹⁶ Therefore, it is certain that, firstly, the construction of the notions of Englishness in the Early Modern period cannot be easily explained through a binary opposition of the single self and a sole Other. Secondly, as Matar states, only in the eighteenth century did the lands of Islam become material for orientalist constructions. Before that period, it was the Muslim side that had the power of self-representation and the opposing parties had to deal with or reject these representations.¹⁷

Sixteenth-century England was never at war with the Ottomans. Rather, the relationship started with intensive diplomatic and trade relations, together with some concerns about a military alliance. Before the 1570s, England was largely dependent and passive in terms of commercial activities; only after the Elizabethan settlement of the New World were English merchants able to pursue

¹³ For a discussion of Englishness and the Other in the Early Modern period, see Anna Loomba, “‘Delicious Traffick’: Alterity and Exchange on Early Modern Stages,” *Shakespeare Survey. An Annual Survey of Shakespeare Studies and Production*, 52d, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 201-214; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 1-25; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 1-20; McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, 1-15.

¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

¹⁵ Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-10.

¹⁷ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1556-1685*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12.

new connections with the trade routes in both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. By the late 1570s, a growing conflict with Spain also forced Elizabeth to encourage English merchants who wanted to form an alliance with the Ottomans and found an embassy in İstanbul.¹⁸ Apart from these commercial connections, the necessary effort for a closer Anglo-Ottoman relationship came from both sides as a result of some very specific conditions. Elizabeth was excommunicated and thus further alienated from “the common corps of Christendom” in 1570.¹⁹ The Ottomans started a tiresome and expensive program of reconstructing the fleet that they had lost at Lepanto. In the meantime, they were preparing for a hard campaign against Persia in the east. Therefore, they both needed allies and supplies from the west.²⁰ After the succession of Murad III in 1574, according to Ottoman law all treaties and agreements with other states had to be renewed. The French were asking for the right of consulage over most of the European shipping to Ottoman lands; however, the Ottomans were hesitant to grant these privileges as they always chose to play one party against the other during the Reformation conflicts.²¹ Instead of supporting “the highly papist” France they deliberately chose to ally with the English.²² These “totally new political circumstances,” as İnalçık puts it, ended in a new set of power balances.²³ Despite criticizing the French harshly for their alliance with the Ottomans, Elizabeth, under these new circumstances, had to reconsider her situation in this power game. When the Ottoman economic interest was coupled with their strategy of international politics, direct Anglo-Ottoman relations started. The English side took action by sending William Harborne to İstanbul in 1578.²⁴

This secret decision to establish a trade alliance with the Ottomans was almost immediately learned by the European powers and the idea of the common “corps” of

¹⁸ Vitkus, “Adventuring Heroes,” 77.

¹⁹ For the ideas on the influence of the ideal Christian unity in the Early Modern period see, Franklin L. Baumer, “England the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom,” *The American Historical Review* 50, No. 1 (1944): 26-48.

²⁰ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 85.

²¹ Halil İnalçık, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1995), 117.

²² Burton, “Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, No. 1 (2000): 131 (hereafter: Burton, “Anglo-Ottoman Relations”); Halil İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 360-5.

²³ *Ibid.*, 365.

²⁴ Burton, “Anglo-Ottoman Relations,” 132.

Christendom pushed England into a corner. There had always been Spanish attacks on Elizabeth for her alliance with the Ottomans, but at the end of the sixteenth century the impact of these attacks became more and more important in both the internal and external responses to Elizabeth's rule. Worse for Elizabeth, however, were internal attacks on her reign. These ongoing accusations and rejections within the country were by no means heard only in court circles, but also in the public discussions of the age. Apparently, Elizabeth needed a more nuanced diplomatic discourse than the simple Eastern/Muslim-Western/Catholic division to defend an Anglo-Ottoman linkage. An analysis of the correspondence of Murad III and Elizabeth indicates that these two parties made a great effort to highlight doctrinal identity and diminish the importance of religious differences in their approach to each other.²⁵ It is certain that under these circumstances the English public heard a more nuanced diplomatic rhetoric on the Turks, on the "papists," and on the very essence of Englishness and this nuanced rhetoric ended in a break with stereotypical representations in some cases.

Most of the recent studies that focus on letters, state documents, and political treatises seem to assume that the discourse seen in these texts was repeated by playwrights of the age. Although there may be some individual cases that would prove this assumption with their more nuanced representations of the Turk, is it possible to generalize such statements to the point of concluding that the image of the self and the Other changed in a few decades as a result of new socio-political situation? Is it possible to argue that the rhetoric that is created through political treatises or historical accounts of events has a direct influence on the images that are seen in individual fictional productions of the age? It seems that the modern scholars who have pointed out the change in rhetoric in the official letters and documents have rushed towards enthusiastic conclusions on the representation of the Other in general. What they miss in this rush is the works written by those in opposition, who reacted against this change of allies and close relations with the Ottomans. The texts that this study deals with indicate that the state alliances based on economic interests were not welcomed by all parties in the country. Therefore, these texts carried strong stereotypical representations. Considering these problems indicates the necessity for a focus on individual cases rather than replacing old assumptions with new ones.

²⁵ For a detailed analysis of the correspondence see Burton, "Anglo-Ottoman Relations:" 134-138.

Suleyman and Mustafa on Early Modern English Stage

The representations of Turks in the plays that will be analyzed here are not a blend of stereotypes and more nuanced figures. It is certain that as a result of the complex of ideas on the Ottomans and the Ottoman-based policies of the English throne, the Ottomans are represented from different angles and with quite a variety of features in many of the plays written in sixteenth-century England. This does not mean, however, that some general ethnic and religious prejudices about the Turks that were circulating either through translations of European literature or revived by the parties against these pro-Ottoman policies did not operate on the English stage. *Solymanndae* and Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* present a rather strict traditional anti-Turkish discourse that is blended with a hidden criticism of the socio-economic developments of the age.

Solymanndae, an anonymous Cambridge play which applies Senecan methods to an Eastern topic, was written in 1581 and probably never performed.²⁶ The dramatic construction follows the European sources closely, with some alterations and an additional sub-plot which is again an execution story from the Ottoman court. Probably for the sake of keeping the unities, some changes were made in the story through the introduction of messengers and ambassadors coming into the palace rather than the characters leaving for campaigns and meetings. Therefore the setting is Suleiman's palace in Istanbul, and Mustapha is summoned to the palace, and executed there.

Solymanndae opens with a ghost reporting both the past and the future events. Selim (1512-1520), Suleiman's father's ghost, is seen on the stage and tells the audience about previous cruelties that had resulted from the Ottoman custom of fratricide.

I am the unhappy ghost of Selim ... I see that the gods, avengers of a father, will not allow a crime to go long unpunished. Victorious, I destroyed my father Bayazid and my two brothers so I alone might possess the throne and abolish all the laws, as if they were hanging over my head. Blood atones for blood, unjust murder demands the crime be requited by fresh killing.²⁷

²⁶ Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose; Islam and Britain during the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 437 (hereafter: Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*).

²⁷ *Infelix umbra Selimi, qui quondam potens...*

Patris ultores video deos

The ghost of Selim is the first character on the stage.²⁸ Although he is a part of the Senecan style, the way he expresses the practice of fratricide is meaningful. Selim says that he killed his father and brother, so that he *alone* might possess the throne and “abolish all laws.” At a very early stage of the play, with a reference to Selim and his cruelties, the author emphasizes the repetitious conflicts within the Ottoman dynastic family. The practice of fratricide, which is completely omitted from the Ottoman accounts of the event and barely emphasized in the European sources of the Suleyman-Mustafa story, is used as the opening point in *Solymannidae*. Later, the writer emphasizes this idea with references to another Mustapha, a vizier of Bayazid, who had alienated Suleiman’s father, Selim, against his grandfather, Bayazid. Besides, Selim’s explanation that he has murdered his father and brothers to rule alone and to “abolish all laws” unites cruelty with a desire for absolute power, which were two ideas circulating in Europe about Ottoman dynastic politics.²⁹

In the first act, the ambassador of “Tartary” comes to Suleiman to inform him that they “have discovered nobody who is equal of Mustapha” to marry the daughter of “the mighty master of Tartary.”³⁰ This marriage issue is also mentioned in Moffan, the main source for *Solymannidae*. In the play, however, there is a change in the way Suleiman is informed about the marriage. Suleiman is not informed of this arrangement through the parties that are against Mustapha in a deliberately provocative way, but he is directly informed by the ambassador, who asks “if such an offer is to [his] liking.”³¹ By removing the basis for Suleiman’s

Impune nullum facinus diutius pati.
Ego Paizetem victor oppressi patrem
Geminisque fratres, ut regios solus thronos
Tenerem et omnes, ut supra caput, leges
Tollere liceret. Sanguinem sanguis luit,
Iniusta caedes poscit ut caedes nova

Scelus rependat. A hypertext critical edition and translation by Dana F. Sutton (The University of California, Irvine.) For all quotes from *Solymannidae* see <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/soly/act1eng.html> (accessed February, 2008)

²⁸ In referring to the characters in the plays the names given by the particular writer will be used: in *Solymannidae*: Mustapha (Mustafa), Suleiman (Suleyman), Roxanes, (Rüstem), Rhodes, (Hurrem), Achmat (Ahmed) and in Greville’s *Mustapha*, Mustapha (Mustafa), Soliman (Suleyman), Rosten (Rüstem), Rossa (Hurrem), Achmat (Ahmed).

²⁹ Vitkus, “Early Modern Orientalism,” 213.

³⁰ ... *Ut regis prolem stirpem cum regis thoro*
Aequali sortiet, haud quemquam similem tuo
Invenit Mustaphae. ...

³¹ *Conditio si talis placet.*

suspensions of his son, but still indicating that he is quite suspicious through his long conversation with the Turk that accompanies the ambassador's, inquiry about Mustapha's reaction to this situation and right after that asking his son to be summoned, "to see the virtue of his family," Suleiman himself is depicted as the first source of the suspicion, rather than the others.³² His utterance that Mustapha "possesses a province full of warlike men" and "on all sides he has blood-thirsty flocks of men" not only reminds the reader of the fearsome, terrible army of the Turk but also indicates that Suleiman is afraid of his son, whom he has not seen for four years.³³ His next sentence, "perhaps under his generalship I am destined to conquer the Christians and subdue them to my yoke" points out the target of the fearsome army, the Christians.³⁴ Right after this comes the first chorus: "Mustapha, who in his pride hopes for a wedding that will be deadly for this realm, is preparing his own downfall. Taken in by his father's deceit, he will succumb."³⁵ Again in contrast to the European sources, the anonymous author depicts Mustapha, at the end of the first act, as a man of pride who wants to accept an offer that which will be *deadly* for his realm. He is not a strong knightly figure as depicted in the Ottoman and European sources, but a young man full of pride who is surrounded by "blood-thirsty flocks of men."

The second act introduces other characters: Rhodes, Roxanes and Selim, the son of Suleiman. The reader is informed about the plans of Rhodes after the description of the conflict between Suleiman and Mustapha. Nothing much is different in the English plays' depiction of Rhodes and Roxanes. Very much as in the European accounts, in *Solymanndae* Roxanes is a woman of high ambition who believes that "one must gain power by doing right and wrong."³⁶ The superiority of Mustapha over Selim, and thus the impossibility of an open victory over him, is told, and other means of getting him out of the way, such as assassination and poisoning, are

³² *Volo videre stirpis virtutem meae*

Et ingens Ottomanni faelicis genus.

³³ *Provinciam bellicis tenet plenam viris,*

Habet cruentos undique populorum greges.

³⁴ *Forsan Christigenas illo domiturus duce*

Iugo captivis opprimam victor meo.

³⁵ *Qui nuptias regno graves*

Superbus optat, exitum sibi parat,

Mustapha paterno captus occumbet dolo.

³⁶ *Regna per fas et nefas*

Paranda.

discussed one by one. In a deviation from the source, Selim, the nominee for the throne after Mustapha, is included in the play, depicted as a passive son under the direct authority of his mother.

The next deviation from the sources is the introduction of Hybrachimus, İbrahim Paşa (1493-1536), a previous vizier of Suleyman. İbrahim, a pasha of *değişirme* origin, was one of the best advisors and viziers of Suleyman, whom he had known since his childhood. Later, in 1536, he was suddenly executed at the command of Suleyman, without a clear accusation.³⁷ In the play, the story of İbrahim, who was executed seventeen years before Mustafa, and whose story is mentioned with little emphasis in Moffan's introduction to his text, is combined with the Suleyman-Mustafa story. In the play, he is the second victim of Suleiman's rage and suspicion and Rhodes and Roxanes' intrigue. He is depicted as an experienced statesman and a virtuous, loyal, and educated advisor. He is the one who suggests that Suleiman decide calmly, after hearing his son's defense. But through his "honest piety" that overcomes the "credulous fears" of his friend, he becomes the target for Rhodes' and Roxanes' intrigue. Rhodes gives Roxanes a "little notebook" where he has written down everything "ever since powerful Hybrachimus began to lord it in the palace to the detriment of our prince's wealth and the condition of his empire" and asks her to give it to Suleiman.³⁸

In the next act, in contrast to the previous one where he summons Hybrachimus to take counsel from him, Suleiman is quite skeptical about Hybrachimus' own deeds. The discussion between Suleiman and Hybrachimus gives a detailed account of Ottoman conquests in Europe and Asia, reminding the reader of the chronic Ottoman danger. Hybrachimus defends himself against every accusation that Suleiman makes. In between this question-answer type dialogue, Hybrachimus refers to the plotters, indicating his wit and keenness in evaluating the events around him and reflecting a great contrast to Suleiman, who "gullibly" believes everything he hears.

Suleiman is in another conflict now and another issue is attached to the Suleiman- Hybrachimus story. Suleiman, who wants to execute Hybrachimus,

³⁷ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "İbrahim Paşa," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Islam] (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1965), 915.

³⁸ "Hic est libellus. Hunc mecum tacitus tuli,
Ex quo Hybrachimus nimium caepit potens
Dominare in aula adversus principis opes
Statumque imperii."

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remembers the oath he took when he was young, saying “I swear by the gods that Hybrachimus’ life will be safe as long as I live.”³⁹ At this point Roxanes, through reference to previous deeds of the Ottoman emperors, the ways they killed their brothers and fathers for absolute power over their realm, tries to persuade Suleiman to kill him, as she thinks that “in a kingdom, whatever is greater than royal power drags everything to its ruin.”⁴⁰ But still, Suleiman is indecisive and upon the advice of another pasha, Ajax, that he “can preserve the empire and his faith at the same time,” wants to see the “venerable Mufti.”⁴¹

This final part related to the Suleiman-Hybrachimus story is again a diversion from the main storyline of the death of Mustafa that is seen in the Ottoman and European sources. Suleiman, trying to find a way out, asks the mufti if it is “permissible” to break an oath. The first answer to this is a direct no, as “the rulers of high heaven demand sure faithfulness regarding an oath.”⁴² After a little inquiry, the mufti, who asks who took the oath, when it was taken, and the exact words, makes his suggestion:

Good. Having taken that oath, you are only able to kill Hybrachimus in the middle of the night... When all things are still as they are overcome by sleep and slumber possesses you as you lie abed, you may allow Hybrachimus to be dispatched to Orcus. But don’t command this. Point out the steel with which you want his throat to be cut, and leave the rest to your trusty slaves.⁴³

³⁹ “*Obstat consilio sacra*

*Conceptum voce votum quo testes deos
Olim iuravi Hybrachimo vitam fore
Me vivo incolumem.*”

⁴⁰ “*Quicquid in regno magis*

Valet quam regnum cuncta in exitium trahit.”

⁴¹ “*Servare regnum servata fide potes, ...*”

⁴² “*Summi rectores poli*

In iuramento solidatam exposcunt fidem.”

⁴³ *Bene est. Iuratus illo Hibrachimum modo*

*Potes necare, Cum omnia silent
Humente pressa somno, teque intima quies
Tenet iacentem lecto, Hybrachimum sine
In Orcum mitti. Nec tamen fieri iube.
Demonstra ferrum, quo velis iugulum peti,
Caetera relinque servis quos fidos habes.*”

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Here, it is apparent that the answer of mufti is quite tricky. The “cunning” answer of the religious man is also criticized by the chorus with these words, “Cunning men always conceal the deceits of kings and the base strivings of their crimes.”⁴⁴ At first sight, this episode resembles Knolles’ inclusion of a religious figure in the intrigue story as a man under the control of Rhodes. Here again is a tricky mufti who willingly uses word play to open the way to the emperor’s wicked desire. This is certainly a repetition of the long-lasting stereotype of the tricky and oath-breaking Turk.⁴⁵

In the last act the author turns back to the Suleyman-Mustafa story and introduces Mustapha. The messenger that comes from the “seraglio” tells Mustapha about the execution of Hybrachimus, which concludes the Suleiman-Hybrachimus story:

Fearful Suleiman himself, not daring to harm his pasha’s sacred body, gave a sword and ordered it be plunged in his throat, for the man’s red blood to be let. ... First he [the murderer] pulled away the pillow set under Hybrachimus’ head, and suddenly used the sword to strike his exposed neck. ...⁴⁶

After that, in answer to Mustapha’s question about the burial place of Hybrachimus, the messenger replies: “Your irate father denied him burial. He bade the body be stripped bare and in its foul condition be dragged to the great seashore, for a great stone to be tied to his tender feet, and for him to be thrown in the ocean.”⁴⁷ With this finale to the Suleiman-Hybrachimus story, the point of making this diversion from the main Suleyman-Mustafa story becomes clearer. Through this story, the

⁴⁴ “*Principum fraudes, scelerumque turpes
Homines conatus semper versuti tegunt.*”

⁴⁵ Vitkus, “Early Modern Orientalism”, 209.

⁴⁶ “*Solymannus ipse trepidans, vix ausus sacrum
Violare corpus bassae, mucronem dedit,
Iussitque iugulo infigi et sanguinem viri
Purpureum fundi....
Primum pulvinar capiti suppositum trahit,
Et ense iugulum nudum subito ferit...
Tunc volvi corpus languidum, membra trahi,
Brachia iactari, donec faedatus suo Sanguine quiescit.*”

⁴⁷ “*Iratus ei sepulchrum denegat pater.
Nudari corpus iussit et sordidum trahi
Ad pelagi vastum littus, ad molles pedes
Ingens ligari saxum, et immergi salo.*”

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most frequent *topos* of the Turk is emphasized and Suleiman's cruelty is shown, even torturing the dead body of his ex-friend.

Turning back to the Mustapha story, the play basically repeats the details in Moffan's account. Achmat warns Mustapha to be careful and suggests that he flee; Mustapha rejects this, saying

So must I hide myself in furtive flight? Am I, who recently bore arms
and dauntlessly overmastered the greatest captains, to live as a wretch
hunting for bolt-holes? ... Whoever strives after virtue's abiding glory
manufactures no vain fears for himself.⁴⁸

Here again, Mustapha is depicted as a young, impatient and proud character who does not listen to his more experienced advisor. To this Achmat answers by reminding him that "sweet love is all-convincing" and that "Hyman conveys great power."⁴⁹ Suleiman's being under the control of his wife is implied, but not with a strong emphasis on lust as seen in Moffan and Knolles. Moreover, Mustapha's decision to see his father is not due to obedience but because of his interpretation of his dream in which "the Prophet" told Mustapha that "before the third day has passed for [him], [he] will stand on happy feet with [the Prophet] in a better place, greater than mortal men." Here the dream is used to remind the reader of Mustapha's greedy, proud nature; in a rush he interprets the dream as an indication of his success. Suleiman's words before ordering his son's execution; "You two pashas, give Mustapha a lofty seat in the camp. A throne stands, bright with gold and picked out with glittering gems. Let this be my son's place, let him rest on that seat," also indicates the irony between Mustapha's "foolish hope" and reality.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ "*Egone corpus abdita tegam fuga?*
Qui nuper arma sustinui et summos duces
Invictus domui, nunc quaeram latebras miser?

...
Quicunque constans virtutis decus petit,
Haud ullos vanus affingit sibi metus."

⁴⁹ "... *blandus omnia persuadet amor,*

...
Adhuc ignoras, Hymeni quantus favor
Et quanta improbitas insit?"

⁵⁰ "*Vos gemini bassae, celsum vos Mustaphae date*
In castris solium. Stat fulgidus auro thronus
Gemma distinctus nitida. sit filii locus,
Illa quiescat sede."

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Immediately after the death of Mustapha, the chorus turns back to the original depiction of Mustapha stating:

But he who established the sum of all things in heaven and governs the indomitable and unalterable laws of Fate, turns human ills to good ends. ... [Mustapha] was blood-thirsty, rough, cruel, threatening, savage in war, and fierce in sharp battle. He could work harm, as by his savage vow he promised he would. But the ruler of the world preserves us by His help. He arms this father against his sons, hastening the enemies of virtue to their proper punishments.⁵¹

This passage not only reasserts the general stereotypical depictions of the Turk, but it also repeats the moral lesson that Moffan set in his work. The death of the blood-thirsty, rough, cruel, threatening, savage Mustapha is seen as assistance from the “ruler of the world.” Here again, through the dichotomy of “us” and “the enemy,” the position of the other is presented.

The most striking change throughout the play is in Mustapha’s character. In both of the European accounts, despite Busbecq’s skepticism, Mustapha is depicted as a positive character, a brave, obedient, successful ruler and a good soldier. In Moffan, he has some divine protection over him, and he is only described as a bloodthirsty Turk at the very end of the account, where the moral lesson is stated. In *Solymannidae*, from the very beginning onwards his weak points are presented. He is accused of the most severe deficiencies in ancient heroes and good Christians, pride and over self-confidence.

This play, despite constant references to Ottoman society, makes some statements about contemporary English society as well. The themes of absolute rule, state power and religion are employed through some alterations in the main story. Especially in

⁵¹ “*At ille, summa cuncta qui statuit polo
Legesque fati invictas immobiles regit,
Bonos humana transfert ad fines mala.*

...

*Se vovit hostem populo perpetuo fore.
Erat cruentus, asper, immitis, minax,
In Marte saevus, in praelio ferox gravi.
Poterat nocere, sese nociturum fero
Admonuit voto. Nos orbis rector sacro
Auxilio servat. Armat in natos patrem
Virtutis hostes poenas in proprias ciens.”*

the scene when Suleiman is in conflict about his decision on Hybrachimus' fate, the anonymous author comments on state religious affairs through Ajax's comments and suggestions. Suleiman's good and loyal counselor openly states the possibility of having "the empire and the good faith" at the same time. It is certain that this sentence coming from a Muslim meant a great deal to a contemporary English audience, who were the subjects of an excommunicated queen, especially when these words are coupled with the rest of Ajax's comments: "all men who want to adapt new laws should not cleave to that which can be touched or seen. Let them seek higher things. Often poison lurks hidden with gold, evil exists under an appearance of good."⁵² It is true that in documents and political pamphlets of the Early Modern England the representation of the Turk was evolving into a more nuanced, complex rhetoric as a result of the economic and political developments. However, this does not nullify the possibility of criticisms concerning these developments and strongly stereotyped representations and repetitions of the Ottoman danger.

Compared to its main sources' much more nuanced characters, and a much more even distribution of the good and the evil, *Solymannidae* presents a more negative idea of the Turk as an ethnic type. The dominant themes, rage, absolute power over life and death, violence, not only towards the enemy but within the family unit, are generally expressed as essential parts of the characters' ethnicity. From the beginning onwards, despite the strange setting, readers are reminded of the ethnic identity of the characters through references to historical facts about the Ottomans and their contrast to the Christians. The guilt is evenly distributed among the plotters and Suleiman as seen in the European sources, but this time it is duplicated with the Hybrachimus story as well. What Suleiman indicates throughout the play, right from the very opening sentences of the ghost, is the cruelty of the Ottomans in particular and the danger of absolute power in general.

Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* has much more nuanced depictions, although he relied on Moffan's account and Busbecq's letters for the Suleyman-Mustafa story. Greville was a member of the group that was formed around the countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney's sister, and he was an admirer of Seneca, as were

⁵² "*Omnes qui cupiunt nova
Suscipere iura, non id quod manibus premi
Ante oculos cerni possit, debent sequi.
Altiora quaerant. Saepe caelatum iacet
In auro virus, sub specie boni malum,
Utrinque pestis. Hinc salus, illinc fides.*"

the other members of this group such as William Alexander and Sidney himself. Greville's *Mustapha* is a closet drama, in the Senecan tragedy style.⁵³ It is filled with long interventions of either one character or the chorus for the discussion of political views, the explanation of personal conflicts, and comments on religion. In *Mustapha*, Greville's representation of the story is much more philosophical than either of his sources and the previous play, which was written approximately fifteen years before *Mustapha*. Greville's treatment of the story takes it much further than a personal or dynastic struggle in the Ottoman court and presents it as a moral, political, and religious conflict through which issues like statecraft, the absolute rule of a tyrant and obedience to him, and the weaknesses of individuals are dealt with.⁵⁴

The most striking difference of Greville's play from *Solymanndae* is the depiction of Soliman. From the very beginning until the end, Soliman is depicted as a three-dimensional human being rather than merely a tyrant or a weak ruler. He knows his weaknesses and, moreover, he is not a gullible ignorant man but understands the hidden agendas of the people around him. He openly calls Rosten a "crafty slave" and accuses him of being the one who is trying to come between him and his son. The most dominant side of Soliman's character is his indecisiveness. In contrast to *Solymanndae*'s Suleiman, who easily changes his mind at the suggestions of others, here, he is depicted as completely indecisive man:

Soliman: Turns fear to hope, and hope again to doubt
If thus it work in man, much more in thrones.⁵⁵

He listens to his wife's suggestions, he weighs his own feelings, and he questions his counselors on the recent situation of Mustapha among the soldiers and as a ruler. In the end, what he can say to his wife is just a rejection of her persuasions, "You move me, yet I remove not!" The important point about the Soliman character here is that, much as in Busbecq's account, his actions are not simply explained through his own merits and characteristic weaknesses, but with reference to the general condition of human beings. Certainly Greville's play is much more involved in common great human conflicts than in the peculiar condition of the Turkish ruler.

⁵³ U. M. Ellis-Fermor, *The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation* (London: Methuen, 1936), 191.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 193; Peter Ure, "Fulke Greville's Dramatic Characters," *The Review of English Studies* 1, no. 4, (1950): 310.

⁵⁵ Joan Rees, *Selected Writings of Fulke Greville* (London: Athlone Press, 1973), 70 (hereafter: Rees, *Selected Writings*).

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This more realistic, less stereotypical representation of the ruler helps Greville to make his theme clear.

Greville's divergences from his source in terms of both the construction of the story and the representation of the characters come at the correct places to insert lengthy discussions of political ideas. The basic themes of the play, that all earthly power seeks absolutism and that law and religion generally mitigate this, are not only the topics of the choruses but also of the soliloquies of almost all the characters. Such a discussion is first introduced by the chorus of "Bashas and Cadis":

Chorus: We silly Bashas help power to confound,
 With our own strength exhausting our own ground
 An art of tyranny; which works with men
 To make them beasts and high-raised thrones their den
 Where they that mischief others, may retire
 Safe with their prey and lifting tyrant higher.⁵⁶

The chorus goes on with comparisons with the "Christian courts of chancery" where although the offices are distributed by titles and land, people are afraid of disobedience, as that could lead to imprisonment. Then Bashas and Cadis offer a bitter self criticism, saying:

Chorus: ...
 For as we see, when sickness deeply roots,
 Meat, drink, and drugs alike do little boot;
 Because all what should either nurse or cure
 As mastered by diseases, grow impure:
 So when excess (the malady of might)
 Hath (dropsy-like) drowned all the styles of right,
 Then doth obedience (else the food of power)
 Help on that dropsy canker to devour.⁵⁷

To discuss the same topic from the mouth of an officer and, closer, from a family member, Greville adds scenes of the discussion between Soliman and Achmat and between Soliman and Camena. These two characters, in their quite similar soliloquies, not only discuss the same issue of obedience to a tyrant but they also

⁵⁶ Ibid, 79.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 81.

fulfill a more practical role with their speeches aimed at persuading Soliman of Mustapha's innocence. Achmat, as in the historical accounts and the other play, is a good, experienced, witty statesman who understands the unseen parts of visible events. Achmat's dilemma is clear; should he "for [his] prince's sake, destroy succession/ Or suffer ruin to preserve succession?"⁵⁸ In the end, as expected from him, he decides that although he is "sworn to [his] king and his honor," he is "First nature's subject then [his] prince's."⁵⁹

In a recent analysis of Greville's play, Burton has emphasized the saint-like representation of Camena, Mustapha's sister. According to him, the variation that Camena introduces to what Achmat has already told is to put this discussion on a Christian background.⁶⁰ She mentions the plot of the intrigue, directly pointing out the plotters, and tries to persuade her father to be "merciful," reminding one of a characteristic of an ideal Christian prince. Her constant references to virtue and her belief that pain "must be the guide" to virtue complete her saintly representation. She completes the argument that starts with Soliman himself and goes on with the chorus and Achmat, showing the right way both for the ruler and the conflicted self. Thirdly, she, as the victim of the completely black character, Rossa, highlights the evil in the latter.

Rossa is the only unchanging character in all the constructions. She is the determined, strong, bold, ambitious stepmother who does everything for the death of Mustapha and the succession of her own son. What changes her character in Greville's play is the lack of a direct reference to the practice of fratricide. Although it is mentioned through explanations of Achmat and the chorus that Rossa is in an intrigue against Mustapha, the reason for this intrigue is not explained through a mother's fear for the life of her son, but through her own ambitious desire to rule. Accordingly, Selim, the son, is excluded from the text. Her motivation is much more related to herself rather than her son,

Rossa: ... My chiefest end
Is, first, to fix this world on my succession;
Next so to alter, plant, remove, create.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁰ Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 187.

⁶¹ Rees, *Selected Writings*, 105.

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This emphasis on personal ambition, removing the issue of fratricide somewhat from the general construction, makes it easier for Greville to discuss political power and the theme of absolutism in a context less strange to an English audience.

Soliman's speech to his men is an important divergence from the main storyline as well. After talking to basically everyone around him and after getting their advice, Soliman, completely puzzled and indecisive, goes to ask for divine council. While he is declaring his decision to be a tyrant for the sake for the empire, he says that he has consulted God, who alone is above him. And despite God's words that "vengeance is his," Soliman is just about to decide to kill his son.

Soliman: If God work thus, kings must look upwards still,
And from these powers they know not choose a will
Or else believe themselves their strength, occasion,
Make wisdom conscious and the world their sky.
So have all tyrants done, so must I.⁶²

As this passage clearly states, Soliman's tyranny is not innate, but appears as a result of certain circumstances that surround him. When speaking about God and religion, his rather Christian tone is remarkable. At this point, his ethnicity and his religious identity are deliberately undermined for the sake of turning his conflicts into instances more familiar to the English audience. Another character, Camena, when she speaks to her father about his decision, clearly sets out the model of a Christian king before him:

Camena: Besides the Gods whom kings should imitate
Have placed you high to rule, not overthrow
For us, not for your selves, is your estate;
Mercy must hand in hand with power go.⁶³

According to Burton, such advice to an Ottoman ruler is quite out of context as "mercy" is generally not an adjective reserved for Ottoman rulers in European literature. Therefore, Burton concludes, there should be some other explanation of Camena's advice, which is a projection of English concerns on the Ottoman setting.⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid., 113.

⁶³ Ibid., 94.

⁶⁴ Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 109.

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Another Christianized character of the play is Mustapha himself. Mustapha is the good, successful, and innocent victim of the cruelty that is inflicted on him. The only divergence from the story, on his part, is his counselor. In contrast to his representations in all other accounts, this time he is not warned against the danger to his life by a good “doctor” or a secular advisor, but by a religious figure. Instead of his wise, pious advisor who advises him to stay away from the political struggles of this world, now he is told to rebel against his father by a “tempter” priest who previously calls himself “evil’s friend, hell’s mediator.” As in all other accounts, Mustapha rejects the option of fleeing from his father.⁶⁵ Through his dialogue with the priest, his righteousness and virtues are highlighted in contrast to the wickedness of the religious man. From the very beginning of his dialogue, he criticizes Heli, the priest with a strange name that reminds one of “hell”, for his “rage” and reminds him of the “wicked colors of desire” and the importance of “obedience” against confusion. Achmat describes the way he accepts death as “in haste to be an angel,” and his final words before he dies echo Christ:

Mustapha: O Father! Now forgive me.
 Forgive them too, that wrought my overthrow
 Let my grave never minister offences
 Since my father coveted my death
 Behold, with Joy I offer him my breath.⁶⁶

With these final words Mustapha dies, or rather, is canonized. Greville’s strangest divergence from his sources is his introduction of this final challenge to Mustapha. Instead of getting “divine help” for his innocence he is openly tempted. But still, in full obedience, he goes and dies at the command of his father.

It is apparent that all the issues that Greville forced into the Suleyman-Mustafa story reflect basic concerns of his age. The Suleyman-Mustafa story was a good choice for speculating on the struggle to overthrow tyrants, reflections on monarchy, the relations of the monarch and the individual, loyalty, honor, religion, and the relations of the governing power and the state religion, as well as the part played by a state religion in the control and even the oppression of the people. All these topics, together with a desire for order, unity and a more or

⁶⁵ Although Burton indicates a difference here, in Moffan’s account Mustapha rejects fleeing from his father for the same reasons.

⁶⁶ Rees, *Selected Writings*, 130.

less certain future were basic concerns of the English people, who were on the edge of Catholic world, divided among themselves, confused with great changes in the country and with the lack of an appropriate heir to the throne, which was apparently the only strong pillar on which they could rely. Greville, in his play, through constructing a less-Muslim, less-Ottoman atmosphere, helps his readers to connect the discussions to the English context.

Still, the plot turns around the Ottoman court, in a Muslim state. Therefore some comments on Ottoman ways were indispensable. Not surprisingly, when Greville is talking directly about the Muslims and the Turk through the choruses, he is quite critical. The second chorus of "Mahomedan priests" comments how Muslims destroyed antiquities with their swords, how they destroyed all the temples to found theirs, how the seraglio was filled with pleasures, and how they spread their empire with their vices.⁶⁷ It is certain that Greville not only makes use of the long-lasting stereotypes like the cruel and lustful Turk, but he also applies Renaissance ideas of the Turk as the "new barbarian" to his representation.⁶⁸

The chorus of "Mahomedan priests," through a comparison of Christian and Muslim societies and states, gives a detailed list of the peculiarities of these two cultures. The puppet-prophet stereotype and the prejudices about the lustful, beastly Turk are all represented through the speeches of the five choruses, "the chorus of Bashas and Cadis," "the chorus of Mahomedan priests," "the chorus of Tartarorum," and "the chorus of converts to Mahomedanism," which are actually the choruses of the Turkish/Muslim Others.⁶⁹ A constantly debated topic of the age, whether Christians tended to convert to Islam more than Muslims did to Christianity, is also given. Moreover, a criticism on relations with the Muslims is also conveyed, in reverse, from the mouth of the Muslim priests, after they set out the differences between two cultures:

Yet by our traffic with this dreaming nation,
Their conquered vice hath stained our conquering state,
And brought thin cobwebs into reputation,
Of tender subtlety; whose step mother Fate,

⁶⁷ Rees, 96.

⁶⁸ For a detailed analysis of the "new barbarian" idea in Renaissance texts, see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 43-94.

⁶⁹ For stereotypical representations of the prophet in medieval and Early Modern texts, see Victor Tolan, *Saracens* (Colombia: Colombia University Press, 2002) and Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*.

So inlays courage with ill-shadowing fear,
As makes it much more hard to than bear.⁷⁰

It is clear that a harsh criticism of relations with the Muslim state is implied at this point. This means that some English men perceived the confrontation with the Mediterranean plurality, tolerance, and multicultural identities and the reality of the attraction of this new influence as a problem for their own identity. Not only the trafficking with the Turk, but also the adoption of Turkish manners of dressing, hair style and even beards were recorded and attacked by contemporary authors.⁷¹

Conclusion

When compared to its main sources' much more nuanced characters and much more even distribution of good and the evil, both *Solymannidae* and *Mustapha* present a more negative idea of the Turk as an ethnic type. Therefore it is clear that, at least in the anonymous author's work and in Greville's, there was nothing on the stage that was genuinely Turkish/Muslim and positive. The prejudice-based, stereotypical figures were deliberately highlighted by the anonymous author to reinforce his concern on the point that "the greatest things are in collapse." In Greville's case, the representations were certainly much more nuanced, but still they were not there as "real others" but as mere tools for the author to make his point, probably with the hope of getting through strict censorship. When it comes to representing his points on the Other, Greville could not go beyond depicting the stereotypes. Some other cases might help to prove "mistaken notions of an English culture unwilling to accept positive representations of non-Christian peoples," but apparently *Mustapha* is a wrong choice for this.⁷²

From a close reading of the two English plays, the anonymous Cambridge play *Solymannidae* and Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha*, with specific attention to their sources, this article concludes that the representation of the Ottomans on the sixteenth-century English stage was not always influenced by the transforming diplomatic rhetoric on the Turk that emerged as a result of Anglo-Ottoman proximity. An analysis of these two different constructions of the Suleyman-

⁷⁰ Rees, 98.

⁷¹ Artemel, "Red Herring:" 193.

⁷² Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 194.

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Mustafa story on the English stage, seen in Western sources, challenges an over-generalization of the influence of the changing sixteenth-century rhetoric on the Turk on literary productions of the age. Accepting the importance and validity of the completely new strategies of representing the Other that appeared as a result of alliances with the Turks, this analysis shows that there was at least one more result of Anglo-Ottoman relations. A stricter and clear-cut rhetoric on the differences between the Turk and the English, blended with long-lasting stereotypical images, emerged in this period as result of the same social conditions. These representations offered strong criticism of the influence of Mediterranean ways on English society.

MEDIEVAL PERSPECTIVES AFTER THE FALL 🏰

Marianne Sághy

Fifteen years, three-hundred ninety-three MAs one hundred fifty one PhD students, and more than fifty PhD dissertations. Statistically speaking, this is the Medieval Studies Department. Spiritually, however, much more happened in the past decade and a half in our department and in our world. How can we spell this out? When we asked sixteen alumni to tell us about the state of medieval research in their home countries and about the changes and continuities they see around them, we were interested in exploring the destinies of our craft after the fall of communism and in mapping up our alumni's integration in the new world that we are constructing. Their responses offer invigorating perspectives not only about the survival, but happily also about the revival, of medieval scholarship in Central and Eastern Europe.

As the Middle Ages are traditionally credited with ethnogenesis, state formation, the creation of national symbols and national monarchies, in the wake of the demolition of the Iron Curtain, when a series of new states emerged in search of legitimacy, the rise of a new interest in the medieval heritage was largely predictable. Redolent of past prestige, the medieval past has been used and abused in the present for purposes of ethnic self-definition and national consciousness. The recognition that the Middle Ages are yet to be “invented” in East Central Europe to serve as a future basis for an open society had contributed to the foundation of our department in 1993.

The “explosion” of Late Antiquity, the revision of ideas of decline and fall with respect to the Roman Empire conferred an added interest in the Middle Ages. An empire fell around us – how will this fact change scholarly paradigms? Will it affect our attitude toward the past? The “new” and ever “later” Late Antiquity dissolved traditional periodizations, expelled Eurocentrism, questioned the fall, replaced “crisis” with “democratization” and “decline” with “ambition,” minimalized the barbarian invasions by raising the Germans to the rank of peaceful migrants, and optimized the notion of cohabitation by painting the image of an age in which different cultures and religions coexisted in great and admirable tolerance. How a society construes at any given time the evident, and in itself neutral, continuity of its history and its discourse on the past depends on what self-definition that society needs to believe in. The re-evaluation of Late Antiquity and the Middle

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Ages reflected the realities and the desires, the political ideas and wishful thinking of intellectuals at the end of the twentieth century. Recently, however, this reading of the evidence has been questioned in its turn. Instead of continuity and survival, change and destruction are emphasized and crisis has made a spectacular comeback. We all know that historiography cannot be understood in isolation from the experience of contemporary history. It was time to ask: What kind of Middle Ages do post-Soviet societies cultivate? Did the disappearance of the mandatory Marxist mantra of class struggle, oppression, and exploitation entail the need to devise or adopt new interpretive frameworks and to write new narratives about Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages? Although we did not put the question in these terms to our authors, transition transpires from the following surveys of the state of medieval studies in the region.

The fall of communism is, without the slightest doubt, the foundational event of the new medieval histories of East Central Europe. The reestablishment of national sovereignty and independence in the past two decades and the process of European integration in the last five years has renewed curiosity in things medieval. The scholarly and the popular reinterpretation of the national past is in the making, often in creative chaos. “Parallel narratives” abound; old epistemologies cohabit with trendy research, dynamic theories with antiquated approaches, popular histories with academic positions, and different, if not radically oppositional, national narratives coexist in multiethnic states. “Braided histories,” however, are definitely at the door. The Middle Ages are ripe for reconceptualization East of the Elbe. Instead of defining our identity *against* the other, there is now a better chance to define ourselves *together with* the other. This is an endeavour that the Medieval Studies Department, with its international student body and faculty, has been committed to promoting from the start.

What is conspicuous in the alumni reports that we have collected for this volume is the lack of new “isms” and, as opposed to, the multiplication of new topics in East Central Europe. While official Marxism was not followed by a wholesale adoption of post-structuralism, deconstructionalism, or Foucauldism, new topics and new approaches did explode in our part of the world and in our discipline. If anything, these rapid surveys convey a sense of what it means to pluck suddenly from formerly forbidden trees. The end of communism definitely marks a watershed in the study of religion. Prohibited, denied, annihilated for many decades by communist dictatorships, Christianity, Islam and Judaism are now studied from a rich variety of aspects, involving theology, anthropology, sociology, literature, art

history, philosophy, and archaeology. The solid comeback of religion in the post-Soviet countries coincides with a worldwide renaissance of religious studies. As one of the doyens of medieval ecclesiastical history, Giles Constable notes in his recollection that while church history was strictly relegated to theological seminaries in the 1950s, now it is taught at every university. With the upsurge of religion, new scholarly communities also came to be established, such as patrological and hagiographical societies. Patrology and hagiography are among the areas in which our department has played an important role in encouraging and supporting new research regionwide.

The study of kingship, nobility, power structures and their symbolic representation are yet another set of old-new topics that have come increasingly to the fore as part of a global discourse on power as well as the chief ingredients of local, national narratives. The history of women and the history of the “other” – fundamentally “new” topics in a conservative discipline – acquired their *lettres de noblesse* in the past fifteen years and by now have become part and parcel even of “traditional” medieval research. The inclusion of Late Antiquity and Byzantium into the scope of medieval and renaissance scholarship, an important current development, keeps expanding the borders of the field and widening our scholarly perspective. “Understanding” increasingly replaces “explanation” as far as modern interpreters of the past go; scholars are more eager to evoke human experiences than to offer heavily ideological or theoretical explanations. Anthropology – be it cultural, historical, or religious – is everywhere. Well integrated into the “new” medieval studies, these novel areas and novel paradigms provoke epistemological and methodological changes in our trade, revealing a much richer medieval legacy from Asia to the Baltic, from North Africa to Scandinavia, from Spain to Syria. Looking back from where we stand, it is indeed startling to realize the headlong change between the “then” – only fifteen years ago! – and the “now.”

Language is a vehicle of culture in many and varied ways. Just as Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic preserve medieval spirituality and convey medieval concerns, Anglo-American scholarship has mediated not only modern methods and bright new ideas, but also a different way of thinking, replacing previous German, French, and Russian intellectual influences in East Central Europe. While the impact of the French *Annales* school is often recognized, little is said about English and American scholarship – despite the fact that this is the single most significant cultural influence the former socialist countries experienced in the past fifteen years. As opposed to the continental “schools,” knowledge diffused in

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English resists easy compartmentalization. Thus, for example, although students in the Medieval Studies Department have been heavily subjected to the reading of the works of Peter Brown, Giles Constable, Natalie Zemon Davis, Anthony Grafton and William Jordan, it would be difficult to label these scholars “the Princeton school.” Instead of school paradigms, the new generation of medievalists aims to grasp the texture of life behind the text. Medieval scholarship has proven to be a remarkably innovative intellectual art in the past fifty years. Now, with the massive influx of English learning, it may show how to be national and global at the same time, how to be part of a larger cultural *oikumene* and yet preserve its local identity. This is a task worthy of the Middle Ages, at once fiercely universalist and intensely local. To doff our identity in exchange for an “English as a second language”-type processing of the history of our country serves no purpose. To formulate our understanding of the national past for a global audience, however, is an exciting challenge.

The sixteen essays below help measure the extent of change and continuity in medieval studies in Central and Eastern Europe. Compasses in the thicket of academic and ideological changes in medieval learning in their respective countries, they offer useful information about the functioning of medieval centers from Estonia to Bulgaria, from Slovenia to Norway. Some articles present a more optimistic view, others are more level-headed about the state of the art of medieval studies. In some places, medieval studies strive and go from strength to strength; elsewhere, they are stuck in hundred-year old methods, questions, and often delusions. In certain countries, independence has brought the discovery and the recycling of the Middle Ages, in others, the loss of a nation’s past. Here, the transition from national to transnational is on the agenda, there a nation anchors its identity to the medieval centuries. It is instructive to see this landscape against an overview of German scholarship, since German learning has been traditionally influential in this part of the world. For the same reason, the absence of Russian *Mediävistik* is symptomatic in this collection. Panorama, not evaluation or critique being the purpose, these papers paint a rather irenic view of scholarship and scholarly institutions, avoiding mention of intellectual, political, or financial tensions that keep dividing the trade, such as the lack of structural and personal changes in the academia in past twenty years.

While the cultivation of national medieval history is a flourishing academic discipline in East Central Europe, this part of the world is seldom included in general dictionaries or narratives of the Middle Ages. Despite the undeniable progress of its methods and approaches, East European scholarship is still very

underrepresented in international collections. An important challenge is the integration of the new, “braided” histories of our region into the narratives and textbooks written about the medieval world to convince the readers that far from representing some peripheral eccentricity, Russians, Livonians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Georgians hand in hand all played a central role in the great adventure of medieval civilization.

CEU’s Medieval Studies Department has promoted the miracle of this adventure. Several articles mention the integration of our alumni into the academic structure of their home countries and their contribution to the renewal of medieval studies at home. These papers, however, were not supposed to focus on the achievement of MedStud alumni, the way they changed the world around them. We hope to ask this question fifteen years from now.

BULGARIAN LANDSCAPES IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Rossina Kostova

It is not by chance that I chose “landscape” as a keyword for the present paper.¹ If one looks at the program of the 15-year anniversary reunion of the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University, one will see that “landscape” is the keyword that concentrates, consciously or not, everything we would like to see, to say, and to hear about our common and personal fifteen years in medieval studies in general. Have we changed something in the landscape of medieval studies worldwide? Are we visible in that landscape? And do medieval landscapes matter at all?

Retrospective Landscapes

Perhaps the scope of the present paper does not require going in the history of medieval studies in Bulgaria as far as their beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in order to understand the trends of later development, one needs to outline the main characteristics of the field that had been laid down by the middle of the twentieth century.² From its inception to the 1940s the main theoretical approach was straightforward positivism; analytical works predominated, with very few attempts at synthesis (e. g., P. Mutafčiev).³ In terms of method, throughout the twentieth century medieval studies in Bulgaria remained a strongly empirical and closed discipline. There was little interaction with other European schools, although the general quality of theory and the critical approach was on the level of the best contemporary school, German positivism. In terms of scope, medieval studies were exclusively Bulgarian-centered, with a few forays into

¹ For their contributions I would like to thank: Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov (Class of 93-94), currently Research Fellow in East European Studies at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester, UK, and Kiril Petkov (Class of 93-94), currently Associate Professor of Mediterranean History, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, USA.

² A critical review of the development of medieval studies in Bulgaria until the end of the 1980s can be found in Vasil Gjuzelev, *Apologija na Srednovekovieto* [Apology for the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo “Klasika i Stil,” 2004) (hereafter: Gjuzelev, *Apologija*).

³ The works meant here are Petăr Mutafčiev, *Istoriija na bălgarskija narod* [History of the Bulgarian People], vol. 1-2 (Sofia, 1943-1944), and *Kniga za bălgarskija narod* [Book about the Bulgarian People] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1987).

Byzantine history. In terms of subject matter, political history was overwhelmingly present,⁴ along with local studies, and source editions.⁵ In addition, one must also note the contributions of archaeology and art history to the study of a number of important medieval sites and monuments.⁶

The crucial political change that came with the establishment of a pro-Soviet communist regime in Bulgaria after the end of the Second World War inevitably made a deep and ambiguous mark on the humanities. By branding leading Bulgarian medievalists, such as B. Filov, V. Beševliev, Iv. Dujčev, and B. Primov, “chauvinists” and “fascists” and suspending them from the University of Sofia, medieval scholarship was decapitated. This led to a decay of medieval studies and their isolation from the current trends in European medieval and Byzantine studies.⁷ Marxism became the only theory and its vulgar application in the 1950s and 1960s distorted historical analysis that concentrated on social history and class struggles. At the same time, the foundation of research centers at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS), their relatively good financial support by the state and the systematic manner of work brought the main achievement in the field during the second half of the twentieth century, the collection and critical edition of foreign and native sources.⁸ Particular emphasis has also been put on the critical edition of works by medieval Bulgarian writers and on the preparation of catalogues of medieval Bulgarian manuscripts in national libraries and collections.⁹

⁴ Vasil N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bālgarskata dāržava prez serdnite vekove* [History of the Bulgarian State During the Middle Ages] (Sofia, 1918-1927-1934-1940; reprint, Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1971), vol. 1, 1-2.

⁵ Veselin Beševliev, “Pārvobālgarski nadpisi” [Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions], *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet Istoriko-filosofski fakultet* 31 (1934), and the later edition *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963); Dimitar Detschew, *Responsa Nicolai I papae ad consulta Bulgarorum* (Serdicae, 1939).

⁶ Krāstju Mijatev, *Krāglata tsārķva in Preslav* [The Round church in Preslav] (Sofia, 1932), and *Die Keramik von Preslav* (Sofia, 1936); Bogdan Filov, *Miniatjurite na Manasievata na Manasievata bronika vāv Vatikanskata biblioteka* [The Miniatures of the Manasses Chronicle in the Vatican Library] (Sofia, 1927), and *Miniatjurite na Londonskoto evangelie na tsar Ivan Alexander* [The Miniatures in the London Gospel of Tsar Ivan Alexander] (Sofia, 1943); André Grabar, *Bojanskata tsārķva* [The church of Bojana] (Sofia, 1938); Nikola Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós* (Budapest, 1943).

⁷ Gjuzelev, *Apologija*, 109-125. As the last prime-minister before the end of the Second World War, B. Filov was put on trial in front of the People’s Court in 1945 and sentenced to death: Maria Zlatkova, *Bogdan Filov. Život meždu naukata i politikata* [Bogdan Filov. Life between Scholarship and Politics] (Sofia: Alteja, 2007).

⁸ All together, 16 volumes have been published in the series *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* under the supervision of the Department of Medieval History at the Institute of History (BAS): *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 1-9 (Sofia, 1954-1994) and *Fontes Latini Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 1-4 (Sofia, 1958-2001).

⁹ For the particular editions of medieval Bulgarian writers as well as for catalogues of manuscripts, see *Starobālgarska literatura. Entsiklopedičeski rečnik* [Old Bulgarian Literature. Encyclopedic Dictionary], ed.

Furthermore, the *instrumenta studiorum* of the Bulgarian Middle Ages have been remarkably enriched by the results of the large-scale and long-going excavations of various medieval sites all over the country, but predominantly in the medieval state centers of Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Turnovo.¹⁰

A major factor of intensification of research activities in medieval studies after the 1970s was the preparation for the celebration of the 1300-year anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state in the Balkans in 1981. By that time Marxism had been replaced to a great extent by moderate nationalism, politically supported by certain powerful figures and groups in the ruling Communist Party.¹¹ The red line in the new ideological approach was an emphasis on Bulgarian national identity in all aspects and all periods of the historical past, in contradiction to the common Slavic identification of the Bulgarians which had prevailed in the humanities in the 1950s and 1960s under strong Soviet influence. In the field of history, particular attention was paid to the structure of the medieval Bulgarian state with respect to its administrative and military institutions.¹² One of the favored topics was the emergence of a medieval Bulgarian ethnicity,¹³ yet studies on political history still predominated.¹⁴ Nevertheless, one may note the novel fields that emerged in the 1980s, such as prosopography¹⁵ and history of everyday

Donka Petrkanova (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2003).

¹⁰ Two branches of the Institute of Archaeology (BAS) were founded at the beginning of the 1970s in Veliko Turnovo and Šumen to supervise the excavations in Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Turnovo. The results of the campaigns are mostly published in articles and studies in the BAS series *Tsarevgrad-Turnov* (1973-1992, 5 volumes) and *Pliska-Preslav* (1979-2004, 10 volumes).

¹¹ Gjuzelev, *Apologia*, 125-132.

¹² V. Gjuzelev, *Kavhanite i ičirgu-boilite na bālgarskoto hanstvo-tsarstvo* [The Kavkhans and Ičirgu-boilas of the Bulgarian Khaganate-Tsardom] (Plovdiv: Fondatsija "Bālgarsko istoričesko nasledstvo, 2007); in fact, this is the publication of the doctoral dissertation the author defended in 1971. See also, Ivan Venedikov, *Voennoto i administrativno ustrojstvo na Bālgarija prez IX i X vek* [The Military and Administrative Government of Bulgaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries] (Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 1978); Georgi Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bālgarski vladetel (Titulatura i insignia)* [Medieval Bulgarian Ruler (Title and insignia)] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985).

¹³ Dimităr Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bālgarskata narodnost* [The Formation of Bulgarian Ethnicity] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1971).

¹⁴ V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I. Bālgarija prez vtorata polovina na IX vek* [Prince Boris I. Bulgaria in the Second Half of the Ninth Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1969); Ivan Božilov, *Tsar Simeon Veliki (893-927): Zlatnijat vek na srednovekovna Bālgarija* [Tsar Symeon the Great (893-927): The Golden Age of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Otečestven front, 1983); Christo Matanov, *Jugozapadnite bālgarski zemi prez XIV vek* [Southwestern Bulgarian Lands in the Fourteenth Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1986).

¹⁵ Iv. Božilov, *Familijata Asenevsi. Genealogija i prosopografija* [The Family of the Assenides. Genealogy and Prosopography] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985).

life.¹⁶ Perhaps one of the few positive results of the emphasis put on the social and religious movements in the Middle Ages in the context of the “class struggle” was the opening of a specific field in Bulgarian medieval studies, namely, the study of Bogomilism and its spread in medieval Europe.¹⁷ The fields of economic history and urban studies, however, where one can point out a very few reliable works, remain rather underdeveloped.¹⁸

Distinct trends in the field of archaeology are the systematization of various types of archaeological data (e.g., fortifications, settlements, cemeteries, ceramics, etc.),¹⁹ the stress on the material culture of the proto-Bulgarians,²⁰ and attempts at synthesis featuring the material culture of medieval Bulgaria.²¹ Similar developments can also be noted in the field of the history of medieval art, where publications of particular monuments and pieces of art²² and general works on the history of medieval Bulgarian art²³ accompany interdisciplinary studies on the relations between society and art.²⁴ As for medieval Slavic literature, the dominance of studies on single authors or single works can be considered the main fault in the

¹⁶ V. Beševliev, *Pärvobälgarite. Bit i kultura* [The Proto-Bulgarians. Style of Living and Culture] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1981).

¹⁷ D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bälgarija* [Bogomilism in Bulgaria] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1969); Borislav Primov, *Bugrite. Kniga za pop Bogomil i negovite posledovateli* [The Bugri. A Book about the Priest Bogomil and his Followers] (Sofia: Otečestven front, 1970), and the French version *Les Bougres - Histoire du pope Bogomile et de ses adeptes* (Paris: Payot, 1997).

¹⁸ Strašimir Lišev, *Bälgarskijat srednovekoven grad* [A Bulgarian Medieval Town] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1980); *Bälgarskite srednovekovni gradove i kreposti. I. Gradove i kreposti po Dunav i Černo more* [Bulgarian Medieval Towns and Fortresses. I Towns and Fortresses along the Danube and the Black Sea], ed. V. Gjuzeev and Aleksandär Kuzev (Varna: “Georgi Bakalov”, 1981).

¹⁹ Živka Vážarova, *Slavjani i prabälgari po danni ot nekropolite ot VI-XI v. na teritorijata na Bälgarija* [Slavs and Proto-Bulgarians in Light of Data from Cemeteries of the Sixth to the Eleventh Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976); Ludmila Dončeva-Petkova, *Bälgarskata bitova keramika prez rannoto srednovekovie* [Bulgarian Pottery in the Early Middle Ages] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1979); Rašo Rašev, *Starobälgarskite ukreplenija na Dolni Dunav VII-XI v.* [Old Bulgarian Fortifications on the Lower Danube from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century] (Varna: “Georgi Bakalov”, 1982).

²⁰ *Problemi na prabälgarskata istorija i kultura* [Problems of Proto-Bulgarian History and Culture] I (Sofia: BAN, 1989); II (Sofia: Arges, 1991); III (Šumen: Slavčo Nikolov, 1997).

²¹ Stančo Vacklinov, *Formirane na starobälgarskata kultura VI-XI v.* [The formation of Old Bulgarian culture from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977).

²² Milko Bičev, *Stenopisite v Ivanovo* [The Wall Paintings in Ivanovo] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1965); Elka Bakalova, *Bäčkovskata kostnitsa* [The Bäčkovo Ossuary] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977); Liliana Mavrodinova, *Zemenskata tsärkva* [The Church of Zemen] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1980).

²³ See, for instance, Dora Panayotova-Piguet, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas Moyen Äge* (Paris: De Boccard, 1987).

²⁴ E. Bakalova, “Society and Art in Bulgaria in the Fourteenth,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 8 (1986): 17-22.

field.²⁵ Indications of change might be seen in works trying to make a structural analysis of the medieval literary heritage by addressing problems of the variety of genres, poetics, institutions (e.g., education, *scriptoria*, and libraries), patronage, transmission of knowledge, etc.²⁶

Summing up the development of medieval studies in Bulgaria in the second half of the twentieth century, the first thing to be noted is the contradictions between relatively dynamic ideology and a conservatism in approach. Thus, while Marxism was gradually softened and replaced by moderate nationalism under the control of the communist intellectual elite after the 1970s, positivism and empiricism continued to dominate the historical approach. The only difference is that the traditional methodological setting has been altered to some extent by the structuralism and semiotics applied in some anthropological studies under the influence of the School of Tartu.²⁷ There is almost a complete absence of interdisciplinary studies and comparative history and historical anthropology are completely absent. While the interest of foreign scholars in medieval Bulgarian history and culture has internationalized Bulgarian medieval studies to some extent, medieval studies in Bulgaria remain closed in on themselves. The overwhelming creative effort is focused on national history. Works on foreign history, almost exclusively Byzantine, with a few Western European studies, are of textbook style and quality, although there are some exceptions.²⁸

Landscapes of Memory: Reloading Medieval Studies in Bulgaria

One might not expect such a conservative and introverted field as medieval studies in Bulgaria appears to have been to react quickly to the radical political, economic, and social changes that started in 1989. In fact, the gradual change in scope and

²⁵ Gjuzelev, *Apologia*, 132, 135.

²⁶ Krasimir Stančev, *Poetika na starobălgarskata literatura* [Poetics of Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia, 1982); V. Gjuzelev, *Utilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znaniya v Bălgarija XIII-XIV vek* [Schools, Scriptoria, Libraries and Knowledge in Bulgaria 13th to 14th c.] (Sofia, 1985).

²⁷ Anani Stoinev, *Svetogledăt na prabălgarite* [A View of Life of the Proto-Bulgarians] (Sofia: BAN, 1985).

²⁸ Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Dolni Dunav-granična zona na vizantijskija Zapad* [The Lower Danube—A Frontier Zone of the Byzantine West] (Sofia: BAN, 1976); Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, *Bălgarija i Latinskata imperija (1204-1261)* (Sofia, 1985); Christo Matanov, Rumjana Mihneva, *Ot Galipoli do Lepanto. Evropa, Balkanite i osmanskoto našestvie (1354-1571 g.)* [From Gallipoli to Lepanto. Europe, the Balkans and the Ottoman Conquest 1354-1571] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1988).

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approaches in medieval studies in Bulgaria started as a rediscovery of theory and methods of historical research through translations of selections or complete works of sociologists and historians from the first half of the twentieth century, such as Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee, and Marc Bloch. Since 1993, the most essential contribution to reloading the international heritage in medieval studies in Bulgaria has been achieved through the program of the Central European University to translate and publish works in the field of the human and social sciences with the financial support of the Centre for Publishing Development at the Open Society Institute in Budapest and the Soros Center for the Arts in Sofia. Thus, since the mid-1990s both a specialized and wider audience have become acquainted with major works by Jacques Le Goff,²⁹ Fernand Braudel,³⁰ Peter Brown,³¹ Georges Duby,³² A. Gurevich,³³ E. Kantorowicz,³⁴ and others.³⁵

²⁹ Jacques Le Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiévale* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1985). Bulgarian translation: *Väobrazaiemijat svjat na Srednovekovieto*, tr. Elka Ruseva, ed. E. Bakalova (Sofia: Agato, 1998).

³⁰ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II. Livre 1* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966 et 1990); Bulgarian translation: *Sredizemno more i sredizemnomorskijat svjat po vremeto na Filip II. Kniga Pärva*, tr. Veselina Ilieva (Sofia: Abager, 1998).

³¹ Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150-750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; reprinted 1997). Bulgarian translation: *Svetät na käsnata antičnost*, tr. Stojan Gjaurov (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1999); idem, *Authority and Sacred. Aspects of Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), Bulgarian translation: *Avtoritetät i sveštenoto. Aspekti na hristijanizatsijata na hristijanskija svjat*, tr. Mila Mineva (Sofia: Lik, 2000); idem, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1988), Bulgarian translation: *Tjaloto i obštestvoto. Mäžete, ženite i seksualnoto samootričane prez rannoto hristijanstvo*, tr. Oksana Minaeva, ed. E. Bakalova (Sofia: Agato, 2003); idem, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992). Bulgarian translation: *Vlast i ubeždenie v käsnata antičnost (Käm hristijanska imperija)*, tr. Dimitär Iliev (Sofia: Lik, 2004).

³² Georges Duby, *Le Temps des cathédrales. L'art et la société* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), Bulgarian translation: *Vremeto na katedralite: izkustvo i obšestvo 980-1204*, tr. Nedka Bäčvarova, Georgi Gergov, ed. Georgi Gergov (Sofia: Agato, 2004).

³³ Aron Gurevich, *Srednovekovyi svet: kul'tura bezmolustvyjušego boľšinstva* (Moscow: Isskustvo, 1990), Bulgarian translation: *Srednovekovnijat svjat: Kulturata na mäčäštoto mnozinstvo*, tr. Evgenija Trendafilova (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski," 2005). It must be noted, however, that Gurevich's works were well known to Bulgarian medievalists in their original editions prior to the changes in 1989.

³⁴ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), Bulgarian translation: *Dvete tela na kralja. Izsledvane na srednovekovnoto političesko bogoslovie*, tr. Slava Janakieva, ed. Kalin Janakiev (Sofia: Lik, 2004).

³⁵ Alexander Kazhdan, Ann Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), Bulgarian translation: *Vizantijskata kultura XI-XII vek: promeni i tendentsii*, trans. Dimitär Dimitrov [Class of 95-96] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2001); Gábor Klaniczay, *Heilige, Hexen, Vampire. Von Nutzen des Übernatürlichen* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1991), Bulgarian translation:

Changing Research Landscapes

While translation of masterpieces of medieval studies might be seen as a necessary attempt at compensating for lost time in the native development of the field, the introduction of the current trends in medieval studies has been accomplished mostly by the generation born in the 1960s and later and, above all, by those who took the chance and faced the challenge of upgrading their background in academic and research institutions abroad. The alumni of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU constitute not only the most compact and numerous group (34 MA students since 1993)³⁶ in the “new wave” of medievalists, but also most of its members are among the most active and, I would say, influential medievalists in Bulgaria at present. Thus, five of them hold academic positions (four of them are associate professors) at the largest Bulgarian universities, and five alumni are research fellows at institutes at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.³⁷ In addition to the Anglo-American tradition and the Central-European flavor added to Bulgarian medieval studies by the CEU alumni, the German and French schools have also contributed to refreshing the field. For instance, the appearance of such a significant new branch of medieval studies as medieval philosophy in 1992 might be seen as a result of the efforts chiefly of two scholars, Prof. Tsočo Bojadžiev and Prof. Georgi Kapriev, shaped in the German school of medieval philosophy at the Universities of Cologne and Tübingen.³⁸ In addition, the Byzantium Working Group, which appeared in 2002, gives anthropological insights into the Byzantine heritage thanks to the training of its founders and most of its members in the spirit of the French school in medieval studies.³⁹ Many other Bulgarian medievalists have also brought home their own experiences from various schools and institutions in Europe, Russia, and the USA.

Svetci, veštitsi, vampiri: Za polzata ot svrubehestvenoto, tr. Georgi Kajtazov (Sofia: Lik, 1996).

³⁶ I thank Annabella Pál, MA program coordinator at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies, for kindly providing me detailed data on the alumni of the department.

³⁷ Names, affiliations, and contact e-mails are provided at the end of this paper.

³⁸ Both are fellows of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. More details are on the web-site of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sofia: <http://forum.uni-sofia.bg/filo>.

³⁹ The Byzantium WG is supported by the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris (Mellon Program): www.GTByzance.com.

Did new people really give birth to new ideas?

History writing was perhaps the area charged with the greatest expectations for change. The abandonment of Marxism as the dominant theory was not followed by the appearance of an epistemological substitute. Instead, a number of monographs featured a variety of topics and approaches that demonstrated personal professional developments rather than outlining trends in research. Nevertheless, one must note the continuity not only in traditional positivist studies, but also the advance of fruitful topics which had already appeared in the previous period, such as the structure of power and institutions in the medieval Bulgarian state.⁴⁰ A significant and new step further has been made towards the history of ideas by approaching problems of medieval political ideology and thought.⁴¹ “Proto-Bulgarian” studies have been put on a totally new track through stimulating anthropological analysis of the “otherness” of the nomads and the “others” (e.g., blacksmiths, shamans, and women) among them.⁴² In general, the problem of the “Other” became a key aspect of reassessing the image of medieval Bulgarians, their perception and self-perception.⁴³ Furthermore, this particular aspect of medieval history writing might be seen as a bridge between national history on one side and European and Byzantine history on the other. In

⁴⁰ Ivan Biljarski, *Institutsiite na srednovekovna Bălgarija* [Institutions of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski,” 1998); Georgi Nikolov, *Tsentralizăm i regionalizăm v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija* [Centralism and Regionalism in Early Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 2005); Tsvetelin Stepanov, *Vlast i avtoritet v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija (VII-srednata na IX vek)* [Power and Prestige in Early Medieval Bulgaria, Mid-seventh to Ninth Century] (Sofia: Agato, 1999); *Mediaevalia Christiana. 1. Vlast-Obraz-Văobrazjavane* [Mediaevalia Christiana. 1. Power-Image-Fancy], ed. Tsvetelin Stepanov and Georgi Kazakov (Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2005).

⁴¹ Ivan Lazarov, *Političeska ideologija na Vtoroto bălgarsko tsarstvo XII-XIII v. (Genesis)* [Political Ideology of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century (Genesis)]; Angel Nikolov, *Političeska misăl v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija (srednata na IX-kraja na X vek)* [Political Thought in Early Medieval Bulgaria (the Mid-ninth to the End of the Tenth Century)] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2006).

⁴² Tsv. Stepanov, *Bălgarite i stepnata imperija prez rannoto srednovekovie* [The Bulgarians and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages] (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2005).

⁴³ Iv. Božilov, *Bălgarite văv Vizantijskata imperija* [The Bulgarians in the Byzantine Empire] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1995); Petăr Angelov, *Bălgarija i bălgarite v predstavite na vizantijskite* [Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in the Notions of the Byzantines] (Sofia: Lik, 1999); Plamen Pavlov, *Buntari i avantjuristi v srednovekovna Bălgarija* [Rebels and Adventurers in Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Sveti Evtimij Patriarh Tărnovski, 2000); Vladimir Angelov, *Bălgarite i tehnite săsedi văv vizantijskata istoriopis prez XV vek* [Bulgarians and Their Neighbors in Byzantine History Writing in the fifteenth] (Sofia: TangraTanNakra, 2007); Tsv. Stepanov, *Istorijska vs Pseudonauka. Drevnobălgarski Etjudi* [History vs Pseudo-Scholarship. Ancient Bulgarian Études] (Sofia: Ciela, 2008).

this respect the erudite studies of two CEU alumni on the dynamics of the image of Oriental people in the stereotypes of Western European society during the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period deserve special merit.⁴⁴ Along with “textbook style studies,”⁴⁵ new works, some of them written by CEU alumni, have made a remarkable contribution to various aspects of the economic and cultural history of Western Europe, Byzantium, and the medieval Balkans.⁴⁶ Though a relatively young field which appeared only in the late 1960s, Ottoman studies have been among the richest from the point of view of topics (e.g., economy, demography, administrative division, the Ottoman elite, confessional relations between Christians and Muslims) for the period of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century. What deserves to be mentioned is the gradual shift from sources (e.g., fiscal registers) related mostly to demographic and social-economic studies to sources (e.g., judiciary registers from the seventeenth century onwards) that allow the application of approaches other than positivism (e.g., social anthropology) and thus provide a look at everyday life, women, books and reading, art, and urban life.⁴⁷ The long-neglected material culture

⁴⁴ Kiril Petkov, *Infidels, Turks, and Women: The South Slavs in the German Mind, ca. 1400 to 1600* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997); Alexander Nikolov, “Vjarvaj ili shte te ubija!” “Orientalistsite” v krăstonosnata propaganda 1270-1370 [“Believe or I Will Kill You!” “Orientalists” in Crusaders’ Propaganda 1270-1370] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski”, 2006).

⁴⁵ Chr. Matanov, *Srednovekovnite Balkani. Istoričeski očerti* [Medieval Balkans. Historical Sketches] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2002); Krasimira Gagova, *Kratka istorija na krăstosnite pohodi* [A Short History of the Crusades] (Sofia: Polis, 2008); Ivan Bozhilov, *Vizantijskijat svjat* [The Byzantine World] (Sofia: Anubis, 2008).

⁴⁶ Tsočo Bojadžiev, *Nošta prez Srednovekovieto* [Night in the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Sofi-R, 2000); idem, *Loca remotissima* (Sofia: Sofi-R, 2007); Elena Kojcheva, *Părvite krăstosnosni pohodi i Balkanite* [The First Crusades and the Balkans] (Sofia: Vekove, 2004); Cyril Pavlikyanov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos* (Sofia: University Press, 2001); Ivajla Popova, *Vizantija-Italija. Aspekti na kulturnite vzaimodejstvija prez XIV-XV vek* [Byzantium-Italy. Some Aspects of the Cultural Interaction (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century)] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2004); Veselina Vačkova, *Traditsii na sveštenata vojna v ranna Vizantija* (Traditions of the Holy War in Early Byzantium) (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2004); Liliana Simeonova, *Pătuvane kăm Konstantinopol. Tărgovija i komunikatsii v Sredizemnomosrkaia svjat (kraja na IX-70-te godini na XI vek)* [En Route to Constantinople. Trade and Communications in the Mediterranean World, the late 800s and the 1070s] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2006); K. Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003); Dimităr Dimitrov [Class ‘95-‘96], *Ezičnitsi i hristijani prez IV vek: modeli na povedenie* [Pagans and Christians in the Fourth Century: Models of Behavior] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2000); idem, *Filosofija, kultura i politika v Kăsnata antičnost: slučajat Sinezii ot Kirena* [Philosophy, Culture and Policy: The Case of Synesius of Cyrene] (V. Turnovo: Faber, 2005); idem, *Tămnite vekove na Vizantija* [The Dark Ages of Byzantium] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2006).

⁴⁷ Tsvetana Georgieva, *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na bălgarite (XV-XVII vek)* [Space and Spaces of the Bulgarians (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century)] (Sofia: Lik, 1999); Jordan Velčev, *Grădăt ili meždū Iztoka i Zapada* [The City or Between the East and the West] (Sofia: Žanet 45, 2005). I would like to thank Dr. Gergana Georgieva [Class of ‘97-‘98] for providing me with thorough information and critical comments on

of the Ottoman period has also been paid some still-insufficient attention.⁴⁸

In contrast to the previous period, since the 1990s the improvement of the *instrumenta studiorum* is related not only to the translation of foreign sources for Bulgarian medieval history,⁴⁹ but also to the translation of sources for the European Middle Ages into Bulgarian.⁵⁰ Of particular value and importance is the representative collection rendering the original Bulgarian records from the seventh to the fifteenth century in modern English done meticulously by CEU alumnus K. Petkov.⁵¹

If one stays with that latter collection of records, one will be impressed by the enormous amount of data produced by medieval archaeology have for medieval history and material culture of Bulgaria. Yet just as those data appeared in the chapters of K. Petkov's book as assemblages of precious fragments, such as stone annals, graffiti,⁵² seals,⁵³ and rings, the studies in medieval archaeology remained fragmentary. A few works of synthesis have appeared, most them related to proto-Bulgarian culture and various aspects of the culture of the First Bulgarian Empire,⁵⁴ while, for instance, attempts at comprehensive studies on the medieval

the developments in this field. She is currently Research Fellow at the Institute of Balkan Studies (BAS).

⁴⁸ Valentin Pletnyov, *Bitovata keramika vŭv Varna XV-XVIII vek* [Pottery in Varna, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century] (Varna: Slavena, 2004).

⁴⁹ Raya Zaimova, *Arabski izvori za bŭlgarite* [Arabian Sources on the Bulgarians] (Sofia: TangraTanNakra, 2000). For the edited and translated narrative Hungarian sources in Latin related to the medieval history of Bulgaria, see *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* 31, *Fontes Latini Historiae Bulgaricae* 5, ed. Ilija Iliev, Krasimira Gagova, and Hristo Dimitrov (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 2001).

⁵⁰ Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople 1204*, tr. and ed. Jean Dufournet, Champion Classiques: Moyen Age 14 (Paris: Champion, 2004), Bulgarian translation: Nikolaj Markov, *Zavojuvaneto na Konstantinopol 1204 godina* (Sofia: Biblioteka Buditel, 2007); Jean Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. and tr. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Dunod, 1995), Bulgarian translation: Krasimira Gagova, *Životŭt na Sveti Lui* (Sofia: Polis, 2008).

⁵¹ K. Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁵² Kazimir Popkonstantinov and Otto Krostelner, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 1 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*, 36) (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik, 1994); idem, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 2 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*, 52) (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik, 1997).

⁵³ Ivan Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Vol. 1. *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names* (Sofia: Agato, 2003); idem, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Vol. 2. *Byzantine Seals with Family Names* (Sofia: BAN, 2006).

⁵⁴ R. Rašev, *Bŭlgarskata ezičeska kultura VII-IX vek* [Bulgarian Pagan Culture, Seventh to Ninth Century] (Sofia: Brifon, 2008); Stanislav Stanilov, *Die Metallkunst des Bulgarenkhaganats der Donau 7.–9. Jh. Versuch einer empirischen Untersuchung* (Sofia Klasika i Stil, 2006); Georgi Atanasov, *Insigniite na srednovekovnite bŭlgarski valadeteli* [Insignia of Medieval Bulgarian Rulers] (Pleven: Izdatelski kompleks "Ea," 1999); Valeri Yotov, *Vŭorŭženieto i snarjŭženieto ot bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie VII-XI vek* [Armament and Gear from the Bulgarian Middle Ages, Seventh to Eleventh Century] (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2004)

state centers, medieval urbanism, and everyday life are promising yet modest in scale.⁵⁵ New excavations of medieval monasteries, critical reassessments of previously excavated sites, and comprehensive analyses of monastic geography, architecture, patronage and social function have shown monastic archaeology to be a distinctive and perhaps the most dynamic field in Bulgarian medieval archaeology.⁵⁶ The empirical and descriptive level of archaeological research, however, has not been surpassed, mostly due to the lack of interdisciplinaryity in field surveys and excavations.⁵⁷ An exception that sadly confirms the rule is the German-Bulgarian archaeological research campaigns in the Aboba fortification and the Pliska plain (1997-2003), in the course of which geophysics, systematic analysis of aerial photos, and GIS applications have been employed.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, based mostly on extensive field walking and excavations of selected sites, important issues such as medieval settlement categories and settlement models have been approached.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Rositsa Panova, *Stoličnijat grad v kulturata na sredновековна България* [The Capital City in the Culture of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House, 1995); idem, *Sredновековnijat бългaрски град. Възможният анализ и невъзможният синтез* [The Medieval Bulgarian Town. A Possible Analysis and an Impossible Synthesis] (Sofia: Izdatelski kompleks "Svjet. Nauka," 2001).

⁵⁶ R. Kostova [Class '94-'95], "Bulgarian Monasteries Ninth to Tenth Centuries: Interpreting the Archaeological Evidence," in *Pliska-Preslav 8*, gen. ed. R. Rašev (Šumen: Antos), 190-202; idem, "Monasteries in the Centers, Monasteries on the Periphery: Featuring Monastic Sovereignty in Early Medieval Bulgaria," in *Medieval Europe Basel 2002. Center, Region, Periphery. 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology*, Vol.1. (Hertingen: Verlag Dr. G. C. Wesselkamp, 2002), 504-510.

⁵⁷ Margarita Vaklinova, "Sredновековна arheologija" [Medieval Archaeology], *Arheologija* 3-4 (2001): 111-116, Ludmil Vagalinski, Ivo Cholakov, Krastyu Chukalev, "Archaeological Field Activities in Bulgaria: Seasons 2006-2007," *Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society* 24 (2008): 175-188.

⁵⁸ Irene Marzollff and Joachim Henning, "A Virtual View of Pliska: Integrating Remote Sensing, Geophysical and Archaeological Survey Data into a Geographical Information System," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 2 *Byzantium, Pliska and the Balkans*, ed. Joachim Henning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 417-425.

⁵⁹ Ventsislav Dinčev, Rašo Rašev, and Boris Borisov, "Le village byzantin sur le territoire de la Bulgarie contemporaine," in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Cécile Morrison, and Jean-Pierre Sodini. *Réalités Byzantines* 11 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 351-362; Albena Milanova, "Le renouveau urbain en Bulgarie sous la domination byzantine (fin du X^e-fin du XII^e siècle): le cas des villes antiques," in *Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 8, *EIKONA KAI AIOIOTOC. L'Image et la Parole. Recueil à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du Prof. Axinia Dzhurova*, ed. Vasja Velinova, Rumen Bojadžiev, and Albena Milanova (Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House, 2004), 189-213; R. Kostova, "Changing Settlement Patterns on the Byzantino-Bulgarian Periphery: The North Part of the West Black Sea Coast, Eighth to Twelfth Century," *Temporis Signa. Arheologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo* 3 (2008): 15-37.

Similarly to archaeology, the interdisciplinary approach and, precisely, the analysis of “text-image” correlations appear to have been distinctive for only some works in history of medieval art in Bulgaria.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, one of the most serious achievements in the field has been made thanks to the painstaking collection and decoding of autographs on frescos and icons. As a result, the widely accepted image of the “anonymous medieval artist” has been seriously challenged and instead the personality and social profile of medieval artists in Bulgaria has emerged from behind the painted draperies on church walls and wooden panels.⁶¹

At first glance, the field of medieval Slavic literature and the Orthodox Slavic written heritage seems to have been a rather conservative area. In the last 15 years this field has been dominated by text-historical studies, critical editing and textological research. There is an apparent revival of Biblical studies, marked by editions of many of the Slavic versions of biblical books.⁶² Although Bulgaria has traditionally had a strong school of literary theory, the lack of any interest in applying modern critical techniques to the analysis of medieval texts (with very few exceptions),⁶³ and in contrast to the 1980s, is due perhaps to the mistrust of and disillusionment with grand schemes and ideological constructs. At the same time, a new area which appeared in the 1990s with promising results was computer applications to the study of medieval texts.⁶⁴ It is not by chance, but rather a result

⁶⁰ E. Bakalova, “Ivanovskite stenopisni nadpisi-tekst i funktsija” [Fresco Inscriptions in Ivanovo – Text and Function], *Palaeobulgarica* 1 (1995): 22-65; Elisaveta Musakova, “Graficheska segmentatsija na teksta v Asemanievoto evangelie” [The Graphic Segmentation of the Text in the Codex Assemanianus], *Slovo* 56-57 (2006-2007): 391-404.

⁶¹ Zarko Ždrakov, *Văvedenie v istorijata na avtografiрането* [Introduction to the History of Autograph Making] (Sofia: Planeta, 2004).

⁶² I. Hristova-Šomova, *Služebnijat Apostol v slavjanskata rākopisna traditsija* [The Aprakos (Service) Book of Acts in the Slavic Written Tradition] (Sofia: “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Publishing House, 2004).

⁶³ A. Angusheva-Tihanov, *Gadatelnite knigi v starobālgarskata literatura* [Books of Prognostication in the Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia: Vreme, 1996); idem, “Divination, Demons and Magic: A Hellenistic Theme from a Byzantine and Medieval Slavic Perspective,” in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London-Turin: The Warburg Institute Publications, Nono Aragno Editore, 2006), 59-68; Ivan Dobrev, *Sveti Ivan Rilski* (St. John of Rila), *Altbulgarische Studien* 5 (Linz: Slavia Verlag, 2007); Anisava Miltenova and Vasilka Tāpkova-Zaimova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata literature vāv Vizantija i srednovekovna Bālgarija* [Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Publishing House, 1996); Desislava Atanasova [Class of ‘95-‘96], “The Slavonic translation of the Latin vita of St. Anastasia the Widow and her Companion, St. Chrysogonus,” *Scripta & e-Scripta* 5 (2008): 117-129.

⁶⁴ Anisava Miltenova, Andrej Boyadžiev, and Stojan Vele, “Repertorium of Medieval Slavic Literature: Computer and Philological Standards,” *Palaeobulgarica* 2 (1998): 50-69.

of expertise and training achieved at the Medieval Studies Department and other specialized centers, that the CEU alumni are in the vanguard of medieval literary studies in Bulgaria. A remarkable manifestation of the major role they play in the field is their contribution to the new History of Bulgarian Medieval Literature.⁶⁵

Medieval philosophy is the youngest yet the most dynamic field of medieval studies in Bulgaria. As noted above, it began at the beginning of the 1990s with two main goals, to encourage studies in medieval philosophy and to spread knowledge in that area by means of translating and interpreting the requisite texts.⁶⁶ As a result, now one may already speak about a Bulgarian school in medieval philosophy, institutionally and spiritually supported by the Institute of Medieval Philosophy and Culture, founded in 2000. The trademark of this school and its major contribution to international scholarship is the comparative study of the two cultural models of the European Christian Middle Ages, the Latin (Western) and the Byzantine (Eastern).⁶⁷ Thus, medieval philosophy has emerged in the landscape of medieval studies in Bulgaria within the syllabus of an academic discipline.

Academic Landscapes: Dreaming of Medieval Studies in Bulgaria

The division between national medieval studies and medieval studies related to Western Europe and Byzantium has remained the main feature of the curriculum of medieval studies in Bulgaria. Thus, in the list of the master's programs at the three largest universities, the University of Sofia, the University of Veliko Turnovo, and the New Bulgarian University, several programs deal separately with problems of medieval Bulgarian, Western European, and Byzantine-Balkan history and culture. Otherwise, courses in medieval studies taught at the BA and MA level demonstrate a respectable variety of topics and approaches: general subjects, regional studies,

⁶⁵ *Istoriija na bălgarskata srednovekovna literatura* [History of Medieval Bulgarian Literature], ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia: IK "Iztok-Zapad", 2008). There are three CEU alumni among the contributors to this fundamental work: Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov, Desislava Atanasova, Margaret Dimitrova.

⁶⁶ *Archiv für Mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur*, vol. 1-13 (since 1994); *Bibliotheca Christiana* (since 1991).

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Georgi Kapriev, *Philosophie in Byzanz* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2005). I would like to thank Prof. Georgi Kapriev for providing me exhaustive information on the achievements in the field of medieval philosophy in Bulgaria, including the article by Gergana Dineva, "Bălgarskata škola po filosofska medievistika" [The Bulgarian school of medieval philosophy], in *Filosofskiiat XX vek v Bălgaria* (forthcoming).

anthropological studies, and comparative studies.⁶⁸ A distinctive informal mode of promoting high academic standards and interdisciplinarity in medieval studies are the summer workshop in medieval philosophy and studies regularly held since 1984 in the town of Elena under the guidance of Prof. Ts. Bojadžiev and the seminar in practical ethnology and medieval studies “Prof. Dr. Ivan Šišmanov” at the University of Sofia.⁶⁹ In fact, interdisciplinarity and approaches of comparative history and analysis can be found only in MA and PhD programs, the core of which are constituted by medieval philosophy and literary studies: “Medieval Philosophy and Culture” (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sofia); “Cyril and Methodius Studies in the Context of Byzantine Literature” (Faculty of Slavic Philology, University of Sofia); “Language and Culture in Medieval Europe” (PhD Program, Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, BAS). It cannot be a surprise then that the majority of the Bulgarian students admitted to the MA and PhD programs of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU came from and work in those two fields.⁷⁰ Yet the Bulgarian students at the Department gradually and steadily decrease in number and the same is valid for the level of students’ interest in the humanities in general and in medieval studies in particular in Bulgaria as well. As can be seen, at the last “World Education Fair” that took place in Sofia in 2009, the top subjects of interest of prospective Bulgarian students abroad for the last 10 years are: business, economics, marketing, management, architecture, law, fashion and design. Is there anybody still dreaming of medieval studies in Bulgaria?

Landscapes of Hope

Returning to the beginning of my paper, I should say that the anthropological reading of the anniversary program was not the only reason for “landscaping” the task I was given by the organizers of the Alumni Roundtable. “Landscape” was one of the many important terms I learned at the Department as a student in medieval studies many years ago. It is an important but difficult term that I have never managed to translate

⁶⁸ The web sites of the three universities with information on MA programs in medieval Studies can be found in the list at the end of this paper.

⁶⁹ www.ongal.net/teaching.html

⁷⁰ According to the data on MA students at the Department provided to me by Annabella Pál, since 1993 twenty out of thirty-four Bulgarian students have worked on topics related to medieval literature and philosophy.

properly into my native language, which favors instead the gentle French *paysage* and thus always leaves me with the idea that “landscape” means something drawn, painted, or imaginary. How could a medieval landscape be painted then? With passion and dedication, that is the answer I learnt 15 years ago in Budapest. And that is the way in which the Bulgarian landscapes of medieval studies have been drawn by many hearts and minds and that, I believe, will be mastered by many others in the future.

Important books in Medieval Studies in the Last 15 years (A Very Selected List)

Angelov, Petăr. *Bălgarija i bălgarite v predstavite na vizantijsite* [Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in the Notions of the Byzantines]. Sofia: Lik, 1999.

Bojadžiev, Tsočo. *Nošta prez Srednovekovieto* [Night in the Middle Ages]. Sofia: Sofi-R, 2000.

———. *Loca remotissima*. Sofia: Sofi-R, 2007.

Božilov, Ivan. *Bălgarite vāv Vizantijskata imperija* [The Bulgarians in the Byzantine Empire]. Sofia: Akademično izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1995.

Dimitrov, Dimităr. *Filosofija, kultura i politika v Kāsната antičnost: slučajat Sinezii ot Kirena* [Philosophy, Culture and Policy: The Case of Synesius of Cyrene]. Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2005.

Dobrev, Ivan. *Sveti Ivan Rilski* [St John of Rila]. Altbulgarische Studien 5. Linz: Slavia Verlag, 2007.

Georgieva, Tsvetana. *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na bălgarite (XV-XVII vek)* [Space and Spaces of the Bulgarians, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century]. Sofia: Lik and Imir, 1999.

Ivanova, Klimentina. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*. Sofia: IK “BAN,” 2008.

Jordanov, Ivan. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*. Vol. 1. *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*. Sofia: Agato, 2003; Vol. 2. *Byzantine Seals with Family Names*. Sofia: BAN, 2006.

Rossina Kostova

Kapriev, Georgi. *Philosophie in Byzanz*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2005).

Miltanova, Anisava. *Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, Istoriko-apokaliptičnata literature vāv Vizantiija i srednovekovna Bālgariija* [Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria]. Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House, 1996.

Nikolov, Alexander. "Vjarvaj ili shite te ubija!" "Orientaltsite" v krāstonosnata propaganda 1270-1370 ["Believe or I will kill you!" The "Orientals" in the Crusaders' Propaganda 1270-1370] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2006).

Nikolov, Angel. *Političeska misāl v rannosrednovekovna Bālgariija (srednata na IX-kraja na X vek)* [Political Thought in Early Medieval Bulgaria (the Middle of the 9th –the End of the 10th c.)]. Sofia: Paradigma, 2006.

Petkov, Kiril, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Popkonstantinov, Kazimir. and Otto Krostesiner. *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 1 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*,36). Salzburg-Wien: Institut für Slawistik, 1994; 2 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*,52). Salzburg-Wien: Institut für Slawistik, 1997.

Rašev, Rašo. *Bālgarskata ezičeska kultura VII-IX vek* [Bulgarian Pagan Culture 7th-9th century]. Sofia: Brifon, 2008.

Simeonova, Liliana. *Pātuvane kām Konstantinopol. Tārgovija i komunikatsii v Sredizemnomosrkia svjat (kraja na IX-70-te godini na XI vek)* [En Route to Constantinople. Trade and Communications in the Mediterranean World, the late 800s and the 1070s]. Sofia: Paradigma, 2006).

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *Bālgarite i stepnata imperija prez rannoto srednovekovie: Problemāt za Drugite* [The Bulgarians and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages: The Problem of the Others]. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2005. In Hungarian: *Lovasnomád birodalmak és városlakók. A mások problémája*. Budapest: Napkút Kiadó, 2008.

Stoyanov, Yuri. *The Hidden Tradition in Europe. The Secret History of Medieval Christian Heresy*. London: Penguin, 1994.

Vačkova Veselina. *Les images et les réalités des frontières en Europe médiévale (III-XI siècle)*. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2006.

Medieval studies in Bulgaria: institutions and people

On the websites listed below one can find information for academic programs in medieval studies, past and current project and the staff.

I. Institutions

A. Universities

1. Sofia University “St Kliment Ohridski”: <http://portal.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/eng/>:
 - § Department of Ancient History, Thracian Studies and Medieval History, Department of History of Byzantium and the Balkans, and Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of History (<http://www.clio.uni-sofia.bg/>);
 - § Department of Cyril and Methodius Studies at the Faculty of Slavic Studies (<http://www.slav.uni-sofia.bg/facultyEn.htm>);
 - § Department of History of Philosophy and Department of History and Theory of Culture at the Faculty of Philosophy (<http://forum.uni-sofia.bg/filo/display.php?page=home>)
2. “St Cyril and St Methodius” University of Veliko Turnovo: <http://www.uni-vt.bg>
 - § Department of Ancient and Medieval History and Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of History
 - § Faculty of Orthodox Theology
3. New Bulgarian University, Sofia: <http://www.nbu.bg>
 - § Departments of: Anthropology, Archaeology, History, History of Culture, Mediterranean and Eastern Studies

B. Research Institutions

Department of Medieval History, Institute of History, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.ihist.bas.bg/sekcii/Srednovekovie/systav.htm>)

Department “Balkan Peoples in the Middle Ages”, Institute of Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.cl.bas.bg/Balkan-Studies>)

Department of Old Bulgarian Literature, Institute of Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (http://www.ilit.bas.bg/eng/sektzii_en.php)

Rossina Kostova

Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.kmnc.bas.bg>)

Department of Medieval and Renaissance Art, Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.artstudies.bg>)

St. Cyril and Methodius National Library (<http://www.nationallibrary.bg/>)

Centre for Slavic-Byzantine Studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev”, Sofia University “St Kliment Ohridski”: (http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/arhiv/120_godini_su/fakultetni_programi)

Centre for Byzantine Studies, “Konstantin Preslavski” University of Šumen (<http://byzantion.shu-bg.net/english.htm>)

II. People.

Here are listed the CEU alumni with academic careers in the field of medieval studies as well as some names of leading scholars that appear in the text. More names and contacts can be found through the websites above and with the help of the people in this list.

A. CEU alumni

- § **Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov** (Class’ 93-94), Research Fellow in East European Studies at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester, UK. E-mail: Adelina.Angusheva-Tihanov@manchester.ac.uk
- § **Desislava Atanasova** (Class’ 95-96), Research Fellow at the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: desislavaa@yahoo.com
- § **Dimităr Dimitrov** (Class’ 95-96), Associate Professor of Byzantine History and Medieval History of the Balkans, Department of Ancient and Medieval History, Faculty of History, “St. Cyril and St Methodius” University of Veliko Turnovo. E-mail: mitak2001bg@yahoo.com
- § **Margaret Dimitrova** (Class’ 93-94, PhD 1998), Associate Professor of Old Bulgarian Language and Literature, Department of Cyril and Methodius Studies, Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. E-mail: marg@abv.bg
- § **Gergana Georgieva** (Class’ 97-98), Research Fellow, Institute of Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: gergana_ig@yahoo.com

- § **Alexander Nikolov** (Class' 95-96), Associate Professor of Medieval History, Department of Ancient History, Thracian Studies and Medieval History, Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" . E-mail: alnik_1999@yahoo.com
- § **Rossina Kostova** (Class' 94-95), Associate Professor of Medieval Bulgarian Archaeology and Medieval Archaeology of the Balkans, Department of Archaeology, "St. Cyril and St. Methodius" University of Veliko Turnovo. E-mail: korina68bg@yahoo.com
- § **Maya Petrova** (Class' 93-94, PhD 2003), Research Fellow at the Department of Old Bulgarian Literature, Institute of Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: ptmaya@yahoo.com
- § **Kiril Petkov** (Class' 93-94), Associate Professor of Mediterranean History, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, USA.

B. Other

- § **Georgi Kapriev**, Professor of Medieval Latin and Byzantine Philosophy, Department of History of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, Sofia University "St Kliment Ohridski." E-mail: kapriev@mail.bg
- § **Albena Milanova**, Research Fellow at the Centre for Slavic-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev", Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and coordinator of Byzantium Working Group. E-mail: milanova_albena@yahoo.com
- § **Elisaveta Musakova**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of Department of Manuscripts, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library. E-mail: musakova@nationallibrary.bg
- § **Angel Nikolov**, Lecturer in Bulgarian Medieval History, Department of History of Bulgaria, Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski." E-mail: anikolov2003@yahoo.com
- § **Tsvetelin Stepanov**, Associate Professor of History of the Bulgarian Culture in the Middle Ages, Department of History and Theory of Culture, Faculty of Philosophy, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". E-mail: stepanov64@yahoo.com
- § **Zarko Ždrakov**, Associate Professor of History of Art, Department of History of Art, National Academy of Art, Sofia and the New Bulgarian University. E-mail: zhdrakov@abv.bg

REVIVING THE MIDDLE AGES IN CROATIA*

Trpimir Vedriš

It is no exaggeration that the study of the Middle Ages has played a crucial role in the study of Croatian history since its establishment as an academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹ This special interest in medieval history, however, had little in common with what is nowadays called “medieval studies.” Research in Croatian medieval history, similarly to other countries in nineteenth-century Europe, was strongly linked to the process of nation building, which has been much discussed lately.² One aspect of this legacy can serve as an appropriate point of departure here, namely, the fact that interest in the medieval period not only held the imagination of nineteenth-century Croatian “historian-politicians,” but also many (if not a majority) among the most prominent Croatian historians of the twentieth century were medievalists. With all the differences between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, medieval studies have always been “the most prominent and fruitful area of Croatian historiography.”³

The fall of Communism after 1989 and the final dissolution of the multi-ethnic “fortress of socialism in the Balkans” during the war of 1991–1995 promised uncertain fortunes for Croatian history. Yet, while in this context one might instantly think of the upsurge in nationalist abuses of history, the “return of medieval studies” in recent Croatian history actually turned out to be good

* I hope that this occasion with its joyful atmosphere allows for a lighter tone. If nothing else, it explains (if not pardons) any oversimplification, lack of precision and possible hastiness of conclusions. I am grateful to Lovro Kunčević for his comments.

¹ Institutionalized by the foundation of the academy of arts and sciences (1867) and the modern university (1874). For a detailed account of the history of the discipline see Stjepan Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* [Croatian Historiography] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2004).

² The most recent assessment of Croatian historiography in English is: Neven Budak, “Post-socialist Historiography in Croatia since 1990,” in *(Re)Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, ed. Ulf Brunner, Studies on South East Europe 4 (Muenster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 128–164 (hereafter: Budak, “Post-socialist”). An example of the “coming of age” of the local tradition is evident in Mladen Ančić, “Kako danas čitati studije F. Račkog” [How to Read the Studies of F. Rački Today], in Franjo Rački, *Nutarnje stanje Hrvatske prije XII. stoljeća* [The Internal State of Croatia before the Twelfth Century] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2009.)

³ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132. It is important to note that the privileged position of the (Early) Middle Ages in older Croatian historiography was based on the fact that it was the only period of Croatian independence. As a result, most discourses on “historical right” between the sixteenth and twentieth century were based on that heritage.

Trpimir Vedriš

news. Here I will briefly assess some aspects of the changes that took place in the 1990s and address the role of CEU's Department of Medieval Studies alumni in contemporary Croatian academic historiography. Finally, I will provide a list of the most important institutions and periodicals in the field at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

1. From the Beginning to the Present: Late Twentieth-century Croatian Historiography

Legacies of the past

Although both “post-war” and “post-socialist” Croatian historiography await historians, in order to appreciate more fully the changes which took place after 1989, I will briefly summarize some of the trends relevant for developments which have recently been analysed more elaborately and proficiently.⁴ Methodologically, while medieval studies in the “founding times” met contemporary European standards, the field experienced stagnation in the period after 1918, followed by even worse stagnation in the socialist period.⁵ The prevailing trends established in the late nineteenth century – an interest in political history focussing on Croatia's constitutional position in diverse historical contexts⁶ – seem to have prevailed during the most of the twentieth century.

Without devaluing the positive products of post-war historiography, Croatian historiography in the second half of the twentieth century was a rather conservative field of study, “ideologically anesthetised” to a certain extent,⁷ but as both the cause

⁴ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132-138.

⁵ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 135, detected “rapid modernization and the quantitative development of medieval studies” in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁶ Interest in the early medieval “golden age” of Croatian history remained a constant in Croatian historiography from the nineteenth-century political opposition to what was perceived as Austrian or Hungarian oppression. With the change of historical fortune, the medieval past has often been evoked to take the same role in opposing the assimilation of the Croatian into Yugoslav or more open Serbian nationalism (although, ambiguous as they were, medieval topics were also used in the opposite direction; one of the most prominent examples probably being attempts to link the Croatia of Tomislav and the Serbia of Dušan or the motif of the “common fight of our nations against the foreigners.” A telling example of “the cult” of Gregory of Nin was analysed by Neven Budak in *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* [The First Centuries of Croatia] (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994): 159-198.

⁷ Although Croatian post-war historiography has probably “been much less Yugoslav and much less Marxist than was generally believed” (Budak, “Post-socialist,” 128), and medieval studies were spared the intensive

and the effect of previous times, lacking contacts with contemporary developments in the international scholarship.⁸ Looming like a dark cloud over the post-war practice of history was an almost total lack of interest in international trends, which resulted in a certain methodological backwardness in medieval studies in Croatia.⁹ Probably the most important factor in the gradual dissolution of that isolation were “direct and more regular contacts with ‘more developed’ historiographies of neighbouring countries”¹⁰ since the 1970s that started to influence the choice of topics and methodological approaches of Croatian medievalists in the 1980s. Some of the most important books published in early 1990s – novel in their methodology and the choice of topics – were actually “conceived” in this “period of transition.”¹¹ Meetings such as those in Mogersdorf, which brought together, among others, Austrian, Hungarian, and Croatian historians, played an important role in overcoming isolation.¹² Another important factor was the introduction of the novelties of the Annales school into the local tradition.¹³ Although many aspects of both the research and teaching of medieval topics might be considered defective even today, particular issues which should be singled out as extremely negative in the post-war period were isolation (low participation of the local

interest shown by Communist authorities in the modern period, the prevailing ideology did cause the isolation of Croatian historiography and pushed it in the direction of “a certain self-sufficiency,” Budak, “Post-socialist,” 130.

⁸ One had to wait for the mid-1990s to attest, for the first time after the nineteenth century(!), a significant number of Croatian students studying abroad.

⁹ Although describing the tradition as conservative and showing strong continuity with nineteenth-century historiography, Budak has recently stressed the interest in economic and social history in the second half of the twentieth century as an example of the positive influence of a Marxist worldview, Budak, “Post-socialist,” 129.

¹⁰ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 137.

¹¹ Probably the most important titles in this sense are: Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* [The Towns of Varaždin County until the end of the Sixteenth Century] (Zagreb: Dr. Feletar 1994); Nenad Ivić, *Domisljanje prošlosti* [Thinking the Past] (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta, 1992), Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad. Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća* [Kin and City: The Ragusan Family between the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Century] (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filsofski Fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1994).

¹² See also Ivica Šute, “Sudjelovanje hrvatskih povjesničara na simpoziju Mogersdorf (1972-2001) [Participation of Croatian Historians in the Mogersdorf Symposium],” *Historijski zbornik* 54 (2001): 229-233.

¹³ After a certain “dead season” in the 1970s, the influence of the Annales school resulted in positive changes which became visible in the early 1980s. On the influence of the latter see Neven Budak, “Le ‘Annales’ e la storiografia croata,” *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 1 (2000): 75-87; also idem, “Post-socialist,” 139-148.

scholars in international symposia and projects before the 1990s¹⁴) and uncritical nationalism, often spiced up with Marxist phraseology.

Post-socialist historiography

It might be argued that primarily the teaching and (to a lesser extent) medieval research topics in Croatia became narrower after 1990, and sometimes even more parochial, but one should not forget that Croatian medievalists within Yugoslavia had always shown little interest in the history of other “Yugoslav nations.” If recent research and teaching was narrowed down almost exclusively to Croatian history and lost some of the broader regional context in the 1990s, this should be noted with caution. Namely, the very concept of a “regional context” was previously dictated by political and ideological needs to a large extent, promoting a particular set of relations and discriminating in others.¹⁵ Therefore, from the perspective of a medievalist there are not many reasons to regret the dissolution of the “Yugoslav paradigm” as the exclusive context of Croatian Middle Ages.¹⁶

Another unambiguously positive shift can be traced in the local historiography, primarily in topics and methodology. The introduction of new topics and approaches in medieval studies in Croatia as a part of broader transformation of epistemological and ideological configurations cannot be explained by a single cause. Moreover, although the opinion that “the year 1990 brought almost no change”¹⁷ has been expressed, and political and social changes did not directly influence the changes, they certainly coincided with the gradual shift in scholarly epistemological configurations. It is not only that the early 1990s bore the fruit of the efforts of previous generations (the “transformation of the 1980s”), but that was also the

¹⁴ Cf. also Idem, “Hrvatska historiografija nakon 1990. Pokazatelji s Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [Croatian Historiography after 1990 – Indicators from the Department of History, University of Zagreb],” *Historijski zbornik* 56-57 (2004): 91-110.

¹⁵ Here, I mean primarily the geographic framework which to a certain extent delineated the regional context to South Slavic neighbors while discriminating historically important contacts with North Italy, Venice, Austria and Hungary. Most paradigmatic examples are probably to be found in Bogo Grafenauer, et al., ed., *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* [History of the Nations of Yugoslavia], vol. 1 (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1953).

¹⁶ Although the lack of a regional context and a comparative perspective are still perhaps two of the burning problems of contemporary medieval studies in Croatia.

¹⁷ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132. The outburst of national euphoria in the 1990s seemingly did not seriously damage what was solid academic historiography by that time, yet it indeed perpetuated an outburst of amateurish and revisionist writing, although both seem to have dwindled lately.

period when something new was conceived.¹⁸ As a result, I would maintain that the mid-1990s simply – for better or worse – marked an important shift in Croatian historiography. Furthermore, it seems to me (being aware of my highly subjective position) that the activity of the Department of Medieval Studies, among other (possibly equally important) causes,¹⁹ has made a visible impact on contemporary Croatian historiography.

2. The Impact of Departmental Alumni

Institutional positions of alumni

The case of the Croatian alumni of the CEU Medieval Studies Department is indisputably a success story.²⁰ Nothing symbolizes this success better than the fact that the first PhD candidate to defend his doctoral dissertation at CEU was Stanko Andrić in 1998. Most of the Croatian students at CEU come from the University of Zagreb, more precisely, the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, still the central institution of higher education in Croatia.²¹ According to rough statistics, in the period 1994 to 2008, 18 students from Croatia obtained their MAs at the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. A high proportion of them (61%) were accepted into the PhD program. Yet, even if their satisfaction and pride in being part of the department did not count, the reason for the department to be proud is the fact that 14 of them (78%) found jobs in higher education and/or research institutions in Croatia. In this sense, the mission of establishing a scholarly network of alumni might be considered well accomplished.

Avoiding a list of all the particular achievements of the alumni, let it be stressed that their success is not only about controlling positions or producing important publications. The phenomenon hard to grasp (and therefore more

¹⁸ Among other factors I aim at is that actually during these war years the first group of Croatian students came to Budapest to start their studies at CEU.

¹⁹ Other important factors might include an initial “general openness of Croatia and Slovenia for foreign influences since 1960s as well as the gradual dissipation of the Socialist system in the 1980s.” (Budak, “Post-socialist,” 131), but – also the growing number of students doing their graduate studies abroad in 1990s.

²⁰ The role of the department was already noticed and expectation was expressed that both alumni and those in training would secure Croatian medieval studies’ safe way to “further modernization and professionalism.” Budak, “Post-socialist,” 138.

²¹ Its monopoly was shaken by the founding of parallel Croatian Studies in Zagreb in the 1990s, as well as the foundation of other regional universities and departments.

appropriate to be told *viva voce*) – and yet, maybe even more profound – is that of the collegial spirit preserved by most of the alumni. Practical fruits of cooperation are felt especially in the spirit of benevolent and serious peer review, free exchange of ideas, books, and material. The good relations maintained between the alumni very often and very practically dissolve the divisions, not only of the walls of disciplines and institutions but also of destructive personal conflicts inherited with positions.

Activity and the impact of the alumni: Publications and organisation

Among most obvious novelties brought by the alumni one should mention the introduction of new topics and new methodologies (also novelties in teaching). Maybe the most “visible” topics, previously relatively neglected, which the alumni might be credited with promoting are the history of everyday life, gender history, and hagiography. Although grounded in the interests of the group of scholars gathered in the historical society “Otium,” active since the early 1990s²² – and therefore the historians of the previous generation should be credited with the innovation here – some of the best fruits of interest in the history of everyday life were produced by departmental alumni.²³ Similarly interest in the history of women and the family did not appear out of the blue with the CEU alumnae, yet maybe the most important recent book in the field is based on the author’s CEU MA.²⁴ The Croatian Society for the History of Women “Clio” (*Hrvatska udruga za proučavanje povijesti žena “Clio”*) has organised successful sections at many conferences with a relatively high percentage of medieval topics.

The field which probably shows the clearest departmental influence is hagiography. Although hagiography in the broadest sense never ceased to attract Croatian medievalists, it is through the action of departmental alumni that it received an official position in the field. The Croatian Hagiography Society “Hagiotheca” was founded in April 2004 by group of departmental students/alumni, who presented their work in the same year at a conference at CEU.²⁵ Broader-scale activities of

²² The society was dedicated to the history of everyday life and published a successful journal of the same name. The activities unfortunately died out around 2000 with the publication of the last volume of *Otium* (7-8 (2000)).

²³ E.g., Gordan Ravančić, *Život u krčmama u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [Life in Taverns of Medieval Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2001).

²⁴ Zrinka Nikolić, *Rodaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and Kith: Dalmatian Urban Nobility in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003).

²⁵ *Saints and Patronage*, Third Hagiography Society Symposium, Budapest, CEU (24. 6. - 27. 6. 2004).

the society followed when successful conferences were organised in Dubrovnik and Split in 2005 and 2008, respectively.²⁶ A third conference is being organised in cooperation with International Hagiography Society for spring 2010 in Poreč. The society has started publishing the conference proceedings – the first was in print in May 2008²⁷ and the second is expected towards the end of 2009.²⁸ Along with the proceedings, Hagiotheca plans to launch two other series: Hagio-fontes and Hagio-monographiae, dedicated to critical editions of Croatian hagiographic sources and authors' studies and monographs, respectively. Like the successful book of S. Andrić, published in 1999, Marina Miladinov, another member of Hagiotheca, produced a monograph in English on eremitism in Central Europe based on her doctoral dissertation.²⁹

The activities of the alumni certainly extend beyond innovative and ground-breaking projects; besides regular teaching and participation in state-funded projects many of them are engaged in the diverse traditional fields of basic research. For example, the "HAZU [Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti—Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts] group" of alumni successfully participate in publications of medieval sources, fruitfully combining their international experience with more traditional activities.³⁰ It is hard to trace all the private scholarly activities of the alumni, yet they can be found in a very broad spectrum from innovative teaching to the organisation of conferences. Among other things to be underlined is their participation in the preparation of international conferences and projects.

²⁶ *Hagiografija: historiografija, izvori i metode*. I. hagiografski Hrvatskog hagiografskog društva "Hagiotheca" i Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu [*Hagiography: Historiography, Sources and Methods*. I. Hagiographic Conference of the Croatian Hagiographic Society "Hagiotheca" and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts in Zagreb] (Dubrovnik, November 20 – 23, 2005).

²⁷ Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, ed., *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu* [*Hagiology: Cults of the Saints in Context*] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008). It is worth noting that besides positive reviews the authors were awarded a prize by the Society of University Teachers and Other Scholars for 2008.

²⁸ Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, ed., *Identity and Alterity* (Zagreb: Leykam international–Hagiotheca, in preparation).

²⁹ Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008). Significantly, this book is credited with being the first book written by a Croatian author in English published in Croatia.

³⁰ E.g., *Obsidio Iadrensis - Opsada Zadra* [The Siege of Zadar], Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium; vol. 54, Scriptores; vol. 6, tr. Veljko Gortan, et al., ed. Damir Karbić, Miroslav Kurelac, Zoran Ladić (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Croatica, 2007).

3. Medieval Studies in Croatia Today: Institutions and Publications³¹

In Croatia only a few institutions would formally claim to offer medieval studies – yet many promote research in “medieval studies” in practice. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive (to a large extent it ignores, for example, ecclesiastical institutions), yet it will serve the purpose of providing the most elementary information. Without doubt, Zagreb is still the centre with the main activities centered around the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) and the University of Zagreb.

The Academy

Institute for Historical and Social Sciences (*Zavod za povijesne i društvene znanosti*) in Zagreb, among other departments, covers the work of the Department of Historical Sciences (Odsjek za povijesne znanosti).³² Initially established as part of archive of the academy, the institute is dedicated to the publication of medieval archival material and other relevant sources for Croatian history, preparation of tools for the auxiliary historical disciplines and basic research. They publish *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* [Journal of the Department for Historical Sciences of the Institute for Historical and Social Sciences] (vol. 21/2008) and a number of source series (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*; *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Jugoslaviae*; *Monumenta Croatica Vaticana*, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum, meridionalium* etc.). The Department of Archaeology (Odsjek za arheologiju) is focused mostly on the research of Antique and Early Medieval sites in Roman south Pannonia (contemporary northwestern Croatia).

The most important departments of HAZU outside Zagreb are in the towns that can boast preserved medieval archives. The Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik (*Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku*)³³ focuses on the history of Dubrovnik. They publish *Anali* ([Annals] in Croatian, vol. 46/2008) and *Dubrovnik Annals* (in English) as well as the specialised series (*Monumenta historica Ragusina*, *Monografije*, *Prilozi demografskoj povijesti Dubrovnika i okolice* [Contributions to the

³¹ Cf. <http://hrcak.srce.hr>, “Hrcak” [Hamster] is the central portal of Croatian scholarly journals which, following the Open Access Initiative, offers the access to most of the important Croatian journals in the humanities.

³² http://www.hazu.hr/odpovzg_hr.html.

³³ <http://www.zavoddbk.org/>.

Demographic History of Dubrovnik and Surroundings] and *Pretisci* [Impressions]). The Institute for Historical Sciences in Zadar (Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Zadru)³⁴ (est. 1954) mostly focuses on research in the State Archive in Zadar. They publish an annual, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* [Works of the Institute for Historical Sciences of HAZU in Zadar] (vol. 50/2008) with a great deal of material on the Late Medieval history of Zadar and Dalmatia.

The University

The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (*Filozofski fakultet*) hosts a number of departments which might lay claim to Medieval Studies (History, Art History, Archaeology, and to a certain extent Classical Philology and Slavic Philology. Yet, so far the epicenter of recruitment and other activities has been the Department of History,³⁵ which has fostered the development of medieval studies by the recent establishment of an MA module dedicated to the Middle Ages and a multi-disciplinary doctoral program in Medieval Studies initiated and coordinated by Prof. Neven Budak, also a CEU visiting professor.³⁶ Among other activities, the department expects to re-vitalize the Croatian Byzantine Society (originally founded in the 1990s), which will certainly provide a platform for various types of future cooperation with international associations. *Historijski zbornik* (Historical Almanac, vol. 61/2008) is an official journal of the Society for Croatian History (*Društvo za hrvatsku povjesnicu*), but traditionally prepared and edited by the members of the Department of History. Another journal connected to the same department is *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* (Proceedings of the Institute for Croatian history, vol. 40/2008).

The decentralisation of the university in the late 1990s led to the multiplication of regional faculties and departments. The Faculty of Humanities of the University in Rijeka hosts Departments of History (since 1998) and Art History, with substantial research on medieval archaeology and art. The Faculty of Humanities in Pula (formerly a part of the University in Rijeka) was transformed into the independent university

³⁴ http://info.hazu.hr/zavod_za_povijesne_znanosti_u_zadru.

³⁵ <http://www.ffzg.hr/pov/pov2/index.php>.

³⁶ Both programs were inspired to a certain degree by the program of the CEU Department of Medieval Studies and in that sense a positive model has been successfully planted. They will certainly promote medieval studies as a distinct field of research, but it will be interesting to see how this transmission of the departmental model will affect future recruitment from Zagreb University. Although the program requires at least one semester's stay in a foreign university, one still cannot predict to what extent the teachers (from diverse departments) will encourage their best students to leave for Budapest.

“Juraj Dobrila” in 2006 and a Department of History was also founded there as a part of the Section for Humanities (*Odjel za humanističke znanosti*). It focuses on research on the regional history of Istria. The University in Zadar also has departments of History, Art History, and Archaeology with substantial parts of the programs dedicated to medieval studies.³⁷ Croatian Studies (*Hrvatski studiji*)³⁸ were established in Zagreb in the early 1990s and have a growing role in higher education with a number of CEU alumni permanently or occasionally teaching medieval history.

A significant move towards the recognition of medieval studies as a separate and interdisciplinary field of research was the establishment of the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as an independent research centre of the University in Zagreb in 1993, during the height of the war. It hosts annual symposia in Motovun in Istria and publishes its proceedings in the journal *Hortus Artium Medievalium* (vol. 15/2008). Besides *Hortus* the center has also launched a series of monographs (*Dissertationes et monographiae*). Its multidisciplinary profile makes it one of the most prominent institutions active in archaeological research, conferences, and publication.

The Croatian Institute for History (*Hrvatski institut za povijest*),³⁹ initially established as the Institute for History of the Working Class in 1961, became the Institute for Modern History in 1990 to broaden its field of activities, with the Department for Croatian Medieval History added in 1996. The institute publishes *Povijesni prilozi* (Historical Contributions, vol. 35/2008) and *Review of Croatian History* along with several monograph series. The institute coordinates the work of Department of the History of Slavonia, Baranya, and Syrmia situated in Slavonski Brod. The department was founded in 1996 and focuses on the regional history of contemporary Slavonia. The department publishes *Scrinia Slavonica* (vol.8/2008) with substantial space dedicated to medieval topics.

Another regional institute in Istria is *Centro di Ricerche Storiche* in Rovigno,⁴⁰ founded in 1968 by the *Unione Italiana*, a representative organization of the Italian minority living in Croatia and Slovenia. Among other activities the center promotes research in a medieval history of the region, successfully bringing together Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian scholars. The institute publishes several periodicals and series: *Atti*, *Collana degli Atti*, *Fonti*, etc.

³⁷ <http://www.unizd.hr>.

³⁸ <http://www.hrstud.hr>.

³⁹ <http://www.isp.hr>.

⁴⁰ <http://www.crsrv.org>.

The institute for ecclesiastical history of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Zagreb publishes the journal *Croatica Christiana Periodica* (vol. 62/2008). Published since 1977 it covers topics from Croatian ecclesiastical history and religion.

Important research and publication projects (especially in the Late Antique and Early Medieval periods) are carried on by various archaeological museums.⁴¹ Among the most prominent are: the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (*Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*) in Split, which conducts archaeological (mostly Early Medieval) research with the focus on the Central Dalmatian hinterland. The museum publishes the periodical *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (Old Croatian Education, new series vol. 35/2008) and diverse series (*Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae*, *Katalozi i monografije* [Catalogs and Monographs], *Katalozi izložbi* [Exhibition Catalogs], *Kulturno-povijesni vodiči* [Cultural-Historical Guidebooks]). The Archaeological Museum in Split (est. 1820)⁴² generally focuses on the Classical heritage, but through projects dealing with Late Antiquity its activities are often relevant for medievalists also. The Archaeological Museum in Zadar,⁴³ with its Medieval Department, is active in northern Dalmatia focusing on Early Medieval sites and publishing the periodical *Diadora* (vol. 22/2007) and other publications. The archaeological museum in Zagreb⁴⁴ holds a medieval collection, one of the richest and varied medieval collections in Croatia.

This brief list must conclude with a practical observation; I would stress the fact that Zagreb – more precisely the Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities – still presents a centre for both recruitment of ongoing (and future) students and promotion of the alumni mission. This situation might change, especially with alumni beginning to work at regional universities (such as Pula) or due to a growing network of scholars communicating with the alumni community. The present state of affairs shows that successful departmental/alumni networking has primarily affected the field of history, while other disciplines (e.g., archaeology or art history) have so far remained closed to a greater degree to influences coming from the CEU Department of Medieval Studies.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For the list of museums in Croatia see http://www.mdc.hr/muzeji_en.aspx.

⁴² <http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski>.

⁴³ <http://www.amzd.hr>.

⁴⁴ <http://www.amz.hr>.

⁴⁵ This is, unfortunately, especially true for the institutions in Dalmatia. The reasons – although possible to identify – cannot be discussed here.

Instead of a Conclusion

In Croatia, the collapse of Communism and the establishment of independence may not have caused but coincided with modernization and, without a doubt, marked (unlike the dissolution of the previous multi-national association in 1918) a positive influence on the future of the discipline. On the ideological level, socialist influence has been described as leaving no trace, therefore interpreted as failing completely.⁴⁶

Scholarly institutions in the 1990s and early years of the twenty-first century witnessed decentralisation that resulted in the founding of new departments, research institutes, and museums, many to a large extent/exclusively dedicated to Medieval Studies. Improving quality or introducing innovative approaches did not always follow quantitative growth. Even though the theoretical grounds underpinning a large part of the research on medieval topics in Croatia still have not changed substantially since the mid-twentieth century, all these new positions as well as the growing number of young scholars who have studied abroad or maintain contacts with international scholarly communities promises both the further “internalisation” and flourishing of medieval studies in Croatia.

As for the impact of the alumni, although one should beware of taking the uncritical stance of self-estimation or over-blown triumphalism, it is apparent that a group of departmental alumni and current students already make a visible contribution to the modernisation and proliferation of medieval studies (mostly history) in Croatia. Not only do they hold prominent positions in major institutions, but they have already published important works. Those engaged in teaching are often credited with introducing novelties and new standards. The impact is by far most obvious in the field of history, while younger generations of Croatian archaeologists, art historians, and others who want to study abroad so far do not seem to be equally attracted to CEU. All these observations make it quite clear that departmental alumni will strongly color/influence future Croatian medieval historiography. The diversity of their subjects and approaches reflects only not their personal and institutional interests, but also echoes the vitality of departmental

⁴⁶ Budak, “Post-socialist,” 129. To a certain degree the opposite view was recently by medievalist M. Ančić, who, in a series of essays criticized the survival of socialist mentalities in the Croatian scholarly community. See Mladen Ančić, “Što ‘svi znaju’ i što je ‘svima jasno’. *Historiografija i nacionalizam* [What ‘Everybody Knows’ and What is ‘Clear to Everybody’: Historiography and Nationalism (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009)].

scholarly life.⁴⁷ The decision about whether things have been getting better or worse in the last 15 years is, of course, in the eye of beholder. Refraining from criticism here, I would conclude that successful recruitment and the personal satisfaction of most of the Croatian students have created lasting ties between their professional position and their second alma mater. Finally, besides successful recruitment and an attractive departmental program, the fact that most Croatian students came to CEU from the University in Zagreb reveals yet another story of continuity – that of historical and cultural ties which bound Zagreb and Budapest for almost a millennium. For a medievalist it is certainly exciting to see how, after almost a century of following separate paths, Croatian students return to Budapest, proving not only that the department in the last 15 years has succeeded in one of its central goals, but also showing that medieval legacies in the region are still vividly alive.

Croatian alumni's "TOP 15" – in chronological order (1993-2008)⁴⁸

Budak, Neven, ed. *Etnogeneza Hrvata – Ethnogenesis of the Croats*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1995.

Jurković, Miljenko, and Tugomir Lukšić, ed. *Starohrvatska spomenička baština – Rađanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža* [Early Croatian Monument Heritage – The Birth of the First Croatian Cultural Landscape]. Zagreb: MGC – Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofski Fakultet u Zagrebu – Matica hrvatska, 1996.

Margetić, Lujó. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* [The Croatian Medieval Family and Hereditary Law]. Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996.

Raukar, Tomislav. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* [The Croatian Middle Ages: Space, People, Ideas]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga–Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1997.

⁴⁷ As a surprised "older" PhD student returning to the department after a longer period recently told me: "Things are being done in a completely different way than in our times...".

⁴⁸ This list is based on the votes of the alumni who answered my call to make their "best of" Croatian historiography in the last 15 years. It does not, however, represent the opinion of all the alumni, just other medievalists.

Trpimir Vedriš

Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost [Croatia and Europe. Culture, Science, and Art]. Ed Ivan Supićić. Vol 1: *Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće): rano doba hrvatske culture* [The Middle Ages (Seventh to Twelfth Century): The Early Period of Croatian Culture]. Ed. Josip Bratulić, et al. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti–AGM, 1997.

Katičić, Radoslav. *Litterarum studia: književnost i naobrazba ranog hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, [Literacy and Education of the Croatian Early Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998.

Andrić, Stanko. *Čudesa svetoga Ivana Kapistrana: Povijesna i tekstualna analiza* [The Miracles of St. John of Capistran: Historical and Textual Analysis]. Osijek i Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska Osijek i Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1999.

Janeković-Römer, Zdenka. *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma* [The Framework of Freedom: Dubrovnik Rulers between Medieval Thought and Humanism]. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999.

Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost, ed. Ivan Supićić, Vol 2: *Srednji vijek i renesansa (XIII.-XVI. stoljeće)*. Ed. Eduard Hercigonja et al. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Školska knjiga, 2000.

Grgin, Borislav. *Počeci rasapa: kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* [The Beginning : King Mattias Corvinus and Medieval Croatia]. Zagreb: Ibis grafika – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 2002.

Nikolić, Zrinka. *Rođaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and Kith: Dalmatian Urban Nobility in the Early Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003.

[Thomas the Archdeacon.] Toma Arhiđakon. *Historia Salonitana: povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*, [History of the Bishops of Salona and Split]. Tr. Olga Perić. Studies, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Radoslav Katičić. Split: Književni krug, 2003.

Levak, Maurizio. *Slaveni vojvode Ivana: kolonizacija Slavena u Istri u početnom razdoblju franačke uprave*, [Slavs of Duke John: The Colonisation of the Slavs in Istria at the Beginning of Frankish Rule]. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007.

Miladinov, Marina. *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.

Marinković, Ana, and Trpimir Vedriš, ed. *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu* [Hagiology: Cults of the Saints in Context]. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.

MEDIEVAL RESEARCH IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Antonín Kalous

Prof. Libuše Hrabová, the *Doktormutter* of a number of medievalists in the Department of History at Palacký University in Olomouc, returned to teaching only after her retirement. Sacked from the department in 1969, she was reintegrated twenty years later in December 1989. Setting aside issues that were the focal points of history in the sixties – the history of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, the international workers' movement, and the Soviet Union – Hrabová thought she would deal with medieval history for only two or three years to help this discipline recover a position of importance. She has stayed for twenty years and helped medieval studies in Olomouc. Her case clearly shows that the turning point for medieval studies in Czechoslovakia was the political changes of 1989-1990 rather than the year 1993, when the Czechs and Slovaks went their separate ways.

The changes permitted the return of many medievalists to the profession, the publication of books written previously which could not be published, and the opening of new topics that had not been promoted under the communist regime. In this sense, the situation is similar to many Central European historiographies. The year 1993 is also important from another point of view – not only due to the founding of the Medieval Studies department at CEU, but also because of the split of Czechoslovakia, which yet again separated the two historical traditions. As in many other countries of the region, the historiography of the Czech Republic has been concentrating on national history, stressing a re-interpretation of the past which had been used by political regimes and in nationalist history writing. Various myths of the national past have been re-inspected.

The state of the research can be described in terms of topics, disciplines, generations, research centers, edition projects, translations, institutions, etc. In the Czech Republic, historians still tend towards political history since many feel the need to rewrite and re-interpret the past. Research can be differentiated chronologically in two substantial periods: Great Moravia and the Přemyslid state and the period from 1306 to 1526.¹ The first period was the domain of archaeologists for quite a

¹ This is what František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička are doing. Their contribution was quite helpful in writing this little piece and for much more detail, see František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička, "Die tschechische Mediävistik 1990-2002," in *Tschechische Mittelalterforschung 1990-2002*, ed. František Šmahel, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia, 2003), 11-66 (hereafter: Šmahel and Žemlička,

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long time; research into the Great Moravian Empire was supported as it was seen as the first state of the western Slavs and the Czech or Czechoslovak state was seen as a continuation. Archaeological research on the power centers has been fundamental for Czech archaeology and early medieval research. In the last years Luděk Galuška, Lumír Poláček, and Zdeněk Měřínský have been associated with excavations and interpretation. Discussion among archaeologists and historians has been led, most importantly, by the late Dušan Třeštík.²

Třeštík was the leading key scholar in researching the origins of the Czech state;³ this topic has been a combination of history and archaeology, especially the excavations of early power centers in Prague, Libice, etc., also addressed by Jiří Sláma, Zdeněk Smetánka, Naďa Profantová, and others. This was the beginning of the great period of the Přemyslid dynasty, which has always mesmerized Czech historians. As the only national dynasty, the Přemyslids attracted considerable interest in nationalist historiography from the nineteenth century. The crucial topics in this research have been the early legends and the death of Saint Wenceslas, the founding of the state through Boleslav I and Boleslav II, the early administration of the state, Christianisation,⁴ the crisis around the year 1000 (Czech historians contributed to the *Europas Mitte* project and exhibition), the Slavník family and its role, and re-evaluation of the earliest written sources (legends and chronicles). Besides those mentioned earlier, Josef Žemlička, Petr Sommer, Petr Charvát, Anežka Merhautová, and David Kalhous have worked on these topics. Bohemian saints of this period have also been important in research, especially St. Wenceslas, always mentioned with the Czech nation; Polish historians, too, shared in the millennial celebrations in 1997.

“Die tschechische Mediävistik.” Other contributions in the book were written by Ivan Hlaváček on *Hilfswissenschaften* (pp. 67–95), Zdeňka Hledíková on church history since 1945 (pp. 97–124) and Milena Bartlová on art history (pp. 125–144). For bibliography and further studies not mentioned in the notes here check either the articles referred to or – more importantly – the post-1990 bibliographical database of the Czech historical institute: <http://biblio.hiu.cas.cz> (the names and corresponding studies are easy to find).

² Especially his *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871* [The Origin of Great Moravia. Moravians, Bohemians and Central Europe in 791–871] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2001).

³ Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* [The Beginnings of the Přemyslids. The Entry of Bohemians into History (530–935)] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997).

⁴ Cf. participation in the project of Nora Berend, Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, and Josef Žemlička (with additional material on art by Zoë Opačić), “Bohemia and Moravia,” in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus'. 900–1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 214–263, with extensive bibliography.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are crucial for many Czech historians, who are trying to elucidate the formation of the new state and the genesis of a new social structure. The thirteenth century especially has caused many conflicts among historians and has many problematic sides. The modernisation or “Europeanisation” (as the process is sometimes called) of society and the structural development of the state itself keep being re-evaluated. The century of the last Přemyslids was crucial for founding cities, stone castles, and creating new structures in society, including estates and the formation of the nobility, the administration of the country through royal or court institutions, and the role of royal power itself. In this framework Josef Žemlička and Libor Jan, especially, elaborate mainly the rule of Wenceslas II.⁵ The eleventh to thirteenth centuries are the focal point for other historians. Martin Wihoda has been trying to dispel the myths related to the best-known document of the Czech Middle Ages, the golden bull of Sicily,⁶ and others relate their research to new interpretations of royal power (Demeter Maláťák, Robert Antonín). A mosaic of archaeological case studies illustrates the development of society and the changes in the thirteenth century. Jan Klápš’s book is a modern contribution on the medieval colonisation of the Czech lands.⁷ There are a number of other topics which cannot be presented here (castles, art, historiography, cities, individual noble families, coinage, architecture, etc.). Apart from them, the new times brought a new interest in church history, which could not be treated before 1989. Due to the nature of the sources, the main attention is focused on the history of the institutionalized church, church structure, and monastic history.⁸

For the later period there are two main points of reference, the reign of Charles IV and the Hussite period. Both of these have always been periods of national pride, much used in nationalist historiography. The interpretation of the Hussite revolution in modern historiography, especially, has been subject to change a number of times, first of all national and nationalist, then in connection with social struggle. During the rule of Marxist historiography it was seen as an unsuccessful class struggle which did not lead to changes in the social order, thus was always called the “Hussite

⁵ The book by Libor Jan, *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci* [Wenceslas II and Structures of Royal Power] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2006) was followed by a strong and sometimes harsh discussion (on the pages of *Český časopis historický*, for example). The two opposing standpoints were presented by Josef Žemlička.

⁶ Martin Wihoda, *Zlatá bula sicilská* [The Golden Bull of Sicily] (Prague: Argo, 2005).

⁷ Jan Klápš, *Proměna českých zemí ve středověku* [Change in the Czech Lands in the Middle Ages] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2005).

⁸ Details in Šmahel and Žemlička, “Die tschechische Mediävistik,” 34–49.

revolutionary movement.” The period of the Luxemburg dynasty on the throne of Bohemia (mostly from the perspective of political history) was elaborated before and after 1989 by Jiří Spěváček, František Kavka, and Jaroslav Čechura, in a Moravian context by Jaroslav Mezník, who was allowed to publish only after 1989,⁹ and in the latest treatments of the period by Lenka Bobková.¹⁰ Ecclesiastical and spiritual history was not much touched before 1989, even though everyone built on the research of Zdeňka Hledíková, which partially predates the political changes of 1989.¹¹ Her students and followers (for example, Jan Adámek, Eva Doležalová, Hana Pátková, Jan Hrdina, and Aleš Pořízka) continue to research church administration, various church institutions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, resources in the Vatican archives, pilgrimages, etc. The work of Martin Nejedlý is very innovative in the Czech situation; he is using French literary sources of the fourteenth century connected to the political, cultural, and spiritual atmosphere of the Luxemburg period.¹²

The crucial point of Czech historiography since the nineteenth century has been the Hussite period. After the Marxist interpretations, the post-1989 changes led to multifaceted interpretations; books could be written about Hussite historiography. The most detailed overviews, with extensive bibliographies, can be found in the works of František Šmahel, who has become the most influential author for the Czech later Middle Ages and an organiser of scholarly life.¹³ In recent years, some general works have been published,¹⁴ but the center for the presentation of new research has mostly been the biennial conference called “The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,” organised by David R. HOLETON and Zdeněk V. David and internationally accessible.¹⁵ Interpretation has changed and many new topics have been opened, especially the idea of holy war (also propagated by Norman Housley), international comparisons with and international contacts of the Hussites, etc. What matters most is a close study of the original texts of Hussite

⁹ I would like to name at least Jaroslav Mezník, *Lucemburská Morava 1310–1423* [Luxemburg Moravia 1310–1423] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1999) and the collection of his studies *Tvář stárnoucího středověku* [The Face of the Ageing Middle Ages] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2009).

¹⁰ *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The Big History of the Czech Lands], vol. 4a, 4b (Prague: Paseka, 2003).

¹¹ The latest book is *Arnošt z Pardubic. Arcibiskup, zakladatel a rádce* [Ernst of Pardubice: Archbishop, Founder and Adviser] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2008).

¹² Mainly his *Středověký mýtus o Meluzíně a rodová pověst Lucemburků* [The Medieval Myth of Melusine and the Family Legend of the Luxemburgs] (Prague: Scriptorium, 2007).

¹³ The latest edition in German is *Hussitische Revolution*, 3 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002; orig. 1993); cf. other books in Czech with collected studies.

¹⁴ E.g., the work of Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, vol. 5 (Prague: Paseka, 2000).

¹⁵ Cf. www.brrp.org.

theologians, including Jan Hus, whose works are still being edited (the center for editions is now in Brno),¹⁶ and Jakoubek of Stříbro.¹⁷

Czech medieval studies generally ended with the last Hussite period, the time of George of Poděbrady. Even though he was considered a national hero and a “Hussite king” and thus a continuer of the Hussite struggle, he does not get much attention now (to name two who have concentrated on him: Jaroslav Boubín, Petr Čornej). The period of the Jagellonian kings and the rule of Matthias Corvinus in the Czech lands was almost totally forgotten by Czech historians. Josef Macek, however, started research on the Jagellonian period in the early 1950s, although he was not allowed to publish; he then specialised in the Hussites, George of Poděbrady, the German Peasant War, and came back to the Jagellonians. Macek’s book on the Jagellonian age in the Czech lands was unfinished when he died, but five volumes of the intended seven were published posthumously.¹⁸ It has definitely been the most important publication for this period of Czech history, an “analytical synthesis.” Newer interpretations have been published by Josef Válka and Petr Čornej and new research is still being done on Matthias Corvinus and his reign in Moravia and Silesia.¹⁹ This period, however, still remains a desideratum of Czech medieval research; wider cooperation within Central Europe is needed due to the substantial research done by Hungarian and Polish colleagues. Most importantly, the research in this period is rather done by art historians (German projects on the Jagellonians in Central Europe, a Czech project on late Gothic art in Moravia, etc.).²⁰

It would be possible to go on with a list of various books published in the field of medieval studies for quite a long time. The situation thus can be described as very

¹⁶ *Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia*, the Latin works now published by Brepols.

¹⁷ Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup, ed., *Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Texty a jejich působení* [Jakoubek of Stříbro: The Texts and their Impact] (Prague: Filosofia, 2006).

¹⁸ Josef Macek, *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* [The Jagellonian Age in the Czech Lands], 4 vols. (Prague: Academia, 1992–1999); idem, *Věra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Religion and Piety in the Jagellonian Age] (Prague: Argo, 2001).

¹⁹ Josef Válka, *Středověká Morava* [Medieval Moravia] (Brno: Muzejní společnost, 1991); and his collected essays in idem, *Husitství na Moravě. Náboženská snášenlivost. Jan Amos Komenský* [Hussitism in Moravia. Religious Tolerance. John Amos Comenius] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2005); Petr Čornej and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [A Large History of the Czech Crown], vol. 6 (Prague: Paseka, 2007).

²⁰ E.g., Ivo Hlobil and Eduard Petrů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, 2d rev. ed. (Olomouc: Votobia, 1999); *Od gotiky k renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550* [From Gothic to Renaissance. The Artistic Culture of Moravia and Silesia 1400–1550], 4 vols. (Brno: Moravská galerie, 1999–2002).

favourable, because the results of research can be published and medieval studies are still part of the curriculum. The early 1990s brought opportunities for scholars who were not able to publish earlier (Josef Macek, František Hoffmann, František Šmahel, Libuše Hrabová, Jaroslav Mezník, Josef Válka, and others). Present-day production is vast and many new topics have been opened for Czech medievalists – some of them already quite traditional in international medieval studies, some of them in the current trends of research. Just to name a few: ritual, residences, courtly culture, religious history (especially monastic history), and many others. Names of these scholars would form a long list; the results of research are usually presented in conferences and published in conference volumes.²¹

Specialised interest in medieval studies in the Czech Republic has a few centers where research is concentrated, but, of course, it is not limited to them. The most important among them is the Center for Medieval Studies in Prague, a meeting point for medievalists, especially young PhD students, who thus have a forum for getting to know each other and for possible cooperation. Not only are regular conferences of doctoral students held in Prague, but also summer schools in medieval studies. In this sense the Center for Medieval Studies, founded in 1998, has great merit. It endeavours to list all the doctoral students of the various disciplines of medieval studies and also brings senior researchers and scholars together. Even though the results are not always very evident, it helps cooperation and coordination in medieval research not only within the structures of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University (the two responsible institutions), but in the whole Czech Republic.²² Other centers are Masaryk University in Brno and Palacký University in Olomouc, which have also sent their students to CEU, and the Czech Historical Institute in Rome, which helps all researchers in the Roman libraries and archives, especially the Vatican Secret Archives and the library.

At Masaryk University, two large publication projects are underway, one of them has already been mentioned (Jan Hus), and the other is the continuation of *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*. Under the auspices of the Center

²¹ E.g., the series of *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia*, 10 vols. (1999–2008); *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu* [Crown lands in the History of the Czech State], 3 vols. (2003–2007); *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku* [Courts and Residences in the Middle Ages], 2 vols. (2006–2008); and many others.

²² Cf. <http://cms.flu.cas.cz> and Petr Sommer and Pavel Soukup, ed., *Centrum mediévistických studií – badatelství, doktorandská výuka, mezinárodní spolupráce 1998–2008* [Center for Medieval Studies – Research, Doctoral Tutoring, International Cooperation 1998–2008] (Prague: Filosofia, 2008).

for Medieval Studies in Prague other former series are also being continued: *Archiv český* [Czech archive] and *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, series nova*. Another activity of the Center for Medieval Studies is the publication of Czech medieval sources online.²³ An important research group of scholars related to theology has been formed at Palacký University (and connects scholars in Prague and Brno) in the Center for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts. Their activity is quite wide and the center specialises in the publication of theological and philosophical texts, and translations and studies related to these texts and their authors.²⁴

The alumni of the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU are not very numerous in the Czech Republic, but all of them have returned to the Czech Republic and thus are trying to follow the original purpose of CEU in helping to create wider opportunities and a better environment in academia in their own country. Even more, most of them are staying in academia, acting as researchers and teachers, most importantly in Brno and Olomouc, and participating in many research projects. Olomouc alumni have initiated the new project of a study program of “Older History,” which incorporates medieval and early modern studies as broad interdisciplinary studies concentrating on research at the MA level. The alumni participate in projects of the Center for Medieval Studies, organise their own conferences, and two have been members of the Center for Theoretical Studies in Prague.

The state of medieval studies and medieval research, even though it could be described here only briefly, can be viewed much more optimistically than in the early 1990s. Centers and departments of history specialize in medieval studies and often bring interesting and crucial results. A few problems of Czech research might be at a lower level of internationalisation: the Czech connection, quite understandably, leads mainly to Germany and Poland (after 1990 there was a little caesura in cooperation) and Slovakia, which, however, leaves aside connections with Hungary, for example, or Western European countries. Most of the ties are based on individual links and a few projects (the Center for Medieval Studies, for example, has a joint project on the later crusades with the University of Toulouse). To conclude, I must repeat that the situation of medieval studies cannot be compared with that of twenty years ago and CEU, even though it was not much wanted by some Czech politicians, helped create a more differentiated scholarly environment in the current state of medieval research.

²³ Cf. <http://147.231.53.91/src/index.php>.

²⁴ See <http://www.centrum-texty.upol.cz>.

MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN ESTONIA

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The Middle Ages are in fashion in Estonia, not only among scholars but in the society as a whole. In Tallinn, one can meet people dressed in a medieval manner several times a year: in June at the Old Town festival, in December at the Christmas market, and so on. Tartu, the second largest city, celebrates the Hanseatic days annually, and there are the restaurants serving “medieval” food, shops selling “medieval” goods, and so on. It is even difficult to explain why the Middle Ages are so popular – perhaps partly because the medieval period is simply fascinating, and partly because of the richness in medieval monuments (e.g., the city centre of Tallinn has largely preserved its medieval appearance and is included in the UNESCO heritage list). On the scholarly level, the popularity may at least partly be caused by the synergy created by a group of medievalists who some years ago founded the Centre for Medieval Studies (see below).

There has been a considerable rise of interest in medieval studies since the re-acquisition of independence in 1991. Since the late 1980s it has been possible to study topics that in Soviet times were “inadvisable” (e.g., subjects related to religion) or could not be treated objectively (political history, “German” institutions, etc.). In fact, one of the few “safe” subjects in the Soviet period was agrarian history. The past decades have witnessed a growing interest in medieval church history, daily life, and mentalities. The political history of medieval Estonia (Livonia) has been thoroughly revised. There are several new studies on urban history and culture and the revival also concerns medieval archaeology and art history.

A change of generations should also be mentioned. Several scholars who were the main figures in medieval studies in the 1970s and 1980s retired in the 1990s (e.g., Sulev Vahtre, Enn Tarvel). Prof. Jüri Kivimäe (b. 1947), still one of our leading medievalists, left Tartu University in 1999 because he was elected Professor of History at the University of Toronto. He is also the Chair of Estonian Studies there. All these changes opened up opportunities for young medievalists, many of whom had, after graduating from Tartu University, studied abroad.

It should be noted that it is not possible to earn a degree in medieval studies in Estonia; one can graduate as a historian, art historian or archaeologist. For a long time, Tartu University was the only one with MA and PhD programs in these

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disciplines. From the end of the 1990s, however, it has been possible to defend an MA at the Institute of History of Tallinn University, and in 2003 a doctoral program was accredited there.¹

CMS – Centre for Medieval Studies

Estonia is a small country with only about twenty medievalists (including historians, art historians, and archaeologists). Most of us are good friends and involved in joint projects. Some years ago, it was realized that our ties could be made even stronger and research better coordinated if we formed a research centre uniting people from different institutions. Thus, in 2005, the Centre for Medieval Studies (CMS) of the Tallinn University (TLU) was founded.² One of the main supporters of this idea and the first head of the CMS was art historian Kersti Markus. Although the CMS is located at the Institute of History of TLU, it has members from several other institutions as well. The twelve founding members (what a symbolic number) and their research interests should be briefly introduced here (listed in alphabetical order).

Helen Bome (MA 2003) is a PhD student at TLU. She has studied medieval iconography and the historiography of art history in Estonia.

Tiina Kala (PhD 2001) is a senior researcher in the Tallinn City Archives. She has studied the Christianization of Livonia and the development of local written culture. She has also written on the Reformation and the subsequent religious, economic and social changes.

Linda Kaljundi (MA 2005) is a PhD student in the History Department of the University of Helsinki. The title of her thesis is: “Representations of Violence and Affection in the Northern Mission and Crusading: The Emotional History of Europeanization.” She is also interested in sites of memory.

¹ Tallinn University (<http://www.tlu.ee>) was founded in 2005 when some high schools (Tallinn Pedagogical University and the Estonian Institute of the Humanities) and research institutions (Institute of History, and others) were united.

² <http://www.ai.ee/?pid=59>

Juhan Kreem (PhD 2002) is a senior researcher in the Tallinn City Archives. He is interested in the development of power structures in medieval Livonia, particularly the Teutonic Order.

Ivar Leimus (PhD 1989) is a senior researcher in the Estonian History Museum. He is a specialist in numismatics, but has also studied the colonization and economic history of medieval Livonia.

Marika Mägi (PhD 2002) is professor of Archaeology at TLU. Her research interests include the society and burial customs in Livonia in the transition period between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages.

Anu Mänd (PhD 2000) is a senior researcher at the Institute of History of TLU. She is interested in urban history, visual culture, and the cult of saints in medieval Livonia.

Kersti Markus (PhD 2000) is Professor of Art History at TLU. She has studied medieval church architecture and the interaction of pagan and Christian culture.

Inna Põltsam-Jürjo (PhD 2008) is a senior researcher at the Institute of History of TLU. She has studied medieval food, the Reformation, and the medieval and early modern history of Livonian small towns.

Priit Raudkivi (PhD 1987) is a senior researcher at (and former director of) the Institute of History of TLU. He is interested in the political and social history of medieval Livonia and Livonian-Danish relations.

Anti Selart (PhD 2002) is Associate Professor of Medieval History at Tartu University. He has studied the political history of medieval and early modern Livonia and the relations between different confessions.

Marek Tamm (MA 1999) is a researcher at the Institute of History of TLU and lecturer at the Estonian Institute for the Humanities (EHI). He has analysed the image of Livonia in Western Europe as well as the Christianization processes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He will defend his Ph.D. thesis ("Inventing Livonia") in 2009.

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A short CV of these and other members can be found in the homepage of the CMS. A detailed CV and a full list of publications of each scholar in Estonia can be found on the homepage of the Estonian Research Information System (ETIS).³

The CMS has close connections with similar institutions in other countries, such as the Nordic Centre for Medieval Studies (NCMS) in Bergen and naturally the Medieval Studies Department at the CEU. The CMS is a member of the FIDEM (*Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales*) and actively participates in CARMEN (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network). Conferences are often organised jointly with a partner from abroad. These are the major international events in Estonia in the past five years that have been coordinated by members of the CMS:

August 2004: 19th Nordic Iconographic Symposium, "Images in the Margins," in Kuressaare. The proceedings were published in 2006.⁴

August 2006: Conference of the doctoral school, "Regional and European Identities in the Medieval Baltic Sea Region," in Tallinn (in cooperation with the NCMS).

July 2007: Symposium "Who Owns Memory? The Power of Remembrance," and a doctoral school conference: "How Collectivities Remember" (with the EHI).

August 2007: Conference on: "The Edges of the Medieval World," on the island of Muhu (with CEU). The proceedings have been published.⁵

October 2007: "Changing Spaces: Danish-Estonian Seminar on Negotiating Culture and Christianity Across the Medieval Baltic Sea," in Tallinn (with the NCMS).

May 2008: "Crusading and Chronicle Writing at the Medieval Frontier: The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia," in Tallinn (with the NCMS). The proceedings will be published by Ashgate in 2010.

Some forthcoming events also deserve to be advertised. In September 2009, a conference "Art, Memory, and Patronage: Visual Culture in the Baltic Sea Region at the Time of Bernt Notke," and in 2010, the CARMEN meeting will take place in Tallinn. It is the aim of the CMS to organise at least one international or doctoral school conference a year.

³ <https://www.etis.ee/index.aspx?lang=en>

⁴ Kersti Markus, ed., *Images in the Margins: Nordic Studies in Medieval Art / Bilder i marginalen: Nordiska studier i medeltidens konst* (Tallinn: Argo, 2006).

⁵ Gerhard Jaritz and Juhan Kreem, eds., *The Edges of the Medieval World*, CEU Medievalia 11 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009).

Estonians at CEU

Six Estonians have studied at the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. At first glance, this number seems to be rather small, but if we consider that there are altogether about twenty medievalists in Estonia, then the role of the CEU in their training is more than impressive. The first Estonians – Juhan Kreem and Erik Somelar – were admitted to the MA program in 1993, that is, for the first academic year. They graduated in 1994. Since then, Juhan has developed into one of the leading medievalists in Estonia, being particularly interested in the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. He defended his PhD on a related subject at Tartu University in 2002 (see the section on books below), and has worked in the Tallinn City Archives since 1996. Erik decided not to choose the career of a scholar, but has made use of his broad knowledge in several important positions, including that of an economic advisor to the president of the Estonian Republic in the late 1990s. Currently, he works at the European Commission in Brussels.

The positive experiences of Juhan and Erik encouraged others to apply to CEU. Anneli Randla (art historian) and Ken Kalling (anthropologist) defended their MAs in 1995. Anneli continued her studies at the University of Cambridge, where she defended her PhD in 1999. From 2000 to 2004 she was the director general of the National Heritage Board of Estonia, where she now serves as the deputy director for research. Ken returned to Tartu University, but has not yet concluded his PhD studies. Currently, he works as lecturer in the Faculty of Medicine.

The next, and the last (so far), pair of Estonians entered the Medieval Studies Department in 1995 and defended their MAs in the following year. Both of them chose to continue there in the doctoral program and both of them chose topics totally different from their MA theses. Anu Mänd, who wrote her MA on liturgical vessels, defended her PhD on the social history of festivals (2000),⁶ and Ülle Sillasoo, a trained archeobotanist, moved from medieval food to plant depictions (2003).⁷

Two professors have played a particularly important role in the training of these Estonian students: Gerhard Jaritz and József Laszlovszky. The first supervised the MA theses of Erik, Juhan, Ülle (together with Prof. Laszlovszky), and Anu, as well

⁶ Anu Mänd, “The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice, Perception” (PhD dissertation, CEU, 2000). The thesis was published in Estonian in 2004 and in English in 2005 (see the section on books). I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Gerhard Jaritz who encouraged me to publish my work.

⁷ Ülle Sillasoo, “Plant Depictions in Late Medieval Religious Art in Southern Central Europe: An Archaeobotanical Approach” (PhD dissertation, CEU, 2003).

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as both PhD dissertations; the second supervised the MA theses of Anneli, Ken and Ülle (together with Prof. Jaritz). It is thanks to their wide scope of knowledge, kind support, and the necessary application of pressure that we managed to complete our studies and to enjoy the painful procedure of writing a thesis. The close co-operation between Gerhard Jaritz and his former students has continued ever since; there are happy reunions at conferences and other scholarly events, and there are conferences and publications organised in common.

The quality of education and the inspiring atmosphere of the Medieval Studies Department have had a positive influence on not only the alumni themselves, but also on their students. Juhan and Anu give lectures at the Tallinn University, Anneli at the Estonian Academy of Arts, and Ken at the Tartu University. Through teaching and supervising, the knowledge and methodological approaches acquired at CEU are passed on to the next generations.

Inspiring Books

It is clear that when one is asked to provide a list of books which have had the deepest impact on medieval studies in Estonia the list reflects the subjective opinion of its compiler. I have left out several dissertations, conference proceedings and source publications that have also contributed to the research on medieval Estonia (Livonia). However, it is the following books, arranged chronologically, that in my opinion have been the most inspiring.

Kivimäe, Jüri and Juhan Kreem, ed. *Quotidianum Estonicum*. Medium Aevum Quotidianum 5. Krems, 1996.

This volume is the “first” in many aspects: it is the first collection of articles on daily life – a subject that had only recently begun to be studied in Estonia; it contains the articles of very young scholars (except Prof. Kivimäe) and for several of them it was their first article in a foreign language, and it was the first joint project of a CEU professor (Gerhard Jaritz as the initiator of the volume) and an Estonian alumnus (Juhan Kreem).

Markus, Kersti. *Från Gotland till Estland: Kyrkokonst och politik under 1200-talet* [From Gotland to Estonia: Church Art and Politics in the Thirteenth century]. Kristianstad: Mercur Consulting OY, 1999.

This is a PhD thesis, defended at Stockholm University in 2000. Kersti was

the first art historian to study and defend her thesis abroad and publish it in a foreign language. Her thesis is highly original and interdisciplinary.

Kala, Tiina. *Euroopa kirjakultuur hiliskeskaegsetes õppetekstides: Tallinna dominiiklase David Sliperi taskuraamat* [Late Medieval Literary Culture and School Manuscripts: The Handbook of the Dominican Friar David Sliper from the Tallinn Friary]. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2001.

Tiina's meticulous study, defended as a PhD thesis at Tartu University, is a model to everyone dealing with literary culture and medieval manuscripts.

Mägi, Marika. *At the Crossroads of Space and Time: Graves, Changing Society and Ideology on Saaremaa (Ösel), 9th–13th Centuries AD*. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut; Gotland: Center of Baltic Studies, 2002.

In her PhD thesis, Marika presents innovative material on the society and funerary customs of the ancient Estonians.

Põltsam, Inna. *Söömine-joomine keskaegses Tallinnas* [Eating and Drinking in Medieval Tallinn]. Tallinn: Argo, 2002.

This book, based on Inna's MA thesis, is written in a popular manner and targets a general audience. It has increased the public interest in the Middle Ages.

Kreem, Juhan. *The Town and Its Lord: Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002.

Juhan's PhD thesis focuses on legal, military and economic aspects in the relations between the city of Tallinn and the Teutonic Order.

Selart, Anti. *Liivimaa ja Vene 13. sajandil: Uurimus poliitilisest ajaloost* [Livonia and Russia in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Political History]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2002. Revised version: *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2007.

Anti's PhD thesis is an internationally recognized study on the political history of Livonia.

Mägi, Marika, ed. *Eesti aastal 1200* [Estonia in 1200]. Tallinn: Argo, 2003.

This volume presents new and challenging results on the society, mentality and material culture in pre-conquest Estonia.

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Mänd, Anu. *Pidustused keskaegse Liivimaa linnades 1350–1550*. Tallinn: EKSA, 2004. A revised version: *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

This study, based on the PhD thesis defended at the CEU, analyses the festive culture in Livonian cities, focusing mainly on the annual festivals of guilds and confraternities.

Kala, Tiina, Juhan Kreem, and Anu Mänd. *Kümme keskaegset tallinlast* [Ten Inhabitants of Medieval Tallinn]. Tallinn: Varrak, 2006.

Each chapter of this book is devoted to the occupational and social career of a specific individual (merchant, goldsmith, city scribe, priest, mercenary, etc.) and opens the wider context of his profession.

Pirita klooster 600 [Pirita Birgittine nunnery 600]. *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi/ Studies on Art and Architecture* 4 (2007).

This collection of articles presents new information on the foundation and the founders of the Pirita convent, and its role in Estonian historical memory.

Tamm, Marek, ed. *Kuidas kirjutatakse ajalugu?* [How to write history]. Tallinn: Varrak, 2007.

This book includes Marek's interviews with twelve renowned scholars (Peter Burke, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, and others) and discusses methodologies of history writing.

Põltsam-Jürjo, Inna. *Liivimaa väikelinn Uus-Pärnu 16. sajandi esimesel poolel* [A Livonian Small Town, New Pärnu in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]. Tallinn: Argo, 2009.

The manuscript was defended as a PhD thesis at Tallinn University in 2008. Small towns (with a thousand or less inhabitants) have rarely been a focus of scholarly studies. Inna's book can be regarded as pioneering.

Ongoing and Future Projects

There are two main ways in which research is supported in Estonia: long-term collective projects (up to six years) financed by the Ministry of Education, and individual or collective projects (up to four years) financed by the Estonian Science Foundation. Several members of the CMS are currently involved in the long-term project “Christianization, Colonization and Cultural Exchange: The Historical Origins of the European Identity of Estonia (13th–17th Centuries),” scheduled to last from 2008 to 2013. The project addresses one of the “hot” issues in current Estonian scholarship – the Livonian crusades and the incorporation of this region into the Roman Catholic world. In recent decades, the study of the conquest and Christianization has witnessed a clear paradigmatic change leading to abandoning the earlier national-romantic viewpoint.⁸

The aim is to examine the processes of Christianization and colonization, including their reflections in visual culture, from new perspectives and in the wider Northern European context. The main focus is on two transition periods: the thirteenth-century crusades and the sixteenth-century Reformation. We will study the role and significance of Livonia as one of the European borderlands, the administrative, economic and cultural Europeanization of the region, the formation of new social elites, the interrelations of elite and popular culture, and so forth. We will also explore how the processes of Christianization, colonization, and cultural exchange developed in the confessionalization period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

One of the results of the project will be the *History of Estonia*, vol. 2 (The Middle Ages), edited by Anti Selart. It is quite a challenge to prepare this volume because we have to find the right balance between tradition (the book is a part of the six-volume series, of which volumes 4 and 6 have already been published, which imposes certain restrictions on us concerning the format and content) and innovation (our aim is not just to take into account the research results of the recent decades but also to conduct a conceptually new study).

⁸ In earlier scholarship, the period of 1208–1227 is known as the “ancient fight for freedom,” in which the Estonian tribes heroically fought against the bloodthirsty German crusaders. The loss in this war led to the “700 years of slavery” that ended in 1918 with the foundation of the Estonian Republic and the War of Independence in 1918–1920. These notions are deeply rooted in the Estonian historical memory. In 2005, a film “Malev” (in English “Men at Arms: Henry of Livonia Lied”) – a parody of the ancient fight for freedom – turned out to be a great success, but also caused controversial reactions.

Anu Mänd

In the future, the members of the CMS plan to carry out two other collective projects: to write a *History of Estonian Visual Culture* that will provide an alternative to art histories by conducting a multi-faceted analysis of the visual environment of the past, and a volume on *Sites of Memory* that will not study historical events, persons or phenomena themselves, but their reception (the use, abuse and misuse) in later centuries.

One of the general goals of these projects is to analyse the history and visual culture of medieval Estonia within the context of pan-European processes, and in doing so, to integrate local history writing into the international research. Working with similar concepts and using similar methodologies provides the best basis for interdisciplinary and comparative research.

QUO VADIS MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN GEORGIA?

Levan Gigineishvili

CEU Medieval Studies appeared in my life in 1994 as a window on the strange, exotic world of the European Middle Ages, the epoch when religious faith, politics, and art were intertwined, forming a holistic world so different from ours. Being quite familiar with the Middle Ages of Eastern Christendom, I felt a kind of a joyful trepidation at getting acquainted with Western Christendom and making my own synthesis of the two; understanding the ancient roots of modern Europe; getting an in-depth understanding of how Georgia assimilates and differentiates itself from Europe; and deciding in what sense and how justifiably one can speak of Georgian culture as European. After years of study and teaching I still have a Socratic feeling of not having conclusive answers to these questions. The initial feeling – fed to be sure by the wonderful classes of the CEU professors – of exposure to something great and exotic that I had in my CEU years is still vivid in me.

When I returned to Georgia in 2000 I embarked headlong upon teaching Byzantine culture and literature at the Javakhishvili State University Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. I could teach only BA classes, however, because my Medieval Studies PhD was not recognized by the Georgian academy. “Medievalist” was a non-existent profession. That is why, in order to teach courses on the MA level, I re-defended my CEU doctoral thesis and obtained a Georgian PhD in Philology in 2002. Subjects from medieval studies have been covered in Georgian universities by the departments of history, literature, art, and architecture, but until recently no separate discipline of Medieval Studies had been created.

Since 2003 Georgia has become a part of the Bologna process. The Bologna process with its emphasis on market-oriented studies, as one may have predicted, did not seem favorable for humanities studies in Georgia. However, this forecast was not fulfilled. The Bologna process is still only a façade in the academic life in my country; in fact, this process implies that students must have a certain assurance and hope that after successful studies they will be of a high demand for well-paid jobs. But no such assurances and hope exist among Georgian students; most of them still feel that well-paid jobs are not necessarily given to those who deserve them through good academic records at the Georgian higher institutions, but rather to those who have connections or been educated abroad. Paradoxically, I

think, exactly this apathy plays a positive role for the humanities in Georgia; being frustrated in “pragmatic,” market-oriented subjects, quite a few students choose to pursue non-pragmatic interests in humanities out of sincere curiosity and desire.

Among the other disciplines of humanities, Medieval Studies are of especial interest for young Georgians, perhaps because in the postmodern whirl they are trying to support their identity and get a fuller understanding of their ancestral roots and traditions. In fact, Georgia had a long Middle Ages that lasted until the eighteenth century and, indeed, a few aspects of the culture and ethos of Georgians could still be called “medieval” – with this word conveying both favorable and unfavorable connotations. Architecture, paintings and especially ancient manuscripts preserved in the State Institute of Manuscripts – most of which still await study and publication – provide ample opportunities for study and research; and since they are also of interest to Western scholars, their students have good chances to get involved in international projects, to get access to Western financial support, and so on. In this way, it would not be a mistake to say that humanities, Medieval Studies in particular, have no fewer prospects from the financial point of view than, for instance, such disciplines as banking or business administration – because there are fewer available jobs at Georgian banks than there are students who graduate with diplomas in banking or business administration. Thus, the humanities in Georgia have a chance to live up to objectives of the Bologna process perhaps more successfully than other, more “pragmatic,” disciplines.

How are the things today with regard to Medieval Studies? First, there are two chief higher academic institutions in Georgia that deal with humanities: Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Ilia Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University. The first has the Institute of Classics, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. The subjects taught at the Institute cover Byzantine and – to a lesser extent – the Western Middle Ages. At the library of the Institute, where I started lecturing, Byzantine literature was at least represented, but it was a tiny fraction compared with the books connected with Ancient and Modern Greek. Through participation in several CEU Curriculum Resource Center sessions, with book allowances provided by this program, I was able to purchase a few important books in medieval – and particularly Byzantine – studies (among others, Kazdan’s three-volume dictionary of Byzantium); besides, over a few years many other books in Byzantine studies arrived at the library from various sources. That served as a ground for creating, with the financial support of Greek patrons of arts, a separate library of Byzantine studies at the Institute in February 2009. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University also has a department of Oriental Studies, which covers issues related to the Eastern Middle Ages. Two years

ago a joint project was launched by the Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and the Open Society Institute (Budapest): an MA course in Late Antique-Medieval philosophy/theology. CEU professors Istvan Perczel and Gyorgy Gereby have been to Tbilisi several times to deliver lectures in philosophy for this course. I have also taught a course on Paganism and Christianity in Late Antiquity especially for this project. The MA graduates enrolled in the project successfully defended their theses (on Plotinus, Proclus, Petritsi, etc.) in January 2009.

Since 2006 I have been working as an associate professor at the Ilia Chavchavadze State University – a new university that originated from the unification of the Institute of Foreign Languages and the Pedagogical Institute. This university is less bureaucratic than older ones and novelty is easier to introduced there. One of the most favorable novelties has been the establishment of the Center of Medieval Studies and the MA program in Medieval Studies. For the first time in Georgia, an MA graduate will have a qualification as a Medievalist. The center has gathered scholars of all age groups, among them four CEU Medieval Studies graduates Irma Karaulashvili, Natia Gabrichidze, Giga Zedania, and me. Giga Zedania has recently also become the dean of the faculty of humanities and one of his first initiatives was to try to connect the Medieval Studies program of our university with the Higher Education Support Program (HESP) of the OSI. Hopefully, this connection will be established. Moreover, independently from this initiative, the CEU Center for Hellenic Traditions proposed an ambitious three-year (2010/11–2012/13) project to HESP: “The Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages,” which is to involve academic institutions and scholars of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan as well as international scholars. The project covers a variety of topics (philosophy/theology, translations, manuscript studies, archaeology and art, numismatics, etc.) and envisages close cooperation of local Caucasian scholars working with Western scholars. The project is also planning on the participation of CEU Medieval doctoral students in the educational process of universities in Caucasus. Professor Niels Gaul and Cristi Daniel, a PhD student) recently visited Armenia and Georgia to see the academic situation on the spot. In the case of Georgia, the program developed and presented by Gaul provides for both Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and the Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University scholars to participate, which is a very favorable model because both universities have commendable resources and can jointly contribute to this project.

I think, enough has been said concerning the issue of “Quo Vadis Medieval Studies of Georgia?” It is going in the right and promising direction, towards local development and greater exposure to and collaboration with international scholars.

Levan Gigineishvili

Major Higher Institutions:

Ilia Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University (www.iliauni.edu.ge)

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (www.tsu.ge)

G. Tsereteli Institute for Oriental Studies (includes department of Byzantine Studies).

Address: 3, Acad. G.Tsereteli St. 380062 Tbilisi Georgia Tel/Fax: (995 32) 29 09 25

Journals covering issues of Medieval Studies:

Christian Archeological Research. Ilia Chavchavadze State University, faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies, Center of Studies in Christian Archeology (website: christian_archeology@iliauni.edu.ge)

Tsakhnagi (Facet) – Annual of philological studies. Tbilisi: Memkvidreoba (“Heritage”)

Byzantine Studies in Georgia (Website: <http://byzingeo2.org/?lng=eng&p=home>)

Semiotika – Scientific Journal. Ilia Chavchavadze State University. Faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies.

Phasis – Greek and Roman Studies. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies.

Some contributions of the last 10 years:

Ioane Petrizi. *Kommentar zur ‘Elementatio theologica’ des Proklos*. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen, Indices und Einleitung Herausgegeben von Lela Alexidze und Lutz Bergemann Tbilisi Javakhishvili State University / Humboldt-Universität, Berlin Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie 47 2009.

Alexidze, Lela. *Neoplatonic Philosophy: Plotinus and Iamblichus*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2009.

———. *Ioane Petritsi and Antique Philosophy*. Javakhisvili Tbilisi State University Press: Tbilisi, 2008.

Tevzadze, Guram. *Philosophy of Renaissance: From Marcilio Ficino to Jakob Boehme*. Nakeri: Tbilisi, 2008. (A follow-up to his *History of Medieval Philosophy*. Tbilisi State University Press: Tbilisi, 1996.)

Jugeli, Viktoria. *The Blessed Theodoric of Cyrus: His life, Activities, Belief, Works and their Georgian Translations*. Tbilisi : Logos, 2008.

Gelukashvili, Joseph. *Unknown Sermon of Germanos of Constantinople*. Tbilisi, 2008.

Koromila, Marianna. *Greeks on the Black Sea: From the Bronze Era to the Beginning of XX century*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2008.

Mchedlidze, Magda. *Michael Psellos' Philosophical Position and Intellectual-Pedagogic Method*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2006.

Gigineishvili, Levan. *Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007.

Iremadze, Tengiz. *Konzeptionen Des Denkens Im Neuplatonismus. Zur Rezeption Der Proklischen Philosophie Im Deutschen Und Georgischen Mittelalter Dietrich von Freiberg – Berthold von Moosburg-Joane Petrizi*. Bochum: John Benjamins, 2004.

Melikishvili, Damana. *From the History of Old Georgian Philosophical-Theological Terminology*. Tbilisi: Javakhisvili Tbilisi State University Press, 1999.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN GERMANY: FROM CULTURAL TO TRANSCULTURAL

Michael Brauer

The Status of Medieval Studies

In Germany, medieval studies has not been a subject offered at universities until recently. German medievalists, i.e., scholars dealing with the Middle Ages, are normally trained in one discipline such as art history or literature and specialize in the Middle Ages in the course of their studies. This paper – written by a historian of the Middle Ages – will therefore review the main trends in the field from the perspective of history. This is, however, not meant to be defensive; I am, on the contrary, convinced that the division into disciplines is fruitful for the study of the Middle Ages. After giving an overview of the institutional structures and of selected research trends before and after the millennium, the paper will return to the question of medieval studies and suggest cultural history and transcultural history as recent fields of interdisciplinary study.

The main place for doing research is still the university.¹ The number of positions in medieval history is rather high because it is part of the history teachers' exam and is thus offered at most universities. At present, there are 118 professors of medieval history (including regional history [*Landesgeschichte*] and auxiliary sciences) at 63 universities and similar institutions,² a number that has doubled from the 1960s onwards as a result of the reform process in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1970s with the founding of new universities and an increase in staff.³ Another factor was the German (re-)unification of 1990, after

¹ For institutional structures see Hans-Werner Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik: Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 126-152 (hereafter: Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*); Peter Johanek, "Zu neuen Ufern? Beobachtungen eines Zeitgenossen zur deutschen Mediävistik von 1975 bis heute," (hereafter: Johanek, "Zu neuen Ufern?") in *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Moraw and Rudolf Schieffer, Vorträge und Forschungen 62 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 139-174, esp. 140-146, 154-158 (hereafter: Moraw and Schieffer, ed. *Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*).

² Figures based on the list of the *Mediävistenverband e. V.*, June 2008; the number of ten professors of regional history and three of the auxiliary sciences, respectively, was added to the number of 105 medieval historians; see www.mediaevistenverband.de/download/Lehrstuehle/Lehrstuehle20Juni2008/geschichte.pdf.

³ In the 1960s, there were about 60 professors, by 1975 already 85; see Johanek, "Zu neuen Ufern?," 154f.

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which the 17 chairs in the former GDR were added to the pool.⁴ Since that time of plenty, however, the number of positions has slowly diminished.

From the 1970s onwards, the focus of research funding in the humanities has turned away from the individual scholar at his desk towards coordinated programs. The main sponsor in the public sector, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation, DFG), has introduced Collaborative Research Centers (*Sonderforschungsbereiche*, SFB) based on individual university and Priority Programs (*Schwerpunktprogramme*, SPP) which connect universities throughout Germany; in the 1990s, Research Training Groups (*Graduiertenkollegs*) were added. At the core of these programs are two ideas: First, the emancipation of younger scholars, since they are mainly the ones who organize and conduct research. Second, interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged through the collaboration of different disciplines within these programs. As always in reality, there are more and less successful examples, but coordinated programs have often contributed to the establishment of new approaches.

Research in Germany has a strong base outside the universities, too. Most prominent are the Academies of Science.⁵ As often in Germany, there is not one central academy, but a number of them in different regions, with different historical roots, namely, Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Mainz, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg. The academies house long-term research in Germany, which may span several decades or even go back more than a hundred years, such as the *Regesta Imperii* in Mainz or the *Constitutiones* in Berlin.

The most famous institution is probably still the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH), the large-scale edition project of (in a broad sense) “German” sources of the Middle Ages. There are also a number of more specialized research institutes associated with universities.⁶ The Thomas Institute (directed by Andreas Speer, Universität zu Köln) has a philosophical focus on the Middle Ages; at the University of Muenster, Peter Johanek directs the Institute of Comparative Urban History (*Institut für vergleichende Städteforschung*); Michael Borgolte (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) is the director of the Institute for the Comparative History of Europe in the Middle Ages (*Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter*, IVGEM) with a focus on comparative and transcultural history.

⁴ 15 of the 17 newly appointed professors came from the west of Germany; see Johanek, “Zu neuen Ufern?,” 155.

⁵ See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 127f.

⁶ Ibid., 132, and list of institutions below.

Scholarship is no longer only a matter of books, articles and editions, but in a growing sense a matter of conference presentations and discussions. Every other year the Association of Historians of Germany (*Verband der Historikerinnen und Historiker Deutschlands*) organizes a large conference, the *Historikertag*, with a loose general theme, hosted by a different university, where medieval historians organize sections of their own. The Association of Medievalists (*Mediävistenverband*), which encompasses the German-speaking countries, also attracts medievalists with a biennial, more focused conference.⁷ The oldest and, for a long time only, network with regular conferences is the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis* with its *Reichenau-Tagungen*. In earlier days, its topics set the research agenda, and today it represents the mainstream of the subject of medieval history.⁸ In 1994, younger medievalists formed the *Brackweder Arbeitskreis* as a (partly ironical) competing event which was to provide a forum for new approaches of social history and cultural studies.⁹

As for research trends of the past 15 years, a glimpse at the 1970s and 1980s is necessary to put the new topics into perspective.¹⁰ In the 1970s, medieval history was, on the one hand, dominated by constitutional history, which was a specific combination of political, legal, and regional history (*Landesgeschichte*) and concentrated on the state and the relation of the king and nobility. On the other hand, the history of ideas sought the motivation for political action.¹¹ In the course of the 1970s – the decade of social history in Modern History – constitutional history was not replaced by social history in the medieval departments but rather evaluated and put on a new basis, in particular through the use of prosopography.¹²

⁷ In 2009, the topic is “Farbiges Mittelalter?! Farbe als Materie, Zeichen und Projektion in der Welt des Mittelalters” (March 2-5, University of Bamberg).

⁸ For an internal perspective see Moraw and Schieffer, ed., *Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*.

⁹ It is part of the strategy that the contributions are not published in a conference volume; see www.brackweder-ak.de for the list of past topics.

¹⁰ Before the millennium, there were a number of attempts to summarize the state of research; see Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*; idem, ed., *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, Herausforderungen 10 (Bochum: Winkler, 2000); idem and Jörg Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, Mittelalter Studien 1 (Paderborn: Fink, 2003) (hereafter: Goetz and Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert*); see also some older contributions: Michael Borgolte, ed., *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft N. F. 20 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); idem, *Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters: Eine Forschungsbilanz nach der deutschen Einheit*, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft N. F. 22 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); Otto Gerhard Oexle, ed., *Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft 2 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1996).

¹¹ See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 104.

¹² Johanek, “Zu neuen Ufern?,” 150-152.

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The 1980s were characterized by an unease with grand structures and theories, and a number of scholars therefore turned to the individual human being: One direction was the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) or – even more focused – microhistory. The works of the French Annales school, which have a similar emphasis, were only then taken note of in German medieval history, especially the history of mentalities.¹³ All of this prepared the ground for an “anthropologization” of history, although it did not represent the mainstream in research.

This background was necessary to understand the slow diffusion of cultural history in medieval history departments in the 1990s and later – about a decade later than in Anglo-American and French scholarship.¹⁴ Cultural history is characterized by the multiplication – sometimes explosion – of topics held worthy of research on the one hand, and by a closer look at how contemporary people in the Middle Ages interpreted and made sense of things on the other hand.¹⁵ In this paper, I will only give one example of how an established topic in German scholarship was given new direction by applying cultural studies, although this happened with other topics, too.¹⁶

“Ritual” is probably the most successful concept to enter medieval history in the past 15 years, and this success is connected to the name of Gerd Althoff (Muenster) who applied it to political history.¹⁷ This anthropological concept helped to answer a crucial question which had been a puzzle in previous scholarship: How come a realm with hardly any transpersonal institutions like the Ottonian kingdom functioned and survived a number of crises?¹⁸ The answer in brief was that rituals produced

¹³ See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 106-112; cf. František Graus, ed., *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, Vorträge und Forschungen 35 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987).

¹⁴ For a summary of the scholarship see Peter Burke, *Was ist Kulturgeschichte?* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005).

¹⁵ See Ute Daniel, *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte: Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 7-25, esp. 17: “Die ‘Objekte’ der Kulturgeschichtsschreibung ... umfassen das Ensemble all dessen, was Geschichte hat. Nichts davon ... läßt sich begreifen, beschreiben, oder erklären, ohne die Bedeutungen, Wahrnehmungsweisen und Sinnstiftungen der zeitgenössischen Menschen in das Verstehen, Beschreiben oder Erklären einzubeziehen.”

¹⁶ The concept of “memory” influenced research on liturgical and aristocratic *memoria*, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters,” in *Moderne Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinze (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 297-323; “the oral and the written” marked new dimensions of communication, see Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 339-365; also, the traditional auxiliary sciences were renewed with respect to signs and symbols, see Peter Rück, ed., *Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden* (see list below, part II, no. 4).

¹⁷ Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale* (see list below, part II, no. 8).

¹⁸ This follows the brief sketch in Frank Rexroth, “Rituale und Ritualismus in der historischen

coherence in a society which lacked a written constitution and was characterised by “royal rule without a state.”¹⁹ In times of conflict, there was a set of “rules of the game” (*Spielregeln*), shared by both ruler and nobility, which stabilized the political order.²⁰ In the meantime, two assumptions have been questioned: that one can take the presentation of rituals by medieval chroniclers for “real” rituals²¹ and that an allegedly “archaic” society such as the early medieval German one has a higher level of “ritualism” than a more complex society.²²

At the beginning of the paper, I advocated the training in a discipline as a basis of collaborating with other disciplines. One of the effects of cultural history was a blurring of the disciplines’ traditional borders because of the general nature of the terms and concepts. For example, can a historian’s understanding of the meaning of rituals in society be adapted by a literary historian to take a fresh look at his texts? Vice versa, can a historian be encouraged by the complexity of memory (*memoria*) to analyze new kinds of sources which usually “belong” to art history or literature. On the whole, this interdisciplinarity is rather conventional in the sense that history, literature, and art have a long history of collaboration and that the focus is mostly on the same country or region.²³

More innovative is the collaboration of disciplines in European and transcultural history, which is one of the most promising fields at the beginning of the third millennium.²⁴ In medievalist tradition, Europe is usually conceived as the Latin West (the Occident, *Abendland*) dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. In the approach initiated by Michael Borgolte (Berlin), Europe is seen as a geographically and culturally diverse historical space: as the continent in its geographical entirety which contained the East Slavic and Byzantine World, as well

Mittelalterforschung: Eine Skizze,” in Goetz and Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert*, 391-406, esp. 397-399.

¹⁹ See the subtitle of Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

²⁰ Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997).

²¹ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: PUP, 2001).

²² Bernhard Jussen, “Diskutieren über Könige im vormodernen Europa: Einleitung,” in *Die Macht des Königs* (see list below), XI-XXIV, here XVII, with respect to the Later Middle Ages and Byzantium.

²³ For an exception see the SFB 619, “Ritualdynamik,” established in 2002 at the University of Heidelberg, with a multitude of cooperating disciplines (www.ritualdynamik.de).

²⁴ Other recent approaches include historical semantics and the spatial turn.

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as the Muslim border areas in Spain and Italy.²⁵ This approach goes beyond the boundaries of traditional medieval studies towards Slavic, Byzantine, and Arabic Studies. A subsequent transcultural phase went along with the establishment of the Priority Program (*Schwerpunktprogramm*, SPP) 1173 in 2005, directed by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Heidelberg).²⁶ The SPP 1173 is based on the idea that Europe in the Middle Ages was never defined by one unifying culture such as Latin Christianity. From this the thesis is derived that the encounter of different European cultures led to constant processes of integration and disintegration which gave birth to the specific dynamic of European history compared to other parts of the world.²⁷ A particular emphasis is laid on the role of the three monotheistic religions – Christendom (where the Roman and the Orthodox Church haven to be differentiated), Islam, and Judaism – in this process.²⁸ These ambitious theories are put into practice by setting up small groups of scholars which meet on a regular basis and work on a collaborative publication.²⁹ The transcultural history of Europe, however, is not the end of the story. The hypothesis of a special European dialectic has to be tested against other regions with similar conditions, be they in the neighborhood or far away. As a consequence, the upcoming phase will move towards global history.

Fifteen Important Contributions of the Past Fifteen Years: A Chronological List

Fögen, Marie Theres. *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993.

Fried, Johannes. *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*. Propyläen-Geschichte Deutschlands 1. Berlin: Propyläen, 1994.

²⁵ Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt: 1050-1250*, Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 3 (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2002).

²⁶ I hold a research position at the SPP 1173.

²⁷ Michael Borgolte, "Europa im Bann des Mittelalters: Wie Geschichte und Gegenwart unserer Lebenswelt die Perspektiven der Mediävistik verändern," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 6 (2005): 117-135.

²⁸ Michael Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen* (see list).

²⁹ For the results of the first phase of the SPP 1173 see Michael Borgolte, Juliane Schiel, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Annette Seitz, ed., *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Europa im Mittelalter 10 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008).

Wenzel, Horst. *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*. Munich: Beck, 1995.

Rück, Peter, ed. *Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*. Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996.

Rexroth, Frank. *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit und Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 153. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Bredenkamp, Horst. *Sankt Peter in Rom und das Prinzip der produktiven Zerstörung: Bau und Abbau von Bramante bis Bernini*. Berlin: Wagenbach, 2000.

Görich, Knut. *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas: Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert*. Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001.

Althoff, Gerd. *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt: Primus, 2003.

Mitterauer, Michael. *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs*. Munich: Beck, 2003.

Brather, Sebastian. *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie: Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 42. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.

Fried, Johannes. *Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik*. Munich: Beck, 2004.

Jussen, Bernhard, ed. *Die Macht des Königs: Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*. Munich: Beck, 2005.

Borgolte, Michael. *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen: Die Erben der Antike und der Aufstieg des Abendlandes 300 bis 1400 n. Chr.* Siedler-Geschichte Europas 2. Munich: Siedler, 2006.

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Teuscher, Simon. *Erzähltes Recht: Lokale Herrschaft, Verschriftlichung und Traditionsbildung im Spätmittelalter*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2007.

Groebeiner, Valentin. *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf: über historisches Erzählen*. Munich: Beck, 2008.

Institutions of Medieval History and Medieval Studies in Germany

For a more detailed review, consult John Eldevik.

Medieval Germany: Research and Resources, Reference Guide 21. Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2006.

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

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THE RENAISSANCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN HUNGARY

Benedek Láng

State-formation and nation-building are what modern people living in modern nation-states seem to appreciate most of the many significant achievements that took place in the period between A.D. 476 and A.D. 1492. One could say, of course, that this was before globalization. Well, it looks as if things have not really changed that much with globalization, at least not in the field of humanities. Books on “medieval Europe” do exist, but research continues too often to focus on the national rather than the supranational past. This is what makes the Medieval Studies Department at CEU such a unique place, where transethnic, regional, and universal approaches to, and interpretations of, the past are encouraged. In Hungary, where statehood and national identity are so deeply rooted in the Middle Ages, the past fifteen years saw a revival of all things medieval. From the rich crop of this “medieval renaissance,” I present those trends, books, centers that have not only a fifteen-year old past, but also the hope of a future.

The most important change in the past decades in the field of medieval studies is the re-evaluation of “medieval.” We all know that the adjective is a pejorative one, signaling a period that is “in between” an idealized Antiquity and the renewal of its values in the early Renaissance. While in the nineteenth century and again in the 1930s this turned into a real cult of the Middle Ages, in the first communist decades, “medieval” was again viewed in slightly negative terms, and reinterpreted in terms of feudal exploitation and class struggle. This attitude changed gradually, and by the late 1970s and the 1980s research on medieval studies became less politicized, partly thanks to a growing number of translated works from the international scholarship (Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff, Aaron Gurevich, and others), and partly thanks to the new works of Hungarian medievalists (György Györffy, Erik Fügedi, Jenő Szűcs) who had more and more opportunities to ignore ideological expectations.

Between 1949 and 1989, medieval history, literature, art history, archaeology, and linguistics figured in the curricula of most of the universities in Hungary. Besides the two main centers of teaching medieval history, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest and the University of Szeged, the respective institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Science dealt with the medieval period.

Today, these three places are still active, the Institute of History of the Academy being the one where the most numerous medievalists work in one place, and have

their own series of publications. To this list one can add today an active medieval center at the University of Pécs, one at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba founded in 1992, one in Debrecen, and a number of further universities where medievalists are working, and – outside Hungary, – one at the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Kolozsvár in Romania.

The Medieval Studies Department at the Central European University, founded in 1993/1994, offers an interdisciplinary Masters' (M.A.) and a doctoral (Ph.D.) program. Today this department (in cooperation with the Department of Medieval and Early Modern European History at ELTE) possesses the most extensive library in Central Europe in the field of medieval studies (<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/>). Two important series are published by the department: the *Central European Medieval Texts* series, which offers text editions of Central European sources, and *CEU Medievalia*, which aims to be a complex publication series presenting source collections and handbooks on the state of various research fields.

One of the main characteristics of the scholarly life in the department is a surprisingly well functioning cooperation between scholars and doctoral students coming from different areas of Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, Central Asia, and North America. Apart from lifelong friendships, often marriages, that are formed here, a particularly helpful scholarly collaboration – sometimes friendly help with the secondary literature written in an obscure language, sometimes explicit teamwork – gives a special international character to the products of the department and also helps students gain insight into what is going on in other countries.

Thanks to the research opportunities provided by the university, doctoral students and professors have a variety of options to go to renowned research centers and update their methods and interests, a factor that acts strongly against the provincialism that characterizes certain parts of scholarly activity in Central and Eastern Europe.

In contrast to certain accusations that the department gives birth to “interesting” (read: superficial) scholarly products, one is struck by the great variety of works that are produced here, from the most philological and technical to the most theoretical, from the most positivistic to the most interpretative, from the most “boring” to the most “exciting.” As far as methodology and research questions are concerned, this school does not exercise restrictive force.

A measure of the success of the past fifteen years is that several alumni of the department have published their dissertations with prestigious publishing

houses.¹ Due to an unfortunate combination of good research possibilities and poor job opportunities, alumni usually find (if they find at all) a position in other universities and institutes (sometimes in other countries), thus constituting bridges between the Medieval Studies Department and other institutions in Hungary and in Central Europe.

In this reality, beyond the productive university departments mentioned thus far, several research groups have also been active in the field of medieval studies in the past fifteen years. One should start with a center that has become a proper department at Eötvös Loránd University: the *Atelier*. This center, as its name indicates, concentrates first of all on French scholarship, and particularly on the works and methods of the famous Annales School. This is worth a separate mention because among the various international traditions and schools it is the main actors of the first three generations of the Annales who have been translated into Hungarian in the highest concentration. They paved the way for the equally popular traditions of historical geography and microhistory.

As far as other centers are concerned, the Szeged Research Center of Medieval

¹ See the following long but not exhaustive list: Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000), translated into Hungarian as *Kapisztrán Szent János csodái* by Gabriella di Sandri and Dávid Falvay (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2008); György Heidl, *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine. A Chapter of the History of Origenism* (Notre Dame University, Louaize, and Gorgias Press, 2003); Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century* (Budapest-Debrecen: CEU Press and University of Debrecen, 2004); Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2005); Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*, British Archaeological Reports S1348 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005); István Bugár, *Szagrális képzőművészet a keresztény ókorban: Források* [Sacred Art in Christian Antiquity: Sources] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2004); Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books, Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2008); Irene Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories. Migration and Identity during the Lombard Invasions* (Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005); Lucie Doležalová, *Reception and its Varieties. Reading, Re-writing, and Understanding Cena Cypriani in the Middle Ages* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007); Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c.751-877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Vasco La Salvia, *Iron Making during the Migration Period. The Case of the Lombards*, British Archaeological Reports S1715 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007); Giedre Mickūnaitė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006); Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude. Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008); Mária Pakucs, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt: Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007); Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Gábor Virágos, *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites: Hungarian Noble Residences and their Social Context from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century: An Outline for Methodology*, British Archaeological Reports S1583 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

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Studies (<http://primus.arts.u-szeged.hu/szkm/>) is organized primarily to publish secondary literature and source collections; the CAPITULUM is a research group for medieval church history (<http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/capiteng.htm>) that recently launched a project to build a digitized database of medieval charters.

In 2001, the Hungarian Patristic Society (Magyar Patrisztikai Társaság) was founded to research the teachings of the Church Fathers and the early history of the Christian Church (<http://www.mpt.org.hu/>). Members of the Society (among them Marianne Sághy, from the faculty, István Bugár, and György Heidl) have published and translated a great number of monographs and published basic source editions, thanks to which this area of research received a great stimulus.

For several decades a special research group, the *Fragmenta Codicum* group – directed first by András Vizkelety and now by Edit Madas – has been exploring, identifying, and cataloguing fragments of medieval origin that survived in the binding of codices (<http://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/>). Another group has undertaken the task of compiling a dictionary of medieval Latin in Hungary, edited by Iván Boronkai et Kornél Szovák.

The Medieval Studies Department at CEU also tries its best to take part in fruitful national and international collaborative research projects, such as those concentrating on nobility in East Central Europe (János Bak), visual resources in medieval Central Europe (Gábor Klaniczay, Ernő Marosi, Tamás Sajó, Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács), medieval economic history (András Kubinyi [d. 2007], József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende), the Center for Hellenic Traditions (István Perczel, Niels Gaul), Central and Eastern European cultural heritage, and the Ravenna-Classe Project (József Laszlovszky and many alumni of the department).

In addition to these departments and research groups, special web pages are devoted to medieval manuscript production, the structure of books and illumination (<http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/index.html>), the history of Hungarian music (<http://www.magyarzenetortenet.hu/>), the Corvina library of King Matthias (<http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/>), medieval charters (<http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/compute.htm>), and castles of medieval and early modern Hungary, presenting maps and pictures of the remains of fortified places in Hungary (including aerial photos, 3-D map animations and publications on castles in Hungarian: <http://www.varak.hu>). An internet manual on dress, jewels, arms and coats of arms presents material culture and self-representation in the late Middle Ages, including images, a glossary, and bibliography (<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/SRM/index.htm>).

Hungarian museums also play an important role in the research and popularization of medieval studies. Particularly rich exhibitions have been organized by a number of institutions: the Hungarian National Gallery (*Pannonia Regia* in 1994; *Mons Sacer* in 1996 at Pannonhalma; *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (on Master MS) in 1997; *Történelem-kép* [History-image] in 2000) the Hungarian National Museum (*Europe's Centre around A.D. 1000/Europas Mitte um 1000*) in 2000; *Tatárjárás* [The Mongol Invasion] in 2007), the Museum of Fine Arts (*Sigismundus* in 2006), the Budapest Historical Museum (*Mary of Habsburg*, 2004; *Matthias Rex*, 2008), and the Kiscelli Museum (*Mariazell and Hungary in 2004*). 2008 was declared the Year of the Renaissance, when exhibitions on the culture, politics, social life, science, literature, and eating habits of fifteenth-century Hungary became central themes in a great wave of exhibitions in which virtually every museum took part. Although not devoted to the study of the Middle Ages, but rather to modern political and cultural uses and interpretations, exhibitions such as the *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages* (2005, CEU), and the *Contagious Middle Ages* (2007, Open Society Archives) were also organized.

Various journals focusing on history in general include articles, and sometimes special issues, on medieval studies, such as *Századok*, *História*, *Történelmi Szemle*, *Rubicon*, *Múlt-kor történelmi portál* on the internet (<http://www.mult-kor.hu/>), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* (which had a widely disseminated English version for thirteen years: *Budapest Review of Books*, 1990-2003), *Korall*, and *Aetas*. These journals are available only for those who read Hungarian, only the journal *Chronica* and the *Annual of Medieval Studies* at CEU publish articles in English. At the moment, Hungarian history writing has no proper journal that appears regularly and that is available for a non-Hungarian readership.

Even though the proliferation of scholars, studies, researches, and schools in the field of medieval studies is impressive, certain tensions in the area cannot be ignored. Members of the “schools” and research centers listed above, although they cooperate frequently, have a tendency to see each other’s results, methods, and even research questions with some reservation, even suspicion. One is too philological and does not situate their topics in the wider context, the other does not read the relevant international literature, one is too superficial, and does not even consult manuscripts, the other is doing provincial history writing, one is well known abroad but is not taken seriously in Hungarian scholarship, the other is an important personality in the country, but has virtually no contacts elsewhere – we hear too many such claims, gossip, and blather, which does not always improve cooperation and professionalization.

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Among the reasons for this situation, the first one is not uniquely Hungarian; politics have not disappeared from the area of research to the extent as it would be desirable, causing no little suspicion in each others' research primarily on a political basis. Second – again, not a Hungaricum – research in the humanities is underfinanced, scholars working at the state universities or academic institutions usually do not have enough material resources to attend conferences and take research trips. They can only go if they are successful at finding and winning grants. This causes no little frustration and no little tension among scholars. Those who are in better funded institutions such as the CEU face this problem to a considerably lower extent. Third, a peculiarity of all Central European nations, the country has a good number of excellent researchers producing genuine scholarship, who – because they lack language skills – are not able to publish in international forums, a sad fact that produces tension against those who do have the ability, talent or knowledge to manage better on the international playing field and who consequently are more aware of the latest developments in international scholarship. All the above developments, however, and fortunately, show movement in the direction of the demise of these problems. This will certainly not raise more money for the discipline, but it may increase professionalization and decrease tension.

Below follows a set of works published in the last fifteen years that I consider significant for one reason or another, without implying that they are the most important works. Compiling a list of the most significant studies is always subjective because such a list necessarily mirrors the limited perspective of the author. Preference was given to works issued by prestigious publishing houses, for overviews that – either because they are written in English or because they are in Hungarian but written in a good style – have the virtue of reaching a wide, even non-specialist, readership, and for studies that employ up-to-date methodology.

A magyar irodalom története, I. kötet: A kezdetektől 1800-ig [Histories of Hungarian Literature: from the beginnings to 1800]. Editor-in-chief Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, ed. László Jankovits, Géza Orlovsky. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2007.

Bak, János M., Ottó Domonkos, and Paul B. Harvey. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*. Bakersfield: C. Schlacks, 1989-1996.

Bárczi, Ildikó. *Ars compilandi: A késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyvek forráshasználata (A hiteles információk összegyűjtésének kevésbé bevallott módszerei – Az intertextualitás információs rendszerei)* [Ars compilandi: Use of Sources in Late Medieval Sermon Books]. Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2007.

Bartosiewicz, László, and Zsolt Visy, *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millenium*. Budapest: Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, Teleki László Foundation: 2003.

Csukovits, Enikő. *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2003.

Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St Stephen, A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*. London: Tauris, 2001.

Erdélyi, Gabriella. *Egy kolostorper története. Hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és az újkor határán* [The Story of a Convent's Case: Power, Religion, and Everyday Life at the Turn of the Middle Ages and Modern Times]. Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005.

Font Márta. *A keresztény nagyhatalmak vonzásában: Közép- és Kelet-Európa a 10-12. században* [Under the Influence of Christian Powers. Central and Eastern Europe in the Tenth and Twelfth Centuries]. Budapest: Balassi, 2005.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Kovács, Péter. *Hétköznapi élet Mátyás király udvarában* [Everyday Life in King Matthias' Court]. Budapest: Corvina, 2008.

Kubinyi, András. *Matthias Rex*. Budapest: Balassi, 2008.

Kubinyi, András, József Laszlovszky, and Péter Szabó. *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and Material Culture in Medieval Hungary: Economic History, Material Culture, Archeology]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008.

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Laszlovszky, József, and Péter Szabó, ed. *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*. Budapest: CEU and Archaeolingua, 2003.

Madas, Edit. *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből. A kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig* [From the History of our Sermon Literature: From the Beginnings to the Early Fourteenth century]. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2002.

Marosi, Ernő. *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14-15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and Likeness. Art and Reality in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries in Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995.

Novák, Veronika. *Hírek, hatalom, társadalom* [News, Power, Society]. Budapest : Gondolat, 2007.

Sághy, Marianne. *Isten barátai. Szent és szentéletrajz a késő antikvitásban* [The Friends of God. Holy Men and Holy Biography in Late Antiquity]. Budapest: Kairosz, 2005.

Sebők, Marcell. *Humanista a határon. A késmárki Sebastian Ambrosius története* [A Humanist on the Border: The History of Sebastian Ambrosius of Késmárk]. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt. *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* [The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary]. Budapest: Balassi, 2006.

Szende, Katalin. *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At Home in the Town. Society and Material Culture in Medieval Sopron, Pozsony and Eperjes]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2004.

Veszprémy, László. *Lovagvilág Magyarországon* [Knighthood in Hungary]. Budapest : Argumentum, 2008.

Vizkelety, András. *Die Rezeption der europäischen Sermonesliteratur im "Löwener Kodex."* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004.

Zemplényi, Ferenc. *Az európai udvari kultúra és a magyar irodalom* [European Courtly Culture and Hungarian Literature]. Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1998.

Zsoldos, Attila. *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik. A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and Their Wives. The Institution of the Queen in the Age of the Árpáds]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005.

A few important source editions:

Iani Pannonii opera quae manserunt omnia. Vol. 1. Ed. Gyula Mayer and László Török. Budapest: Balassi, 2006.

Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke [The Charters of the Princes, Princesses and Queens of the Arpads]. Ed. Attila Zsoldos, relying on the manuscript of Imre Szentpétery. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár- Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2008.

A Perényi család levéltára 1222-1526 [The Archives of the Perényi Family]. Ed. István Tringli. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár- Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2008.

LITHUANIA: LET'S CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF GREATNESS

Giedrė Mickūnaitė

Such an academic discipline as “medieval studies” does not exist in Lithuania; however, the Middle Ages are present on the academic, cultural, and political scene and lately this presence has increased somewhat. St. Bruno of Querfurt is at fault here. According to the “Annals of Quedlinburg”, the bishop parted with his life *in confinio Rusciae at Lituae* in the year 1009. The decapitation of St. Bruno not only earned him the martyr’s glory, but also entered Lithuania into the world of the written word; in 2009 the country celebrates a millennium of its name. I do not know whether it was someone from academia who passed the millennium idea to politicians, but academics have received their share of the funding granted by the so-called Millennium Directorate¹ for research, conferences, and publications. Thus, regardless of nonexistent “medieval studies”, some of the millenarian research has been concerned with the Middle Ages and most of it is associated with yet another political initiative: the (re?) building of the grand ducal palace in Vilnius. Since the parliament passed the special rebuilding law in 1994, additional energy has been dedicated to archaeological and scholarly effort. I shall not dwell here on the controversial sides of this (re?)construction,² but will discuss its contribution to historical research. Archaeological excavations have not only provided new objects ranging from fragments of wall paintings executed in the Byzantine style and objects decorated with images on courtly subjects, but also offered data rectifying earlier interpretations of the urban development of Vilnius and the building of grand ducal residences there.³ In addition to excavations, scholars have been summoned to search for sources related to the palace under construction

¹ “Directorate for the Commemoration of the Millennium of Lithuania under the Auspices of the Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania,” <http://www.lietuvai1000.lt/index.en.htm>

² For a critical analysis of the (re?)construction see *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Valdovų rūmų atkūrimo byla: vieno požiūrio likimas* [The Case of the Reconstruction of the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes: The Fate of One Viewpoint], ed. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilnius: V U leidykla, 2006); the official position is given in Napalys Kitkauskas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai* [The Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes] (Vilnius: Kultūra, 2009).

³ *Vilniaus Žemutinės pilies rūmai* [The Palace in the Lower Castle of Vilnius], 5 vols. (Vilnius: L II and “Lietuvos pilys, 1989–2003).

Giedrė Mickūnaite

and thus materials not yet used for the study of Lithuanian history have been brought to light.⁴

These millenarian ambitions, in fact, had a kind of rehearsal in 2003, when the 750th anniversary of the coronation of Lithuania's first and only king, Mindaugas (r. 1253–1263), was celebrated. In addition to a statue of the king, studies and collection of sources pertaining to his reign have been published.⁵ The king's jubilee pushed the popular understanding of Lithuania's history back to the thirteenth century and was used to propagate the idea that since the Catholic baptism of Mindaugas in 1251 the country has preferred Western civilization. By the same token, the pagan past, well popularized in the Soviet period, has lost favor for the sake of the civilizing role of Latin Christianity. Luckily, the long tradition of research into pre-Christian beliefs was crowned with the four volumes of *Sources on Baltic Religion and Mythology*.⁶

Lithuania, like many other EU countries of the former Soviet block, aspires to mediate between Europe's East and West; however, in contrast to its rivals, Lithuania claims to have historical experience, the “multiethnic and multi-religious” Grand Duchy, which makes her fit for the mediator's role. For this popular understanding of the country's more remote, but not necessarily medieval, past credit must be given to professor Alfredas Bumblauskas, who in addition to teaching history at Vilnius University, authors and presents shows on history on national TV. Today the Grand Duchy is part of national pride, in contrast to the interwar period, which regarded the polonised Grand Duchy as somewhat inferior for not being a nation state.

⁴ *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a. – XIX a. pradžioje: 2002–2004 m. istorinių šaltinių paieškos* [The Lower Castle of Vilnius from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century: The Search for Historical Sources, 2002–2004], ed. Raimonda Ragauskienė (Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras, 2006); *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a. – XIX a. pradžioje: 2005–2006 m. tyrimai* [The Lower Castle of Vilnius from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century: Research from 2005–2006], ed. Liudas Glemža (Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras, 2007).

⁵ Edvardas Gudavičius, *Mindaugas* (Vilnius: Žara, 1998); *Mindaugo knyga: istorijos šaltiniai apie Lietuvos karalių* [The Book of Mindaugas: Historical Sources about the King of Lithuania], ed. Artūras Dubonis et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005); *Mindaugas karalius* [King Mindaugas], ed. Vytautas Ališauskas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2008).

⁶ *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai/Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology/Quellen der baltischen Religion und Mythologie*, ed. Norbertas Vėlius, 4 vols. (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996–2005).

As to why the Middle Ages has not constituted a separate field in studying national history,⁷ my answer is twofold: on the one hand because of the scarcity of medieval sources; on the other because the Middle Ages is a chronological part of the history of the Grand Duchy. To my mind, the latter assumption should be given more credibility, as Lithuania's troubled statehood has placed the state atop the historical hierarchy. Therefore, the periodization of the past follows the existence of the state. Hence, the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries are known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; the long nineteenth century is a time under the tsarist yoke, which was swept away by the establishment of the republic in 1918, which was broken by three consecutive occupations, and today's Republic of Lithuania continues what was terminated in 1940. The period before the thirteenth century is termed prehistory and largely relies on archaeological research.

Luckily, the above populist picture has quite a number of exceptions that make quality contributions to medieval studies. Critical editions of the *Lithuanian Metrica* and its research are augmenting and providing not only written sources, but also giving insights into how the grand ducal chancellery operated and on the growing authority of a written document.⁸ Grand Duke Gediminas' (r. 1316–1341) letters addressed to merchants and artisans along the Baltic coast as well as those to the papacy have received a new critical edition meticulously prepared by Stephen C. Rowell.⁹ Narrative sources also enjoy scholarly attention resulting in critical translations and novel interpretations on their compilations and changing functions.¹⁰ Pieces of Neo-Latin literature

⁷ In Lithuania, non-national history is hardly thinkable for several reasons, among which I would specify: (1) a general lack of resources; (2) the historical research of Lithuanian authors on non-Lithuanian subjects cannot compete with translations on the same topics; and (3) Lithuanian academics have lobbied successfully to have Lithuanian studies (termed *Lituanistica*) listed as a priority research area which is funded under separate programmes by the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation and some EU frameworks and given more points in annual ratings compiled by the Centre for Quality Assessment in Higher Education.

⁸ The *Metrica* served as a primary source for the work of Jurgita Kunsmanaitė, "Provisions for Widowhood in the Legal Sources of Sixteenth-Century Lithuania," Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2009).

⁹ *Chartularium Lithuaniae res gestas magni ducis Gedeminne illustrans/Gedimino laiškai*, tr. and ed. S. C. Rowell (Vilnius: Vaga, 2003).

¹⁰ E.g., Vygandas Marburgietis [Wigand von Marburg], *Naujoji Prūsijos kronika* [New Prussian Chronicle], tr. and ed. Rimantas Jasas, *Lituanistinė biblioteka* 30 (Vilnius: Vaga, 1999); Petras Dusburgietis [Petrus de Dusburg], *Prūsijos žemės kronika* [Chronicle of the Prussian Land], tr. Leonas Valkūnas, ed. Romas Batūra (Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2005).

have appeared in bilingual editions¹¹ and translations of a number of early modern texts have been published. In fact, the field of literature has thus far been the most international, supplying the Lithuanian audience with a series of medieval classics in translation.¹² The third field that has not only opened but is also gaining strength is the translation of Christian sources ranging from the early Church Fathers to monastic rules and publications on the religious heritage in Lithuania.

Considering research, a few monographs based on doctoral dissertations must be listed as pioneering in interdisciplinary medieval studies rather than presenting historical research in the narrow sense. Darius Baronas' study on the three martyrs of Vilnius¹³ opened a long-neglected inquiry into the Orthodox tradition. Baronas examines the biographies and the cult of the martyrs (killed ca. 1347) in the contexts of grand ducal policy, noble kinship, and confessions. The study traces the spread of devotion to the martyrs and reveals mechanisms that sustained their popularity. The useful appendixes offer a selection of martyrs' lives from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Muscovy, Byzantium, and the Balkans. The examination of Lithuanian nobility by Rimvydas Petrauskas¹⁴ combines prosopographic inquiry with research

¹¹ Jonas Vislicietis [Johannes Vislicensis], *Bellum Prutenum/Prūsų karas*, tr. and ed. Eugenija Ulčinaitė, Bibliotheca Baltica. Lithuania (Vilnius: Mintis, 1997); Jonas Radvanas [Johannes Radvanus], *Radvilias/Radviliada*, tr., ed. and intro. Sigita Narbutas, Bibliotheca Baltica. Lithuania (Vilnius: Vaga, 1997); Mikalojus Husovianas [Nicolaus Hussovianus], *Opera/Raštai*, ed. Sigita Narbutas, tr. Benediktas Kazlauskas, Sigita Narbutas, Eugenija Ulčinaitė, and Tomas Veteikis (Vilnius: LLTI, 2007).

¹² The following bilingual publications in the series of the Viduramžių biblioteka [Medieval Library] have come out in print: *Carmina Burana: vagantų poezija*, tr., ed. Sigita Narbutas, intro. Genovaitė Dručkutė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2003); *Marija Prancūzė Lé* [Marie de France, Les], tr., and intro. Genovaitė Druskutė, ed. Sigita Narbutas (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); *Novellino, arba šimtas senųjų novelių* [Il Novellino], tr. Dainius Būrė, ed. Živilė Nedzinskaitė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); Adomas Alietis [Adam de la Halle], *Dramos* [Plays], tr. and intro. Rita Černiauskienė, ed. Ona Daukšienė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); Andrius Kapelionas [Andreas Capellanus], *Meilės žiedas, arba trys knygos apie meilę* [De Amore], tr. Sigita Narbutas, intro. Genovaitė Druskutė, ed. Asta Vaškeliienė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2006); Jokūbas Voraginetis [Jacopo da Varazze], *Aukso legenda arba šventųjų skaitiniai* [Legenda aurea], book 1, tr. and ed. Veronika Gerbutavičienė, Sigita Narbutas, Vaidilė Stalioraitytė, and Tomas Veteikis (Vilnius: LLTI, 2008).

¹³ Darius Baronas, *Trys Vilniaus kankiniai: gyvenimas ir istorija/Tres martyres Vilnenses: vita et historia*, Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae (Vilnius: Aidai, 2000). Darius Baronas is a senior research officer at the Institute of Lithuanian History and a chair of the Vilnius Division of the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Sciences; he specializes in the fields of medieval hagiography and military history (email address: dbaronas@gmail.com).

¹⁴ Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Lietuvos diduomenė XIV a. pabaigoje – XV a.: sudėtis, struktūra, valdžia* (Lithuanian Nobility at the End of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Century: Composition, Structure, Power) (Vilnius: Aidai, 2003). Rimvydas Petrauskas is chair of the Department of Ancient and Medieval History at the Faculty of History of the Vilnius University, specializing in courtly culture and the nobility of Lithuania (email address: rimvydas.petrauskas@if.vu.lt).

into social structures, collective identity, and the exercise of group authority. Petrauskas' conclusions have reshaped prevailing theory on the development of Lithuanian nobility from officers at the grand ducal court and demonstrated a much greater variety of paths that led to the rank of magnate. In addition to a fresh and well-argued picture of fifteenth-century nobles and their careers, the list of noblemen appended to the book has become a much-used reference. My study on the image of Grand Duke Vytautas (r. 1392–1430), based on my CEU dissertation, was published in Lithuanian in 2008¹⁵ and sales records show that it has been quite popular.

A sad observation is that student interest in the Middle Ages seems to be decreasing. In addition to “all these languages” and limited career opportunities, a shortage of inspiring and dedicated teachers is a major obstacle to pursuing medieval studies. It is my impression that only archaeologists maintain a constant interest in the remnants from the Middle Ages; however, most of the dissertations in archaeology do not rely on written sources in their original languages and do not focus on specifically medieval remains, but rather consider entire sites or a certain type of find. My optimistic estimation is that in the fields other than archaeology one dissertation concerned with the Middle Ages is defended once in five years. Such a situation is quite adequate given the resources Lithuania can offer; however, a general internationalization of scholarship would enhance the popularity of medieval studies and it is my hope that our CEU department will continue to play its role here.

While the general picture of medieval studies in Lithuania may seem rather dull, I am pleased to say that there is more of the Middle Ages in the country. The exhibition “Christianity in the Art of Lithuania” organized by the Lithuanian Art Museum as a series of temporary shows in 1999–2003 was decisive for bringing long-neglected ecclesiastical and religious art into public awareness. Importantly, the treasury of Vilnius Cathedral, containing a number of top quality items from the Middle Ages, was exhibited there for the first time.¹⁶ Besides medieval objects in exhibition halls, new sites of medieval heritage have been identified or gained broader recognition. In addition to the well-known medieval towns of Trakai, Vilnius, and Kaunas, the settlement of Kernavė has been thoroughly excavated and today is open to public access as one of the world's heritage sites offering a panorama of a complex

¹⁵ Giedrė Mickūnaitė, *Vytautas Didysis. Valdovo įvaizdis* (Vytautas the Great. A Ruler's Image) (Vilnius: VDA leidykla, 2008).

¹⁶ *Vilniaus katedros lobynas/Vilnius Cathedral Treasury*, ed. Romualdas Budrys and Vydas Dolinskas (Vilnius: L D M , 2002).

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of five hill-forts and presenting earthworks that formed an impressive landscape in the Middle Ages. Research on medieval monasteries has focused predominantly on the mendicant orders, but the Benedictine tradition was addressed on the occasion of the 600-year anniversary of the first Benedictine foundation in 1405.¹⁷ In autumn 2008, a fourteenth-century graveyard was identified in Verkiai, a suburb of Vilnius. Its rich burials, containing items previously known only as single pieces, support the hypothesis of a formerly unknown town in the neighborhood of Vilnius. Lastly, I would like to share my joy that fragments of wall paintings executed in Byzantine style were uncovered in the parish church of Trakai. As these are the pieces that I am currently occupied with, I will use this opportunity to introduce the discovery in greater detail.

In 1645, Symon Mankiewicz, a priest, published the first history of the Trakai church where he mentions that once its walls were entirely painted with “Greek” images; however, after the porch was added to the western façade the paintings in the naves were whitewashed, although those in the presbytery survived. This information was briefly noted ten years later and these “Greek” murals were still “remembered” in the nineteenth century. Judging by the fragments that have been discovered as well as circumstantial evidence, the surviving paintings belong to three phases, two from the fifteenth century and one, in the presbytery, from the sixteenth. Paintings of the two lower registers have been found; the bottom features drapery and the upper one depicts full-size figures. In addition, the western and part of the northern wall showed the Last Judgement, of which the scene of Paradise survives in fragments. It is represented by the figure of the Patriarch Jacob, seated under the trees of Paradise, holding the souls of the elect in his bosom. An adjacent group of saints “looking” westwards are perhaps being let into the gates of Paradise by St. Peter. The identification of other figures requires more research. For the time being, it is noteworthy that their faces were mutilated deliberately before the murals were whitewashed. Thus, in addition to research on iconography and style, the paintings open the issue of Catholic iconoclasm from around 1600. The destruction of “Greek” images would not be surprising within the context of the Catholic Counter-Reformation; however, the paradox is that from then onwards the church of Trakai was renowned for the miraculous painting of the Mother of God, which is a Gothic Madonna transformed into

¹⁷ *Pirmieji pranciškonų žingsniai Lietuvoje XIII – XVIII a.* (The First Franciscan Steps in Lithuania, Thirteenth – Eighteenth Centuries), ed. Darius Baronas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2006); *Benediktinškoji tradicija Lietuvoje* (The Benedictine Tradition in Lithuania), ed. Liudas Jovaiša (Vilnius: Aidai, 2008).

a Byzantine-like Hodegetria, proclaimed as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Paleologus (r. 1392–1425).

The Trakai case is sufficient to show the availability of sources and topics for a medievalist, regardless of jubilees and other ornaments of contemporary politics. It seems, however, that the next event to bring the heroic Middle Ages to a wider public will be the screening of “Grünwald – the Iron Day”¹⁸ an epic movie dedicated to the 600th anniversary of the battle of Grünwald (15 July 1410), to be completed in the summer of 2010. While film critics are quite sceptical of the movie's artistic qualities, its advocates, among which one finds the Ministry of Defence, see it as a means to give Lithuanian-Polish military cooperation a history.

Withal, medieval studies could yet claim its position and win independence from the realities of today. It is my assumption that what is needed from those teaching about various issues of the medieval past is to explain it more clearly by showing that the Middle Ages was not just a period of history, but also a distinct system of reasoning which was reformed by Martin Luther and the multitude of his followers and rivals.

¹⁸ “Žalgiris – Geležies diena” (Grunwald – the Iron Day), director Raimundas Banionis, script Juozas Marcinkevičius, Marius Daškus and Raimundas Banionis, scholarly consultant Rimvydas Petrauskas.

THE STUDY OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN POLAND

Ryszard Grzesik

The fifteenth anniversary of the Medieval Studies Department at CEU is a good opportunity to describe the present status of recent medieval studies in Poland. Looking back over the whole twentieth century, there were three important turning points: 1918, when Polish independence was restored; 1939-1945, the period of Nazi-German and Soviet aggression when social life in Poland, including education and science, was demolished, and 1956, when Polish social sciences postponed the vulgar Marxism-Leninism in Stalin's interpretation and returned to pre-war research streams. The years after 1956 can be interpreted as a time of gradual liberalization of historical research. From the 1960s, Polish historiography (maybe excluding the historiography of the twentieth century) did not differ from Western European historiographies. Even though the year 1989 saw great political changes, initiated by the Round Table in Poland, it was not a turning point for medieval studies. The only difference was the question of finances, which remains an issue. The economic barrier separating Poland from luckier Western democracies still results in the absence of Western books in Polish libraries, which is still a reality even if things have improved somewhat in the last two decades, especially after becoming a member of the EU. We now have many more grant opportunities, although researchers are still learning how to apply for grants, and I hope that the new generation will be able to take advantage of the situation.

The year 1989 saw the start of discussions about the state of historical research and about the organizational aspects of Polish scholarship. The present organization of medieval studies was created after the Second World War and revised after 1956, but closely resembles the pre-war system. The basis are the universities and the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk, henceforth: PAN), created in 1952, with local Polska Akademia Umiejętności (Polish Academy of Arts) units active since 1871 (with a break from 1952 to 1989). A number of universities and research institutions undertake the study of the Middle Ages;¹ the most important centers are the University of Warsaw, where social history is addressed using comparative methods including cultural anthropology, sociology, and literary

¹ The relevant websites appear in the footnotes.

criticism.² The two universities in Cracow: the Jagiellonian³ and the Pedagogical,⁴ most famous for research on the Late Middle Ages and source criticism are among the most important centers of medieval studies in Poland. Poznań is perhaps more traditional in its approach to medieval history, but it boasts an active center of historical methodology for the history of European civilisation, church history, and source criticism.⁵ Wrocław has a natural interest in the history of Silesia;⁶ Toruń concentrates on the history of the Teutonic Order and the territories of Prussia;⁷ of the two universities in Lublin, the Catholic University deals mainly with the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland⁸ and the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University focuses on the social and cultural history of the Middle Ages.⁹ Gdańsk concentrates on the history of Pomerania, especially the eastern

² The home pages of the Institutes of Warsaw University are: the Institute of History, www.ihuw.pl (also in English); the Institute of Archaeology, www.archeo.uw.edu.pl; the Institute of Art History, www.ihs.uw.edu.pl.

³ The internet site of the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University is www.jazon.hist.uj.edu.pl; the Institute of Art History, www.ihs.uj.edu.pl; the Institute of Archaeology, www.archeo.uj.edu.pl.

⁴ The internet site of the Institute of History of the National Education Commission Pedagogical Academy: www.wsp.krakow.pl/historia; of the Institute for Polish Philology, www.wsp.krakow.pl/polski.

⁵ The nestor of Polish medievalists, Gerard Labuda, is still active at the age of 92 years, cf. *Naukowe dzieło Profesora Gerarda Labudy* [The Research Work of Prof. Gerard Labuda], ed. Józef Dobosz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2006). Brygida Kürbis (d. 2001) whole life was connected with the Institute of History of Adam Mickiewicz University [henceforth: UAM], see Brygida Kürbis, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej* [On the Threshold of History. Testimonies of the Cultural History of Medieval Poland] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001), and recently: Józef Dobosz, "Brygida Kürbis (1921-2001)" in *Ars scribendi. O sztuce pisania w średniowiecznej Polsce. Katalog wystawy* [The Art of Writing in Medieval Poland. Catalogue of the Exhibition], ed. Leszek Wętesko (Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, 2008), 11-13. The internet site of the Institute for History of Adam Mickiewicz University is www.historia.amu.edu.pl; of the Institute of Art History, www.arthist.amu.edu.pl; of the Institute of Prehistory, www.archeo.amu.edu.pl; of the Eastern Institute, www.iw.amu.edu.pl; of the Collegium Europaeum Gnesnense in Gniezno, www.ceg.amu.edu.pl; of the Institute for Polish Philology, www.polonistyka.amu.edu.pl.

⁶ The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Wrocław is www.hist.uni.wroc.pl; of the Institute of Archaeology, www.archeo.uni.wroc.pl; of the Institute of Art History, www.historiasztuki.uni.wroc.pl.

⁷ The internet sites of the Institute for History and Archivistics of Nicolaus Copernicus University are www.historia.umk.pl and www.historicus.umk.pl. There is no active Internet site of the Institute of Archaeology (February 2009). Nicolaus Copernicus University organized the first Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2002.

⁸ The internet site of the Catholic University of Lublin is www.kul.pl.

⁹ The internet site of the Institute of History of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin is www.umcs.lublin.pl. This university organized the second Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2005.

part;¹⁰ Łódź is a strong center of research on Early Medieval settlement as well as the history of war, armor, and Byzantine studies.¹¹ Białystok, formerly affiliated with Warsaw University, concentrates mainly on the regional history of Podlasie;¹² Katowice covers the history of Upper Silesia, social history, and Poland's relationship with Great Moravia, Hungary, and Bohemia.¹³ Minor centers of Polish medieval studies have been established at new state and private universities and high schools: Częstochowa,¹⁴ Rzeszów,¹⁵ Kielce,¹⁶ Piotrków Trybunalski,¹⁷ Pułtusk,¹⁸ Szczecin,¹⁹ Zielona Góra,²⁰ Bydgoszcz,²¹ Siedlce,²² Słupsk,²³ and Opole.²⁴

Apart from universities, academic institutions – the institutes of PAN – also deal with medieval studies. The PAN Institute of History [henceforth: IH PAN] employs several famous historians. It is a paradox that this institution, created as a result of the Sovietization of Polish research, became the home of anti-Communist dissidents. The dissidents were not allowed to work at universities and teach students, so as not to “infect” them, but they could work in the PAN and normally publish in journals. One of the departments of the IH PAN is the Department

¹⁰ The internet site of the Department of History of Gdańsk University is www.historia.ug.gda.pl.

¹¹ The Institute of History of the University in Łódź organized the third Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2008. Unfortunately, there is no good internet site; maybe the best ones, but not very useful, are www.historiasztuki.uni.lodz.pl and www.nph.uni.lodz.pl. The *katedra* [section] for the History of the Polish Language of the Department for Philology deals mainly with medieval Polish translations of liturgical texts; the internet site is katedra-historii-jezyka.strona.pl.

¹² The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Białystok (very good) is: www.historia.uwb.edu.pl; of the Institute for Polish Philology, ifp.uwb.edu.pl.

¹³ The internet site of the Institute of History of the Silesian University is www.historia.us.edu.pl.

¹⁴ The internet site of the Institute of the History of the Długosz Academy (Akademia Jana Długosza w Częstochowie) is www.ih.ajd.czyst.pl.

¹⁵ The internet site of the University of Rzeszów is www.univ.rzeszow.pl.

¹⁶ The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of John Kochanowski in Kielce is www.ujk.kielce.pl.

¹⁷ The branch (Filial) of the University of John Kochanowski in Kielce has no Internet site.

¹⁸ The Aleksander Gieysztor Academy of Humanities is perhaps the best private high school for the humanities in Poland. The internet site is www.wsh.edu.pl.

¹⁹ The internet site of the Institute of History and International Relationships of the University of Szczecin is www.hist.us.szn.pl.

²⁰ The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Zielona Góra is www.ih.uz.zgora.pl.

²¹ The internet site of the Institute of History and International Relationships of Casimir the Great University in Bydgoszcz is www.ukw.edu.pl.

²² The internet site of the Institute of History of the Podlaskan Academy in Siedlce is www.ih.ap.siedlce.pl.

²³ The internet site of the Institute for History of the Pomeranian Academy in Słupsk: www.apsl.edu.pl.

²⁴ The internet site of the Institute for History of the University of Opole: historia.uni.opole.pl.

of the Historical-Geographical Lexicon of Poland in the Middle Ages, with two branches, in Poznań and in Cracow.²⁵

Apart from the IH PAN, several other institutes are devoted to medieval research. The PAN Institute of Art (Instytut Sztuki) has been active in editing the Catalog of Artistic Monuments in Poland for the past half century.²⁶ The PAN Institute of Literary Research (Instytut Badań Literackich, henceforth: IBL) deals with medieval literacy and literature.²⁷ An excellent internet site about Polish medieval research was created by Prof. Andrzej Dąbrówka.²⁸

The PAN Institut of Slavonic Studies (Instytut Sławistyki) also has a Historical Department where dictionaries about the early history of the Slavs and bilingual editions of early Slavonic sources are prepared.²⁹ The PAN Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii), based in Warsaw, has daughter centers in Poland's main cities (among other, Poznań and Wrocław). Medieval archaeology is an important stream of its activity.³⁰

Regional museums deal with the regional past,³¹ and regional research societies focus on archaeological excavations and archival research.³² A new factor is that after 1989, due to the re-establishment of local autonomy and self-government, the local authorities are interested in discovering and popularizing the local past, mostly for tourism. They finance local festivities, chivalry tournaments, and popular conferences. The papers of these sessions are often published.

There are a large number of medieval studies research centers in Poland; researchers in major centers sometimes also work in minor institutes. Scholars from the PAN also teach in provincial high schools and publish their scholarly results at

²⁵ The internet site of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences: www.ih.edu.pl.

²⁶ The internet site of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences: www.ispan.pl.

²⁷ The internet site of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences is www.ibl.waw.pl.

²⁸ www.mediewistyka.net

²⁹ A new lexicon has been published recently: *Wczesna Słowiańszczyzna. Przewodnik po dziejach i literaturze przedmiotu* [Early Slavs. A Guide to the History and Secondary Literature], ed. Andrzej Wędzki, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2008).

³⁰ The Internet site of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences is www.iaepan.edu.pl.

³¹ As does the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, the internet site: www.muzarp.poznanopi; Museum of the First Piasts on Lednica Island, Internet site: www.lednicamuzeum.pl and Museum of the Origins of the Polish State in Gniezno, Internet site: www.mppp.pl.

³² Probably the oldest one is the Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, henceforth: PTPN), founded in 1857. Its head now is Prof. Jacek Wiesiołowski, earlier affiliated with IH PAN.

Polish publishing houses. If one wants to find all the literature written in a period in Poland one must travel through the main libraries, because no single library collects everything from other parts of the country. Even the “little” high schools produce excellent scholars who are known throughout Poland. There is now a change of generations; a generation of great historians who started their professional life in the late 1930s or after the Second World War is ending. Aleksander Gieysztor, Waław Korta, Brygida Kürbis, Bronisław Geremek, Benon Miśkiewicz and Witold Hensel have left us. The present authorities were born in the 1930s; they have mostly retired, but are still active in smaller public or private high schools. The professors active now were born in the 1940s and early 1950s; the generation born in the late 1950s and 1960s is ascending. Many scholars have defended their *Habilitationschriften* and play important roles in the lives of their schools or research institutes. A new generation of people born in the 1970s is starting their research careers. Most of them have defended their PhD theses and they are the basis of a middle stage of staff. Even people from the early 1980s are starting to make their ways in medieval history.

The period after 1989 was a time of constant reforms (or rather, discussions about reforms). The PAN was and still is perceived as a Communist institution, full of bureaucracy and with a Communist/Soviet way of thinking. This is particularly the opinion of the “radicals” who were generally quiet during Communist rule but now present themselves as the first anti-Communists. After the election in 2005, when Kaczyński’s PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Law and Justice, Party) started to govern Poland, discussions about the fate of PAN began anew. The argument was the same: it is a “Soviet institution.” After the new election in October 2007, the liberal PO (Platforma Obywatelska, Citizen’s Platform) took office and changed the argument: PAN must be dissolved because of its economic inefficiency. This is now part of a larger discussion about the future of Polish science. There are projects for a new Bill of Science organization and a Bill of the PAN. Polish humanists regard these projects with bemused curiosity. We read, e.g., that foreign candidates (read: from the USA or English-speaking world) are preferred for the directorial posts of the PAN. The evaluation system according to which the institutes are presently evaluated by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education is also curious. English-language publications in the journals listed by the Philadelphian Journal Citation Reports are preferred. If I publish elsewhere in another journal, but in English, I get a third of the points (10 instead of 30). Someone publishing in one of the basic Polish historical journals, such as *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Warsaw), *Przegląd*

Historyczny (Warsaw), *Roczniki Historyczne* (Poznań), *Studia Źródłoznawcze* (Warsaw), *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* (Warsaw), *Slavia Antiqua* (Poznań), *Studia Historyczne* (Cracow) or *Zapiski Historyczne* (Toruń), can get only 6 points. Monographs in English yield 24 points, in Polish only 12. This system is killing the humanities in Poland. Ministerial officials, who probably represent the experimental, mathematical, and biological sciences, should understand that the humanities and literary disciplines are a part of the national culture. We write mainly for Polish audiences, although we discuss with colleagues from other countries. If we do not popularise our own Polish point of view for Polish and European/world history nobody else will do it. Poland is the center of Polish research and I do not see a reason to change this fact.³³

What are the main directions of recent medieval research in Poland? It is hard to answer this question. Due to the great number of research centers, their activity is diverse. Therefore I will concentrate on some of the topics that are nearest to me, such as the celebrations of jubilees, archaeological research in connection with historical work, and source criticism, particularly publications.

Anniversaries are always a reason for intensifying historical research. Several jubilees have been celebrated in recent years. The Millenary of St. Adalbert's martyrdom in 1997 was the first; several conferences were organized and the papers published. The participants concentrated on each phase of Adalbert/Wojciech's life, his activity as a bishop in Prague, his journeys to Italy, France, and Hungary, and his tragic mission to Prussia. Many papers were devoted to the posthumous role of the saint in the creation of an independent Polish Church organization and Polish sovereignty. A number of archaeological research reports reconstructed his last journey and the place where he died, as well as a new biography and an anthology of the Polish historiographical texts about Adalbert.³⁴

³³ Projects (in Polish) are on the internet site of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education: www.nauka.gov.pl (click on the words: Reforma nauki).

³⁴ Jerzy Strzelczyk, "Naukowe pokłosie milenium śmierci św. Wojciecha" [Research Results of the Millenary of St. Adalbert's Death] *Nasza Przyszłość* 98 (2002): 5-97, Bibliography: 50-97; see also *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej* [St. Adalbert in the Polish Historiographical Tradition], ed. Gerard Labuda (Warsaw: Pax, 1997); Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech, Biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier* [Saint Adalbert. Bishop-Martyr, Patron of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary] (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2000). Several conference volumes have been published, such as: *Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo świętego Wojciecha* [The Central European Heritage of St. Adalbert], ed. Antoni Barciak (Katowice: Instytut Górnośląski, Urząd Miejski w Zabrze, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Oddział w Katowicach, 1998); *Tropami świętego Wojciecha* (On Traces of St. Adalbert), ed. Zofia Kurnatowska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999); *Dziedzictwo kultu świętego*

The question of Emperor Otto III's pilgrimage to St. Adalbert's tomb in the year 1000 is strongly connected with this topic. Its millenium was an opportunity to discuss Polish-German or Polish-imperial relationships once more. Such discussions have a long tradition in Polish historiography, where they have been analysed in the context of present politics. A lively historiographical tradition from the nineteenth through the twentieth century has been the interpretation of the constant German *Drang nach Osten* and the constant Polish defence.³⁵ Recently, medieval Germany has been seen as a federation of tribal territories, loosely connected to each other. The emperors had two kinds of politics; one of them, led by Otto III, was the *real* imperial *politic* of restoring the Roman Empire. What Poland's role was in Ottonian political thinking is still under discussion; early Piast Poland was an ally of the German emperors. The meeting in Gniezno resulted, without any doubt, in the creation of a new ecclesiastical center (at the same time when the Hungarian seat was created in Esztergom). Nevertheless, it emphasized the sovereignty of the state and gave the Polish ruler royal rights of the investiture of local bishops. It was the first step toward crowning a Polish ruler, but this did not take place due to the death of Otto III. His successor, the Bavarian Prince Henry, adopted another model of imperial politics, integrating the German territories and attempting political expansion into the neighbouring territories.³⁶ There has recently been a

Wojciecha. *Ogólnopolska sesja z okazji jubileuszu 1000-lecia męczeństwa św. Wojciecha*, KUL, 22 IX 1997 [The Heritage of St. Adalbert's Cult. General Polish Session on the Milenary of St. Adalbert's Martyrdom], ed. Rev. Ryszard Knapieński (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998); *Opolskie drogi św. Wojciecha* [St. Adalbert's Opole Ways], ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Opole: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1997); *Święty Wojciech i jego czasy. Materiały III Sympozjum Historyczno-Archeologicznego Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie, Saint-Maurice, 12-13 kwietnia 1997 roku* [Saint Adalbert and His Time. Materials of the 3rd Historical-Archaeological Symposium of the Polish University Abroad, Saint-Maurice, 12th-13th April 1997], ed. Andrzej Żaki (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000); Aleksandra Witkowska OSU, Joanna Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech. Życie i kult. Bibliografia do roku 1999* [Saint Adalbert. Life and Cult, Bibliography Until the Year 1999] (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2002).

³⁵ The title of a book by Zygmunt Wojciechowski was symptomatic: *Polska-Niemcy. Dziesięć wieków zmagania* [Poland-Germany. Ten Centuries of Fights] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1945).

³⁶ I think that the old article of Piotr Bogdanowicz with a detailed description of opinions about the Meeting in Gniezno is still useful. Piotr Bogdanowicz, "Zjazd Gnieźnieński w roku 1000" [The Meeting in Gniezno in the Year 1000] *Nasza Przyszłość* 16 (1962): 5-151, esp. 63-64. From the great account of the literature cf. biographies: Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko I* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2002); Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Wielkopolskiej Biblioteki Publicznej, 1999); Idem, *Otton III* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2000). Cf. also the conference materials: *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy* [Polish Territories in the

discussion over whether St. Adalbert's metropolis was originally in Gniezno or in Prague. The German historian Johannes Fried, who does not know Polish, Czech or Hungarian and is therefore unaware of the regional historiography, has questioned all the axioms of Polish historiography on the basis of the *Annales Hildesheimenses*, locating Adalbert's tomb in Prague. In his answer to Fried, Gerard Labuda has shown that this is not the earliest version of the *Annals*, but a rewritten version from 1065, when the relics of St. Adalbert did lie in Prague, having been stolen by the Bohemian prince, Břetislav I.³⁷

The millenium of the year 1000 was also an opportunity to return to the topic of the origins of Polish statehood, which was a continuation of research from the 1960s, the time of the millenium of the Christianization of Poland.³⁸ Archaeologists played an important role at these conferences. Their task was facilitated by a great excavation program launched because of the construction of the Yamal gas pipeline and new motorways. Archeologists developed a new method of dendrochronology which makes possible detailed dating of wooden artefacts;³⁹ this made it possible to develop a more detailed picture of the origins of the Polish state. Two original centers are now distinguished. The older one, a state of the Vistulians, was centered on Cracow and lay near the powerful states of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century: Great Moravia and Bohemia. The younger one lay in the west-central part of contemporary a state of the Polans. Their rulers, the Piasts, possibly descended from Giecz,

Tenth Century and Their Meaning for Creating a New Map of Europe], ed. Henryk Samsonowicz (Cracow: Universitas, 2000); *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000* [Poland at the Turn of the First and Second Millenium. Materials from a Session of the Art Historians' Society, Poznań, November 2000], ed. Szczesny Skibiński (Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 2001) (hereafter: *Polska na przełomie*); *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej* [1000 Years of the Gniezno Archbishopric], ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Janusz Górny (Gniezno: Prymasowskie Wydawnictwo Gaudetinum, 2000).

³⁷ Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliers, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989); Polish translation: Idem, *Ottón III i Bolesław Chrobry. Miniatura dedykacyjna z Ewangeliarza z Akwizgranu, zjazd gnieźnieński a królestwo polskie i węgierskie. Analiza ikonograficzna i wnioski historyczne* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 2000); Gerard Labuda, "Der 'Akt von Gnesen' vom Jahre 1000. Bericht über die Forschungsvorhaben und -ergebnisse," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 5 (2000): 146-188.

³⁸ Symbolic for this millenium was: *Początki Państwa Polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia* [The Origins of the Polish State. A Book of the Millenary], ed. Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Henryk Łowmiański, and Gerard Labuda, 2 vols. (Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Oddział w Poznaniu, 1962).

³⁹ Tomasz Ważny, *Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych w Polsce* [Dendrochronology of Artifacts in Poland] (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne, 2001).

unified the eastern part of modern Great Poland (Wielkopolska) and Cuyavia (Kujawy); the western and southern parts were destroyed and rebuilt about 940. This state was created with the main centers in Gniezno, Giecz, Grzybowo, and Poznań. Recent excavations of the palatium and the protective walls have created a better picture of the role of Poznań at the time of Mieszko I. It seems that Poznań might have been the most important center of the Early Polish state, although it was not a capital in the modern sense (this discussion, with a long tradition in Poland, is still ongoing).⁴⁰

Research on the origins of Poland and of the Slavic world is connected with this topic. Prof. Karol Modzelewski, in a fundamental monograph about the barbarian world, has reconstructed the mentality of the German and Slavic pagans and shown the revolutionary changes in their conceptions due to the spread of Christianity.⁴¹ The ethnogenesis of the Slavs was current before and after the Second World War, when it was demonstrated that the Slavs (read: Poles) had their own place in Europe, although this discussion seems rather futile now. There are two conflicting points of view: the neoautochtonic one (Slavs originated in the territories between the Oder and Vistula) and the allochtonic one (Slavs came to Poland from Ukraine), a point of view represented by the Cracow archaeologists. The discussion is full of personal invective and attacks; it no longer resembles a research discussion.⁴²

⁴⁰ Recently, Zofia Kurnatowska, "Formowanie się państw słowiańskich w aspekcie porównawczym" [Formation of the Slavic States in Comparative Perspective], in *Europa barbarica, Europa Christiana. Studia mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, ed. Roman Michałowski, et al. (Warsaw: DiG, 2008): 81-91, esp. 86-89. About the role of Poznań see *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania* [Studies in the History of Medieval Poznań], ed. Zofia Kurnatowska and Tomasz Jurek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005). For the opposite view see *Gniezno na europejskim szlaku milenijnym 1997 i 2000 (studia i materiały)* [Gniezno on the European Millennial Path, 1997 and 2000 (Studies and Materials)], ed. Aleksander Wojciech Mikołajczak (Gniezno: Oficyna Tum, 2002).

⁴¹ Karol Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa* [Barbarian Europe] (Warsaw: Iskry, 2004).

⁴² For a synthesis of the topic in English see Zbigniew Gołąb, *The Origins of the Slavs. A Linguist's View* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1992); Polish translation: Idem, *O pochodzeniu Słowian w świetle faktów językowych*, tr. Maria Wojtyła-Świerżowska (Cracow: Universitas, 2004). See also Hanna Popowska-Taborska, *Z językowych dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* [From the Language History of Slavdom] (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2004), esp. part 2: *Z historii badań i polemik nad etnogenezą Słowian* [From the History of the Critique and Polemics on the Ethnogenesis of the Slavs], 217-330. The allochtonic theory was created by the Cracow archaeologist, Kazimierz Godłowski, see his posthumous collection of studies: Kazimierz Godłowski, *Pierwotne siedziby Słowian* [Original Seats of the Slavs], ed. Michał Parczewski (Cracow: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000), and is continued by the representatives of the Cracow center; see Magdalena Mączyńska, "O etnogenezie Słowian" [On the Ethnogenesis of the Slavs] in *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, 15-26, esp. 22-23, for an attack on Witold Mańczak and

Ryszard Grzesik

Therefore, recently, Prof. Przemysław Urbańczyk has edited several studies by foreign historians which introduce a new point of view on ethnogenesis.⁴³ Urbańczyk recently edited a book which deconstructs everything that is known about the origins of Poland. He questions, for example, the existence of tribes among the Slavs. Urbańczyk is working on a synthesis using cultural anthropology to make his theories understandable for both historians and archaeologists.⁴⁴

There is a debate concerning the narrative sources of Polish history. Two volumes, containing the text of Master Vincent Kadłubek's text (a result of more than fifty years of work by Prof. Marian Plezia) and the *Annales Sancti Crucis*, have been published in a new series of Monumenta Poloniae historica (henceforth: MPH s. n.).⁴⁵ It is hoped that a new edition of the younger Cracow annals will be (or is being) prepared by Dr. Wojciech Drelicharz, who has written a brilliant monograph on this topic.⁴⁶ The new Polish translation of the *Vita Sancti Adalberti* has been published as well as a bilingual edition of the *Vita Sancti Zoerardi* and *Benedicti*, which pertains to Hungarian hagiography.⁴⁷ The first Polish bilingual edition of

Henryk Mamzer, representatives of the autochthonic theory. Their studies have been published, e.g., in *Slavia Antiqua* 38 (1997), 39 (1998), 43 (2002). For a good description of the discussion (or rather quarrel) about the meaning of the settlement hiatus at the end of the Roman period, see Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Nie-Słowianie o początkach Słowian* [Non-Slavs on the Origin of the Slavs] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2006): 133-175, esp. 144-153.

⁴³ Studies by Walter Pohl, Florin Curta, Sebastian Brather, and Paul Barford have been published in Polish translation.

⁴⁴ I do not agree with this proposal. I believe that "pure" history is the discipline which is predestined to build a synthesis of the past because of its nature, but I agree that all scholars dealing with the Middle Ages, historians, art historians, archaeologists, and philologists should discuss their research and try to reconstruct the past together. See Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Trudne początki Polski* [The Difficult Origins of Poland] (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2008).

⁴⁵ *Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika polska. Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH s. n., vol. 11 (Cracow, Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydawnictwo Secesja, 1994); *Rocznik świętokrzyski. Annales S. Crucis*, ed. Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, MPH s. n., vol. 12 (Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1996).

⁴⁶ Wojciech Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII-XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* [Annals from Little Poland from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century. The Direction of the Development of Great Compiled Annals] (Cracow: PAU, 2003) (hereafter: Drelicharz, *Annalistyka*).

⁴⁷ *W kręgu żywotów świętego Wojciecha* [In the Circle of St. Adalbert's Life Descriptions], ed. Jan Andrzej Spieź OP, tr. Brygida Kürbis, Janina Pleziowa, Maria Wojciechowska, Marian Plezia, Marek Grzelak, and Mirosław Wylęgała OP (Cracow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo benedyktynów, 1997); Stanisław Pietrzak, "Podstawowe źródła do żywota św. Świerada – omówienie i teksty" [Basic Sources on St. Świerad's/Zoerad's Biography – Description and Texts], in *Święty Świerad i jego czasy. Materiały z sympozjum naukowego w Tropiu 10-11 lipca 1998* [Saint Świerad/Zoerad and His Time. Materials from the Research Symposium in Tropie, 10-11 July 1998], ed. Rev. Stanisław Pietrzak (Nowy Sącz: Katolickie Stowarzyszenia "Civitas

the early Hungarian chronicle, *Gesta Hungarorum*, has also been published, as well as the oldest Teutonic chronicle of Master Peter of Dusburg.⁴⁸ There is a new discussion about Gallus Anonymus; Prof. Tomasz Jasiński has revived the old hypothesis about the Venetian origin of a chronicler and links him to Dalmatia. A Hungarian historian, Dániel Bagi, opposes this idea. Bagi has recently published a study, first in Hungarian and then in Polish, of Gallus' *Chronicle* as a source for Hungarian history, showing that the chronicler knew the *Gesta Ungarorum* written at the court of Coloman the Learned.⁴⁹ The first English translation of this narrative was recently published by the CEU Press.⁵⁰ The PAN Institute of Literary Research organized a session on Vincent Kadłubek which continued the discussion on the chronicler from the 1970s and 1980s. There have also been studies on the *Great Polish Chronicle* questioning its thirteenth-century origin⁵¹ and on the *Hungarian-*

Christiana," 2001): 291-313. A new edition of St. Adalbert's Passion (the so-called *Passio* of Tegernsee) and *Passio S. Brunonis* has been published recently: Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, "Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee" [The Passions of St. Adalbert and St. Bruno from the So-called Code of Tegernsee], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 40 (2002): 19-41, esp. 37-40.

⁴⁸ *Anonimowego notariusza króla Béli Gesta Hungarorum* [*Gesta Hungarorum* of the Anonymous Notary of King Béla], tr. Aleksandra Kulbicka, Krzysztof Pawłowski, and Grażyna Wodzinowska-Taklińska, intro. and notes Ryszard Grzesik (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2006); Piotr z Dusburga, *Kronika ziemi pruskiej* [Chronicle of the Prussian Territory], tr. Sławomir Wyszomirski, commentary Jarosław Wenta (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004).

⁴⁹ Tomasz Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima* [On the Origin of Gallus Anonymus] (Cracow: Avalon, 2008); See also Dániel Bagi, *Gallus Anonymus és Magyarországi. A Gesza magyar adatai, forrásai, mintái, valamint a szerző történetészemlélete a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű történetírásának tükrében* [Gallus Anonymus and Hungary. Hungarian Data, Sources and Gesta Examples as well as the Author's View on History in the Light of the Latin Historical Writers from the Latin Central Eastern Europe of the Beginning of the Twelfth Century] (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2005). The Polish version is Dániel Bagi, *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima* [Hungarian Kings in the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus] (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2008) with the addition of a counter-argument to T. Jasiński's study.

⁵⁰ *Gesta principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, tr. and annot. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, preface by Thomas N. Bisson (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003).

⁵¹ Brygida Kürbisówna, *Studia nad Kroniką Wielkopolską* [A Study of the Great Polish Chronicle] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1952); eadem, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku* [Great Polish Historiography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959) a chronicle from the end of the thirteenth century; Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Kronika Dzierżwy. XIV-wieczne Kompendium historii ojczystej* [Chronicle of Dzierżwa. The Compendium of the Home History from the Fourteenth Century] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979) from the fourteenth century based on Dzierżwa; Marek Derwich, "Janko z Czarnkowa a Kronika Wielkopolska" [John of Czarnków and the Great Polish Chronicle], *Acta Universitatis Vratislaviensis* No. 800. *Historia* 50 (1985): 127-162 a chronicle from the mid-fourteenth century written by John of

Polish Chronicle, which has also been translated into Polish.⁵² One must mention multi-volume editorial series of Polish documents preserved in the archives of the former Hungarian Kingdom⁵³ as well as the continuation, after almost a century, of the Diplomatic Code of Great Poland.⁵⁴ Cracow University books from the fifteenth century have been printed.⁵⁵ The Poznań center of the Institute for Slavonic

Czarnków; Edward Skibiński, "Dzierżwa i kronikarz wielkopolski. Powrót problemu" [Dzierżwa and the Great Polish Chronicler. Return of the Problem], in *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* [Historical Works], ed. Danuta Zydorek (Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2001) a chronicle independent from Dzierżwa, the chronology follows B. Kürbis; Drelicharz, *Annalistyka*, 211-262 the chronology follows J. Banasz Kiewicz.

⁵² Ryszard Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Z dziejów polsko-węgierskich kontaktów kulturalnych w średniowieczu* [The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle. From the Polish-Hungarian Cultural Relationship in the Middle Ages] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999); *Zywot św. Stefana króla Węgier czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska* [Description of St. Stephen's Life or the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle], ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Warsaw: DiG, 2003).

⁵³ *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier. Documenta ad res Poloniae pertinentia, quae in archivis veteris Regni Hungariae asservantur*, vol. 1 (*do 1450 r. – usque ad a. 1450*), ed. Stanisław A. Sroka (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 1998); vol. 2 (*dokumenty z lat 1451-1480 – documenta ex annis 1451-1480*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2000); vol. 3 (*dokumenty z lat – documenta ex annis 1481-1500*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2003); vol. 4 (*dokumenty z lat – documenta ex annis 1501-1520*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2006).

⁵⁴ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 6 zawiera dokumenty nr 1-400 z lat 1174-1400. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 6 comprehendit: diplomata nr 1-400 ex annis 1174-1400, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Henryk Kowalewicz (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 7 zawiera dokumenty nr 401-773 z lat 1401-1415. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 7 comprehendit: diplomata nr 401-773 ex annis 1401-1415, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Ryszard Walczak (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 8 zawiera dokumenty nr 774-1074 z lat 1416-1425. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 8 comprehendit: diplomata nr 774-1074 ex annis 1416-1425, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 9 zawiera dokumenty nr 1075-1380 z lat 1426-1434. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 9 comprehendit: diplomata nr 1075-1380 ex annis 1426-1434, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 10 zawiera dokumenty nr 1381-1699 z lat 1435-1444. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 10 comprehendit diplomata nr 1381-1699 ex annis 1435-1444, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1993); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 11 zawiera suplementy (dokumenty nr 1700-2023 z lat 1225-1444) oraz errata i indeksy do tomów 6-11. *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 11 comprehendit supplementum (diplomata nr 1700-2023 ex annis 1225-1444), corrigenda ac indices ad tomos 6-11, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jasiński, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999).

⁵⁵ *Księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z XV wieku* [The Book of Promotions of Cracow University from the Fifteenth Century], ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski with Tomasz Jurek, Izabela Skierska, Wincenty Swoboda (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2000); *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat*

Studies publishes a series of excerpts from narrative sources which are unknown to Polish historians in the original languages with a Polish translation and extensive commentaries. The purpose of this series is to give Polish scholars an instrument for further research.⁵⁶

Polish medievalists are active. Instead of financial and organization problems, Polish researchers discuss topics from the history of Poland and Europe (we have never forgotten that we are a part of the Western cultural zone). One can observe a change in the generations in last few years. The second characteristic feature of the most recent period is the creation of several new high schools where famous pensioned historians often work. Even the smallest schools try to create their own research milieu and attract authorities. The former High Pedagogical School in Słupsk, now called the Pomeranian Academy (see n. 23 above), can serve as an example; it used to be one of the worst high schools in Poland and regularly occupied the lowest places in the rankings. But now Prof. Jerzy Hauziński is there, a famous specialist in medieval Islamic civilization, and Dr. Jarosław Sochacki, who edited Wipo's biography of the Emperor Konrad in Polish and the Latin original.⁵⁷ A detailed analysis of Polish medieval studies must take local centers into consideration besides the well known centers. The richness of "production" needs more systematic studies and more detailed presentation than has been made above. I hope, nevertheless, that even such particular remarks will give you the image of medieval studies in Poland in recent years.

1400-1508, *Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258. Metrica Universitatis Cracoviensis a. 1400-1508. Bibliotheca Jagellonica cod. 258*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska with Ryszard Grzesik, vol. 1: *Text*; vol. 2: *Indexes* (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2004).

⁵⁶ Until now only three volumes of the Greek series have been published by Alina Brzostkowska and Wincenty Swoboda (d. 2000), ed., *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian, seria grecka* [Testimonies of the Oldest Slavic History, Greek Series], vol. 2 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989); vol. 3 (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1995); vol. 4 (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1997). The next volumes, including vol. 1 and a Latin series are in preparation. About the Latin series see Ryszard Grzesik, "Arbeiten an den Testimonien der frühen Geschichte der Slawen," in *Die Geschichtsschreibung in Mitteleuropa. Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, ed. Jarosław Wenta (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999); Idem, *Materiały do Bibliografii do łacińskiej serii Testimoniów najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian* [Materials for the Bibliography of the Latin Series of the Testimonies of the Oldest Slavic History], ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2007).

⁵⁷ Wipon, *Chwalebne czyny cesarza Konrada II. Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris* [In Praise of King Konrad II], ed. Jarosław Sochacki and Ewa Milkamanowicz (Cracow: Universitas, 2005). Unfortunately, this edition has no index.



IS THERE A FUTURE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN ROMANIA?

Carmen Florea

The title of this essay might sound rather pessimistic when it comes to commenting on the status of medieval studies in Romania. It could even be confusing, since there are at least two major positive observations regarding medieval studies. One is inclined to emphasize the privileged position of historical research in Romania because of the different historical traditions (Romanian, Hungarian and German) which co-exist here. As with everything else regarding present-day Romania, the year 1990 also represented a turning point from this point of view. At the beginning of the 1990s Romanian historians tried to propose new avenues to study the past; the Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesülete (*Transylvanian Museum Association*) was re-established after its operation had been forbidden for more than four decades, and collaboration with the *Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* was renewed.¹

The other positive conclusion concerns the institutional context framing the study and research of medieval history. According to official data, medieval history is studied at the undergraduate level in no less than sixteen public universities and five privately funded institutions.² It seems that students in Romania have many opportunities to become acquainted with medieval studies, since courses on medieval European

¹ In late December 1989 a group of historians from Romania led by the distinguished medievalist Șerban Papacostea denounced the uses of history for nationalistic purposes during the communist era and proposed a re-connection with the valuable suggestions formulated in the inter-war historical discourse from Romania and with current research trends in international historiography. Among those issuing this *Declaration of Free Historians* were David Prodan, Dionisie Pippidi, Henri Stahl, Zsigmond Jakó, Teodor Pompiliu, Viorica Moisiuc, Andrei Pippidi, Ștefan Andreescu, Octavian Iliescu, Ștefan Gorovei, Alexandru Zub. The initiative received enthusiastic approval from Saxon historians who had left Romania to pursue their academic careers in Germany; see Konrad G. Gündisch's response in *Revista Istorică* 1, No. 6 (1990). Details about the revival of the Transylvanian Museum Association can be found in its journal *Erdélyi Múzeum* 53(1991): 183-94 (also available online at epa.oszk.hu). From 1962 onwards the Arbeitskreis in Germany continued the activity of the Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, a society which had functioned in Transylvania between 1840 and 1947 (www.sibiweb.de/aksl).

² The list is available on the official website of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research in the section dedicated to higher education, see www.edu.ro. History is offered at the BA level at the universities of Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Arad, Bacău, Cluj (Kolozsvár), Constanța, Craiova, Galați, Iași (Jászvásár), Oradea (Nagyvárad), Pitești, Sibiu (Nagyszeben), Suceava, Târgoviște, Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely), and Timișoara (Temesvár). Privately funded universities offering history are: Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir", "Spiru Harer" University, Hyperion University, all in Bucharest, West University "Vasile Goldiș" in Arad, and "Mihail Kogălniceanu" University in Iași.

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history and Romanian medieval history are compulsory in the national curriculum detailing the domains and areas of specializations in history.³ This introduction to the study of the medieval past can be continued during the MA programs; they aim to offer specializations on specific topics ranging from the case of Transylvania in Central Europe to issues of power and ideologies in the Middle Ages.⁴

At least equally satisfying seems to be the number of research institutes and centers where medieval studies are integrated into the general research policy of these institutions. Again, official data reveal a fairly impressive number of such research units, the great majority of them being affiliated with the Romanian Academy of Sciences. Alongside the research institutes established in the inter-war period and which continued to function during the communist era as well,⁵ new institutional structures, either institutes or research centers, were organized after 1990.⁶ As is the

³ This is a centralized decision taken by the Ministry of Education and implemented by ARACIS (The Agency for Ensuring the Quality in Higher Education), official website www.aracis.ro.

⁴ It is rather a surprise that the number of MA programs accredited by ARACIS and focusing on different aspects of the Middle Ages is extremely low compared to the number of Faculties of History where the history of the Middle Ages is taught. For the academic year 2008/2009 I identified only twelve such programs: two at Alba Iulia University (Museology and Cultural Heritage, Transylvania in the Cultural History of Central Europe); two at the Faculty of History of "Babeș-Bolyai" University in Cluj (Society, Art, and Identities in Central Europe – From the Middle Ages to the Modern Times, and Philosophy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages), and one each at the University of Galați (Romanian Space between East and West); the Faculty of History in Iași (an MA program in Power and Society in Antiquity and the Middle Ages), the University of Oradea (an MA program on the History of Western Romania), the University of Sibiu (Central and South; Eastern Europe in the first millennium of the Christian Era); and at the Faculty of Archival Studies of the Police Academy in Bucharest (an MA program in Ancient Languages and Paleography).

⁵ Although their function was severely altered by the adoption of the Soviet model of organizing research institutes in 1948.

⁶ The section dedicated to the institutions, centers and foundations subordinate to the Academy can be found at www.acad.ro/academia2002. These are: Institute of Archaeology and Art History (Cluj); the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga" (Bucharest), the Institute of History "George Bariț" (Cluj), the Institute of South Eastern European Studies (Bucharest), the Institute of Archaeology "Vasile Pârvan" (one of the research directions here is devoted to the migration era and the Middle Ages); the Institute of History "A. D. Xenopol" (Iași), and the Institute of Archaeology (Iași), which was created in 1990 as a result of the transformation of the Department of Archaeology of the Institute of History "A. D. Xenopol." In Sibiu, Târgu Mureș, Craiova, and Timișoara the beginning of the 1990s witnessed the emergence of Institutes of Socio-Human Research, all funded and organized under the auspices of the Romanian Academy. The Center for Transylvanian Studies was established in Cluj in 1991 as a branch of the Bucharest-based Romanian Cultural Foundation; after 2007 it became a department of the Romanian Academy. Its foundation, however, was regarded as a re-establishment of the former Center for Studies and Investigations of Transylvania which operated at Cluj-Sibiu University between 1942 and 1948. One of the first institutional results of the effort of integrating historical research from Romania into the European picture was the creation of

case with the numerous faculties of history, these research structures too, reflect an increased regionalization, being established not only in the traditional academic centers of Bucharest, Cluj (Kolozsvár) and Iași, but also in towns such as Craiova, Timișoara (Temesvár), Sibiu (Nagyszeben), and Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely).

This regionalization is not the only feature of this institutional framework, however. One can add that this is a structure massively funded, in some cases exclusively, from the public budget. Furthermore, one notes the centralized character of the governing administrative bodies (the Ministry of Education and Research or the Romanian Academy) to which the universities and the institutes are subordinate. Depending on a single center for issues of financing and daily administration correspondingly increases and determines excessive bureaucracy. Apart from this, most of the historical journals published in Romania are funded from the public budget and issued by universities, institutes of research, museums or archives. Medieval topics are covered in separate sections of the journals of the three main history institutes from the three traditional centers,⁷ but there are also two journals dedicated entirely to the Middle Ages.

The first, *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, is issued annually by the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History (Bucharest). Significantly, the first issue published after 1989⁸ proposed a new approach to the Romanian Middle Ages which aimed at integrating Romanian research into the international picture, promoting interdisciplinary research, and continuing the work of source editing. The other is *Medievalia Transilvanica*. First published in 1997 by the Museum of Satu-Mare County (Szatmár megyei Múzeum) and bringing together an editorial board of Romanian and Hungarian medievalists,⁹ this journal confirms the tendency

the Institute for Central European Studies of “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj in 1990. Since 1994 the institute has published an English-language journal, *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*. It is worth mentioning that apart from the numerous studies dealing with medieval topics published over the years, the journal also dedicates ample space to influential medievalists such as interviews with Jacques Le Goff, vol. 7-9, no. 1-2 (2001-2002), and Bronisław Geremek, vol. 10-11, no. 1-2 (2003-2004), Gábor Klaniczay (a special “Profile” section), vol. 13, no. 1-2 (2005), the late professor Zsigmond Jakó, vol. 14, no. 1-2 (2006) and Șerban Papacostea, vol. 14 (2007).

⁷ *Revista istorică* of “N. Iorga” Institute of History, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* of the Institute of History Cluj, and *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “A.D. Xenopol”* Iași.

⁸ Vol. 11, 1993. Until 1999, it was published by the Romanian Academy’s publishing house. For unspecified reasons, at least not in the journal’s pages, since 1999 it has been published by a local publishing house, Editura Istros of the Museum of Brăila.

⁹ The members of the Editorial Board were Marius Diaconescu, Ioan Drăgan, the late Pál Engel, Ioan Aurel Pop, Adrian A. Rusu, and Gábor Sipos.

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to regionalize research topics that came to the fore after 1989. The journal has three stated goals: to promote research topics pertaining to medieval Transylvania, to ground the study of the history of this region on an “objective basis,” and to encourage collaboration among Romanian, Hungarian, and German historians in order to overcome the identification of medieval Transylvanian history with the history of each one’s own ethnicity.

This situation could make one wonder if the multitude of structures for studying and publishing about the Middle Ages in Romania are matched by a diversity of research strategies. Furthermore, how is this diversity reflected in the works published in the last fifteen years? Has it led to debates that changed the way the medieval past is researched and written about? In order to find answers to these questions it is worth investigating how medieval studies have been present in the historical debates of the last fifteen years.

One of the general features of medieval studies in Romania has been the consistent effort made in the last fifteen years to study various aspects of medieval history comparatively. From this point of view, one can again detect a regionalization of the comparative approach according to the three main centers, București, Iași, and Cluj, where the works published in recent years have increasingly reflected an understanding of the medieval past as connected to neighboring geographical and political areas (Southeastern Europe, the Pontic space, and Central Europe).¹⁰

¹⁰ *Tahsin Gemil, Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI* [Romanians and Ottomans between the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1991); Șerban Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea între cruciată și imperiul mongol* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), English translation: *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire: Romanians in the Thirteenth Century*, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1998); Mihai Maxim, *L’Empire Ottoman au nord du Danube et l’autonomie des Principautés Roumaines aux XVIe siècle* (Istanbul: Isis, 1999); Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, (Iași: Institutul European, 1999), English translation: *The Great Migrations from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, 9th-13th c.*, Cluj: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003); Ștefan Andreescu, *Din istoria Mării Negre (Genovezi, români și tătari în spațiul pontic în secolele XIV-XVII)* [About Black Sea History. Genoese, Romanians and Tartars in the in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001); Ovidiu Pecican, *Arpadieni, angevini, români. Studii de medievistică central-europeană*, [Arpadians, Angevins, Romanians Black Sea Regia. Studies on Central European Medieval History] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației Desire, 2001); Șerban Turcuș, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea* [The Holy See and the Romanians during the Thirteenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001); Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, *Bizanțul și românii. Eșuri, studii, articole* [Byzantium and the Romanians. Essays, studies, articles] (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Pro, 2003); Ovidiu Cristea, *Veneția și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII-XIV. Contribuții la studiul politicii orientale venețiene* [Venice and the Black Sea in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries. Contributions to the Study of the Venetian Oriental Policy] (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2004); Șerban Papacostea, *La Mer Noire carrefour des grandes routes intercontinentales 1204-*

It is worth mentioning in this context the attempt to understand the Romanian medieval past by referring constantly to relations with the Other (migrations, neighboring Christian kingdoms or the Ottoman Empire).¹¹ This tendency for regionally focused research is even better illustrated by the detailed studies dedicated to particular regions of present-day Romania.¹²

After 1989, medieval studies in Romania seem to have been almost exclusively concerned with the close scrutiny of geographical units whose medieval past was studied either in relation with the general evolution of medieval Europe (or more precisely, Central and Southeastern Europe) or with the local history of the respective regions. These were undoubtedly clear points of departure from the way medieval history had been studied during the Communist regime. But did this

1453 (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2006); Andrei Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains. Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

¹¹ As was the case with Bogdan Murgescu's book, *Istorie românească - istorie universală (600-1800)* [Romanian History-European History, 600-1800] (Bucharest: Editura Teora, 1999).

¹² Ioan Aurel Pop, *Instituții medievale românești: adunările cneziale și nobiliare (boierești) din Transilvania (secolele XIV-XVI)* [Romanian Medieval Institutions from Transylvania, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1991); Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1993); Wolfgang Schuller, ed., *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Römer und der Völkerwanderung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1994); Adrian Bejan, *Banatul în sec. IV-XII* [The Region of Banat between the Fourth and the Twelfth Centuries] (Timișoara: Editura de Vest, 1995); Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* [Architecture in Transylvanian, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum, 1996); Harald Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1996); Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* [The Foundation of Moldavia. Controversial Issues] (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 1997); Adrian A. Rusu, *Cittori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* [Founders and Churches in the Hațeg region until 1700] (Satu-Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997); Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, vol. 1-2 (Hermannstadt-Heidelberg: Monumenta Verlag-Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1998-1999); Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440-1514* [Transylvanian Romanian Nobility between 1440 and 1514] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000); Dan Nicolae Busuioc-von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului în secolul al XIII-lea. Mănăstirea cisterciană de la Cârța* [The Făgăraș Region during the Thirteenth Century. The Cistercian Monastery of Cârța] vol. 1 (Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000); Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden und das Burzenland. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2000); Mihaela Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* [Dominican Monasteries in Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002); Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi, *Privilegiile și îndatoririle orașelor din Transilvania voievodală* [Privileges and Duties of the Towns from the Voievodate of Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003); Lidia Gross, *Confreriile medievale în Transilvania (sec. XIV-XVI)* [Transylvanian Medieval Confraternities, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Cluj-Napoca, Editura Grinta, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004); Laurențiu Rădvan, *Orașele din Țara Românească pînă la sfîrșitul secolului al XVI-lea* [The Towns of Wallachia until the End of the Sixteenth Century] (Iași: Editura Universității "A.I. Cuza", 2004).

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renewal of topics and approaches lead to more substantial debates about how we analyze the Middle Ages? Did this determine reflection on the methods used and the way the medieval past is understood?

The major historical journals devoted ample space to book reviews and various viewpoints could be expressed in separate sections.¹³ Unsurprisingly, thus, one of the most interesting debates, that between Șerban Papacostea and Daniel Barbu, can be found in the journal devoted to medieval studies.¹⁴ This was one of the few debates which could have changed both the fate and the “face” of medieval studies in Romania. Papacostea insisted on the historian’s obligation to use the documents extensively, to remain faithful to the information they provide, and to always search for historical facts.¹⁵ On the other hand, Barbu argued, in the spirit of Karl Popper’s “The Poverty of Historicism”¹⁶ that what the sources reveal are only facts as they were understood and interpreted by those producing them. These two opposite views on how the sources can or cannot be used in order to gain a more nuanced comprehension of the past deserved a more detailed debate. Unfortunately, this did not happen; at least, none of the historical journals of the Romanian Academy, including the one where the debate started, echoed this polemic. It seems that medievalists in Romania lost an excellent opportunity to discuss how Ranke’s idea of *wie es eigentlich gewesen* could be, and even deserves to be, further applied to medieval studies.

A profound silence seems to have surrounded the community of medievalists in Romania in the years 2002-2003. This silence concerned not only a case of serious plagiarism, which was denounced particularly in cultural magazines, but also the debates taking place at Leeds in July 2003.¹⁷ Romanian medievalists seemed to

¹³ Such as the Addenda et corrigenda section of the journal *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, that of Viewpoints in *Medievalia Transilvanica* or the Workshop section of the Erdélyi Múzeum.

¹⁴ The debate focused on Barbu’s book *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essai sur la production politique de la foi au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998).

¹⁵ *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 20 (2002): 350-351.

¹⁶ First published in 1957, Romanian translation published in 1996 (Bucharest: Editura All). Barbu’s response was published in the same periodical, vol. 21 (2003): 383-389.

¹⁷ Several medievalists, among them Șerban Papacostea, Ștefan Andreescu, Leon Șimanschi, and Ovidiu Pecican protested in cultural magazines such as *Revista 22*, (11 March 2002 and 15 July 2002) and *Observatorul cultural* (no. 107, March, 2002) against volume 4 of the History of the Romanians, published by the Romanian Academy publishing house. The volume, coordinated by the Academy’s Section of Historical Studies, contained chapters which were largely plagiarized from previously published material. See also the review by Daniel Ursprung, “Historiographie im Zeichen der Beharrung. Kritische Anmerkungen zur umfangreichsten Gesamtdarstellung der rumänischen Geschichte,” *Südostforschungen* 63-64 (2004-2005):

be indifferent to discussing the fate of their craft both at home and abroad. As was the case with the Barbu-Papacostea debate, which could have occasioned a reflective discussion on the medievalist's craft today but in fact did not, we lost a great opportunity. It seems that the culture of debates, discussions, critical reviews is not strongly present on our agenda.

This seems to be confirmed also by the bitter conclusions reached by those evaluating the status of Romanian historiography after 1989.¹⁸ Perhaps the most disappointing remarks concern the Middle Ages itself. According to Ovidiu Cristea, one of the respondents, medieval studies in Romania after 1990 did not evolve satisfactorily. This was determined by the absence of a critical assessment of medieval studies in the 1990s, by a significant lack of communication among medievalists from different parts of the country, and equally important, the lack of a coherent research strategy. His conclusion is pessimistic and reveals a paradox: medieval studies in Romania pretend "to go western," but, this journey is made with a patriotic historiography.

Rather hesitantly, this situation is tending to get better in cyberspace virtual space. The existence of two websites, one claiming to be that of the medievalists from Romania¹⁹ and the other wishing to promote an alternative history,²⁰ where divergent opinions are constantly being presented and debated, might bring some improvement to the "non-combatant" status of medieval studies. Still, one can dare hope that individual initiatives, the existence of dedicated, well trained and eager-to-change-something medievalists would dramatically transform the current

408-421. At the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2003 a panel was organized on: "Is There a Place for Medieval Studies in Present-Day Society?"

¹⁸ *Revista istorică* 15 (2004): 51-60. *The Outlook in Historiography* also comprised the points of view of two alumni of the CEU Medieval Studies Department, Mária Pakucs Willcocks and Marian Coman. The need for clarification and evaluating the status of medieval studies was clearly felt fifteen years after the fall of the Communist regime as this is also seen in Zsigmond Jakó's *Az erdélyi magyar történetkutatás mai kérdései* [Present Issues concerning Hungarian Historical Research in Transylvanian], opening remarks at a conference organized in Cluj, 20 and 21 October 2004, *Erdély a magyar középkorkutatásban* [Transylvania in Hungarian Medieval Research], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67 (2005): 1-5.

¹⁹ www.medievistica.ro is available only in Romanian. There are several medieval topics which are dealt with such as history, archaeology, art, monuments, a substantial section dedicated to book reviews and a forum for debates. Among the contributors are also two Medieval Studies alumni, Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "Feudalismul românesc" [Romanian feudalism] and Cristian Daniel, "Istorie bisericească" și "istorie a bisericii" [Ecclesiastical History and Church History].

²⁰ www.patzinakia.ro, a site developed by medievalists and early modern researchers. It also hosts the online journal *Studia Patzinakia*, volume 7 (2008). Among the most active members of this group is Ana Maria Gruia, an alumna of the Medieval Studies Department.

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status. For this to happen, however, they will have to renounce turning a deaf ear to each other; they will have to learn to communicate with each other at least to the same extent as they are with their colleagues from other parts of the continent. Furthermore, serious debates on concepts such as “Romanian medieval space/territory,” “Romanian medieval civilization,” and the chronology of the Middle Ages are still needed. One of the unexpected results of the regionalization and fragmentation of medieval studies after 1989 was the dominant ethnic view from which various topics were approached. If there is a future for medieval studies in Romania, concepts, chronology, and methodological approaches should be clarified. Otherwise, this future will be marked not by regionalization, but by parochialism.

MEDIEVAL STUDIES ON THE BORDER

Péter Levente Szőcs

The County of Satu Mare (Szatmár) is the northwesternmost region of today's Romania, on the border with Hungary and Ukraine. It was not part of any historical region of Romania (Maramureş or Transylvania) therefore historical interest in Satu Mare has remained on a local level. This is the reason why national or regional historical projects, among them studies of medieval history, have neglected this area and little institutional support from the central level can be detected even today. Local organizations (the county museum and the county library) had to take on additional tasks in order to recover local history and connect to regional or national issues. The particular position of Satu Mare conferred a peripheral situation in terms of historical geography and determined a special set of tasks for local historical research.

A few days after I graduated from Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Kolosvar, in 1997, I was employed as a medieval archaeologist at the County Museum of Satu Mare. I discovered in a short time that little I had learned at the university was useful in daily tasks. Handling the inventory, work in the curation storage, so-called "scientific evidence," and the organization of an exhibition were new challenges. Field work and research, in which the university trained graduate students, comprised only about 15% of the job. Adapting to the new challenges was aggravated by a lack of older and experienced specialists. The educational policy of the 1970s and 1980s did not favor the humanities; therefore, there was a shortage of skilled archivists, librarians, archaeologists, and museum specialists in Romania in the 1990s. After 1990 the universities focused on these disciplines and the lack was gradually compensated for after 1995, when young graduates started their careers. This trend, however, resulted in overproduction, causing new problems after the year 2000.

Thus, I had a strong feeling of periphery in Satu Mare in 1997 caused by the relative strangeness of the museum tasks, the regional specificities, and the lack of skilled colleagues. This feeling was reinforced by the underdeveloped research infrastructure, the situation of the local libraries being the most eloquent in this sense. I had not expected to find international periodicals or publications, but it seemed reasonable to expect to find complete series of the most important Romanian archaeological, historical, and ethnographic journals (the main fields of

the museum's activity). Instead, I discovered that these series were incomplete and even the simplest task of finding a proper reference presupposed bibliographical research in Cluj or another center. There were various reasons for the lacks in the library, the most joyless being the lack of funds for postage. This situation more and more resembled the peripheral provinces of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Certainly there was no collapse and disintegration, rather a period of small-scale cultural and scientific revival started from the year 2000, following the economic rebirth of Romania. Meanwhile, the peripheral position of Satu Mare turned out to be an advantage; it favored cross-border relations, established both on institutional and personal levels. These contacts compensated for the weak interest of national or regional organizations in the area, and conferred a possibility for the County Museum of Satu Mare to be a bridge to Hungary and Ukraine. Medieval history, particularly the problems related to medieval monuments, proved to be issues of common interest, generating common projects. A series of workshop was started on "Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania," first held in Satu Mare in 1998; the sixth such event was organized in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), by the "Jósa András" Museum, the partner organization, in 2008. The papers presented at these workshops have been printed in four volumes and the fifth will be issued shortly. Parallel to this, a group of scholars from Cluj and from the Institute of History of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, started a journal on the medieval history of Transylvania: *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*. The main task of the journal was to establish a common location for Romanian and Hungarian scholars to present and debate their results. The County Museum of Satu Mare provided the secretariat for the editorial board and the financial support for the printing. At present, a number of other research projects have been implemented with partner institutions in Hungary and Ukraine, and the field of common projects has been enlarged, covering prehistoric and antique archeology, modern history, and ethnography.

Apart from the geographical specificities and the differences caused by the various types of research organizations (i.e., universities, research institutes, museums on central, regional and local levels), medieval studies in Romania is also divided along various methodological approaches. The traditional historical research is based almost exclusively on written sources, incorporating in a rather limited measure the results of archeology and art history. These three fields of studies had parallel developments regarding education, institutions, and research projects. There are few interdisciplinary approaches, in spite of the fact that the relative

poverty of medieval sources on Transylvania, and on Romania more widely, can be compensated for by combining all types of available data and methods. The fate of medieval archeology is particularly peculiar. While several research institutions and museums employ one or more medieval archaeologists, there is no university background for this specialization. Medieval history departments focus on written sources, while archaeological departments cover the periods from prehistory until the first millennium A.D. Medieval archeology, therefore, falls between the two departmental areas; specialization in this field must be gained through volunteer field work, optional seminars, and personal contacts with senior researchers.

The need for properly trained archaeologists specialized in the Middle Ages, however, is large. Several rehabilitation projects are being implemented on medieval monuments, while a great number of archaeological sites dating to the Middle Ages have been identified and rescued due to large scale investments before development. As in other neighboring countries, the largest rescue excavations have taken place during highway projects. The huge scale of these research projects generated a renewal of excavation techniques and the improvement of the research infrastructure. The great amount of data gathered at these sites required the implementation of computer-based information management, while the large number of finds recovered caused problems related to storage and conservation. The lack of skilled human resources, however, proved to be the greatest problem during these large-scale projects. These great rescue projects multiplied archeological information on the Middle Ages. The most significant development can be seen in research into Late Antiquity and the Migration period (fourth to tenth century). A few years ago our knowledge on this period was based on isolated discoveries and partially researched sites. The large surface of the rescue projects permitted almost complete research on sites, therefore they provide an accurate chronology and detailed picture of material culture.

Parallel to investments in new infrastructure, the rehabilitation work on architectural monuments saw an additional impulse in the last decade, sustained by the increasing interest in national heritage and their incorporation in tourism. Extensive restorations have been made at the most important monuments in the country, preceded in most cases by archaeological and art historical research. National funds have been directed mainly to the world heritage sites (the wooden churches of Maramureș (Máramaros), the monasteries of Moldova and Bucovina), and the monuments of national history (the princely courts in Suceava, Curtea de Argeș, etc.). Excavations on the Late Antique and Byzantine sites of the Lower Danube and Black Sea coast have been carried on in the last decade, completed

with the partial conservation of the ruins revealed. A number of churches have been restored by individual communities, using the partial help of public or private funds. It is significant to note that both Hungarian and German organizations with interests in the medieval Hungarian and Saxon populations, have assumed important roles in financing and managing the rehabilitation of architectural monuments related to these ethnic communities. The parish churches of Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schänburg and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) and the cathedral of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) are the most important examples of this. The rehabilitation of historic city centers has offered chance to conduct research in the most important medieval urban centers of Transylvania, like Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Baia Mare. Some of the manor houses of noble families have been restored through private investment, as is the case of the houses of the Apor family in Covasna County. Compared to other types of monuments, castles have somehow remained neglected. Being mostly in ruins they do not offer convenient arennues of re-use; some rehabilitation projects, however, are being implemented at a more or less intense pace. The rehabilitation of the castle of Oradea, started in early 1990s, has been partially finished. The castle of Râșnov was more or less restored through the aid of national funds, while the nearby castle of Bran (Töröcsvár, Törzburg) had remained in good state and has proved the most popular tourist spot in the whole country based on its association with Count Vlad Dracul. The restoration of Deva (Déva) castle was started recently, a good example of effort by the community to rescue the local cultural heritage. As in the case of large-scale archaeological rescue work, the increasing number of research projects at the most important medieval monuments in the country has caused a significant shift in methodology and conceptual approaches. The preference for synthetic works (characteristic for Romanian medieval studies of the second half of the twentieth century) has changed in favor of case studies and detailed analyses of particular issues. The results of recent research (mainly rescue projects) and their publication shows a significant renewal of medieval studies and makes most of the debates of the last decades obsolete.

The presence of multiple ethnic and confessional communities on the territories of present-day Romania from the Middle Ages confers a particular aspect on medieval studies in this country. The German and Hungarian communities have created a network of research organizations which focus on the past of these ethnic groups, the regions they inhabited, and institutions related to their communities (churches and governing bodies). For historical research in Hungarian the Transylvanian Museum

Association (*Erdélyi Múzeum–Egyesület*) plays the central role, while the German-related work is coordinated by the Association for Transylvanian Research (*Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*). Both organizations focus on the written sources of their pasts, each creating its own historical archives by gathering documents of ethnic organizations and significant persons. In the case of medieval studies both organizations play a special role. In the eastern and southern provinces (Moldova and Walachia), Cyrillic script was used during the Middle Ages, while Latin was used in Transylvania and the western parts of the country. The series of *diplomataria* (the two most important being the *Erdélyi Okmánytár* and *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*) initiated by the Erdélyi Múzeum and the Verein, complete the series of national corpuses of sources. Both organizations have established research groups specialized in Latin paleography and their contribution has been crucial for research on medieval Transylvania. These efforts at source editing are well completed by several rehabilitation projects on monuments related to the German and Hungarian communities.

The number of geographical, institutional, methodological, and language divisions create a more or less fragmented impression of medieval studies in Romania. It is difficult to identify the central debates or main trends, all the actors becoming “peripheral” in one way or another. The contacts and debates among the scholars involved in medieval studies remain insufficient, although they are the basis of all kinds of cooperation. Beyond the beneficial effect of diversification, the enrichment of viewpoints and the great number of recent research results suggest the start of a re-structuring and rebirth of medieval studies.

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MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN SERBIA 1993 – 2008

Nada Zečević

The center of medieval research in Serbia is in Belgrade. The core institutions of this center, namely the Institute of Byzantine Studies, the medieval section of the Institute of History, and the medieval section of the Institute of Balkan Studies, operate under the auspices of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade. This core is associated in a variety of projects with a number of other research and educational institutions in Serbia, the most important among them located at the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University: the medieval department, the Byzantine seminar of the History Department, the Department of Classical Languages, and the seminars of the departments of archaeology and art history.¹ This circle also comprises the Departments of Archaeology, Medieval History and Numismatics at the National Museum in Belgrade and the Department of Archaeography of the National Library in Belgrade. Similarly structured, although considerably smaller in terms of number of permanently employed researchers, are the centers in Novi Sad² (Újvidék) and Niš, with a network of national museums and other cultural institutions across Serbian province.³ Apart from in these centers, Serbian medievalists are closely involved in research and teaching activities at the centers in the Serbian entity of the

¹ The departments for medieval Serbian language at the Faculty of Philology and the Faculty of Orthodox (Christian) Theology of Belgrade also belong to this circle even though the latter institution tends to act independently from the lay scholarly mainstream.

² Medieval research in Novi Sad has been conducted by the Matica Srpska/departments of Philosophy and Philology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. Recently, some the scholars of this center have broken with the traditional concepts of the Serbian medievalist mainstream by actively participating in the Center for Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies and research at the University of Novi Sad, see works on medieval Serbian literature, manuscripts and gender examinations by Svetlana Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković* [Archbishop Maxim Branković] (Novi Sad: Platoneum, 2007) and eadem, *Knjigoljubive žene srpskog srednjeg veka* [Book-loving women of the Serbian Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: Akademski knjiga, 2007).

³ The National Museum of Čačak, the National Museum of Leskovac, the National Museum of Kruševac, the Historical Archive in Valjevo, the Historical Institute in Banja Luka. To this circle one should (technically) add the one at the Serbian-funded University of Priština, currently located in Kosovska Mitrovica, where a few of its researchers focus on local and eastern Adriatic issues (Božidar Zarković, Branislav Milutinović, Dragi Maliković). However, this circle has remained largely insignificant in relation to the general Serbian context due to its failure to pursue a systematic research policy (especially apparent after the faculty's dislocation from Priština following the NATO bombing in 1999) and a series of university corruption scandals that have taken place in post-Milošević Serbia.

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Bosnian Federation (Republika Srpska), namely at the Faculties of Philosophy in Eastern Sarajevo and Banja Luka,⁴ while some of them also direct their research towards Montenegro.⁵

As a logical outcome of its predominantly Byzantine medieval past, Serbian medieval researchers cooperate with a number of international institutions of Byzantine studies, most significantly with the Institute of Byzantine Research and the Greek Academy in Athens, the Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Russian Academies of Science, as well as Dunbarton Oaks, German Byzantinists, and Sorbonne-Paris IV. The key professional association of Serbian medievalists is *Društvo istoričara Srbije* (Society of the Historians of Serbia), while the Byzantinists are members of the International Association of Byzantinists (A.I.E.B). Some medievalists actively participate in *Društvo prijatelja Svete Gore* (The Society of Friends of Mount Athos).

The theoretical grounds on which Serbian medieval research rests, as well as its methodology, have not changed greatly since the beginning of the twentieth century and Serbian medieval scholars of the twenty-first century boast of their traditional approach. The research process builds on positivistic methods of establishing “true” facts from the written sources, a strict, impersonal scholarly approach *sine ira et studio*, with the results most commonly presented in an inductive and axiomatic manner, using an impersonal tone and the passive voice.

In choosing their subjects, Serbian medievalists are renowned for concentrating on Slavic-Serbian-Byzantine relations and following these reflections on a local and national level. Another of specific feature is special attention to the critical analysis and publication of written sources, which has resulted in several large projects in past years. One of them is the *Stari srpski arhiv* (SSA), a periodical started in 2002 by Rade Mihaljčić that aims to collect, (re)publish, and develop the *apparatus criticus* for all documents that pertain to Serbian history. In some respects, the SSA is conceived of as a prototype of the Serbian *diplomatarium*,⁶ a project that has been pending for decades. The most important feature of this periodical is that,

⁴ To this circle one should add a group of ex-patriot medievalists, among them: Nenad Fejić of the la Guyane; Dušan Korać USA, Ida Tot, of Wolfson College, Oxford; Ivana Jevtić, Paris; Srdjan Rajković (d.) of UCLA; Zaga Gavrilović (d.) of the University of Birmingham.

⁵ Sima Ćirković, “Osobnosti istoriografije o srednjevkovnom periodu Crne Gore” [Features of the Historiography of the Medieval Period in Montenegro] *Crna Gora kao polje istraživanja* [Montenegro as a Field of research] 3 (1999): 19–26.

⁶ According to the original conception, the first part of the Serbian *Diplomatarium* would cover the period until the end of King Milutin’s rule (1321), when the SSA would begin.

after many decades of unspecified and varying editorial practice, it has introduced standard criteria requiring special attention to the methodology of documentary research.⁷ Apart from the SSA, several other documentary publications have appeared, mainly archival materials from Dubrovnik and Kotor, as well as other sources for the relations of the medieval Serbs with their western neighbors, or social and economic history.⁸

The Serbian medieval mainstream is still largely reluctant to adopt the concept of interdisciplinarity, and, thus, is still structured upon a strict division of disciplines with history as the dominant field. Within this field, Serbian historians have focused on political events or epochs, administration and titles, chronology and key “participants” (a prosopographical approach for individuals, a genealogical approach for families),⁹ or some fragmentary details of the local context.¹⁰ The flagrant misuse of Serbian medieval history – with the 1389 battle at Kosovo Field as its key theme – by the hard-line nationalist regime of Slobodan Milošević (as a “scholarly justification” for Serbian involvement in the western Balkan wars of the 1990s) is still taboo and attempts to analyze its causes and instances critically

⁷ Over the years, the criteria for the edition of medieval documents have greatly varied depending on the standards of each particular publication. Those established by the SSA require: a short history of the document, earlier editions, the text in the original language, its translation into Serbian, a description of its diplomatic features, a commentary on institutions, key persons, topography, and a digital or photographic image of the document.

⁸ Andrija Veselinović, *Dubrovačko Malo vijeće o Srbiji 1415–1460* [The Minor Council of Dubrovnik on Serbia 1415–1460] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut SANU, 1997); CD edition of *Statuta et leges civitatis Cathari* [Kotor–Belgrade: Historical Archive of Kotor–Mathematical Institute Belgrade, 1997–1999]; Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnički zakon* [Agrarian Law] (Belgrade: SANU, 2007).

⁹ E.g., Sanja Mešanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog* [John VII Palaiologos] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut [hereafter: VI], 1996); Srdjan Pirivatrić, *Samuilova država* [Samuil’s State] (Belgrade: VI, 1997); Marica Malović, “Prilog istoriji Drobnjaka u srednjem veku,” [A Contribution to the History of the Drobnjak Kindred] *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 1 (1999): 145–158; Ruža Čuk(d.), “Dubrovačka porodica Miljenović u srednjem veku,” [The Ragusan Miljenović Family in the Middle Ages] *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 3 (2002); Vlada Stanković, *Carigradski patrijarsi i carevi makedonske dinastije* [Patriarchs and Emperors of the Macedonian dynasty] (Belgrade: Institute of Byzantine Studies, 2003); Zorica Djoković, “Stanovništvo Istočne Makedonije u prvoj polovini XIV veka [The Population of Eastern Macedonia in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century],” *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* (hereafter: ZRVI) 40 (2003): 97–244; Miloš Blagojević, “Veliki knez i zemaljski knez,” [Great Knez and Land Knez] ZRVI 41 (2004): 293–318; Vlada Stanković, *Komnini u Carigradu (1057–1185): evolucija jedne carske porodice* (The Komnenoi in Constantinople: an evolution of an imperial family) (Belgrade: Institute of Byzantine Studies, 2006).

¹⁰ E.g., Djuro Tošić, “Primjer bračne bigamije *more bosignanorum et patarinorum*,” [An Example of Conjugal Bigamy *more bosignanorum et patarinorum*], *Miscellanea / Mešovita građa* 22 (2004): 123–127.

have ended in a strong public bias against the authors.¹¹ Tacitly avoiding this debate, the medieval mainstream of post-Milošević Serbia (from 2000 onwards) has focused on fifteenth-century or post-Byzantine topics,¹² occasionally returning to some previous epochs.¹³ A somewhat wider interest has been shown by the Belgrade Byzantinists in topics that extend beyond the national borders or the commonly researched chronological pattern noted above.¹⁴ In tune with the formal declaration of the post-Milošević Serbia to favor membership in the European Union, several monographs which review the medieval Serbs and their history in a broader European context have been issued during the past nine years.¹⁵ Recently, some researchers have expressed a noteworthy interest in the issues of social phenomenology, historical anthropology, ethnography, and hagiography,¹⁶

¹¹ Ivan Djurić(d.), *Istorija: pribežište ili putokaz* [History: A Shelter or a Guide] (first ed. Sarajevo: Prosveta, 1990; Kragujevac: Civic, 1999); Radivoj Radić: *Srbi pre Adama i posle njega, Istorija jedne zloupotrebe: Slovo protiv "novoromantičara"* [The Serbs before Adam and after Him: A History of a Misuse – A Word against "Neo-Romanticists"] (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2005, second revised edition). Cf. Radić's debate with his opponents in the magazine *Nin* in 2006–2007.

¹² Momčilo Spremić, *Despot Djuradj Branković i njegovo doba* [Despot George Branković and his Epoch] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, first edition 1994; second edition 1999); Jovanka Kalić, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku* [The Serbs in the Late Middle Ages] (Belgrade: SANU, Balkanološki institut, 1994).

¹³ Sima Ćirković and Božidar Ferjančić(d.), *Stefan Dušan, kralj i car 1331–1355* [Stephan Dushan, King and Emperor 1331–1355] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005). The freedom to publish, improved after 2000, brought a revival of some old literature and topics, e. g., reprinting of the crucial works by K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* [The History of the Serbs], 2 vols, (Belgrade: Beoknjiga, 2006), or Ivan Djurić's, *Sumrak Vizantije* (The Twilight of Byzantium) (Belgrade: SANU, 1984 first edition; third edition Belgrade: Prosveta, 2008). For a re-examination of pre-fifteenth century topics, see the collected works of the international conference *Stefan Nemanja–Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi – istorija i predanje* [Stephan Nemanja – Saint Simeon Mirotočivi – History and Myth] (Belgrade–Novi Pazar 1996, reprinted Belgrade: SANU, 2000); International Conference (1998) *Osam vekova Hilandara* [Eight centuries of Hilandar], ed. Vojislav Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000); *Kralj Vladislav i Srbija XIII veka: naučni skup 15.–16. novembra 2000* [King Vladislav and Serbia in the Thirteenth Century: Symposium, 15 –16 November 2000] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2003).

¹⁴ Radivoj Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa* [The Epoch of John V Palaiologos] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 1993); Sima Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici: društva srednjovekovnog Balkana* [Laborers, Soldiers and Spirituals: The Societies of the Medieval Balkans] (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 1997); Nada Zečević, *Vizantija i Goti na Balkanu u IV i V veku* [Byzantium and the Goths in the Balkans in the Fourth and Fifth centuries] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 2002).

¹⁵ Jovanka Kalić, *Evropa i Srbi: srednji vek* [Europe and the Serbs: The Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Historical Institute, 2006) and Sima Ćirković, *The Serbs (The Peoples of Europe)* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 7–111.

¹⁶ Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića* [The Ruling Ideology of the Nemanjić dynasty] (Belgrade: Clio–SKZ, 1997); Radivoj Radić, *Strah u poznaj Vizantiji* [Fear in the Late Byzantine Period 1180–1453], 2 vols., (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2000); Jelena Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji – krajina srednjovekovne Bosne* [Donji Kraji–the Frontier of Medieval Bosnia] (Belgrade–Banja Luka:

while work on the popularisation of history seems to have diverged from the populism of the 1990s.¹⁷

Just as in history, Serbo-Byzantine interactions are also the dominant topic among art historians. During the past 15 years, researchers have mostly concentrated on Byzantine fresco paintings illustrating sacral topics in fifteenth-century Serbia,¹⁸ the phenomenon of patronage, prosopography of artists and chronologies of their works, and the socio-political conditions of their activities.¹⁹ The end of the 1990s brought an extended overview of architecture in the Byzantine world.²⁰ Throughout the 1990s, careful systematization and presentation of the Serbian art of Kosovo (where some sites are under the protection of UNESCO) have been among the top priorities in this field.²¹ The importance of this activity became especially significant after the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999 and the subsequent destruction of monuments and other signs of Serbian collective memory in the region of Kosovo and Metohija by the Albanians who govern the region under international supervision.²² Another group of art historians, namely, those associated with the

Filozofski fakultet, 2002); *Privatni život u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Private Life in Medieval Bosnia], ed. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić and Danica Popović (Belgrade: Clio, 2004); Djordje Bubalo, *Srpski nomici* [Serbian Notary Acts] (Belgrade: VI, 2004); Stanoje Bojanin, *Zabave i svetkovine u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji: od kraja XII do kraja XV veka* [Entertainment and Celebrations in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut–Službeni glasnik, 2005); Danica Popović, *Pod okriljem svetosti: kult svetovnih vladara i relikvija srednjeg veka* [Under the Mantle of Holiness: The Cult of Medieval Rulers and Relics of the Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2006). The reception of Antiquity in medieval Serbia was examined at the Third Yugoslav Conference of Byzantinists in Kruševac, 2000.

¹⁷ Radivoj Radić, *Vizantija, purpur i pergament* [Byzantium, Purple and Parchment] (Beograd: Evoluta, 2006); idem., *Carigrad, priče sa Bosfora* [Constantinople, Stories from the Bosphorus] (Beograd: : Evoluta, 2007). Sima Ćirković, *Srbi među Evropskim narodima* [The Serbs among the European Peoples] (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 2005). Cf. articles on medieval history in *Politikin Zabavnik* (a weekly journal especially popular among the school children of ex-Yugoslavia), or translation and editions of books for school children by the Plato and Kreativna radionica publishing houses.

¹⁸ Zaga Gavrilović(d.), *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art* (London: Pindar, 2001). Slobodan Čurčić, see the bibliography at <http://www.princeton.edu/artandarchaeology/faculty/curcic/curciccv.pdf>.

¹⁹ Čedomila Marinković, *Slika podignute crkve: predstave arhitekture u ktitorskim portretima u srpskoj i vizantijskoj umetnosti* [Image of an Elevated Church: The Image of Architecture on the Portraits of the Patrons in Serbian and Byzantine Art] (Belgrade: Princip Bonart Press, 2007).

²⁰ Vojislav Korać and Marica Šuput, *Arhitektura vizantijskog sveta* [The Architecture of the Byzantine World] (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1998).

²¹ Gojko Subotić, *The Sacred Land: The Art of Kosovo* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), and other editions in translation.

²² Official Serbian statistics claim the destruction of more than 200 Serbian Orthodox sacral buildings (churches and monasteries) or graveyards and other monuments, most of which date back to the Middle Ages.

Institute of the Balkan Studies in Belgrade, systematically research the art works of Kotor (Montenegro) from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Serbian art historians (in cooperation with Classical and medieval philologists) have also taken the lead in several projects related to inscriptions. Currently, a systematic treatment of twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions, conducted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, has been almost finalized, with a focus on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to come in the near future. Following a great fire in the key Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos in 2004, a group of Serbian art historians and restorers is cooperating with a Greek team from the Center for the Protection of Sacred Heritage (Thessaloniki) on its restoration.

The activities of Serbian literary historians in the past 15 years have mainly concentrated various editions of medieval narratives in the Serbian language and areopagitic manuscripts in Serbian medieval theology. In addition, some researchers of this group have engaged in documentary edition projects (notably, Tatjana Subotin-Golubović), dealing at the same time with particular issues of authorship, paleography, philigranology, etc.²³

Largely depending on the funds available, archaeological research in Serbia has been conducted with a changing intensity. In the past few years, the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade has extensively investigated the Belgrade fortress, as well as the early medieval sites of Vrsenice, Margum, and Gamzigrad (Romuliana). In the Serbian interior, dynastic graves of the High Middle Ages and the monasteries where these graves are located have caught the special attention of archaeologists, as well as the region of Ras, which represents the core of Nemanjić dynastic power.²⁴ At the same time, a group of archaeologists (Vladislav Popović [d.], Mihailo Milinković) have focused on the early medieval periods (fourth to seventh century) (Sirmium, Mount Jelica), while the excavations conducted by the *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika*

²³ E.g., Djordje Trifunović, *Stara srpska književnost: osnove* [Ancient Serbian Literature: The Basics] (Belgrade: F. Višnjić, 1994); R. Stanković, *Rukopisne knjige Muzeja srpske pravoslavne crkve u Beogradu* [Manuscript Books of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade]. *Vodeni znaci i datiranje* [Watermarks and Chronology], in *Opis južnoslovenskih ćirilskih rukopisa* [Description of South Slavic Manuscripts], vol. 5 (Belgrade: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2003); Irena Špadijer, "Pisar kitorskog natpisa sv. Save u Studenici" [The Scribe of the Patron Inscription of St. Sabbas in Studenica], *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 517–521.

²⁴ Petar Petrović, Jelena Erdeljan, and Marko Popović, *Srednjevekovni nadgrobni spomenici u oblasti Rase* [Medieval Grave monuments in the Region of Ras] (Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 1996); Marko Popović, *Tvrđjava Ras* [The Fortress of Ras] (Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 2005). For rare anthropological investigations, see S. Reljanović, M. Djurić-Srejić, al., "Morfolgija zuba na skeletnim ostacima iz nekropole stara Torina," [Morphology of Teeth on Skeletons from the Necropolis of Old Torina] *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Srbije* 35 (1999–2000): 135–142.

kulture (Agency for the Protection of Cultural Monuments) (in 2006) at the monastery of Manasija have reopened a debate on the burial place of Despot Stefan Lazarević. Since 2000, scholars have shown increased interest in Byzantine imports in Serbia as well as Serbian medieval coinage, precious metals and metalurgy.²⁵

In 1997, a pan-Balkan network initiative launched a non-profit and non-governmental publishing, cultural and educational on-line project: Rastko, the internet Library of Serbian Culture. The main activities of this project relate to electronic publishing in Serbian on Balkan arts and humanities. The project has been organized across several regional sections: Belgrade (the central project), and projects that relate to Serbian links with Romania, Montenegro, Kosovo and Metohija, Boka Kotorska, Hungary, etc. The centers develop projects and activities through local academic, cultural, media NGOs and individuals, including strong co-operation with ethnic minority centers.

In 2004, a group of Serbian ethno-musicians started the Centre for early Music “Renesans” in Belgrade. This cicle gathers mostly the graduates of the Department of Early Music of the Secondary School “Josip Slavenski” in Belgrade and the founders of the famous “Ensemble Renaissance” (founded in 1969). the group is focused on the research, interpretation and education of medieval, renaissance and baroque music traditions. In 2005, the Centre founded the early music ensemble “Flauto Dolce” which performs the music with special focus on the Serbian and Byzantine medieval context.²⁶

²⁵ Sergije Dimitrijević, *Problemi srpske srednjevekovne numizmatike* [Problems of Serbian Medieval Numismatics] (Belgrade: Srpsko numizmatičko društvo, 2006); B. Nikolić et al., *Srebro u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* [Silver in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: Tehnika, 2006).

²⁶ <http://www.rastko.org.yu/>; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9BHR1qaZI0&feature=Playlist&p=DEC630F1ABD6119C&playnext=1&playnext_from=PL&index=20

THE MAKING OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA

Martin Homza

To understand the directions and trends in the field of Slovak medieval studies over the period of the past 20 years it is necessary to make a short review of its previous evolution. Similarly to the neighboring countries, medieval studies have developed to some extent in contrast to what was before 1989 or 1993 (Slovak independence). In the long term, however, this formation has been influenced by a number of particular factors.

It is no secret that the official, more or less accepted, doctrine of Slovak society has been a historical reduction of Štúr's mid-nineteenth century generation.¹ Štúr's generation was the Slovak early romantic intelligentsia of the Lutheran confession, about a fifth of them of noble descent. In the early autumn of the revolutionary year 1848, as heads of the Slovak uprising, they officially resigned from further coexistence with the Hungarians in one country – the Hungarian Kingdom. The prize for the Slovaks was a loss of history. Then, as a stopgap, the concept arose of a “nation in the future”, “the nation of the Holy Spirit”, or the “Spirit” only in the case of the Hegelians. It was logical and natural that this concept in particular served as a basis for the ideological designers of Slovak communism (Vladimír Mináč and others),² who started repainting and gently altering the significance of the structure itself from the 1960s. Instead of the “nation of the Spirit” they turned the Slovaks into the non-historical nation which still remembered its beginnings, the nation without the kings and nobility; in the words of Vladimír Mináč “the most plebeian nation in the world.” As such it was predestined to adopt communism. As a matter of fact, this mainstream Slovak thinking did not meet with full understanding, particularly among Catholic intellectuals; there were many reasons, which will not be analyzed in detail now, why such a concept was simply unacceptable to them. The destiny of the Roman Catholic priest Jonáš Záborský and his work, *The History of the Hungarian Kingdom from the Beginning to the Reign of Sigismund*,³ is typical; for ideological reasons it has remained in manuscript. Similarly, the text of a work by a Capuchin monk, Franko Vítazoslav Sasínek, *The History of the Hungarian*

¹ Ľudovít, Štúr *Slovanstvo a svet budúcnosti* [Slavdom and the World of Future] (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1993).

² Vladimír, Mináč *Súvislosti* [Connections] (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1976).

³ See <http://zaborsky.blogspot.com>.

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Kingdom,⁴ was published, but this led to its author falling into disfavor with Slovak intellectuals and contemporary Hungarian religious circles and finally he was forced to spend his last days in exile in Austria. The first Czechoslovak Republic was no more merciful to his work; because of its own existence and nation-state interest it was forced to reject all other than the official concepts of interpreting the national history of the Slovaks in the Carpathian Basin. The “correct” interpretation was found unexpectedly quickly by none other than the authority on Czech historiography, Prof. Václav Chaloupecký, in his work, *Old Slovakia*.⁵ The founder of the Department of Czechoslovak History at Comenius University, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and later the rector of Comenius University, Chaloupecký among many stimulating ideas clearly defined the direction the new “real, scholarly” historiography in Slovakia was to move in. Briefly, removing the Hungarian deposit from Slovak history was inevitable, it should be “de-Hungarianized” and repainted in the Czech way. There is no doubt that this “isolated” method of interpreting the medieval history of Slovakia led virtually all of his students, among them Daniel Rapant, František Hrušovský, and Branislav Varsík, to reject it. Along with the refusal of pre-conceptions in the historical debate, the historical circumstances had an impact; for a long time, with the exception of the wartime Slovak Republic of 1939-1945, they favored such an “isolated” interpretation of national and universal history and, by implication, the cultivation of only a few medieval themes. And if those restrictions were not enough, the communist power’s new interest in the class struggle was added to the nation-state interests of the renewed Czechoslovak Republic in 1948, for interpreting medieval history accurately – meaning in the Marxist manner. As a result, appropriate and inappropriate research themes and topics were defined from above. Among those long felt to be appropriate was the theme of Great Moravia, officially “the first free state of the Czechs and the Slovaks,” although Saints Constantine and Methodius became simply Constantine and Methodius and they were presented more as envoys of the Byzantine Empire than as the apostles of the Slavs. Moreover, Great Moravia was also suitable because its particular individual leaders (especially Rastislav/Rastislav, slightly less Swentibald/Svätópuk) embodied significant resistance against the East Frankish Empire, i.e., Western imperialism. Other appropriate themes, as in neighboring socialist

⁴ Franko Vítazoslav Sasínek, *Dejiny Královstva uhorského* [The History of the Kingdom of Hungary], vol. 1, (Banská Bystrica: Rýchlotiskom vdovy F. Macholda, 1869).

⁵ Václav Chaloupecký, *Staré Slovensko* [Old Slovakia], (Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1923).

countries, were the history of “the most oppressed masses,” that is, peasants and miners in particular as regards the Middle Ages, economic history, and the history of settlement in particular regions. Somewhat more dangerous was releasing the medieval sources. This was mainly due to the language of these sources – Latin – which, as they were not able to read it and so could not understand it, was in itself dangerous and therefore it gradually disappeared from grammar school curricula along with other humanities’ disciplines. The current political regime began to write history starting from the Great October Revolution or the Communist coup in Czecho-Slovakia in 1948. Despite all these absurd circumstances, to which must be added the practical isolation of the most talented Slovak medievalists in socialist Czechoslovakia, with their minimal opportunities to compare research with scholars abroad, a route was open to travel to Hungary or the German Democratic Republic, but it became increasingly difficult to go to Poland. Around the mid-1960s, at the time of a political thaw, many schools that focused on medieval history were set up around the future most significant scholars in Slovakia, in particular, Branislav Varsik, Matúš Kučera, and Alexander Avenarius at Comenius University in Bratislava and Peter Ratkoš and Richard Marsina at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Ferdinand Uličný later laid the foundations for medieval studies at the University of Prešov in Prešov, then at the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik.⁶ Each of these in some way later contributed to the cultivation of important works of medieval historiography. Because of the characteristics of the individual personalities who later matured in this school, it is necessary to note their critical works.⁷ Ondrej R. Halaga worked alone; he lived and worked in

⁶ See <http://www.unipo.sk/ff/index.php?sekcia=katedry-fakulty&id=34&uroven=0>.

⁷ Branislav Varsik, *Osidlenie Košickej kotliny I.-III.* [The Settlement of the Košice Valley I-III] (Bratislava: Veda 1964-1977); Matúš Kučera, *Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy* [Slovakia after the Fall of Great Moravia] (Bratislava: Veda, 1974); Alexander Avenarius, *Die Awaren in Europa*, tr. Ursula Novakova (Amsterdam and Bratislava: A.M. Hakkert and Veda, 1974); Peter Ratkoš, *Povstanie baníkov na Slovensku 1525-1526* [The Miners’ Uprising in Slovakia, 1525–1526]. (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1963) and the collection of sources, idem, ed., *Dokumenty k dejinám baníckeho povstania (1525-1526)* [Documents on the History of the Mining Uprising (1525 - 1526)], ed. Peter Ratkoš (Bratislava: SAV 1957) and *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 1-2, ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: SAV, 1974 and 1987). The remarkable achievement of Richard Marsina was the issue of the synthesized history of Slovakia: *Dejiny Slovenska* [The History of Slovakia], ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: Veda, 1986); Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša* [The History of Settlement of Šariš] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1990); Idem, *Dejiny osídlenia Užskej župy* [The History of Settlement of Uzh County] (Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity P. J. Šafárika v Košiciach, 1995); Idem, *Dejiny osídlenia Zemplínskej župy* [The History of Settlement of Zemplén County] (Michalovce: Zemplínska spoločnosť, 2001).

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Košice and devoted his endeavors to economic history and especially the history of the town of Košice itself; however, he had no successors.⁸ A premature death in 1996 ended the promising evolving work of Ján Beňko.⁹ Despite the political thaw of the late sixties, historians researching in the field of ecclesiastical history still remained isolated, especially historians who were Roman Catholic priests, such as Jozef Kútnik-Šmálov¹⁰ and Jozef Špirko.¹¹ Virtually isolated from developments in communist Czechoslovakia, Slovak medieval studies were developing abroad. The most significant figures were František Hrušovský¹² and Michal Lacko.¹³

As is clear from the above, there was no practical social order for cultivating medieval studies as an integral part of historiography as a scientific discipline in Slovakia in the period from 1918 to 1989, although it can be said that some of the figures noted above managed to establish their own schools. Branislav Varsik raised the important first generation of Slovak professional archivists, led by Jozef Novák.¹⁴ Matúš Kučera, thanks to a link with the Czech school of František Graus, close friendship with Dušan Třeštík, and establishing the Marxist view of acceptable current trends of the French Annales school or the Polish left-wing historians (Karol Modzelewski), moved to exploring the history of Great Moravia and the beginnings of the Hungarian Kingdom from the politico-ideological viewpoint of history to the

⁸ Ondrej R. Halaga, *Košice-Balt: Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom 1275-1526* [Kosice-Balt: Production and Trade in the Contact Points with East Prussia from 1275 to 1526] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975), and Idem, *Počiatky Košíc a vznik metropoly* [The Origin of Košice and the Emergence of a Metropolis] (Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992). The number of texts issued, particularly, in German, of which the most important is the Casovian City Paper: "*Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405: das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch*," ed. Ondrej R. Halaga (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994).

⁹ Ján Beňko, *Ostalenie severného Slovenska* [The Settlement of Northern Slovakia] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1985) and Idem, *Starý Turiec* [Old Turiec] (Martin: Osveta, 1996).

¹⁰ Jozef Kútnik-Šmálov, *Kresťanský stredovek Slovenska* [The Christian Middle Ages of Slovakia], ed. Julius Paštéka (Trnava: Lúč, 2005).

¹¹ Jozef Špirko, *Dejiny a umenie očami historika* [History and Art through the Eyes of a Historian] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2001).

¹² Mark M. Stolarik, "Slovak Historians in Exile in North America: 1945-1992," *Human Affairs* 1996, No. 1: 34-44.

¹³ He was a co-founder of the Slovak Institute of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Rome; Michal Lacko, *Gréckokatolíkom: Výber z diela* [To the Greek Catholics] (Košice: Byzant, 1992); about him, see Michal Lacko, *Život a dielo: Zborník referátov na vedeckej konferencii v Košiciach 19.-20. 3. 1992* [Life and Works, a Collection of Papers from the Scholarly Conference in Košice], ed. Michal Potemra (Košice: Slovenský katolícky kruh, 1992).

¹⁴ He researched heraldry in particular, Jozef Novák, *Pečate miest a obcí na Slovensku*, vol. 1, [The Seals of Towns and Villages in Slovakia, vol. 1] (Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2008).

history of the emergence of different economic and social structures and mechanisms. The students of Professor Matúš Kučera are now a strong middle generation of historian-medievalists working at Comenius University in Bratislava (Pozsony) (Ján Lukačka, Vincent Múcska, and Juraj Šedivý, and also myself). Others to be noted here are Rastislav Kožiak, also a graduate of Comenius University, now the head of the Department of History at the University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), then also a range of younger historian-medievalists working at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Science in Bratislava (hereafter: SAS) in the department of early history (Ján Steinhübel, Daniela Dvořáková, Blanka Brezováková, and others).¹⁵ The greatest happiness for Slovak medieval studies is the good health of Professor Richard Marsina, who left the Historical Institute of SAS in Bratislava in 1993 and found fertile ground at the University of Trnava (Nagyszombat), where, together with Imrich Sedlák (d. 2009),¹⁶ they established their own school of history (Vladimír Rábik,¹⁷ Miloš Marek,¹⁸ and others). Jaroslav Nemeš also came from the “workshop” of Professor Richard Marsina, and is now the leader of medieval research at the Catholic University in Ružomberok (Rózsahegy). The premature death of Professor Alexander Avenarius, a founder of Byzantinology at the Historical Institute of the SAS as well being in the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University was a loss, although he left worthy successors (Martin Hurbanič, Martin Štefánik, Marek Meško, and others).

The year 1989 or the year 1993, when the independent Slovak Republic was established, meant not only multiplying the number of historians, medievalists, and workplaces where individual medievalists gather, but also a kind of new beginning in terms of expanding the range of research topics. Quite logically, long neglected

¹⁵ See <http://www.history.sav.sk/profil.htm>.

¹⁶ The most significant work is *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistularia Slovaciae*, vol. 1-2, ed. Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava: Academia scientiarum Slovaciae, 1980-1987).

¹⁷ Vladimír Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku* [German Settlement in the Territory of Eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages]. (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Karpatských Nemcov 2006); Idem, *Mestská kniha príjmov Trnavskej farnosti sv. Mikuláša z roku 1495* [Trnava Parish, St. Nicholas' Town Book of Incomes from 1495]. (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity 2006); Idem, *Diplomatarium Sancto-Adalbertinum: Stredoveké listiny v Literárnom archíve Spolku sv. Vojtecha (1181) 1214-1543* [Diplomatarium Sancto-Adalbertinum. Medieval Charters in the Literary Archives of the St. Adalbert Association in Trnava (1181) 1214-1543] (Martin: Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť, 2008); Idem, *Mestská kniha Trnavy (1392/1393) 1394-1530* [The Trnava Town Book (1392/1393) 1394-1530]. (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2008).

¹⁸ Miloš Marek, *Cudzí etniká na stredovekom Slovensku* [Foreign Ethnic Groups in Medieval Slovakia] (Martin: Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej, 2006).

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themes from ecclesiastical history finally appeared. There was a breakthrough conference at the renewed University of Trnava in 1993 dedicated to the history of religious communities.¹⁹ In the subsequent period, the University of Trnava has kept on dealing with the ecclesiastical history, and the Slovak Institute in Rome was established here, specializing in publishing Vatican historical sources on the history of Slovakia.²⁰ A bridge in the continuity of research on ecclesiastical history was laid by Michal Slivka and a circle of young historians grouped around the archaeological research and subsequent revitalization of the extinct Carthusian monastery on the Rock of Refuge, in the land registry (*urbarium*) of the village of Letanovce.²¹ Vincent Múcska from the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University in Bratislava produced a monograph devoted to religious reforms in the Hungarian Kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²² Vincent Múcska, in cooperation with the Department of History of the University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica, also released a breakthrough collection of papers on religious orders and monasteries in the Middle Ages.²³ Since the establishment of the Catholic University in Ružomberok in 2002 further systematic work in the field of ecclesiastical history is being shifted there and the Centre for the Study of Christianity has been formed, publishing collections of papers, monographs, and a series of historical source editions²⁴ as well as a textual analysis of the *Codex Nitriensis* by Jaroslav Nemeš.²⁵

¹⁹ *Dejiny a kultúra rehoľných komunití: Príspevky na II. sympóziu o cirkevných dejinách Slovenska na Trnavskej univerzite 15.-16. októbra 1993* [The History and Culture of Monastic Communities. Contributions to the II. Symposium on the Church History of Slovakia, Trnava University, 15th-16 October 1993], ed. Jozef Šimončík (Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 1994).

²⁰ *Monumenta Vaticana Slovaciae*, ed. Vincentius Sedlák, vol. 1 (Trnava a Rím: Typis Universitas Trnaviensis, 2008). The others are about to be published, see <http://www.truni.sk/slovensky-historicky-ustav-rim>.

²¹ See <http://www.klastorisko.sk/>

²² Vincent Múcska, *Uhorsko a cirkevné reformy 10. a 11. storočia* [The Kingdom of Hungary and the Religious Reforms of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries] (Bratislava: Stimul, 2004).

²³ *Rehole a kláštory v stredoveku* [Religious Orders and Monasteries in the Middle Ages], ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Vincent Múcska (Banská Bystrica and Bratislava: Chronos, 2002).

²⁴ Gabriel Hunčaga, *Historické štúdie k dejinám dominikánov* [Historical Studies on the History of the Dominicans] (Bratislava: Chronos, 2008); *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti* [The Saint and His Function in Society], vol. 1-2, ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2006); *Miscellanea Ecclesiastica Nitriensis*, vol. 1: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bistums Neutra*, ed. Marek Ďurčo and Jaroslav Nemeš (Cracow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2007); *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*. Zborník z konferencie usporiadanej 5.-6. 2. 2003 v Banskej Bystrici [Paganism and Christianity: Collection of Papers from the 5th conference held in Banská Bystrica from 5 to 6 February 2003], ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2004).

²⁵ Jaroslav Nemeš, ed., *Kodex von Neutra. Geistige Erbschaft der italienisch-griechischen Mönche und ihrer*

The theme of ecclesiastical history and Christian religious orders has also been pursued by a non-profit (non-governmental) organization called Kláštorisko, which, since its establishment in 2001, has issued annual interdisciplinary volumes, *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Medievalia*, on topics such as: “Man - Sacrum – Environment”²⁶ and “The Church as a Centre of the Settlement Unit.”²⁷ In the context of presenting their own research, the organization hosted a conference on “Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order” in 2007. The papers from the conference were published in a collected volume, *Analecta Cartusiana*, which was released as part of the same series.²⁸ Within the scholarly activities of the organization a web version of the translation of a *Chronicle of an Anonymous Carthusian*, written on the Rock of Refuge at the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been issued.²⁹ By far the most important activities of this organization, however, cover work on the regional history of the former Scepusian County (Spišská župa), focusing on its cultural and historical significance as one of the major counties of the former Hungarian Kingdom. In 2003, the organization, together with its Polish partner, issued a collection, *Terra Scepusiensis*,³⁰ which has contributed to the success of the first part of a monumental Slovak-Polish project on the history of Scepusia: *Historia Scepusii: Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526* (*Historia Scepusii: The History of Spiš to 1526*).³¹ It is being prepared by the Kláštorisko organization and the Department of Slovak History of Comenius University, Bratislava in cooperation with the Institute of History of the Jagellonian University in Cracow.

Regional history is a rather peculiar topic in Slovak medieval studies. After 1989, like mushrooms after the rain, a number of regional, urban, and village monographs

Nachfolger von Aachen, (Győr: Palatia Nyomda és Kiadó, 2007).

²⁶ *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia*, vol. 5, ed. Michal Slivka and Martin Homza (Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2006).

²⁷ *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia*, vol. 6, ed. Michal Slivka (Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2007).

²⁸ *Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order*, ed. Martin Homza, Veronika Kucharská, Stanislava Kuzmová and Naďa Ráková, *Analecta Cartusiana*, Vol. 254 (Levoča and Salzburg: Kláštorisko, n.o. and Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2008). See also <http://analectacartusiana.blogspot.com/>

²⁹ See <http://klastorisko.sk/klastor/dejiny/kronika.php>.

³⁰ *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša* [Terra Scepusiensis: The Status of Research on the History of Spiš], ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Levoča and Wrocław: Lúč, 2003); see also <http://scepus.org>.

³¹ *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526* [The History of Spiš to 1526], ed. Martin Homza and Stanisław A. Sroka (Levoča and Cracow: Etc., 2008).

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appeared, sometimes more, sometimes less successful. Within this field two regions reign in principle – Scepusia and Bratislava. As regards Scepusia, the tradition of earlier Scepusian historiography, evolving practically since the Middle Ages, has recently been successfully linked with the Scepusian historical society under the leadership of Ivan Chalupecký with his regular bulletin *Z minulosti Spiša*.³²

Since 1989, medieval historical source editions and their translations have been published on a large scale in Slovakia. Issuing medieval sources originally fell within the purview of the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; currently, however, historical sources have been released by virtually every center of medieval studies in the Slovak Republic. Rak, in Bratislava and Budmerice, directed by Pavel Dvořák, is among the most significant publishers. It is issuing a series of popular translations of medieval texts known as *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov* (Sources on the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks).³³ In this series of sources, significant translations of Hungarian chronicles by other major authors as Richard Marsina,³⁴ Július Sopko,³⁵ Vincent Múcska,³⁶ and Daniela Dvořáková,³⁷ have been released. Among the other notable achievements of this publishing house are also a number of historical monographs with medieval themes which otherwise would not be found on the Slovak book market. A book by Daniela Dvořáková on Ctibor of Ctiborice – *Rytier a jeho kráľ* (The Knight and His King)³⁸ has been a success; it is perhaps the only history-focused title currently to have been translated into

³² See <http://www.spisiaci.sk>.

³³ *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov* [Sources on the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks], vol. 1-7 (Bratislava and Budmerice: Rak, 1998-2005). For more information, see <http://www.vydavatelstvorak.sk/en>.

³⁴ The collection of the most significant texts on the Mongol invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary, excluding the Chronicle of Thomas of Split, *Tatársky vpád* [Mongolian Invasion], tr. and ed. Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek. (Budmerice: Rak, 2008). The medieval lives of the most important saints connected to the territory of today's Slovakia – *Legends of Medieval Slovakia: Ideals of Medieval Man through the Eyes of Ecclesiastical Writers* [Legends of Medieval Slovakia: Ideals of Medieval Man through the Eyes of Ecclesiastical Writers] (Budmerice: Rak, 1997).

³⁵ The translations of the most important chronicles of the Kingdom of Hungary pertaining to the territory of today's Slovakia – *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska: Stredoveké Slovensko očami kráľovských a mestských kronikárov* [Chronicles of Medieval Slovakia: Medieval Slovakia through the Eyes of Royal and Urban Chroniclers]. (Budmerice: Rak, 1995) and *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická* [Chronicle of the Hungarian Kings Called Dubnická], tr. and ed. Július Sopko (Budmerice: Rak, 2004).

³⁶ *Kronika anonymného notára kráľa Bela: Gesta Hungarorum* [Chronicle of an Anonymous Notary of King Bela: Gesta Hungarorum], tr. and ed. Vincent Múcska (Budmerice: Rak, 2000).

³⁷ *Spomienky Heleny Kottannerovej* [Memoirs of Helena Kottanner], tr. and ed. Daniela Dvořáková and Mária Papsonová (Budmerice: Rak, 2008).

³⁸ Daniela Dvořáková, *Rytier a jeho kráľ* [A Knight and His King] (Budmerice: Rak, 2003).

Hungarian. Another major title by Daniela Dvořáková is a book with a very unusual, at least for Slovak historiography, theme of the horse in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.³⁹ In a co-edition with the publishing house Veda, the publishing house Rak released a monograph by Ján Steinhübel devoted to the principality of Nitra.⁴⁰ In terms of a new concept of the medieval history of today's Slovakia, it was undoubtedly a primary topic, although its reception has lagged behind its significance. As regards the variability of themes cherished in Slovak medieval studies, it has been significantly enriched by the Department of Slovak History of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Comenius University in Bratislava.⁴¹ For example, the current head of the department, Ján Lukačka, has been publishing his research results on the theme of medieval nobility in the territory of present-day Slovakia since the 1990s.⁴² Martin Homza, with his book on dynastic female saints in Central Europe, published in the series of *Libri historiae Slovaciae*, has brought a new hagiographic topic into Slovak medieval studies.⁴³ Homza, a graduate of Medieval Studies at CEU Budapest, has long been devoted to research on the foreign policy of the Arpads, particularly as regards their relations with Poland and Kievan Rus'.⁴⁴ His students from the Comenius University in Bratislava regularly continue their studies at CEU, among them Marek Klatý, Stanislava Kuzmová, and Tomáš Gábris. Stanislava Kuzmová, with her series of articles on Saint Bishop Stanislas/Staniśław of Cracow, has been linking Slovak medieval studies with the current trends in world medieval studies.⁴⁵ At the Departments of

³⁹ Daniela Dvořáková, *Kôň a človek v stredoveku: K spolužitiu človeka a kôňa v Uhorskom kráľovstve* [Horse and Man in the Middle Ages: The Coexistence of Man and Horse in the Kingdom of Hungary] (Budmerice: Rak, 2007).

⁴⁰ Ján Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo* [The Principality of Nitra] (Bratislava: Rak and Veda, 2004).

⁴¹ See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=ksd>.

⁴² In brief, Ján Lukačka, *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku* [Formation of the Higher Nobility in Western Slovakia] (Bratislava: Minor, 2002).

⁴³ Martin Homza, *Mulieres suadentes: Presvedčajúce ženy: Štúdie z dejín ženskej panovníckej svätosti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10.-13. storočí* [Mulieres suadentes: Persuading Women: Studies of the History of Female Ruler Holiness in Central and Eastern Europe in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2002). Works on lesser-known saints of the Slovak Middle Ages were issued in the same series: Lubomír Bosák and Patrik Kýška, *Svätý Gorazd: Učený muž našej zeme* [Saint Gorazd: An Erudite Man of Our Land] (Bratislava, Lúč, 2004) and Bystrík Bugan, *Svätý Bystrík* [Saint Bistricus] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2007).

⁴⁴ Martin Homza, "Politické dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia" [The Political History of Scepsia up to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century] *Historia Scepsii* 1, 126-174.

⁴⁵ Stanislava Kuzmová, "Preaching on Martyr Bishops in the Later Middle Ages: St. Stanislaus of Cracow and St. Thomas Becket," *Britain and Poland-Lithuania from the Middle Ages to 1795: Contact and Comparison* (collected volume from the conference in Cracow, September 2005 (Leiden: Brill Publishers, in press); Idem, "Stanislaus, Saint (1030?-1079): Bishop of Cracow." *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed.

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History of Comenius University Bratislava, which besides the Department of Slovak History includes the Department of Archival and Auxiliary Historical Sciences⁴⁶ and the Department of General History,⁴⁷ a number of up-and-coming medievalists also work and research, among them: Leon Sokolovský, Juraj Šedivý, Vincent Múcska, and Martin Hurbanič. Leon Sokolovský follows in the tradition of economic history research;⁴⁸ Juraj Šedivý researches in the field of palaeography, epigraphy, and codicology.⁴⁹ Among the most remarkable achievements of the Department of General History is the publication of *European Medieval History* (*Dejiny európskeho stredoveku*).⁵⁰ The Departments of History of Comenius University release the oldest annual in Slovakia focused on history, *Historica*.⁵¹ Besides *Historický časopis* (Historical Journal) it is one of the most significant historical periodicals in Slovakia. Further, the Department of General History also publishes an annual, *Acta Historica Posoniensia*.⁵² Last but not least, the Departments of History publish *Medea*, a journal for students and young medievalists.⁵³

As is clear from the above, after 1993 there was a significant qualitative and quantitative increase in Slovak medieval studies and its output. I consider the organizational and thematic fragmentation symptomatic, for the moment not allowing for the systematic discussion of important topics, such as the place of the territory of today's Slovakia in the Kingdom of Hungary and the relations of the Slovak elites with other countries of the Hungarian Kingdom. There is also a noticeable absence of close links in the research of the history of culture and religious history with research trends in Western Europe in particular. Exceptions notwithstanding, the publication of historical sources has not yet reached adequate quality and a modern level. Historical positivism still persists in Slovak medieval studies as the main working method.

Robert E. Bjork. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), etc.

⁴⁶ See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=kapvh>.

⁴⁷ See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=kvd>.

⁴⁸ Leon Sokolovský, *Správa stredovekej dediny na Slovensku* [Medieval Village Administration in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2002) and Idem, *Stručné dejiny Malohontu do roku 1803* [A Brief History of Malohont until 1803] (Martin: Gradus, 1997).

⁴⁹ Juraj Šedivý, *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel* (Bratislava: Chronos, 2007).

⁵⁰ *Dejiny európskeho stredoveku*, vol. 1: *Raný stredovek od 5. do polovice 11. storočia* [European Medieval History, vol. 1: The Early Middle Ages from the Fifth to the Mid-eleventh Century] (Prešov: Michal Vaško, 2006).

⁵¹ Last *Historica* 47, ed. Peter Tišliar, (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2008).

⁵² As far as the Middle Ages is concerned, the following was released – *East Central Europe at the Turn of the 1st and 2nd Millenia*, *Acta Historica Posoniensia*, vol. 2 (Bratislava, 2002).

⁵³ See <http://imedeaszm.sk>.

In contrast to the above, however, the most contributory feature of the period in the Slovak historiography discussed here is the fact that Slovak medieval studies is currently represented by the middle and younger generation of specialists, some of whom received their education at the major institutions and centers for medieval studies in Europe. Slovakia, however, has not had the luck of the neighboring Czech Republic, where an institutionalized workplace was established to ensure systematic work across the medieval disciplines.⁵⁴ Another positive feature of the medieval studies research organization is to be found in the high degree of organization of the archive administration and protection of historical archives and collections. Gradually, the digitalization of the particular archives is being launched. Generally speaking, in the survival of Štúr's a-historical paradigm as the main ideological structure of self-reflection, in the present Slovak political elites in particular, as well as in the atmosphere of the constant underestimation of the social sciences, the state of Slovak medieval studies is nothing but a miracle.

⁵⁴ Ivan Varšo, "Slovenské medievistické stredisko – perspektíva alebo utópia?" [The Slovak Medieval Centre – Perspective or Utopia?], *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievialia* 5 (2006): 405-413.

BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE: MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN SLOVENIA AND A CHANGE OF CONTEXT

David Movrin

A spectre is haunting European schools – the spectre of Latin grammar. All kinds of powers have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: rectors and ministers, school boards and state parliaments, scientists and scholars. And sometimes classicists themselves.

This problem necessarily lies at the very heart of any survey that tries to address both the position and prospects of medieval studies in the region, particularly in its western parts. Anecdotal evidence of this cultural shift has been mounting up for a while. Last time around when Medieval Studies at CEU was in a celebratory mood, the resident classicist was already forced to quote King Lothar's maxim, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*: "in the first years we had to 'jazz up' the English of the incoming students; now it is usually their Latin which needs a bit of starting help."¹ Other American universities noticed this trend years before.² The issues involved are broader and indeed global; this review can only focus on the observable facts within the Slovenian educational system, which are harbingers of a change in the climate and have recently become difficult to ignore.

Past and Present of Teaching Latin

The relationship between teaching Latin and European schools has been a difficult dance of *odi et amo* for more than a century. Gone are the days when Latin was a synonym for education itself and it is true that the guild has struggled with adapting to that fact. "Too many advocates of classics...have tended to speak with

¹ György Karsai, "Medieval Latin and Classical Greek," in *Ten Years of Medieval Studies at CEU: 1993-2003*, ed. János M. Bak and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University, 2003), 24.

² A vigorous debate started with the controversial charge against the present university system by Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath, *Who Killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (New York: Free Press, 1998). Although a review by Peter Green, "Homer Lives!," *New York Review of Books* 46, no. 5 (1999), provides some welcome perspective, the numbers quoted in the book remain indicative.

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the unattractive voice of privilege in retreat, frothing on vaguely about law and order, faith in God..., the expression of values, or the spirit of man, while at the same time sneering (like Plato, like Seneca) at 'soulless technicians' and new-style layabouts...."³

Yet it seems that teaching Latin in Slovenia has had more than its fair share of abuse. A school reform in 1958 relegated its status in all elementary schools to the position of an optional, "facultative" subject; a decree from the National Education Institute in 1975 banned it altogether, as "irreconcilable with a self-managing socialistically engaged school and with basic tenets of Marxist pedagogy."⁴ High schools followed suit; in the 1980s, only three schools in the entire country – two in Ljubljana, one in Maribor – were able to offer their students a Latin class that would cover at least basic morphology and syntax.⁵ Latin had to be learned at the university, from scratch. Since the intrinsic beauty of Latin declensions and conjugations is more difficult to appreciate – and easier to forget – when one is twenty years old than when one is ten, this development resulted in a significant decimation of Latin knowledge across the humanities; with a steady retirement of the older generation, a scholar with a working knowledge of Latin became something of a *rara avis*.

At the end of the 1980s, when the grip of ideology started to disappear and basic tenets of Marxist pedagogy suddenly lost the power of incantation, Classics bounced back with surprising vitality. Fifteen elementary schools started to teach Latin during the following decade, mostly in major cities such as Ljubljana and Maribor.⁶ More importantly, Latin took firm root in several high schools, with Latin classes being available to students in most of the regions provided they chose their school on that criterion. Latin was offered to students in fifteen gymnasias; six of them eventually reinvented the classical gymnasium, where Latin was not just one more language but

³ Peter Green, "Precedent, Survival, Metamorphosis: Classical Influences in the Modern World," in *Classical Bearings: Interpreting Ancient History and Culture*, ed. Peter Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) (originally published in New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989.)

⁴ Bojan Baskar, *Latinščine, prosim: latinščina in njeno izganjanje na Slovenskem, 1849-1987* [Latin, Please: Exorcising Latin in Slovenia, 1849-1987] (Ljubljana: Univerzitetna konferenca zveze socialistične mladine Slovenije [Knjižnica revolucionarne teorije], 1988), 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁶ Aleksandra Pirkmajer Slokan, "OŠ Prežihovega Voranca, Ljubljana: 50 let osemletke in 110 let latinščine pod isto streho," [Prežihov Voranc Elementary School, Ljubljana: 50 Years of Elementary School and 110 Years of Latin under the Same Roof] *Kerla* 10, no. 2 (2008): 175. Slovenia has almost 800 elementary schools; 15 Latin schools thus represent about 2%.

the core of the curriculum.⁷ At the end of decade, all this resulted in unprecedented numbers of classicists finishing their studies at the University of Ljubljana; thirteen BA theses defended in 1999 amounted to a revolution in the department where the average during 1980s was precisely one thesis per year.⁸

Soon after that, the situation began to change. A major national reform of elementary education was started in 2003; first in pilot schools, it eventually became compulsory for every elementary school in the country in 2008/09. While the reform introduced a nine-year elementary education, starting a year earlier, it also excluded Latin from the core curriculum and made it an optional subject, available only during the last three years. This fragmentation resulted in significant technical difficulties regarding the organization of teaching. One by one, schools decided to avoid the extra effort by dropping Latin altogether. The rather disturbing *decimatio* can be seen in the following chart.

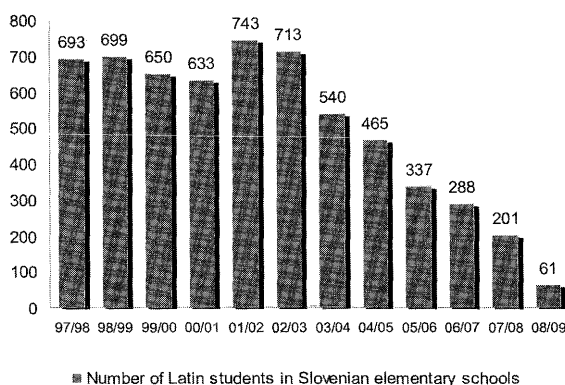


Figure 1. – The gradual introduction of the nine-year-school reform (2003–2008) and its effect on teaching Latin in elementary schools.⁹

It is still a question how this will affect high-school Latin, which has enjoyed moderate success and a fairly stable position for more than a decade now.

⁷ Katja Pavlič Škerjanc, “Klasično izobraževanje v Sloveniji” [Classical Education in Slovenia] *Vzgoja in izobraževanje* 36, no. 1 (2005): 56–57.

⁸ Theses titles are published on the website of Department of Classical Philology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/klasfilol.

⁹ Pirkmajer Slokan, “OŠ Prežihovega Voranca,” 173. Data for 2008/09, not yet available at the time of publication, were reported by the author to the discussion group “Agor@” (agor@ijs.si) in December 2008.

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The elementary-school curriculum reflects the collective *mentalité* and indicates the shape of things to come. Another reform, however, has resulted in a substantially more influential effect on Latin, this time at the university level. The Bologna process, designed to foster mobility and compatibility within the European higher education area, has drastically reduced the level of Latin knowledge expected across some of the crucial disciplines within the humanities. While Latin was never mandatory for everyone who wanted to study archaeology, history or art history, it was – until very recently – considered a *sine qua non* for those interested in further research; at the University of Ljubljana, for instance, prospective scholars were expected to complete a thorough Latin course (360 lessons, each 45 minutes long) which equipped them with sufficient reading knowledge to deal with their sources.¹⁰ The Bologna process abolished this notion, essentially halving the number of Latin classes students are expected to take during their first five years at the university.¹¹ The consequences remain to be seen.

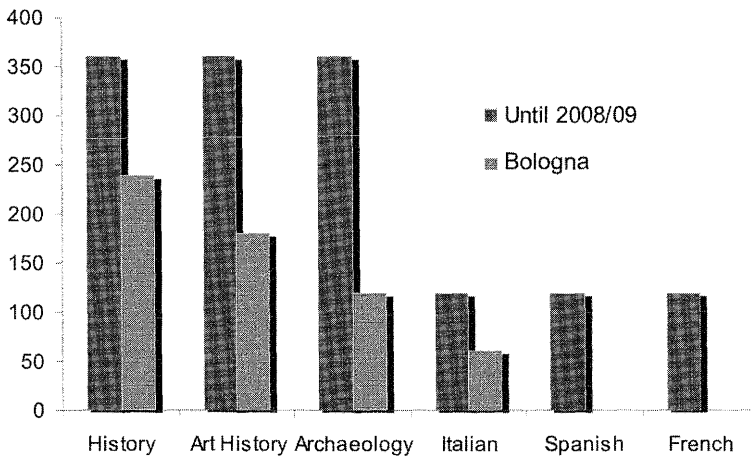


Figure 2. – The Bologna process and its effects on teaching Latin at the university. The columns represent the number of mandatory Latin classes attended as a condition for a degree in these majors (after five years of study) at the University of Ljubljana – before and after the implementation of the new curriculum.

¹⁰ The numbers come from the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts website (www.ff.uni-lj.si).

¹¹ Although the two systems are not exactly the same, this comparison assumes a graduate spending five years at the same department studying for a research degree. The numbers are taken from the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts website. A reformed curriculum will only be implemented in 2009/10; still, after years of discussion, it is well - nigh impossible to expect any significant change in the near future.

The Fragile Revival of Medieval Studies: People and Places

Renewal of Latin during the last two decades went hand in hand with a renewal in medieval studies. Despite the aggravating fact that the country has no independent entity – such as a university department or a research institute – primarily devoted to the Middle Ages, there has been a sort of blossoming in medieval studies, spearheaded by a number of scholars working within a diverse institutional network. While the stringent word-count limits here make it difficult to do justice to all of them, a brief account will be attempted; the illustrative list of people and places that follows does not even pretend to be exhaustive. Examples of their approach follow in the footnotes; as a rule, books published internationally take precedence over the rest.

The work of Rajko Bratož provided a fresh historical perspective on the area in late antiquity.¹² Peter Štih has published extensive research in the field of the aristocracy;¹³ recently, his studies of Slovenian identity – accompanied by a Slovenian translation of *The Myth of Nations* by Patrick Geary – have sparked a major public debate. The history of daily life, a previously neglected area, is beginning to come to the fore; an interesting example is a study of a “medieval female voice,” published by Peter Štih and Igor Grdina.¹⁴ Dušan Kos has concentrated on social and cultural history, dealing mostly with textual sources.¹⁵

Indeed, it is medieval history where the influence of CEU alumni is most present. Matjaž Bizjak has been unearthing late medieval economic history;¹⁶ recently he has begun to publish a series of important primary sources for the Auersperg family.¹⁷ Matjaž Vesel, another CEU alumnus, is researching and

¹² Rajko Bratož, ed., *Slowenien und die Nachbarländer zwischen Antike und karolingischer Epoche: Anfänge der slowenischen Ethnogenese*, Situla 39 (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti [hereafter: SAZU], 2000).

¹³ Peter Štih, *Studien zur Geschichte der Grafen von Görz: die Ministerialen und Milites der Grafen von Görz in Istrien und Krain* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1996).

¹⁴ Igor Grdina and Peter Štih, ed., *Spomini Helene Kottanner: ženski glas iz srednjega veka* [Memories of Helena Kottanner: A Female Voice from the Middle Ages] (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 1999).

¹⁵ Dušan Kos, *He Who Does not Suffer with the Town, Shall not Reap the Benefits Thereof: The Statute of Ptuj from 1376, Article 94* (Ljubljana: Ministry of Culture, 1998).

¹⁶ Matjaž Bizjak, *Ratio facta est: gospodarska struktura in poslovanje poznosrednjeveških gospostev na Slovenskem* [*Ratio facta est: Economic Structure and Operations of Late Medieval Rulers in Slovenian Territory*], *Thesaurus memoriae* (dissertationes) 2 (Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center [hereafter: ZRC] SAZU, 2003).

¹⁷ Miha Preinfalk and Matjaž Bizjak, ed., *Turjaška knjiga listin* [The Auersperg Book of Deeds], *Thesaurus memoriae* (fontes) (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2008-).

translating the medieval and renaissance history of science.¹⁸ Still, there is a painful gap in the “recent flowering of medieval studies in Slovenia, effected by a new generation of young scholars;”¹⁹ Andrej Komac, an accomplished medievalist of great promise, had already submitted his doctoral thesis²⁰ to the defence committee when he tragically lost his life in a diving accident during the summer of 2003.

The research of Jurij Snoj has shed new light on the previously neglected sphere of medieval music.²¹ In the history of art, Nataša Golob has illuminated a series of issues concerning local medieval manuscripts;²² from the archival perspective, the phenomenon has been investigated by Jedrt Vodopivec.²³ Janez Höfler dedicated a lifetime of research to medieval art.²⁴ From 1990 onwards, Ivan Stopar has been publishing his landmark analysis on Slovenian castles, with a new volume appearing almost every year.²⁵ A significant amount of archaeological research has been carried out at the Academy of Science Institute for Archaeology by Slavko Ciglenečki,²⁶ Andrej Pleterski,²⁷ and others. Literary research and translation have been advanced by Primož Simoniti, whose principal work on Slovenian humanists is now available in German as well.²⁸ More recently, Miha Pintarič explored the transition from the medieval to the modern period as attested in French literature.²⁹ Perhaps the

¹⁸ Matjaž Vesel, *Učena nevednost Nikolaja Kuzanskega: Kuzanski in konstitucija univerzuma moderne znanosti* [*Docta ignorantia of Nicolaus Cusanus: Constituting the Universe of Modern Science*], Philosophica (series moderna) (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2000).

¹⁹ Peter Štih, “Andrej Komac (1970–2003),” *Annales* 13, no. 2 (2003): 465.

²⁰ Andrej Komac, *Od mejne grofije do dežele: Ulrik III. Spanheim in Kranjska v 13. stoletju* [From a Margraviate to a Province: Ulrich III Spanheim and Carniola in the Thirteenth Century], *Thesaurus memoriae* (dissertationes) 5 (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2006).

²¹ Jurij Snoj, *Medieval Music Codices: A Selection of Representative Samples from Slovene Libraries* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 1997).

²² Nataša Golob, *Twelfth-century Cistercian Manuscripts: The Sitticum Collection* (London: H. Miller Publishers, 1996).

²³ Jedrt Vodopivec, *Vezave srednjeveških rokopisov: strukturne prvine in njihov razvoj* [Medieval Manuscript Binding: Structural Elements and their Development] (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2000).

²⁴ Janez Höfler, *Der Meister E. S.: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2007).

²⁵ Ivan Stopar, *Grajske stavbe* [Castle Buildings] (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1990–); 16 volumes published so far.

²⁶ Slavko Ciglenečki, *Tinje oberhalb von Loka pri Žusmu: Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Siedlung*, *Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae* 4 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2000).

²⁷ Andrej Pleterski, *Frühmittelalterliche Siedlung Pristava in Bled: Funde*, *Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae* 14 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2008).

²⁸ Primož Simoniti, *Humanismus bei den Slovenen: Slovenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008).

²⁹ Miha Pintarič, *Le sentiment du temps dans la littérature française (XII^e s.-fin du XVI^e s.)* (Paris: Champion, 2002).

single most important philological achievement of this period, the result of a major collective effort, was the thorough revision and modernisation of the Latin-Slovenian Dictionary in six substantial volumes and over 3000 pages, a grand project that had been interrupted by the First World War, then thwarted by the economic crisis, and finally shelved after the Second World War; its resuscitation in the 1990s and eventual completion by a group of Latinists, supervised by Matej Hriberšek, brought to a close an effort that spanned an entire century, thus providing foundations for Latin translations in coming decades.³⁰

Beyond the necessarily inadequate list of individual scholars given above is a broader community of people working in their respective fields. The following list of institutions provides a fairly dense net of starting points; people there will provide further information and direct any enquiry towards the appropriate archive, library or specialist. *Cuncta fluunt, nihil est toto quod perstet in orbe*; things change, particularly in the volatile world of websites. This is why Slovenian names are provided in brackets; a skilful surfer will be able to find their new place of interretial dwelling.

³⁰ Fran Wiesthaler, *Latinsko-slovenski slovar* [Latin-Slovenian Dictionary], 6 vols. (Ljubljana: Kres, 1993-2007).

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Major Libraries/Manuscript Collections

National and University Library
(Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica)
Turjaška 1, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-2001-188
www.nuk.si; izposoja@nuk.uni-lj.si

Regional Archives Koper, Piran Department
(Pokrajinski arhiv Koper - enota Piran)
Župančičeva 4, SI-6330 Piran
Tel. +386-5-6732-840
www.arhiv-koper.si; arhiv.koper@gmail.com

Archdiocesan Archives Ljubljana
(Nadškofijski arhiv v Ljubljani)
Krekov trg 1, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-23-47-570
arhiv.lj@rkc.si

Archdiocesan Archives Maribor
(Nadškofijski arhiv v Mariboru)
Koroška cesta 1, SI-2000 Maribor
Tel. +386-590-80-120
www.mariborska-metropolija.si/ustanove/arhiv.php
skofijski.arhiv@slomsek.net

Theological Seminary Library in Ljubljana
(Semeniška knjižnica v Ljubljani)
Bogoslovno semenišče Ljubljana
Dolničarjeva 4, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-232-78-91
semenisce-lj.rkc.si; info.semenisce.ljubljana@rkc.si

Major Archival Holdings

Archives of the Republic of Slovenia
(Arhiv Republike Slovenije)
Zvezdarska 1, SI-1000
Tel. +386-1-241-42-00
www.arhiv.gov.si; ars@gov.si

Regional Archives in Maribor
(Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor)
Glavni trg 7, SI-2000 Maribor
Tel. +386-2-22-85-024
www.pokarh-mb.si; vloge@pokarh-mb.si

Historical Archives of Ljubljana
(Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana)
Mestni trg 27, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-306-1303
www.zal-lj.si; zal@zal-lj.si

Historical Archives of Celje
(Zgodovinski arhiv Celje)
Teharska cesta 1, SI-3000 Celje
Tel. +386-3-42-87-640
www.zac.si; zg.arhiv-celje@guest.arnes.si

Historical Archives of Ptuj
(Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj)
Muzejski trg 1, SI-2250 Ptuj
Tel. +386-2-787-97-30
www.arhiv-ptuj.si; zgod.arhiv-ptuj@guest.arnes.si

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Regional Archives in Koper
(Pokrajinski arhiv Koper)
Kapodistriasov trg 1, SI-6000 Koper
Tel. +386-5-62-71-824
www.arhiv-koper.si; arhiv.koper@gmail.com

Archdiocesan Archives in Ljubljana/Maribor
See above.

Major Museums and Galleries with Medieval Collections

National Museum of Slovenia
(Narodni muzej Slovenije)
Prešernova 20, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-44-00
www.narmuz-lj.si; info@nms.si

The National Gallery
(Narodna galerija)
Puharjeva 9, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-24-15-434
www.ng-slo.si; info@ng-slo.si

City Museum of Ljubljana
(Mestni muzej Ljubljana)
Gosposka 15, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-24-12-500
www.mestnimuzej.si; info@mestnimuzej.si

Regional Museum in Maribor
(Pokrajinski muzej Maribor)
Grajska ulica 2, SI-2000 Maribor
Tel. +386-2-228-35-51
www.pmuzej-mb.si; info@pmuzej-mb.si

Base and Superstructure: Medieval Studies in Slovenia and a Change of Context

Regional Museum in Celje
(Pokrajinski muzej Celje)
Muzejski trg 1, SI-3000 Celje
Tel. +386-3-428-09-50
www.pokmuz-ce.si; info@pokmuz-ce.si

Regional Museum in Ptuj
(Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj)
Muzejski trg 1, SI-2250 Ptuj
Tel. +386-2-787-92-30
www.pok-muzej-ptuj.si; grad@pok-muzej-ptuj.si

Regional Museum in Murska Sobota
(Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota)
Trubarjev drevored 4, SI-9000 Murska Sobota
Tel. +386-2-527-17-06
www.pok-muzej-ms.si; pok-muzej-ms@guest.arnes.si

Major Research Institutions

Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
(Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-470-6-100
www.zrc-sazu.si; zrc@zrc-sazu.si

Milko Kos Historical Institute
(Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-4706-200
zimk.zrc-sazu.si; zi@zrc-sazu.si

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France Stele Institute of Art History
(Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-470-6-100
uifs.zrc-sazu.si; umzg@zrc-sazu.si

Institute of Archaeology
(Inštitut za arheologijo)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-47-06-380
www.zrc-sazu.si/iza; iza@zrc-sazu.si

Institute of Musicology
(Muzikološki inštitut)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-470-6215
mi.zrc-sazu.si

Institute of Philosophy
(Filozofski inštitut)
Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-470-6470
fi.zrc-sazu-si; fi@zrc-sazu.si

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
(Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani)
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-10-00
www.ff.uni-lj.si; info@ff.uni-lj.si

Department of Classical Philology
(Oddelek za klasično filologijo)
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-14-20
www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/klasfilol

Base and Superstructure: Medieval Studies in Slovenia and a Change of Context

Department of History
(Oddelek za zgodovino)
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-11-90
www.zgodovina-ff.uni-lj.net
info.zgodovina@ff.uni-lj.si

Department of Art History
(Oddelek za umetnostno zgodovino)
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-12-10
www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/umzgod

Department of Archeology
(Oddelek za arheologijo)
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. +386-1-241-15-58
arheologija.ff.uni-lj.si

A DISCIPLINE WITHOUT A PAST: MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN UKRAINE

Yuriy Zazuliak

The task of writing about the current trends and future of a scholarly discipline always involves the necessity to situate such an assessment against the historical background of its past achievements and shortcomings. This is especially true for medieval studies, a discipline with long, rich, and diverse traditions of scholarship. Looking back at the road medieval scholarship has carved during the last two decades one can find common as well as unique traits in its development in different countries. The uniqueness of the Ukrainian case is that medieval studies in Ukraine are in a certain sense an academic discipline without a past. It would not be an exaggeration to say that there was no such thing as medieval studies in the period around 1991-1993. At that time there were only a small number of people who studied the medieval history of Ukraine and only a few interested in general medieval history and culture. Until quite recently, one also could hardly speak of any lasting traditions of scholarship, special professional institutions, established scholarly schools, or journals dealing with medieval history. These features of the academic field contrast with quite a strong Ukrainian academic and educational background with a wide network of large universities and the National Academy of Science, including numerous history, philology, and philosophy departments and institutes.

There were many causes for such a deplorable academic situation. Some of the crucial causes were of an external political and not academic nature, that is, the Stalinist terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, including the extermination of almost all historians, in the 1930s or the situation of the “internal colonialism” of Ukraine’s experience within the Soviet Union, which resulted in deep provincialization of the humanities and social sciences in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s. I have no intention, however, of focusing here on these aspects of the development of the humanities in Ukraine. What I would like to do is to highlight some of the inherent features and structures of Ukrainian medieval history that have had profound impacts on how, on the one hand, Ukrainian medievalists have come to understand and conceptualize their medieval past, and, on the other hand, how these peculiarities have influenced the development of medieval studies in the last two decades.

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The first point I would like to make is that Ukrainian historians have always encountered serious problems with rediscovering their “national” Middle Ages. Today it is common knowledge that the emergence of professional historical scholarship during the nineteenth century was strongly interdependent with the rise of the modern nation-state and nationalism. History as an academic discipline with its own research agenda, epistemological premises, and professional ethos originated and was understood primarily as “national.” For such a “national” historiography to study the medieval past meant to investigate first of all a history of “national” medieval statehood, to trace and legitimize the roots of the national consciousness and national aspirations through the rediscovery of the idea of “national statehood” in the medieval, or, even better, in the early medieval period.¹

This is what Ukrainian “national” history has always found hard to boast. No medieval state and no ethnic group with such a name are known to have existed during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. The political and cultural reality of the Ukrainian medieval past – unstable political and cultural borders, political fragmentation and frequent divisions of “Ukrainian space” among neighboring medieval states – was rather the opposite of the present-day idea of a politically and culturally unified Ukrainian state and nation, which came into existence only during the last century. Therefore, it is no surprise that modern Ukrainian historical consciousness and the historical scholarship that was shaped by it have always had problems with legitimating their claims to the medieval past of what is today called Ukraine.²

This medieval past has often been seen as a sort of historical battlefield for competing historical narratives elaborated in the Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian

¹ For the role of medieval history and medievalists in the process of forging modern nationalist ideologies, see Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), esp. 15-40.

² These troubles with the legitimacy of the historical concept of the Ukrainian “national” Middle Ages understood primarily in terms of its “ethnic” statehood and nation can be seen as a part of the wider problem that has been recently raised in the scholarly discussions on how one has to understand and conceptualize the history of Ukraine in general. See, for example Mark von Hagen, “Does Ukraine have a History?” *Slavic Review* 54, No. 3 (1995): 658-673. Consider also the insightful remark by John-Paul Himka on how problematic it is to relate the pre-modern cultural artifacts from the territory of present-day Ukraine to the national paradigm of Ukrainian history, in his “What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?” in Giovanna Brogi Berkoff and Giulia Lami ed., *Ukraine's Reintegration into Europe: A Historical, Historiographical, and Political Urgent Issue* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005), esp. 227-8 (hereafter: Himka, “What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?”).

historiographies.³ Perhaps the best known example of how political and national issues framed the scholarly interpretations of the Ukrainian past concerns the history of the Rurikid polity of the eleventh to thirteenth century, which is generally known today under the name of Kyivan Rus'. When Ukrainian historiography emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, it had to counter a potent, well-established and rich tradition in Russian scholarship that laid exclusive claim to the history of Kyivan Rus'. One could say that Ukrainian historians arrived too late; the Kyivan Rus' past had already been cultivated and fully appropriated into the Russian historical narrative.⁴ The history of Kyivan Rus' became a founding historical myth in Russian historical consciousness and there was no place in it for Ukrainians as a separate people. In fact, this Russian historical narrative operated as a sort of imperialist historical teleology by claiming the existence of one single people populating the vast territories of Kyivan Rus' and interpreting the subsequent history of different parts of this realm as a natural and inevitable process of the unification of a once-divided nation under Russian imperial rule. Ukrainian national/nationalist historians have usually countered this imperialist narrative without success by claiming their exclusive national rights to the legacy of the Kyivan Rus' past. There is, however, one striking similarity in the arguments of otherwise antagonistic interpretations of Russian and Ukrainian historians. Both modern national historiographies accepted and followed uncritically the point of view of medieval historical narratives with their emphasis on the continuity and uninterrupted *translatio* of the idea of the statehood in East Slavic history.⁵ The major

³ For various historical representations of the Ukrainian past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian historiographies, see Stephan Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process. A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1992).

⁴ The close interrelation between Russian imperial expansion, travel literature, and Russian historical scholarship in the process of the discursive appropriation of the Kyivan Rus' past has been brilliantly analyzed by Olexiji Toločko. The author has also emphasized the difficulties Russian scholarship faced in situating the Cossak, Malorussian episode of the Ukrainian past in their concept of continuity between the Kyivan Rus' and the modern, imperial period of Russian history; see, his "Kyjevoruska spadščyna v ukrainskij istoryčnij dumci na počatku XIX stolittia" [The Legacy of Kyivan Rus' in the Ukrainian Historical Thought on the beginning of the Nineteenth Century] in Vladyslav Verstiuk, Viktor Horobets' and Olexij Toločko, *Ukrainski Proekty v Rosijskij Imperii* (Ukrainian Projects the in Russian Empire) (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 2004), 250-331.

⁵ Consult important remarks by Olexij Toločko about the myth of continuity in Ukrainian historiography and its medieval chronicles' underpinnings in *Formuvannia Ukrainskoi natsii: istoria ta interpretatsii* (The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation: A History and Interpretations) (Materials of the historians' roundtable) (Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Ševčenka, 1995), 53-4.

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point where Russian and Ukrainian historians have really diverged in opinion was on which line of historical succession established by medieval historians to choose: either Kyivan Rus – Valdimir-Suzdal Principality – Moscovian/Russian state or Kyivan Rus’ – Halyč-Volynian Principality – The Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

It is also important that attempts to create an image of Ukrainian medieval history as the coherent and uninterrupted existence of a medieval nation and statehood and put it at the center of the national historical narrative were also challenged from within Ukrainian historical scholarship. The Ukrainian historical consciousness and national memory, as it emerged in the course of the nineteenth century, was mostly grounded on historical traditions of the Cossak era, especially those of the Khmelnytsky uprising of the middle of the seventeenth century – an event which in itself symbolized a deep and radical rupture with the previous stages of Ukrainian history.

From the present-day scholarly perspective, the impossibility of establishing an autonomous, national medieval past, making it an exclusive and privileged possession of Ukrainian “national” historiography, has a double and ambiguous effect. On the one hand, it resulted in the rise of new and the revival of old rude nationalistic mythologies in medieval history writing that have sought to trace the existence of Ukrainians and their state back into primordial times.⁶ On the other hand, this situation has its own advantages. First of all, it makes some Ukrainian historians more methodologically reflexive in their approaches to the “national” and “nation” in the Middle Ages. These attempts at reconsidering the role of the national in East European medieval history are connected with the larger context of recent debates by Ukrainian historians on the emergence of the modern Ukrainian nation. An important implication of these debates was an appreciation of the “constructivist” approaches to the problem of the formation of nations and the interpretation of the present-day Ukrainian nation as a product of the social and cultural processes of modern times, primarily the rise of modern nationalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷

⁶ An example of useful criticism of such conceptions is provided by Olena Rusyna, “Arkheologia neznannia” (Archeology of Ignorance), *Krytyka* 9, No. 9 (95) (2005): 24-26; for the origin and comparative context of such popular national mythologies and mystifications, see also Hryhorii Hrabovych, “Slidamy nacionalnyh mistyfikacij” (In the Footsteps of National Mystifications), *Krytyka* 5, No. 6 (44) (2001): 14-23.

⁷ The most representative for these discussions is materials from the roundtable held in L’viv in 1995, see *Formuvannia Ukrainskoi natsii*. For a recent successful attempt to reconsider the problem of “national identity” in East European medieval history that bore a clear mark of “constructivist” approaches, see: Serhii Plokhyy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations. Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge:

In the field of the medieval studies this emphasis on rupture and discontinuity in Ukrainian history has raised a challenge to the established disciplinary regimes of history writing in two ways. First, it has stimulated interest in research of what may be called the intellectual genealogy of some influential historiographic concepts and interpretations of the ethnic history of medieval Eastern Europe in general, and of Ukraine in particular. Several works, for instance, have highlighted how the origin of the concepts and categories of historical analysis (this is especially true in the case of the concept of so-called *drevnerusskaja narodnost'* [the ancient Russian people]) that still dominate medieval history writing in Ukraine were strongly dependent upon the political and cultural contexts of the Stalinist epoch with its tense intellectual climate of anti-Western xenophobia and Soviet nationalism.⁸ The second type of revisionism is equally ambitious, since it has sought to question the authenticity of some of the most significant and simultaneously most problematic texts which have exerted an enduring influence on historians' perception of the Eastern Slavonic medieval past. Such studies are indeed bold attempts, because they have tried to introduce some doubt into what has long been believed to be beyond any doubt.⁹ One would say that some of these texts have taken on a sort of semi-sacral status in medieval scholarship, fostering a sense of national megalomania, being a source for continual historical myth-making and reflecting the distribution of power within academia.

As I already mentioned above, the Ukrainian medieval past basically lacked social, political, and cultural institutions and processes able to sustain the idea of the political and "national" unity of its geographical space during the Middle Ages. The questionable character of the continuity in the Ukrainian medieval past opens room for recognition of contingency in its history, especially in its relation to the broader context of East European medieval history.¹⁰ The first aspect of this contingency is that the Ukrainian Middle Ages appear primarily as regional or local in the context of the neighbors' "national" medieval histories. Furthermore,

Cambridge University Press, 2006), e.g., 3-5.

⁸ See Natalia Jusova, *'Davniorus'ka narodnost': zarodzhennia i stanovlennia koncepciji v radianskij istoričnij nauci (1930 – perša polovyna 1940-kih rr)* ('Old Russian Nationality': The Origin and Formation of the Concept in the Soviet Historical Scholarship, 1930s – the first half of 1940s) (Kyiv: Stylos, 2006).

⁹ Edward L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovsky and the Origins of the Igor' Tale* (Cambridge: Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 2003); Alexei Toločko, *"Istoria Rossijskaya" Vasilija Tatischeva: istočniki i izvestia* (The "Russian History" of Vasilii Tatisev: Sources and Evidence) (Moscow/Kyiv: NLO/Krytyka, 2005).

¹⁰ For the role of contingency in Ukrainian medieval history, see Himka, "What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?:" 228.

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it is legitimate to argue that localism is an inherent feature of Ukrainian medieval history. The primacy of the local perspective is an important asset for understanding Ukrainian medieval times in two ways. First, it reveals the persistence of some medieval modes of political organization and patterns of political local culture in the post-medieval period of Ukrainian history. This is especially relevant for the case of the Ukrainian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which allows speculation about possible Rus' roots of such political institutions. It has been possible to bring to light a process of gradual transformation and decline of the old forms of social and political life in the post-medieval period in the new context of the innovative trends of Early Modern times.¹¹ In this way, Ukrainian medieval and post-medieval local history can make a new and highly interesting contribution to Jacques Le Goff's "long Middle Ages."¹² Second, it tends to problematize the relations between the local medieval past and the modern national historical narratives based on it. The case of the Ukrainian Middle Ages makes it especially visible how the national history of Middle Ages works to "nationalize" some aspects of the local past and to silence others.

To illustrate some aspects of the interrelations between the local and national perspectives let me say a few words *pro domo sua*, that is, about the scholarship on late medieval Galicia. I would like to focus briefly on the late medieval Galician past by stressing in particular how the local evidence resists attempts at reductionism to national history. For the general historical context it is important to know that from the 1340s Galicia was under the control of the kings of the Piast, Anjou, and Jagiellonian dynasties. The incorporation of Galicia into the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland stimulated rapid changes in the cultural, ethnic, and social landscape of the region. The process of intensive cultural and social transformations and interaction manifested itself in various ways – the migration of German and Jewish

¹¹ See, for example Natalia Jakovenko, "Pro dva mentalni stereotypy ukrainskoi šliakhty: 'Čolovik dobryj' i 'Čolovik zlyj'" (Two Mental Stereotypes of Ukrainian Nobles: A 'Good Man' and An 'Evil Man'), in her *Paralelnyj svit. Doslidzhennia z istorii ujavlen ta idej v Ukraini XVI-XVII st.* (The Parallel World: Studies on the History of Imagery and Ideas in Ukraine, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century) (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002), 106–47.

¹² Besides the study of Natalia Jakovenko, the idea of the relevance of Ukrainian medieval and post-medieval history to the "long European Middle Ages" has profoundly influenced the scholarly agenda of the journal *Medievalia Ucrainica. Mentalnist' ta istoria idej* (Medievalia Ucrainica. Mentality and the History of Ideas), edited by Natalia Jakovenko and Olexij Toločko in the 1990s. This point has been recently stressed again by Yurii Avvakumov, *Medievistyka i Ukrainskij Katolyckij Universytet* (Lviv: Ukrainskij Katoyč'kyj Universytet, 2007), esp. 13.

populations that speeded up urban growth; the establishment of institutions of the Roman Catholic Church; the establishment of Vlach settlements in the Carpathian foothills; and the arrival of Polish aristocracy and nobility. In view of this new cultural and social situation the local Orthodox Ukrainian population was forced to make new cultural choices and seek modes of coexistence, including changes in their confessional and ethnic identities.

Historical research still tends to interpret all these complex forms of cultural interaction and cultural hybrids in a traditional way, viewing this as a process of unilateral assimilation. In most cases this assimilation is considered Polonization and it is usually described in terms of accepting a single national identity.¹³ Such approaches are clearly visible, for example, in the attempts to deny or diminish the role of Germans and German colonization in late medieval Galicia. For instance, in their persistent search for the national past of Lviv/Lwów/Lemberg, both Ukrainian and Polish historians have often tended to underrate the fact of the German dominance in the city during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Polish historians, particularly, have seen the role of Germans in the history of the city and region as provisional, marginal, and insignificant on the road to the complete polonization. Ukrainian scholars have gone even further in their negation and criticism of the German influence, extending it to agrarian and peasant history. In Ukrainian historiography the massive settlements of Galician villages under German law and the presence of a German population there is either completely ignored or is seen in a particularly dark light as representing another example of the aggressive nature of German medieval eastern colonization and its particularly negative destructive consequences for Slavic communal life.¹⁴ Ukrainian historians

¹³ For an example of such an approach in Polish historiography, see Jan Orzechowski, "Oksydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV i XVI w.," (Occidentalization of the Rus' Crown in the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century) in *Państwo, naród, stany* (State, Nation, Estates in the Consciousness of the Middle Ages), ed. Alexander Gieysztor and Sławomir Gawlas (Warsaw: PWN, 1990), 215-243. The tendency towards a critical revision of the old historiographic stereotypes in the treatment of the problem of "ethnic" and "national" in late medieval Galicia is represented by works of Andrzej Janeczke; see, for example, his "Między sobą. Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV-XV w.," (Among Themselves. Poles and Ruthenians on the Common Borderlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century) in *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie* (Among Themselves. Polish-Ukrainian Historical Essays), ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakovenko (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000), 37-55.

¹⁴ Andriy O. Hurbyk, furnishes a good example of the complete silence about the German presence in: "Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoï rozdrobленosti" (A Rural Population in the Period of Political Disintegration), in *Istoria ukraińskoho selianstva* (The History of Ukrainian Peasantry) vol. 1 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2006), 73-124 (hereafter: Hurbyk, "Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoï rozdrobленosti"). As for

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have interpreted the history of Ruthenian nobility of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a similar manner, approaching it almost exclusively from the perspective of its total polonization. This clearly evolutionary and theological perspective is accompanied by some moralizing overtones concerning the class egoism of the local aristocracy and its inability to stand up for Ukrainian national interests. Beyond such an understanding of national identity and assimilation is an attempt to project the modern concept of ethnicity into the past and construct the late medieval identities existing in Galicia as homogeneous and exclusive. Such an approach has tended, however, to overlook or underestimate the numerous cases of situational and multiple identities that existed in late medieval Galicia which did not fit the modern national categories of stable ethnicity and unilateral assimilation.

Another side of this problematic nature of the late medieval Galician past is that it has been often regarded as an “un-heroed,” one would even say an opportunistic, episode in Ukrainian history. Abundant historical evidence is preserved for fifteenth-century Galicia pointing to deep cultural and social transformations in the life of the region at that time. The sources, however, have little if any utility for elevating a “national spirit,” since they offer no significant evidence about “national” statehood and the struggle against foreign conquerors. This image of late medieval Galician history probably accounts for the tendency in present-day history writing to marginalize or even exclude it from the national historical grand narrative. For example, the Galician history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was completely omitted from the ambitious and multi-volume project of Ukrainian history, called “Ukraine through the Centuries,” which was published recently by the major historical academic institution – the Institute of Ukrainian History.¹⁵

The same holds true for the recent “The History of Ukrainian Peasantry,”¹⁶ which barely mentions the evidence of Galician fifteenth-century sources concerning

the highly negative and ideologically biased assessment of the German influence on Galician agrarian life see the otherwise brilliant investigation by Vasyl Inkin, *Silske suspil'stvo Halyč'koho Prykarpattia u XVI-XVIII stolittakh, istoryčni narysy* (The Village Society of the Halyč Carpathian Foothills in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth century) (Lviv: Institut istoryčnyh doslidžen' LNU “Ivana Franka,” 2004), esp. 256. Recently Thomas Wunsch has made an endeavor to reinterpret the expansion of German law in late medieval Galicia from a fresh methodological point of view, see his “Ostsiedlung in Rotrußland vom 14.-16. Jahrhundert – Problemaufriß für die kulturgeschichtliche Erforschung eines Transformationsprozesses in Ostmitteleuropa (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der terra Halicz),” *Österreichische Osthefte* 41, No. 1 (1999): 47-82.

¹⁵ The volume in question was published by Olena Rusynna, *Ukraine under the Tatars and Lithuania* (Kiev: Altenatvy, 1998.)

¹⁶ See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobenosti.”

peasant life at that time. This is especially surprising if one takes into account the fact that the sources for other regions have not survived in such a sizeable volume as they have for Galicia in that period.¹⁷ “The History of Ukrainian Peasantry” also provides an interesting example of how present-day historians have tried to construct the national spatial framework for the local histories of social classes. In this regard one should not forget that the peasantry has always enjoyed a special status in both nationalist and Marxist history-writing in Eastern Europe. It has been regarded as a basic constituent brick for building modern East European nations or represented as one of the driving forces in the permanent class struggle. The main research procedure visible in such studies is first to search for local evidence, then construct the “national” medieval peasant community and single out its fundamental features. This is usually done without raising the question of how relevant it is to interpret the highly local and geographically fragmented village communities of the Middle Ages in terms of a single “national” peasantry.¹⁸

In addition, one can also observe attempts to impose completely irrelevant temporalities on the history of the peasantry. One of the central chapters on the medieval period contained in the “History of Ukrainian Peasantry” has the title “A Rural Population in the Period of ‘Political Disintegration.’”¹⁹ The chapter does not explain what the term “political disintegration” means nor how it is relevant for the history of peasantry. I have a suspicion that it betrays the specific “statist” (state-bound) vision of authors who are unable to think of the history of medieval peasantry without linking it to the idea of the nation state. It seems to be quite easy to trace the ideological origins of this concept. It reminds one of the concept of feudal disintegration that originated in Soviet times and was used to explain the social and political developments of the Rurikid polity after the death of Jaroslav the Wise. Moreover, it was a heavily biased ideological concept because it interpreted political fragmentation and princely feuds not as a feature inherent in the medieval polities, but as a sort of historical anomaly that had to be overcome in the process of historical development towards a national centralized state. In this sense the application of this concept represents the strange mixture of the Soviet

¹⁷ See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobenosti.”

¹⁸ This approach can also be found in the studies of some Polish historians, for example, Jerzy Wýrozumski has used Galician evidence extensively to reconstruct the Polish medieval peasant community, see his “Gromada w życiu samorządowym średniowiecznej wsi polskiej” (The Communal life of the Polish Medieval Village), *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej* 3 (1985): 219-251.

¹⁹ See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobenosti.”

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imperial and Ukrainian nationalistic historical stereotypes that coexist in present-day Ukrainian academic history writing.

The contingency of the Ukrainian medieval past also opens another perspective, in some sense complementary to, but also a reversal of, the local point of view that has been stressed above. It proposed going beyond the local and seeing the situation of the cultural encounter in the wider context of the constant flux of people, ideas, texts, and artifacts of diverse cultural and ethnic origins in the broad geographical space between Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia.

This approach facilitates rethinking the old and outdated idea of a border of culture and civilization in Ukrainian history writing. The notion of border has been a crucial conceptual tool for a long time for the cultural mapping of nationality and civilization and for representing them as geographically closed and ethnically homogenous entities. It was used to reinforce the perception of the Ukrainian past as a purely Slavic and Orthodox world whose relationships with the outer world were treated in terms of a besieged stronghold. This historiographic interpretation, which has a strong Slavophile and Soviet ideological background, maintained that Ukrainians constantly fought against Western, Catholic, and German-Polish-Hungarian expansion. On the other hand, it represented Ukraine as another European *antemurale* resisting the constant attacks of Eastern nomadic people. It is a matter of paradox that such views of the founding fathers of Ukrainian historiography, many of whom were often the ardent Ukrainian nationalists, contributed to the creation of a holistic and homogeneous image of Rus' and Ukrainian history. It was an image which, in fact, coincided almost completely with the idea of Russian imperial medievalism and a Russian imperial way of thinking about the East Slavic past.

The approach viewing the Ukrainian medieval past as a zone open for both cultural confrontation and interchange partly reminds one of the old historiographic concept of Ukraine as another frontier region "between the East and West." But it implies more than that. First it tends to demonstrate that the notions of East and West themselves as seen in the context of Ukrainian history were historical constructs that emerged in the process of cultural interaction.²⁰ Furthermore, this

²⁰ Insightful observations in this regard can be found in Ihor Ševčenko, "Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom" (Ukraine between East and West), in his *Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom. Narysy z istorii kultury do počatku XVIII stolittia* (Lviv: Ukrainskyj Katolyckyj Universytet, 2001), 1-12. The book was originally published in English as *Ukraine between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the End of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996).

re-evaluation of the traditional civilization map of Ukrainian medieval history has also resulted in a new understanding of traditional concepts of center and periphery within this space and has offered new interpretative possibilities for the analysis of highly interesting cultural phenomena and artifacts that existed on the margins. Another important consequence is that it has shed new light on the problem of the cultural reception and reinterpretation of Western and Eastern traditions in the Ukrainian medieval context. For example, emphasis on the cultural reception and transmission has sharpened historians' sensitivity to the fact that the traditional "high" Eastern Slavic Orthodox culture of the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries was grounded mostly on translated and imported texts in terms of text production and reception. The original texts produced by the local literati were only a tiny minority in its textual equipment (there is now growing suspicion that some of them, like the famous Igor tale, were later forgeries). One would certainly assess the significance of this fact bearing in mind that modern national culture and the idea of national heritage fostered by it have always favored original and native medieval texts and artifacts over foreign borrowings and influences.²¹

Historians who have come to privilege such a cross-cultural approach focusing on how institutions, ideas, and texts were transmitted and adopted in new cultural contexts have pursued their research in many directions. Some of these studies have investigated the spread and reception of feudal institutions and norms, Vlachs, and German urban law. Another important venue of studies concerns the analysis of the interrelation between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches with special emphasis on the rise and spread of the idea of a church union and Unionist thought in Eastern Europe.²² This research has also touched upon an

²¹ This point has been nicely emphasized by John-Paul Himka, "What Constitute a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?" esp. 229. See also his forthcoming study on Carpathian icons of the Last Judgement: *History on Linden Boards: Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2010)

²² The necessity to formulate a new scholarly agenda for the investigation of the Church Unions and Unionist thought stressing the general context of European Middle Ages has been recently proposed by Yurii Avvakumov, *Medievistyka i Ukrainskyj Katolyckyj Universytet*, 13-27. Some valuable recent contributions to the problem of the Church Unions in the context of East Slavic history have been made by Ihor Ševčenko, "Polityka Vizantijskoho patriarkhatu u Skhidnij Europi v XIV st." (The Politics of the Byzantine Patriarchate in Eastern Europe in Fourteenth century), in his *Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom*, 75-98; Yurii Avvakumov, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankes: Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche* (Berlin, 2002); and Olena Rusyna, "Poslannia kyivskoho mytropolyta Mysaila papi rymskomu Sykstu IV z 1476 roku: novi aspekty doslidzhennia" (The Letter of the Kyivan Mytropolite Missail to Pope Sixtus IV from 1476: New Aspects of the Research), *Kovčeh* 5 (2007): 50-72; eadem, "Poslannia papi Sykstu IV i problema interpretacii literaturnykh pamiatok XV st." (A Letter

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interesting problem of the after-life of Western medieval texts and authors in the post-medieval period in the new cultural milieu and their interpretations in the context of Orthodox-Uniate polemics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³ The research perspective outlined above would be incomplete without close investigation of the interaction between the nomadic, Jewish, Turkish, and Armenian people on the one side and the Slavic people on the other. It seems that today such research, an agenda postulated by Omelian Pritsak at the beginning of 1990s, needs new application.

The community of scholars interested in the Ukrainian medieval past is in some sense similar to the past they investigate. It has fluent and ill-defined borders that are difficult to define in terms of national historiography. This is perhaps reason that I have found it impossible to omit the contribution of non-Ukrainian scholars to the field of Ukrainian medieval history when compiling the list of most important publications. On the one hand, this academic situation does not lack positive aspects. It permits conducting an investigation as if starting from a blank page without feeling the burden of outdated academic discourse and institutional constraints. Perhaps in this light one should see the emergence of new institutions and journals like *Krytyka*, *Ruthenica*, *Socium*, and *Ukrainskyj Humanitarnyj Ohliad* (Ukrainian Review of the Humanities) that have proposed new fresh interpretations and considerably widened the research perspectives of medieval and historical studies in Ukraine during the last fifteen years.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian academic situation is still characterized by extreme parochialism and marginalization within the global academic world of the humanities. For a long time it has been the renowned research centers of Ukrainian studies located in North America (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton) that have provided links to the international academic world and functioned as the main international forums for scholars interested in Ukrainian and East European history. Their efforts, as important as they are, cannot substitute for the work of scholars in Ukraine. And this is the point where, in my opinion, the Medieval Studies Department with its mission comes in. From my personal experience I can say that the Department's

to Pope Sixtus IV and the Problem of the Interpretation of the Fifteenth-Century Literary Texts), *Ukrainskyj Istoryčnyj Zhurnal* 2 (2008): 16-34.

²³ An interesting example of such research has been supplied recently by Valeriy Zema, "Papa Hryhoriy Velykyj u labetakh lehend ta istoriohrafii" [Pope Gregory the Great in Legends and Historiography], *Ukrainskyj Istoryčnyj Zhurnal* 1 (2007): 20-38.

devotion to the training of young medievalists from the East European region in the last fifteen years represents a great scholarly and teaching achievement. Together with other CEU departments it has contributed enormously to the emergence of a new and mobile network of young Ukrainian scholars in the humanities and social sciences who are trying to find their own voices and their own disciplinary legitimacy within the international scholarly community.

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RECENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Giles Constable

My talk this afternoon looks both backwards and forwards: backwards to the tradition of medieval studies and the influence of new approaches and methodologies in the second half of the twentieth century – my own professional lifetime – and forwards, more briefly and tentatively, to what appear to be the directions in which medieval studies are moving, both in Europe and in America. I shall not discuss other parts of the world, though interesting work is being done by medievalists elsewhere, as in Japan and Australia. I shall concentrate on the history of medieval religion and religious life, in part because it illustrates some of the most striking developments and changes in medieval studies and in part because the CEU has made notable contributions in this field. It is also, I should admit, the area I know best and in which much of my own research has been done. You will forgive me, I hope, if I draw at places in my talk on my own experience and on a paper that I presented recently in England on the study of medieval religious life and spirituality.¹

Traditionally the study of medieval religion was considered the domain of scholars who were themselves clerics and monks and who in many respects laid the foundations of the modern study of medieval history. The works of members of learned congregations like the Bollandists and Maurists are of enduring scholarly value. Few areas of historical research can boast such a distinguished genealogy, but until recently, with a few notable exceptions, it was largely neglected by lay scholars.

Academic historians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries inherited much of the secularism and anti-clericalism of the eighteenth century, often without the learning, and tended to neglect the study of religion, which they equated with irrationality if not superstition. Among other reasons for this neglect were the predominantly national focus of medieval studies, the reaction against the clerical domination of education, the view that the study of religious thought and institutions was the business of clerics rather than lay scholars, and more generally the perceived decline in the importance of religion in the modern world. The study of religious life

¹ Giles Constable, "From Church History to Religious Culture: The Study of Medieval Religious Life and Spirituality," in *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Miri Rubin (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2008) 3-16.

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and spirituality was regarded as antiquarianism and was almost completely ignored in most secular universities until well into the twentieth century.

Serious and important research was still done by clerics and monks even after the widespread suppression of monasticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After its revival in the mid-nineteenth century, monks were almost more cut off from secular society than before, and scholarly work was not always encouraged in religious communities. Scholars like Ursmer Berlière and André Wilmart were not widely known among lay historians. The great exception was David Knowles, the first Benedictine monk to hold a professorship in an English university since the Reformation. His history of the monastic and religious orders in England, which appeared between 1940 and 1959, took the scholarly world to some extent by surprise and helped to create a more receptive attitude towards the history of monasticism. Among lay scholars before the Second World War the most important were Carl Erdmann, whose *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* is a study in the changes in Christian thought and spirituality in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Herbert Grundmann, who studied the religious and social basis of the religious movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, stressing the role of women, and showed their common features rather than the differences which scholars who were themselves members of religious orders tended to emphasize.

Medieval religious history was even less studied in America than in Europe, aside from Henry Charles Lea and a small but dedicated group of scholars working on the crusades. The emphasis was on constitutional, institutional, and legal history, with occasional references to the history of art and to economic and intellectual history. Ernst Robert Curtius in a lecture delivered in 1949 commented on what he called the “phenomenon” of American medievalism. “The American conquest of the Middle Ages,” he wrote, somewhat oddly, “has something of that romantic glamor and of that deep sentimental urge which we might expect in a man who should set out to find his lost mother,” which tells us more about the European view of America than about the American view of the Middle Ages. The Belgian scholar Fernand Van Steenberghen was surprised by the growth of American medieval centers, institutes, and journals and questioned whether “there were sufficient vocations of medievalists in the New World to assure the vitality of all these centers of research.” He was writing in 1953, before Kalamazoo!²

² Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton

This then was the situation when I completed my PhD, in 1958, and began to look for an academic position. The subject of my dissertation was the letters of Peter the Venerable, who was abbot of Cluny in the first half of the twelfth century. It was unusual at that time (and still is, I believe) to present a textual edition, even with a substantial introduction and notes, as a doctoral dissertation, and my professors in the department of history at Harvard, who worked in traditional fields, thought that I would find a position only in a seminary. In fact the winds of historiographic fashion were changing, and my fields of interest – monastic history, the crusades, letter-writing, medieval forgery, all growing out of my work on Peter the Venerable – have been a modest growth industry over the past half century. More work is being done today on saints' lives and miracles than on the history of parliament. The study of religious life and spirituality took off, as it were, in the 1950s and 1960s and marks one of the major shifts in medieval studies during the past hundred years. Popular religion has been described as "perhaps the most successful as an interpretive rubric ... of all the historical approaches to come out of the 1970s."³

In the study of medieval spirituality the name of one scholar stands out, Jean Leclercq, whose career covered the second half of the twentieth century. Himself a Benedictine monk, his influence spread far outside the walls of his monastery or perhaps I should say monasteries, since he was a mighty traveler. Taking up in many respects where Wilmart left off, Leclercq was an interpreter as well as an editor of texts. He wrote dozens of books and hundreds of articles which, though of uneven quality, reached a wide audience and of which a number were translated into English. Wilmart and Leclercq, together with Marie-Dominique Chenu, changed the accepted view of medieval religion and spirituality. They oriented research away from the thirteenth century, which had long dominated the study of intellectual and artistic history, and emphasized the importance of the twelfth century, when there was fundamental change in the way people saw themselves in relation to God and the church and which marked the beginning, they said, of modern religion.

This included a redefinition of the *vita apostolica*, which no longer involved withdrawal from the world but came in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to include an active apostolate, and which was central for Francis of Assisi and the Mendicants, for whom it was not enough to be individually poor in

University Press, 1990), 587; F. Van Steenberghen, "Les études médiévales en Amérique," *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 49 (1951) 414. Editor's note: The annual Kalamazoo Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University now attracts about 3000 participants a year.

³ John Van Engen, "The Future of Medieval Church History," *Church History* 71 (2002) 498.

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possessions and in spirit, which was equivalent to being humble, without also being collectively poor. The established ideals of withdrawal, asceticism, and contempt for the world did not disappear and were combined with a stress on physical labor and also on human values, such as friendship, of which the importance in religious circles has been emphasized in recent studies. These ideals increasingly spread outside religious communities into lay society, and by the end of the Middle Ages many men and women shared the austere standard of behavior that had previously characterized formal religious life and included practices and devotions which governed the smallest details of everyday life, such as arranging the crumbs left on a table after a meal into the form of a cross.

In addition to these outward marks of piety there was a stress on spiritual inwardness, which was one of the defining characteristics of Christian spirituality from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, when religious life was marked, John Van Engen said in his recent book on the *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life*, by an “intense preoccupation with the interior, shaping or reshaping the soul in the presence of the divine.” People believed that their eternal salvation depended on their personal relations to God as much or more than on their behavior or on the intervention of the clergy. This stress on inwardness led in its extreme forms, through self-knowledge and love of God, to a withdrawal into self-denial, nothingness, and ultimately union with the Godhead in such a way, as Grundmann put it, that “the religious experience supersedes all questions of ethics and morals” and that the perfection of the individual believer exceeds the merits and claims of the saint. “Souls face to face with God, stripped of all masks and guises,” again according to Van Engen, “this was the heart of the matter.”⁴ For these people the ideal of the imitation of Christ involved not only following the example of His life on earth but also identifying with him as the suffering Son of God. This approaches the limits of orthodoxy, though at that time the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy were less fixed than they became later.

There has also been a growing awareness among scholars of the importance of medieval religious institutions for modern society, including political democracy (*maior et sanior pars*), prisons (“cell” is a monastic term), the importance of clocks and time-keeping, and the organization of industry. The origins of sign language

⁴ Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, Historische Studien 267 (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935) (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlichen Buchgesellschaft, 1961) 181-182; John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) 296, 318.

go back to the system of signs used in medieval monasteries. These are the subject of a different talk, however, and I mention them here only to emphasize the range of the influence of religious life and thought and the overlap of spirituality with popular culture.

Turning now to new developments in the history of religious life, I shall divide my discussion into three sections: first, the types of life led by religious men and women, *religiosi* and *religiosae*; second, their relations with secular society; and third, the effect on the study of religion of some of the new historical techniques and approaches.

Among the many interesting developments regarding the nature of medieval religious life has been the study of the common features of religious movements, rather than their differences, and the attention paid to groups and individuals who were not technically speaking monks and nuns, in particular to canons, hermits, and recluses, and to lay religious, female as well as male. In spite of significant earlier work on canons, some of it dating from the eighteenth century, their status and importance were not widely recognized and they are still not fully appreciated, partly in view of the variety of canons who existed in the Middle Ages. Some of them, known as regular canons, followed a rule and were barely distinguishable from monks; others resembled the clergy and were called secular canons; and yet others, as Alcuin recognized already in the ninth century, occupied a middle position between the two. Hermits and recluses, who were also known as anchorites, were less cut off from monastic, clerical, and lay society than was once thought and than descriptions of their way of life suggest. Many people, including women, spent periods of time in hermitages and later took up other types of life. Several scholarly congresses have been devoted to the study of hermits and eremitism, but the subject is far from exhausted.

The same is true of people who withdrew informally from secular society, either in groups or sometimes in their own families, which has been called domestic monasticism. This way of life was in its nature ephemeral and has left few written records. In institutional terms it constituted a sort of half-way house between the laity and better-established forms of religious life, and it is sometimes described as semi-monastic. People of this type were recognized as occupying a distinct and occasionally suspect status, parallel to that of heretics, but not the same, since they were more concerned with a religious way of life than with theology. It appealed particularly to women to whom some of the older and more organized forms of religious life were closed, and concerning whose history the flood-gates of research

have opened during the past generation, though they had never been fully closed. Many aspects of the religious life and culture of women throughout the Middle Ages have been studied in recent years, including the recognition by some of the reformers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the religious aspirations of women, who played a significant part in the institutional, spiritual, and intellectual life of the period. In the late Middle Ages women had a distinctive spirituality, concentrated on the physical body and found in both literature and art, of which the nature and importance have been increasingly recognized.

The members of religious communities were bound together by a common way of life and often by adherence to a written rule of a set of customs, which formed the basis of what have been called "textual communities." The study of rules and customs was a fertile area of research in the second half of the twentieth century. The *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, when complete, will include new editions of all known customaries. It is paralleled for Greek monasticism by the corpus of Byzantine monastic *typica*, which has opened the way for comparative study of religious life in the Latin west and Greek east. Many groups of religious men and women, however, including some of the most celebrated, had no written customs and were governed in the details of their daily life by oral traditions. Rules were sometimes adopted relatively late, and customs were written down when the founding members died, a daughter house was established, or another community wanted to adopt a similar way of life. Written customaries can be seen as a reaction to the threat of change and reform, welcome in principle might be met with hostility in practice. Some customaries represented a conservative effort to preserve existing practices, and their evidence must be taken with a grain of salt, because they tend to reflect an ideal rather than a reality. Very few if any religious houses adhered to every detail of a written document. Even the Rule of Benedict was modified in countless ways. It is impossible now to recover the unwritten customs of a community which were preserved in the minds of its members. Religious life was not an unchanging monolith, and there has been a growing recognition by scholars of the rapidity and occasional violence of change – or reform, as it was commonly called – which could uproot long-established customs and traditions.

The organization of most religious houses and the daily life of their members were governed by an elaborate system of rites and ceremonies, both within the church – the liturgy – and outside. Rites are of interest to sociologists and anthropologists as well as to students of religion and history, who have emphasized the importance

of ritual as an expression of religious ideology and feelings. It involves not only what was said and done but also what was sung and seen, since observers as well as performers participated in ceremonies and responded to images and buildings. Rites were adapted to meet the institutional and social in addition to the physical needs of religious life. The old contrast between rites and reason, which were traditionally regarded almost as opposites, has thus been broken down. Ritual is a way of looking behind the texts into the hidden world of attitudes and emotions, which have attracted the attention of scholars in recent years. The application of psychology to history has also helped to deepen our understanding of the religious needs of contemplatives and has inspired a greater sympathy for the visions and miracles that played such an important part in the inner life of monks and nuns.

Religious men and women were also involved with life outside their enclosure, both in other communities and in the secular world. Even those who never left their monasteries had spiritual ties with the lay world which were none the less important for being invisible. The prayers, masses, and blessings of monks and nuns benefited society as well as themselves. The names of innumerable lay benefactors and so-called co-brothers and co-sisters were listed, together with the names of former members of a community and of the communities with which it was affiliated, in the *libri vitae*, necrologies, and books of commemoration and confraternity; and prayers, masses, and alms were offered on the anniversaries of their deaths. These works have been known for many years, and some were published, mostly as undifferentiated lists of names, but they were regarded as of little use to historians. Their detailed study and publication, both in facsimile and in a form as close as possible to the originals, showing the placement and grouping of names, has been the special work of scholars at the University of Muenster, whose greatest single achievement has been the reconstruction of the lost necrology of Cluny, which contains thousands of names and shows the wide range of Cluny's influence.

Another relatively little-used source on the associations between religious houses are the mortuary rolls which were carried from house to house after the death of an individual for whom prayers and liturgical commemoration were solicited. A new edition of these rolls is in preparation. Each house that was visited made an entry on the roll, which is often of interest as evidence not only of the value placed on liturgical intercession but also of the level of literacy and writing skills in the community, including houses of women, about whom very little is otherwise known. The study of *scriptoria* and of library catalogs has likewise contributed to our somewhat meager knowledge of the intellectual life of monks and nuns, and

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especially of the role of nuns as scribes. The movement of manuscripts is another fruitful area of research, showing the intellectual connections between communities, which extended far more widely than was previously assumed.

These spiritual and intellectual links were paralleled by political, social, and economic ties, which can be described collectively as the regional ecology of a community. Most older works on monastic exemption, immunity, and advocacy, though still not fully replaced, were written from a legalistic point of view and did not take fully into account the religious character of the institutions. Economic historians in particular tended to take an aggressively secular view. The lands of religious and lay proprietors were frequently contiguous and interlocking, however, and influenced one another not only in agricultural techniques but also in religious attitudes. Lay proprietors in the area of Cluny, for example, down to the lowest levels of society, were referred to as “neighbors of St Peter,” who owned the land of Cluny and from whom they derived protection and prestige. The development of monastic priories and granges resembled that of secular estates, and many towns grew up around religious houses that needed the services of lay dependents. Research on proprietary monasteries, or *Eigenklöster*, over which outside lords exercised a measure of control, has taken a flexible approach and emphasized the elaborate framework of personal relationships between religious houses and local magnates. Monasteries were *foci* of political and economic power and sometimes became centers of regional principalities.

The study of medieval religion has thus contributed to our understanding of all aspects of the Middle Ages and has itself been enriched by research in other fields of medieval studies. A glance at the titles in the *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, which started in 1970 and now includes almost a hundred volumes, shows an astonishing expansion in the number and types of sources used by scholars today. They include not only written sources, some of which (like the necrologies and mortuary rolls mentioned above) were known but not fully used, but also non-written sources, including art, music, and architecture, the industrial and figurative arts, and, perhaps most important, archaeology, fossil pollens, tree-rings (dendrochronology), and human remains such as bones and teeth, which have thrown light on the age, health, and diet of medieval men and women. Though treated separately in the *Typologie*, these sources should not be regarded as watertight compartments and have interacted with each other on several levels. Textual and material sources are complementary, even when they reach different conclusions, and some scholars speak of what they call “documentary archaeology.”

Some archaeological findings have in particular thrown doubts on the written sources, forcing historians to reconsider the “myths of origins” embodied in chronicles and foundation histories. Geography, topography, and aerial photography, which developed in the period between the two World Wars, have shed light on the siting, foundation, and ground-plans of religious houses, some of which have entirely vanished above ground. There has been a progressive retreat from the divisions which at one time dominated the study of medieval history, not only political and geographical divisions – mountains, oceans, and rivers, which are now regarded as connectors as well as dividers – but also divisions of religion and society. There is a new stress on the interaction between Christians and Jews, and also, in some areas, Muslims, and on the porousness of social ranks, which were less rigid than was once believed. Chronological periods, to which I shall return, are also less strictly divided than previously, and there is more emphasis on transition than on separation and transformation. Even the Reformation is seen as a bridge as well as a divide.

This work has changed in many ways our view of both the theoretical and the practical workings of medieval religious communities. The setting of religious life, the images seen and adored by monks and nuns—and by lay men and women who attended and participated in their ceremonies – the processions, and the hymns and chants were all part of medieval religion. In recent years there has been particular interest in sacred spaces, the relationship to each other of the various buildings in a monastic enclosure, and their influence on the lives of the inhabitants. Churches were the image of paradise and the heavenly Jerusalem, sometimes in a literal as well as a symbolic sense. Cemeteries were par excellence the sacred spaces of the dead. Only a start has been made on the study of the physical aspects of medieval religious houses, however, aside from their architecture and decoration, or of the recruitment, social origins, and numbers of their members, though comparative anthropology has contributed in many respects to our understanding of the workings of society, especially in the early Middle Ages. The flourishing field of gender studies, in which new advances are made every year, has investigated almost every aspect of the lives of women in the Middle Ages. A great deal more is known today than even a few years ago about the religious life of women, and there have been some fascinating detailed studies of the life of late medieval nuns.

Detailed studies known as microhistories are fashionable today – I tried my hand at one myself – but they are less applied to medieval history than to later periods, above all owing to the lack of sources. Quantitative techniques applied to history,

which were fashionable a generation ago under the collective name of cliometrics, seem to have fallen somewhat into disfavor among medievalists, also owing perhaps to the relatively small numbers of sources that can be reliably analyzed statistically. They have been applied with good results, however, to necrologies and charters, which include enough names to be analyzed for prosopographical evidence and for the changing membership and social structure of religious houses, about which comparatively little is otherwise known. Statistical studies, principally word counts, have also been made for historical texts. So far this has privileged certain types of texts, above all those in the *Patrologia latina* and the *Corpus christianorum* and many types of sources, such as charters, letters, and sermons, have not been statistically analyzed. In some respects, indeed, computer techniques have oriented research away from the study of integral original texts. And images of manuscripts and works of art have to a great extent replaced the study of “the real thing.” “Image enhancement” has opened new avenues of approach but has also in some respects distorted the originals. The term “secondary sources” is now sometimes used for works derived by computers from primary sources.

A different type of innovation is associated with the shift of interest from one period to another. The popularity of Late Antiquity – what we medievalists call the early Middle Ages – is well established and associated with some of the new methodologies and techniques, especially archaeology, which has enlightened many dark corners of what used to be called the Dark Ages. Late Antiquity is well represented in the research at CEU. I also sense a shift in interest among medievalists away from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are called the High Middle Ages in English, to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where much original work is being done after a long period of neglect.

These shifts have been paralleled by the realization that medieval society was not monolithic, either chronologically or structurally, and that it involved changes and was open to different influences, from both inside and outside. The old belief in the uniformity of the Latin Christian culture and “the Medieval Mind” has been replaced by a more nuanced view of the interpenetration of western society with Judaism, Byzantium, and Islam, and also the Scandinavian world. There was an interaction and overlapping rather than an exclusiveness between various spheres of influence. There is a great deal to be learned from life at the margins and how the center was seen from the peripheries. Especially the old view of Christendom and Judaism as two mutually exclusive worlds has been modified by research into the contacts and influences between the two.

Finally, among innovations, I should draw attention to the shift in historical thinking, partly under the influence of anthropology and sociology, that accepts that what people think, as well as their material interests, influences their behavior and that beliefs and ideas play a part in shaping history. Closely related to this is the renewed recognition of the importance of religion both in the past and in the present world. A case in point is the crusades, which were long regarded as a basically secular movement masquerading under a religious cover. To argue that the crusades were motivated by other than self-interest was regarded as naïve. They are now increasingly seen as a religious movement with political, social, and economic overtones.

These changes are healthy and contribute to the vitality of our field. When I am asked by graduate students, as I occasionally am, what the trendy areas of research will be in the future, I reply that they know better than I do, because what interests them will probably interest their contemporaries. I myself have been fortunate to work in fields which have attracted the interest and research of many scholars in the past fifty years. It may be time to move on, and a young historian might be well-advised to return to some of the great traditional fields of research – war, politics, representative institutions, law, economy – and to study them not as they were studied in the past but with the insight and knowledge of the historical innovations of the past two generations.

MEDIEVAL STUDIES ON THE BORDER

Péter Levente Szőcs

The County of Satu Mare (Szatmár) is the northwesternmost region of today's Romania, on the border with Hungary and Ukraine. It was not part of any historical region of Romania (Maramureş or Transylvania) therefore historical interest in Satu Mare has remained on a local level. This is the reason why national or regional historical projects, among them studies of medieval history, have neglected this area and little institutional support from the central level can be detected even today. Local organizations (the county museum and the county library) had to take on additional tasks in order to recover local history and connect to regional or national issues. The particular position of Satu Mare conferred a peripheral situation in terms of historical geography and determined a special set of tasks for local historical research.

A few days after I graduated from Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Kolosvar, in 1997, I was employed as a medieval archaeologist at the County Museum of Satu Mare. I discovered in a short time that little I had learned at the university was useful in daily tasks. Handling the inventory, work in the curation storage, so-called "scientific evidence," and the organization of an exhibition were new challenges. Field work and research, in which the university trained graduate students, comprised only about 15% of the job. Adapting to the new challenges was aggravated by a lack of older and experienced specialists. The educational policy of the 1970s and 1980s did not favor the humanities; therefore, there was a shortage of skilled archivists, librarians, archaeologists, and museum specialists in Romania in the 1990s. After 1990 the universities focused on these disciplines and the lack was gradually compensated for after 1995, when young graduates started their careers. This trend, however, resulted in overproduction, causing new problems after the year 2000.

Thus, I had a strong feeling of periphery in Satu Mare in 1997 caused by the relative strangeness of the museum tasks, the regional specificities, and the lack of skilled colleagues. This feeling was reinforced by the underdeveloped research infrastructure, the situation of the local libraries being the most eloquent in this sense. I had not expected to find international periodicals or publications, but it seemed reasonable to expect to find complete series of the most important Romanian archaeological, historical, and ethnographic journals (the main fields of

the museum's activity). Instead, I discovered that these series were incomplete and even the simplest task of finding a proper reference presupposed bibliographical research in Cluj or another center. There were various reasons for the lacks in the library, the most joyless being the lack of funds for postage. This situation more and more resembled the peripheral provinces of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Certainly there was no collapse and disintegration, rather a period of small-scale cultural and scientific revival started from the year 2000, following the economic rebirth of Romania. Meanwhile, the peripheral position of Satu Mare turned out to be an advantage; it favored cross-border relations, established both on institutional and personal levels. These contacts compensated for the weak interest of national or regional organizations in the area, and conferred a possibility for the County Museum of Satu Mare to be a bridge to Hungary and Ukraine. Medieval history, particularly the problems related to medieval monuments, proved to be issues of common interest, generating common projects. A series of workshop was started on "Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania," first held in Satu Mare in 1998; the sixth such event was organized in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), by the "Jósa András" Museum, the partner organization, in 2008. The papers presented at these workshops have been printed in four volumes and the fifth will be issued shortly. Parallel to this, a group of scholars from Cluj and from the Institute of History of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, started a journal on the medieval history of Transylvania: *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*. The main task of the journal was to establish a common location for Romanian and Hungarian scholars to present and debate their results. The County Museum of Satu Mare provided the secretariat for the editorial board and the financial support for the printing. At present, a number of other research projects have been implemented with partner institutions in Hungary and Ukraine, and the field of common projects has been enlarged, covering prehistoric and antique archeology, modern history, and ethnography.

Apart from the geographical specificities and the differences caused by the various types of research organizations (i.e., universities, research institutes, museums on central, regional and local levels), medieval studies in Romania is also divided along various methodological approaches. The traditional historical research is based almost exclusively on written sources, incorporating in a rather limited measure the results of archeology and art history. These three fields of studies had parallel developments regarding education, institutions, and research projects. There are few interdisciplinary approaches, in spite of the fact that the relative

poverty of medieval sources on Transylvania, and on Romania more widely, can be compensated for by combining all types of available data and methods. The fate of medieval archeology is particularly peculiar. While several research institutions and museums employ one or more medieval archaeologists, there is no university background for this specialization. Medieval history departments focus on written sources, while archaeological departments cover the periods from prehistory until the first millennium A.D. Medieval archeology, therefore, falls between the two departmental areas; specialization in this field must be gained through volunteer field work, optional seminars, and personal contacts with senior researchers.

The need for properly trained archaeologists specialized in the Middle Ages, however, is large. Several rehabilitation projects are being implemented on medieval monuments, while a great number of archaeological sites dating to the Middle Ages have been identified and rescued due to large scale investments before development. As in other neighboring countries, the largest rescue excavations have taken place during highway projects. The huge scale of these research projects generated a renewal of excavation techniques and the improvement of the research infrastructure. The great amount of data gathered at these sites required the implementation of computer-based information management, while the large number of finds recovered caused problems related to storage and conservation. The lack of skilled human resources, however, proved to be the greatest problem during these large-scale projects. These great rescue projects multiplied archeological information on the Middle Ages. The most significant development can be seen in research into Late Antiquity and the Migration period (fourth to tenth century). A few years ago our knowledge on this period was based on isolated discoveries and partially researched sites. The large surface of the rescue projects permitted almost complete research on sites, therefore they provide an accurate chronology and detailed picture of material culture.

Parallel to investments in new infrastructure, the rehabilitation work on architectural monuments saw an additional impulse in the last decade, sustained by the increasing interest in national heritage and their incorporation in tourism. Extensive restorations have been made at the most important monuments in the country, preceded in most cases by archaeological and art historical research. National funds have been directed mainly to the world heritage sites (the wooden churches of Maramureș (Máramaros), the monasteries of Moldova and Bucovina), and the monuments of national history (the princely courts in Suceava, Curtea de Argeș, etc.). Excavations on the Late Antique and Byzantine sites of the Lower Danube and Black Sea coast have been carried on in the last decade, completed

with the partial conservation of the ruins revealed. A number of churches have been restored by individual communities, using the partial help of public or private funds. It is significant to note that both Hungarian and German organizations with interests in the medieval Hungarian and Saxon populations, have assumed important roles in financing and managing the rehabilitation of architectural monuments related to these ethnic communities. The parish churches of Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schänburg and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) and the cathedral of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) are the most important examples of this. The rehabilitation of historic city centers has offered chance to conduct research in the most important medieval urban centers of Transylvania, like Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Baia Mare. Some of the manor houses of noble families have been restored through private investment, as is the case of the houses of the Apor family in Covasna County. Compared to other types of monuments, castles have somehow remained neglected. Being mostly in ruins they do not offer convenient arennues of re-use; some rehabilitation projects, however, are being implemented at a more or less intense pace. The rehabilitation of the castle of Oradea, started in early 1990s, has been partially finished. The castle of Râșnov was more or less restored through the aid of national funds, while the nearby castle of Bran (Töröcsvár, Törzburg) had remained in good state and has proved the most popular tourist spot in the whole country based on its association with Count Vlad Dracul. The restoration of Deva (Déva) castle was started recently, a good example of effort by the community to rescue the local cultural heritage. As in the case of large-scale archaeological rescue work, the increasing number of research projects at the most important medieval monuments in the country has caused a significant shift in methodology and conceptual approaches. The preference for synthetic works (characteristic for Romanian medieval studies of the second half of the twentieth century) has changed in favor of case studies and detailed analyses of particular issues. The results of recent research (mainly rescue projects) and their publication shows a significant renewal of medieval studies and makes most of the debates of the last decades obsolete.

The presence of multiple ethnic and confessional communities on the territories of present-day Romania from the Middle Ages confers a particular aspect on medieval studies in this country. The German and Hungarian communities have created a network of research organizations which focus on the past of these ethnic groups, the regions they inhabited, and institutions related to their communities (churches and governing bodies). For historical research in Hungarian the Transylvanian Museum

Association (*Erdélyi Múzeum–Egyesület*) plays the central role, while the German-related work is coordinated by the Association for Transylvanian Research (*Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*). Both organizations focus on the written sources of their pasts, each creating its own historical archives by gathering documents of ethnic organizations and significant persons. In the case of medieval studies both organizations play a special role. In the eastern and southern provinces (Moldova and Walachia), Cyrillic script was used during the Middle Ages, while Latin was used in Transylvania and the western parts of the country. The series of *diplomataria* (the two most important being the *Erdélyi Okmánytár* and *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*) initiated by the Erdélyi Múzeum and the Verein, complete the series of national corpuses of sources. Both organizations have established research groups specialized in Latin paleography and their contribution has been crucial for research on medieval Transylvania. These efforts at source editing are well completed by several rehabilitation projects on monuments related to the German and Hungarian communities.

The number of geographical, institutional, methodological, and language divisions create a more or less fragmented impression of medieval studies in Romania. It is difficult to identify the central debates or main trends, all the actors becoming “peripheral” in one way or another. The contacts and debates among the scholars involved in medieval studies remain insufficient, although they are the basis of all kinds of cooperation. Beyond the beneficial effect of diversification, the enrichment of viewpoints and the great number of recent research results suggest the start of a re-structuring and rebirth of medieval studies.

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INTERDISCIPLINARITY, INTERNATIONALIZATION, AND CHRISTIAN IDENTITY IN MODERN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Ildar H. Garipzanov

Quo vadis, Medieval Studies? It isn't accidental that this question has been asked in the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, where an interdisciplinary approach to the Middle Ages has defined both the graduate curriculum and research. Yet does this question make much sense outside the department's headquarters in Budapest? The answer will pretty much depend on the country where one lives and works. If one resides in Russia, as I did in the 1990s, the answer is quite simple: medieval studies as an independent discipline goes nowhere! To the best of my knowledge, no Russian university has a department of medieval studies. Medieval topics are studied at the Russian Academy of Sciences, but this institution is outside the university system. There is no institute of medieval studies in Russia. The sectors/centers in the Academy of Sciences are dedicated to very narrow topics and there is a lack of collaboration among them, especially when they belong to different institutes.

To take historians as an example, Russian historians dealing with the medieval period work at the departments of history and would identify themselves as historians rather than medievalists. Of course, there are several departments of medieval history (meaning Western European medieval history) limited to a few top-ranked institutions like Moscow State University¹ and several highly specialized centers dealing with medieval topics in the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, primarily in the Institute of World History² and the Institute of Slavic Studies,³ but beyond the Russian capital medieval studies can hardly be described as

¹ But, for instance O. V. Loseva, the author of *Russkije mesiatseslovyy XI-XIV vekov* [The Russian menologia of the Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries] (Moscow: Pamyatniki istoricheskoy mysli, 2001), is a graduate of the Department of Russian History up to the Nineteenth Century.

² Among the innovative interdisciplinary studies published by the Institute of World History, see especially *Slovar' srednevekovoj kul'tury* [The Dictionary of Medieval Culture], ed. A. Ja. Gurevich (Moscow: Rosspen 2003); and A. V. Nazarenko, *Drevnaja Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putiakh: Mezhdisciplinarnyye ocherki kul'turnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh svyazey IX-XII vekov* [Early Rus' on International Roads: Interdisciplinary Essays on Cultural, Commercial, and Political Connections from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries] (Moscow: Jazyki russkoj kul'tury, 2001).

³ Among substantial scholarly contributions produced by the Institute of Slavic Studies, see, for example *Khristianstvo v stranakh Vostochnoj, Jugo-Vostochnoj i Central'noj Evropy na poroge vtorogo*

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an independent academic field. This is due partly to the limited financing of the arts and sciences in Russia, but even more to the fact that medieval studies have never been accepted there as an autonomous field comparable, for example, to Classics.

Meanwhile, this situation is not peculiar to Russia, but can be observed in other parts of the world. The Department of Medieval Studies at CEU is rather a unique case in this regard, and its successful history has owed a great deal to the fact that after the collapse of the Soviet block the medieval past all of a sudden became highly relevant to the current redefinition of political communities and alliances and national and cultural identities in Central Europe. Another similar case is the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen (accessible at <http://www.uib.no/cms/>), where I am privileged to work right now. Currently, it is the only institutionally coherent center for medieval studies in Scandinavia. One must keep in mind that the longest period when the Kingdom of Norway was independent of Denmark or Sweden was during the Middle Ages. Therefore, the medieval past has carried as much significance for modern Norway as it has for Central Europe, which partly explains why the Norwegian Research Council supported the establishment of such a center of excellence back in 2002. Yet, because the center has been established as an exceptional case with secure financing until 2012, its creation has not challenged the traditional institutional division in Scandinavia between historians, archeologists, and historians of arts and religion.

This institutional division is less pronounced within Anglophone academia. But after mingling in the past six years with people attending international congresses of medieval studies in Leeds and Kalamazoo, I can conclude that the vast majority of them have been affiliated with the departments of history or English, with a clear thematic division between the representatives of these two disciplines. What has been more typical of large universities in Western Europe and North America in the past few decades is an interdisciplinary program in medieval studies coordinating faculty members and students from departments of history, languages, visual arts, philosophy, theology, and so on, and often offering an MA in medieval studies. Such programs exist in major academic schools in the US and UK: for example, at Fordham University (accessible at <http://www.fordham.edu/mvst/>), where I spent five years of my graduate studies. The degree of collaboration between departments

tyšiacheletija [Christianity in the Countries of Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe at the Turn of the First Millennium], ed. B. N. Floria (Moscow: Jazyki slavianskoj kul'tury, 2002); and A. A. Zalizniak, *Drevnenovgorodkij dialekt* [The Old Novgorodian Dialect], 2d ed. (Moscow: Jazyki slavianskoj kul'tury, 2004).

in such programs can be quite high at some universities; still, it can never reach the institutional coherence achieved in Budapest or Bergen. The advantages of such a program are that, on the one hand, it offers a discussion venue for medievalists across various humanities departments and, on the other hand, students receive “proper” doctoral degrees in history, English, theology, and so on which better adjust graduates to the realities of the academic job market in the US and Europe. The side effect of the latter concern is, of course, that the number of interdisciplinary courses offered within such programs is quite limited and most graduate curricula are linked to the home department of a student and his/her supervisor.

Moreover, the center at Fordham demonstrates another trend especially strong in the US, namely, to place archeology along with anthropology in the social sciences and thus to separate it from history and other arts. As a result, archeologists and historians working in medieval studies often speak different “languages” and do not understand each other properly. Interdisciplinary studies built upon both archeological and textual evidence remain rare,⁴ and the appeal of John Moreland for a more intensive collaboration between the two disciplines in reconstructing the historical past continues to remain highly relevant to both historians and archeologists.⁵ Thus, it seems that the current academic structure of universities in North America and Europe sets institutional limits on interdisciplinarity inherent in the concept of medieval studies as a separate field, which makes the quest for truly interdisciplinarity in this field a work in progress for us and future generations of medievalists.

* * *

Besides institutional limits, another major challenge to medieval studies as a coherent field is how to define its value for and relevance to the modern world. Classics were established as an independent academic field in such countries as the US, the UK, or Germany to a large extent due to the great value of the Classical heritage for modern Western democracies. In this perspective, Classical Greece and Rome have been viewed as the cradle of Western civilization. Can the medieval past be invested with public value comparable that one attached to the Classical heritage?

As mentioned above, one of the answers has been to look at the regional medieval past for the origins of modern European nations, with the result, that for example, in most European countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia the vast

⁴ For example, see Michael McCormick, *Origins of European Economy: Communication and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

⁵ John Moreland, *Archaeology and Text* (London: Duckworth, 2001).

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majority of medieval historians do national medieval history with little interest in similar topics in other countries. Hence, internationalization in medieval studies is much needed, especially in Scandinavia, East Central, and Eastern Europe. The truth of the matter is that most recent innovative works employing new methods and approaches to medieval studies have been published in the UK, North America, Germany, and France and are based on evidence deriving from Western Europe.

The unique five-year international project on the Transformation of the Roman World, initiated by the European Science Foundation in 1993, illustrates this trend quite well. One of the main participants of the project, Ian Wood, has written that “its main achievement has been to shift perceptions – that is, we have become familiar with the material and methodologies of others: we have also looked outside established geographical bounds, in terms of what scholars from other countries know, and of how they treat their material.”⁶ Yet the project included scholars mostly from Western Europe; East Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Scandinavia do not feature much in the resulting fifteen volumes. Of course, at that time the project was financed by the EU in its search for a common European past, but the later expansion of the EU to the east has not changed the this trend much.

A recent volume on early medieval Europe by Julia Smith with the subtitle “A New Cultural History 500-1000” is representative in this regard.⁷ The book deals with new topics introduced to medieval studies in the past fifteen years such as friendship and kinship, literacy and orality, gender and family relations, gift exchange, patronage, and social status. Yet the early medieval Europe of that book is mostly confined to the British Isles, the Low Countries, France, and the parts of Germany, Spain, and Italy. The rest of Europe is almost entirely absent from the book’s horizon. The concept of the “Dark Ages” has now been rejected by medievalists, but it seems that its spirit still shapes the perception of “peripheral” regions of medieval Europe in medieval studies.

Thus, medievalists from these so-called “peripheral” regions have to do much work of sharing their evidence and research results with their colleagues from “Medieval Europe Proper” to overcome this trend. In practice, this task demands publishing not only in native languages, but also in languages read by the majority of Western medievalists – English, German, or French – and collaborating more actively with academic centers in Western Europe and North America. The role

⁶ Ian Wood, “Report: The European Science Foundation’s Programme on the Transformation of the Roman World and Emergence of Early Medieval Europe,” *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 217-227, at 226.

⁷ Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).

of medieval centers like those in Budapest and Bergen is crucial in such efforts. Even more importantly, they have to substantially increase their presence in international projects comparing various regions of medieval Europe in regard to various aspects of the Middle Ages, as has been done in the recent project edited by Nora Berend.⁸ Such collaborative projects demand that scholars not only be familiar with the material from their home countries, but also be capable of setting it in the established master narrative of the Middle Ages. Only in this case can their studies of local medieval pasts become relevant to medieval studies as a whole.

* * *

Another way of investing the Middle Ages with special public value has been to emphasize its Christian nature. This has been the case especially in the US, where many medieval centers have been created at universities established or influenced by Catholic institutions, which tend to be especially keen on preserving a Catholic tradition and hence encouraging the study of the Christian Middle Ages. The interdisciplinary medieval center at Fordham exemplifies this trend; Fordham University was established by the Jesuits and a Jesuit tradition continues to be important for its mission and institutional identity. Furthermore, a similar interest in the Christian aspect of the Middle Ages can be observed not only in the US, but also in Europe. This is especially true for East Central and Eastern Europe where studies in the regional Christian past have increased considerably with a “Christian revival” following the collapse of crusading atheism. From the 1990s onwards, a similar growing academic interest in the Christian Middle Ages was manifest in Scandinavia, where its Catholic past was rather of lesser significance previously but has been increasingly seen as an element unifying this region with the rest of Europe.

Current growth in studies dealing with various aspects of medieval Christianity has also been encouraged by recent methodological changes in medieval academia, most importantly, by the diminishing appeal of New Social History and the proliferation of cultural studies inspired by Jan Assmann’s concept of cultural memory.⁹ Applied to the Middle Ages, the latter concept inevitably brings Christianity, Islam, and Judaism or their interactions into the epicenter of most studies on cultural memory and identity in this period, and the number of such studies have sky-rocketed under the influence of the post-modernist turn of the 1990s.

⁸ *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’ c. 900-1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

⁹ Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125-133.

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The recent global challenge of Islamic terrorism to developed countries has not only revived crusading rhetoric among the neo-conservatives but also made the Christian identity of Western civilization ultimately more transparent to the general public. It is symbolic that Dan Brown's novel, *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), up-dating the patriarchal narrative of the New Testament to the perception of gender roles in post-modernist Western society, became a worldwide bestseller a few years after the 9/11 attack. It is also noteworthy that the Christian Middle Ages play a crucial role in the novel's plot. This public interest went side by side with an academic one. A recent book by Rosamond McKitterick on the age of Charlemagne and the creation of a European identity clearly illustrates this point by presenting Carolingian cultural identity as the basis of a modern European one and emphasizing the crucial role of the Christian faith, ritual, and morality in its creation.¹⁰ It should not be forgotten that Charlemagne and his empire have often been rhetorically invoked in modern public discourse as precursors of the European Union, which makes McKitterick's perspective all the more relevant to present-day Europe. Yet one must remember that medieval Christianity developed in Europe in close contact and interactions with pre-Christian beliefs, Islam, and Judaism. One can simply refer to the Cordoban Emirate, the Muslim kingdom of the Volga Bulgars or the Jewish khaganate of Khazars. Aren't they also a part of medieval heritage for modern Europe? Yes, they are! Islam and Judaism were as present in the Christian Middle Ages as they have been in modern Europe, and medievalists have to be aware of this as much as the general public.

Finally, a medieval Christian identity as a meaningful whole and the basis for a modern European identity is to a large extent a historiographic construct built on material focused on Western Christendom and papal Rome. This approach defines the "Europeanness" of countries in Europe by their medieval affiliations with Latin Christendom and, by implication, questions the place of Orthodox Christian countries in a European cultural community. Was the Berlin Wall destroyed to be replaced by a new confessional wall? The comparative medieval material from East Central and Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, I believe, is paramount for undermining this anachronistic construct and showing that, on the one hand, up to the late twelfth century the confessional division between Latin Christendom and Eastern Orthodoxy was less abrupt than one may think after reading polemic literature written in medieval Rome and Constantinople

¹⁰ *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

and that, on the other hand, the level of congruency within Latin Christendom has been exaggerated.¹¹ Christian cultural identity in medieval Europe differed depending on region and social status.

This agenda invigorates my current research project, entitled “The Forging of ‘Christian’ Identity on the Northern Periphery (c. 820-1200),” which aims at achieving a better understanding of the Christianization process in Northern Europe not only by the interdisciplinary study of Christian written texts, monuments of practical literacy, and material markers of Christian identity, but also by breaking confessional borders while comparing the process of conversion in Scandinavia and northern Rus’. Two conferences organized by my project have already shown the fruitfulness of such an approach. The materials from the first one, “Saints and Hagiography across Northern and Eastern Europe, c. 800-1200” (Bergen, June 2008), have clearly shown that the dissemination of the early culture of sanctity in these regions was not divided by confessional borders and that Christian impulses and contacts across these peripheral regions of Christian Europe were quite substantial. The second conference, “Early Christian Historical Narratives and the Construction of Christian Identity in Northern and Eastern Europe (11th-12th centuries)” (Kiev, December 2008), took another step in the same direction by showing that early Christian historical narratives appearing in Scandinavia, East Central and Eastern Europe in the twelfth century are typologically similar in spite of being written in Latin, Old Church Slavonic, and Old Norse. More results are to come in the next few years, and I hope that my project will contribute to our joint quest for truly interdisciplinary and internationalized medieval studies, in which the CEU Department of Medieval Studies has done so much since its establishment in 1993.

¹¹ The latter aspect has been repeatedly questioned in the past fifteen years, and the recent volume of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* dealing with the early medieval period expresses the new agenda in the subtitle: *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 1, *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: CUP, 2008).

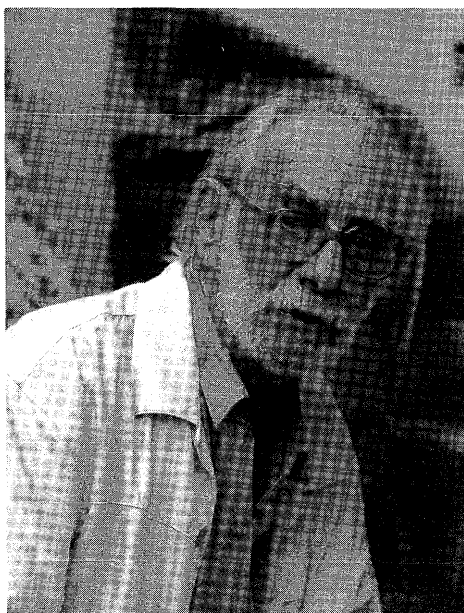
LAUDATIO FOR JÁNOS BAK ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

János Bak

Patrick Geary

As the recipient of the Medieval Academy of America's CARA award for excellence in teaching, Janos Bak is clearly one of the great teachers in our profession. By teaching I mean not only what has transpired in his classrooms on two continents, but his role as mentor, advisor, creator, and facilitator for several generations of students and teachers. But I fear that too often Janos's extraordinary record as teacher, impresario and organizer leads us to forget that he is not simply a teacher. He is first and foremost a scholar. Thus today I will leave it to others to praise him for his teaching and visionary work in the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. I want to say a few words about Janos Bak as a scholar.

There are book people and there are article people. Janos is an article person. True, in addition to his 1973 *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert*, he has some nineteen books to his credit, but most of these are volumes of essays on important topics of medieval and modern history that he has patiently edited after having organized, cajoled, and nurtured into being the essays that they contain. When it comes to what he himself writes on, one sees both the student of Percy Ernst Schramm and the student of generations of Hungarian and Central European legal and social historians. *Königtum und Stände*



provided the introduction to major issues and approaches that have thus far characterized his scholarship: a profound knowledge of the sources of Hungarian history creatively interpreted through a mastery of the finest traditions of German methodological and conceptual approaches. But unlike the vast majority of

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German medievalists, Janos has operated at the two ends of the social spectrum. First, a continuing theme in his work has been medieval symbolics, especially but not exclusively coronation rituals. These include studies of coronation rituals and regalia, with an emphasis, as one would expect, on the Hungarian regalia. But he has maintained his comparative, or one might better say comprehensive, vision of medieval royal insignia, symbols, and rituals, not so much comparing as integrating the Hungarian case systematically into the spectrum of European symbolics. In essays in German, Hungarian, and English, he has taken stock of the field, moved it forward from the days of his *Docktorvater* Schramm, and renewed the theoretical basis on which to understand royal symbolics within a wider system of medieval governance. In studying the ideological as well as financial foundations of reigns of kings as different as Louis I, Sigismund of Luxemburg, or Matthias Corvinus he eschews Hungarian particularism to understand these monarchs within a wider European historical context. Just as royal rituals represent the monarchy, Janos has expanded his investigations to other representations, most notably to representative assemblies in East Central Europe in the high and late Middle Ages, studies that both lead in and draw on his fundamental work of editing and publishing the legal codices that are our most privileged access to what Joseph Strayer used to refer to as the “machinery of royal government.”

But Janos has never devoted himself entirely to kings and princes: for almost thirty years he has pursued with interest the study of the peasantry and especially of serfdom in Central Europe. This interest is manifest not only in the volumes that he has edited on the Peasant War and peasants, religion, and revolt, but also in his own contributions to these topics from a Central European perspective.

Finally, not to leave out the middle between kings and peasants, Janos has also made significant contributions to the study of non-royal elites, the aristocracy, land-owners and warriors that stood between crown and peasant.

Perhaps one of the reasons that I particularly admire the scholarly achievement of Janos is that he models in his scholarship something that I most respect and have tried to achieve: a broad and diverse approach to medieval society and societies in all their complexity and most of all the role of *Zwischenhändler*, of go-between translating (not just linguistically but conceptually) scholarship from different, isolated worlds of Anglophone, Germanophone and Magyar milieux, not simply by informing these groups of what was happening in other countries, but by showing, in his writing the richness that truly trans-national and trans-cultural scholarship can achieve.

Finally, in the past three months at the Collegium Budapest in our focus group on medievalism, I have had the privilege of watching Janos's mind at work as he grapples with historical issues. His presentations were without exception clear, trenchant, and imaginative, deeply grounded in the sources, broad in their understanding of the problems, and models of clarity and insight. It was a great pleasure to watch this scholar take a difficult text, turn it this way and that, analyze it from every angle, and draw from it an understanding at once deeply learned and deeply human. This is scholarship at its best and it is for this that I am pleased to honor him today.

János as a Colleague

Gábor Klaniczay

It has been about 30 years since I first met János Bak. I was a research assistant at the Institute for Historical Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He walked into the office I shared there with some colleagues. He was looking for me personally, and he collegially congratulated me for the review I had written about the recently translated book of Aron Gurevich (*The Categories of Medieval Culture*) – one of the first scholarly reviews I ever published. Immediately he engaged in a debate with some of my arguments – I felt much honored. This was the beginning of a long-term friendship and cooperation. As an older colleague, a '56-emigré Hungarian historian then living in Canada, he was known as a generous helper of older and younger Hungarian colleagues, sending them photocopies and books they needed, proposing their invitation to international conferences, correcting their English in the conference papers, linking them into international networks. I also owe my first invitation to an international conference in Odense Denmark, in 1984 to his mediation, and some years later also my first "lecture tour" in Canada, where he organized a talk for me at the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies in Toronto, participation in an excellent conference on "*Rusticus*. The Image of the Peasant" in Vancouver (where he hosted me luxuriously, with tons of salmon), and two more talks at other Canadian universities. During the 1980s and early 1990s we also crossed paths in other places: in Paris, Rome, Berlin, Reichenau, Los Angeles – friendship with János for me meant becoming part of his "world-wide-web," a network of colleagues and friends interested in making Hungary and East Central Europe again part of international cooperation in medieval studies. This academic "business" then had a privileged field of interests – the symbols of kingship – for the study of which János organized an international association called *Majestas*,

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with a journal and a series of fascinating conferences (an appropriate enterprise of his, having been one of the last students of Percy Ernst Schramm).

After this prelude, a new, more intensive phase of our collegial relationship began in 1992. I knew that János was thinking about moving back to Hungary after the “change of system” in 1989, and was associated with the organization of the Institute for the History of the Revolution of 1956. When, at the same time, I approached George Soros with the suggestion of organizing an interdisciplinary Medieval Studies Department within the recently founded Central European University, and there seemed a good chance for this, it was more than natural that I should turn to János to be a partner in this venture. The first “planning meeting” was held in Malibu, California, at the flat of Marianna and Henrik Birnbaum, in spring 1992, and from that moment, unceasing vibrant activity began. János invested decades of international academic experience and tremendous energy into building up this new center in Budapest, which quickly became a new integrating force among medievalists in East Central Europe and a vehicle for European and trans-Atlantic academic cooperation.

We also learned that to work with János is a demanding experience. Whenever something had been agreed upon, he was already thinking of the next step; he impatiently deconstructed what had been constructed the day before, to argue for a more magnificent and ambitious new structure of our activities. He was the one who urged the construction of a PhD program immediately after our MA was accredited (this is how CEU started to move in this direction, ours was the first functioning PhD program at the University); he was the one who pressed for producing our *Annual* (our most successful publication series ever since); he was the one who had the ambition to open up our program, originally designed for teaching only Latin Christianity, to include the study of Orthodox, Slavic, and Greek Christendom (relying upon the expertise of Henrik Birnbaum, Vladimir Vavřínek, and Ihor Ševčenko); he associated an American review called *East-Central Europe* with the department; he founded a new source publication series (Medieval Central European texts) at CEU Press; he organized research projects on the comparative history of queenship, nobility, and legal sources; he suggested the organization of interdisciplinary spring workshops; he involved dozens and dozens of excellent colleagues as recurrent visiting professors or occasional guests or thesis reviewers to the work of our department. Meanwhile, he also kept bringing up suggestions for redesigning our curriculum, finding new suggestions for our methodological courses, thesis seminars and, generally, our way of working with

students. And he did not cease to “bug” everyone who failed to produce an agreed-upon contribution to these constantly renewed new ventures. He never hesitated to fight for what he held right, and this fight frequently came to angry shouting – but it was always clear that it was for the common cause and always ended in a good-spirited friendly understanding.

I am speaking about all this collegial cooperation in retrospective, but, luckily, János, though *emeritus* since 2008, is still involved in much that is happening in the department. I sincerely hope that he will continue to bug us if we loose the speed he has been dictating for us for the past 15 years, and help us to maintain this department and induce us to continue ever new ventures. Thank you, János, for your collegiality and friendship!

Reminiscences of Professor Bak

Péter Banyó

I first met Prof. János Bak, here, in front of class room 508, which was closed for some awkward security reasons. He was standing there with a whole seminar group and shouting angrily at Annabella, who had just informed him that the professors were expected to pick up the key from the reception desk on the ground floor. I will never forget what he said (or rather yelled): “One can’t teach here. This is not a university; this is a shoe-factory.” As I remember, I was only a bit frightened; I was a student at ELTE [the Hungarian university in Budapest] at that time, only a guest at János’s seminar, and CEU seemed to me much less a shoe factory than a regular Hungarian university; but I somehow felt that one should not take János’s roaring too seriously, and indeed, in a few minutes, as soon as the key was found, the seminar room opened (as far as I know it has never been locked again ever since), János’s anger was totally blown away, and he held an interesting and entertaining seminar in a very good mood.

This little episode – besides being very characteristic of Professor Bak – showed me one of his qualities that I still admire: his strong commitment to teaching and making a good university, or at least medieval department, here. As he became my supervisor, I learned his numerous other merits, and also learned a lot from him, from which I would like to emphasize not those things which belong directly to my field or to medieval studies, but those that are essential for being a good scholar or sometimes simply for being a decent man.

Laudatio for János Bak on his Eightieth Birthday

I think one of the most important qualities of a real teacher is the ability to convey these things to his students, and I feel lucky that I had the chance to have two professors of this kind: one was the late Pál Engel, the other is János Bak. I profited a great deal from his open-mindedness, his clear, sceptical, and critical approach towards everything, be it questions of medieval noble society, everyday matters or even his (or my) own personal history. I do not remember any case when he rejected any idea based on authority or his own beliefs, only upon reasoning and debate (a thing which seems normal and easy to accept, but is rather hard to accomplish). I have always admired his ability to inspire people (not only can he shout and be grumpy with people, but he can be really kind; I am always very pleased when he calls me by the diminutive *Péterkém*), the great social network he organizes and moves in almost every day, his endurance in travelling from London to Kalamazoo, from Toronto to Moscow, and his exceptional ability to pose witty, reflective and relevant questions to the lecturer after an hour-long nap during a conference talk.

I have to admit I was a bad pupil; I did not finish my studies, which is not his fault at all. On the contrary, Professor Bak was probably the only reason I kept trying so long, and that I do not at all regard the ten years and more that I spent at the CEU a waste of time. I got many important things from him, for which I am grateful, so I would like to wish him now a very happy eightieth birthday, and good health for the next twenty or so years until we finish the publication of the *Decreta Regni Medievalis Hungariae*.

REPORT OF THE YEAR

György Geréby

Let me begin with the confession that I commenced my first year in office with due awe and trepidation. It is not an easy task to continue the work of illustrious and energetic heads whose imaginative skills have shaped a department of truly unique character. In fact, it is a tall order to live up to the example set by Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, and József Laszlovszky. Their example, however, had to be followed in a changing context, since the Department is now entering a different phase of development. After the first fifteen years of existence – the years of adolescence, so to speak – it is embarking on maturity, clearly indicated by the kind of dilemmas that have to be addressed, while it is bound to display the same youthful resourcefulness in adapting to these new challenges. Therefore, apart from the listing the important events that took place last year, I consider it my task to add something about the plans for the future, too.

The first task was to adapt to the changing international academic environment. As a first step we had to rethink how our curriculum on medieval Europe could be positioned within a wider context. A good opportunity for this rethinking was offered by the process of renewing the accreditation of our programs according to Hungarian accreditation criteria, since Hungary is currently introducing the so-called Bologna model. Following suit, some time ago we planned a two-year MA program, jointly organized with the Department of History. A common part was planned in the form of a joint first-year curriculum offered both for medievalists and modernists, while the curriculum of the current one-year Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies MA (which is retained) was to be integrated into the second year in the planned two-year History MA. (The main points of this program have already been presented in the previous Head's Report, *Annual 2008*: 250.) I am happy to report that meanwhile the first group has arrived at the mid-point in the program, and apart from minor hiccups the new program is proceeding according to plan.

The second move was to meet the challenges required by the philosophy of an MA program which is envisaged to teach students the skills and competences of scholarship. By committed departmental committee work we have therefore developed a program structure with a reduced number of contact (class) hours which

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will simultaneously promote more individual work and closer supervisor-student cooperation, we also strengthened the emphasis on source language training. A more personalized way of teaching, coupled with an increased student role in research and aiding the participation of advanced students in academic life will hopefully create a more relaxed and student-oriented environment that will simultaneously be more efficient and research-intensive. We are going to allow more time for the independent study required by the original projects it fosters and the key areas in our departmental profile will get a balanced presentation in the curriculum. These changes will be introduced in the next academic year (2009/10). In order to develop the characteristic profile of the Department and better emphasize our concentrations, we have developed four fields of possible non-degree specialization: Religious Studies, Urban History, Cultural Heritage Study and Policy, and Environmental and Landscape History. These specializations, offered in cooperation with the Department of History, will add further color to our interdisciplinary offerings.

The two-year MA program was approved by both Hungarian and American accreditation boards. Another program, the Doctoral School of History, associating the two programs of History and Medieval Studies into a larger unit (according to Hungarian accreditation formats) successfully renewed its accreditation in June 2007.

Yet another aspect of our planning was recruiting new colleagues to enrich our scholarship and teaching. The truly great news is that the Department was expanded in line with the new policy of the Rector and President, Yehuda Elkana. The Department was granted permission not only to advertise positions in Byzantine Studies, Ottoman Studies, and in Eastern European History, but another position for Late Antiquity as well. Speaking for myself I was offered a position with the department full time as well, to develop philosophy and patristics, and take over the headship. An important series of developments commenced with the arrival of Niels Gaul (via Bonn and Oxford) in Byzantine studies in 2008 (his job search was already reported in the previous volume, p. 251). The Ottomanist search resulted in an invitation to Tijana Krstić (Pennsylvania State University), and the history opening which was formerly held by our grand old scholar János Bak went to Daniel Ziemann (Cologne), who joins us in September 2009. The opening in Late Antiquity attracted a great number of applicants, of whom Volker Menze (Muenster) received the position. He will join us January 2010. We also secured the work of one of our talented recent PhDs, Cristian Gașpar, as Latin Instructor.

Reflecting on all these promising developments, I am confident that they will bring new energy to our Department, and secure our successful work in the future, preserving the wonderful community of students, faculty, and staff within the department, as well as strengthening our network of worldwide contacts with alumni, friends, colleagues. I wish them, and thereby all of us, success in our common enterprise.

Let me now turn to the annals of the academic year 2007/8. First of all, we had a very successful series of MA defenses, chaired by Patrick Geary, Marianna D. Birnbaum and Piotr Górecki, of which the summaries, as usual, can be found in this volume. Honoring outstanding achievements, the departmental Zvetalana Tănasă Prize went to Seda Erkoç (Turkey) and to Tanja Tolar (Slovenia).

The year began with the new students' excursion to northeastern Hungary for three days at the end of August. We saw a fair number of sites, from the crypt of Feldebrő through the Cistercian monastery of Bélápátfalva to the castle fortress of Sirok. The other excursion, the major field trip of this year, visited Silesia in April 2008. The program was tight, as usual, but well planned and smoothly run (thanks to our organizer-in-chief, József Laszlovszky), adding a further stroke to a true success story in the history of the Department. This occasion was also exceptional because we were joined by 15 students from the FernUniversität Hagen, escorted by our faithful friend, Prof. Felicitas Schmieder. The two groups mixed very well and we had a rewarding time at various historic sites in this important area of medieval Central Europe.

Two successful Summer University Courses were held this year. József Laszlovszky organized one on the Crusader period, entitled *From Holy War to Peaceful Co-habitation. Diversity of Crusading and the Military Orders*. The Religious Studies Program organized the other, a well-attended course directed by Jürgen Gebhardt and Matthias Riedl. The subject was *Religion and Politics: The Presence of Sacred and Secular Traditions in Europe and the Middle East*. Both courses attracted a large number of excellent students from around the world.

In October 2008 the Workshop on *Trends in Research and Teaching of Historical Ecology in Central Europe*, organized by Oddělení ekologie Brno - Botanický ústav Akademie věd ČR, the Zentrum für Umweltgeschichte - Universität Klagenfurt,

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and ourselves, the CEU Department of Medieval Studies, was substantially helped by the good services of our PhD alumnus, Péter Szabó. In November the important CEU outreach unit, the Curriculum Resource Center, helped set up a session on *Recent Research Trends in Medieval Studies*, organized by Department of Medieval Studies and History Department CEU (http://www.ceu.hu/crc/crc_visit_upc.html). Science Day (under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) was also in November, and a session on the *Panorama of Medieval Studies* included lectures by József Laszlovszky (Medieval Landscapes of Power), György Geréby (Questions and Issues in Comparative Religion), and Katalin Szende (The Emergence of Towns in Medieval Central Europe).

The by-now-regular event in the year, the Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lectures, were given by Miri Rubin (Professor of European History, Queen Mary, University of London) on November 23, 27 and 28, under the title: "Mary: Tasks and Themes in the Study of European Culture." The book format of the lecture, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Medieval Europe* has been published by CEU Press by the time I am writing this report in 2009. In March 2008 Alice Choyke and Gerhard Jaritz organized a workshop on *Fauna and Medieval Urban Space: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, under the aegis of the Department of Medieval Studies and King Mathias Museum, Visegrád. (<http://medstud.ceu.hu/index?id=10&cikk=329>).

József Laszlovszky's incredible energies were put to a test in April with the 36th Annual Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology: *On the Road to Reconstructing the Past*, organized jointly by the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, the Hungarian National Museum, the Budapest Historical Museum, Central European University, the Archaeolingua Foundation, and the Research Institute for Visualisation, Architecture and Archaeology (<http://www.caa2008.org>). Two special sessions were organized by the Department. One focused on the problem of authenticity in computer-aided reconstructions, the other on "Landscape Archaeology and the New Emerging Landscape of the Digital World." A round-table discussion explored the theoretical and practical issues deriving from recent development trends in the frameworks of interpretations, especially the dichotomy between the increasingly technical issues connected to data collection and the traditional historical

interpretations of landscapes. The department was well represented by faculty and PhD students at the two great conferences for medievalists, in Kalamazoo at the Congress on Medieval Studies in May (<http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/congress/>) and at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in July (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/ims/imc>).

Public lectures during the academic year were given by Elena Sergejeva (Novgorod State University, Russia) on “Late Antiquity in Russia: From Rostovtzeff to Bakhtin,” on October 18, 2007; by Piotr Górecki (University of California, Riverside) on “Ambiguities of the Frontier: Two Case Studies,” on April 17, 2008; and by Matthew Bennett (Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, United Kingdom) on “Practical Chivalry in England, France and Burgundy c. 1350 – c. 1475,” on May 6, 2008. Professor Bennett visited Budapest on the occasion of the conference on *The Art of War in the Renaissance*, a Renewal of the Art of War International Conference dedicated to the Memory of King Matthias (1458–2008), under the aegis of the Hungarian MOD Institute and Museum of Military History, with the participation of László Veszprémy and Tamás Pálosfalvi. This conference was just one of the events in the Renaissance Year 2008, organized by the Hungarian Ministry for Culture and Education to celebrate the 550th anniversary of the election and accession to the throne of Matthias Corvinus as king of Hungary. CEU medievalists took an active role in many of the events, the several conferences and dozens of exhibitions all over the country. The most comprehensive historical display was arranged by the Budapest History Museum at the site of the medieval royal Palace of Buda. The exhibition, entitled *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490*, presented the king not only in his residences, but also in the Central European context of his rule. This provided the opportunity for several students, alumni, and faculty members of the Department of Medieval Studies to contribute to the preparations and to the lavishly illustrated Hungarian- and English-language catalog of the exhibition. Reflected in the exhibits were new research results by Radu Lupescu (MA’99, PhD student, Cluj) on the origins of the Hunyadi family and their residence at Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara) and by Antonín Kalous (MA’2000, Olomouc) on Bohemians and Moravians in Matthias’ court. Contributions by Tamás Pálosfalvi (PhD student), Enikő Békés (MA’03), and Orsolya Réthelyi (MA’2000, PhD student) offered new insights into the king’s army, iconography, and marriage policy, respectively. From among the faculty, Balázs Nagy (associate professor) presented a political

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panorama of Central Europe in the Matthias Era, whereas Katalin Szende (associate professor), one of the academic advisors of the exhibition and co-editor of the catalogue, discussed Matthias' rule over Vienna. Other students and alumni of the Department provided descriptions of exhibits. This active presence, complemented by an intensive participation of students, faculty and many of our visiting professors at the most important international conference of the Renaissance Year, organized at Eötvös Loránd University in May 2008, testify to the far-reaching expertise of the academic network centered on the Department of Medieval Studies.

Apart from these "core events" I am also happy to mention the successful developments in the Center for Hellenic Traditions, under the energetic leadership of Niels Gaul. The major joint project with the Orientalisches Seminar in Tübingen under the leadership of István Perczel (associate professor) continued successfully with a research and digitization project on Christian manuscripts in Kerala, India. The Center also began to develop closer contact with Georgia, preparing a large-scale project with HESP. As part of the preparatory phase Istvan Perczel and myself gave two lecture series in Tbilisi, at the State University.

There were many minor issues as well, like improvements in the library, which has installed 100 meters of new shelves, offering additional room for about three thousand more volumes. We hope this will give us some breathing space for our dynamic little library for a couple of years, much envied all around on the Hungarian academic scene.

On February 28, 2008, our former PhD student, Vasco La Salvia, had his monograph, published by British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, launched: *Iron Making in the Migration Period. The Case of the Lombards*, which was presented by József Laszlovszky.

In arts another former student, Csaba Dombóvári, formerly our student and librarian, presented his beautiful photographs of French gothic cathedrals in the exhibition hall of the University, under the title: *The Art of the French Cathedrals* (<http://medstud.ceu.hu/index?id=10&cikk=345>), introduced by Gábor Klaniczay.

Never a worse year!

MA THESIS ABSTRACTS

Pelbárt of Temesvár and the Use of Images in Preaching

Edina Ádám (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, György Endre Szőnyi

External Reader: Roberto Rusconi (Università Roma Tre)

This research focuses on the use of images in preaching as attested by some passages discovered in the model sermon collection by Pelbárt of Temesvár, the *Sermones Pomerii de Sanctis*. It identifies the images that were suggested for use by the author, but more importantly it attempts to answer the question of what results Pelbárt of Temesvár expected to achieve by inserting passages in his sermons that refer to visual representations and/or their use in preaching. It argues that the passages functioned on two levels which are in accordance with the dual audience of Pelbárt's model sermon collection. On the level of the first audience, that is, preachers using the collection, with the help of these passages Pelbárt demonstrated how to pass on basic knowledge concerning visual representations to the members of the congregation, how to prepare the audience in the course of a public preaching event for image-assisted private meditation, and how to incorporate images into the text of a sermon so that they functioned as mnemonic cues for the listeners. Meanwhile, on the level of the ultimate audience, that is, the preachers' congregations, what Pelbárt intended was to guide the reception of the images and to provide training for their future reception. Furthermore, the study also presents a revised biography of Pelbárt of Temesvár, who has been generally misrepresented in the secondary literature.

Late Medieval Tableware from the Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș
Ünige Bencze (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Katalin Szende

External Reader: Gábor Tomka (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest)

Tableware constitutes one of the major groups of pottery that was found on the Franciscan friary site in Târgu Mureș, Romania, during archaeological excavations between 1999 and 2007. No research was done previously on this material, although two papers have been written on the Árpadian Age pottery and the kitchen ware from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This thesis presents and analyzes the tableware from the fourteenth and sixteenth century. It argues that probably this material is a local product with Western formal origins. Differences in paste were observed which could indicate different clay sources. Contact with Western Europe is demonstrated by an Austrian vessel fragment. The question of the production of white ware and fine grey ceramics is also discussed.

Power and Salvation. Donor Representations in Moldavia
(Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)
Sabina Cismas (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Christine Peters (Oxford University)

This study intends to shed light on Moldavian medieval donors and to offer different profiles of them. I want to show their diversity and compare it with information from other sources. I speak in general about patterns and types that one can find in Moldavian donor representations and particularly about familial relations that can be reconstructed from these representations. Moreover, the donors approach to the divinity is an important question in my study. I divided the material, which stretches from the last two decades of the fifteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth century, into three categories: murals, tapestries, and tomb veils. I try to demonstrate that in family relations and approaches to God they brought various solutions that I defined as varieties of order.

The Statues of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady at Pécs – The French Connection in the Sculpture of Hungary and Central Europe

Veronika Csikós (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Reader: Michael Viktor Schwarz (University of Vienna)

The topic of this thesis is a significant deposit of Hungarian medieval sculpture, fragments of the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs, about which two main questions were addressed. One question was the context of the statues, the chapel both as an artistic object and as an ecclesiastical institution based on the primary evidence.

The second task was to analyze the Pécs fragments stylistically. This, on the one hand, shed light on the date of carving these former statues as well as on their commissioner. Based on stylistic analogues, an earlier dating of the fragments seems to be more probable than the suggested date, which, as well, presumes another person as commissioner. On the other hand, the stylistic analysis also opened up the possibility of comparing the Pécs fragments to Central European sculptural material – above all Viennese material from the fourteenth century. This broadening of the artistic context also showed that a significant process of international artistic exchange, the reception of Île-de-France art around 1400, had a noteworthy impact in this Central European region. Since it was connected to the image of ideal kingship and royalty, this art became a model in the form of a stylistic phenomenon for numerous artistic centers. In the German region it was adopted by inviting French sculptors, while in Central Europe the reception was solved by importing French artifacts that served as patterns for monumental art. According to the scholarly assumptions, in Vienna and Pécs direct reception was established by summoning French sculptors here. The results of this thesis underlined this assumption and elaborated on it by evaluating the historical and cultural-historical circumstances of the appearance of these “French-style” sculptures.

**Prelude to the Angevins:
Marriages of the Árpáds and Piasts Reconsidered (986 - ca. 1250)**
Wojciech Kozłowski (Poland)

Thesis Supervisor: Balázs Nagy

External Readers: Ryszard Grzesik (Polish Academy of Sciences, Poznan);

István Petrovics (University of Szeged)

The history of political relations between Hungary and Poland in the light of interdynastic marriages helps explain the evolution of the dynastic status of the Árpáds and Piasts and sets the background for their unprecedented military alliance in the middle of the thirteenth century, which developed into firm cooperation that apparently became the legacy of the Árpáds, and then was “inherited” by the Angevins. The mutual dynastic relations of the Árpáds and Piasts are rather a neglected subject and most scholarly works express a one-sided approach which results in a limited and often superficial description. Therefore, this study aims to reconsider the opinions that have prevailed until now by comparing the most recent Hungarian and Polish secondary literature and introducing a statistical method to compare the “dynastic horizons” of the two houses. Such a comparison opens new ideas and viewpoints which allow reconsidering the context and meaning of the marriage between Bolesław the Shy and Kinga in 1239. This marriage, the study argues, was a watershed in mutual Hungarian-Polish relations and in the long run it set the basis for a close Angevin-Piast alliance in the fourteenth century.

**Repercussions of a Murder:
the Death of Sehzade Mustafa on the Early Modern English Stage**
Seda Erkoç (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisors: Marcell Sebők, György Endre Szőnyi

External Reader: Matthew Dimmock (University of Sussex)

A thorough analysis of two English plays, the anonymous Cambridge play *Solymanndae* and Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha*, with specific attention to their sources indicates that the representation of the Ottomans on the sixteenth-century English stage was not always influenced by the transforming rhetoric on the Turk that emerged

as a result of the socio-economic conditions of the period. Present literature assumes the variety of representations of the Ottomans to be a particular case in early modern England which resulted from the Anglo-Ottoman proximity in the second half of the sixteenth century. This thesis argues that the European sources tend to have quite ambivalent representations of the Ottomans throughout the early modern period and therefore rejects the idea of a peculiarity in the English case. This thesis also argues that the Anglo-Ottoman relations in the sixteenth century ended not only in a nuanced rhetoric on the Turks, but also in a quite strict discourse that depicts the differences between the Turk and the English while offering strong criticism of the influence of Mediterranean ways on English society.

Poetry of Politics:
Queen Mary of Hungary in Lorenzo Monaci's *Carmen*
Ilona Ferenczi (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Marianne Sághy

External Reader: Amedeo di Francesco (Università degli Studi Di Napoli L'Orientale)

The *Carmenseu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae* is a contemporary account of the political troubles under the reign of Queen Mary (1382-1395), the only queen who ever ruled Hungary in the Middle Ages. It is a 560-line Latin hexametric epic, written in 1388 by the Venetian poet, notary, and chronicler, Lorenzo Monaci, who undertook diplomatic missions to Hungary on many occasions.

Both the poem and the dedicatory letter prefacing it have been extensively used by scholars as historical sources; no one, however, has ever analyzed it as a literary product. This thesis deals with Monaci's *Carmen* as a literary construction. As such, the image it conveys of Queen Mary and of late fourteenth-century Hungarian events needs to be contextualized and can only be accepted with caution.

I explore three different contexts for a better reading of the poem: Lorenzo Monaci's Venetian bias; Hungarian-Venetian diplomatic and political relations; and the problems of female rule in Angevin Hungary. I deconstruct the contrastive images of Queen Mary and her rival, Charles of Durazzo, and their different interpretations in the "*Carmen*," an outstanding *Gesamtkunstwerk* of medieval historical literature.

**Waldensians at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century in the Duchy of Austria.
Perception of Heresy and Action against Heretics**

Silviu Ghegoiu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Felicitas Schmieder (Fernuniversität Hagen)

This thesis deals with the inquisition that the Celestine monk Peter Zwicker conducted in the duchy of Austria at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. His inquisitorial activity was influenced by anti-heretical and anti-Waldensian polemical treatises written in the last two centuries before him. He had, however, gathered more useful knowledge for interrogations from his own previous experiences as inquisitor in northern German lands. The goal of the thesis is to answer the questions: To what extent did the general perception of Waldensians expressed in the treatises have an impact on the organization of the trials? Where was the line between images of Waldensians and reality? My research, limited as it is, relied on the sentences given to Waldensian heretics in the period between 1397 and 1401.

Work on these sources began in the late nineteenth century when Herman Haupt and Ignaz von Döllinger published the sources. Later research brought little contribution until Peter Biller, in the 1970s, started to look at Zwicker's own treatise *Cum dormirent homines*, neglected by historians for its uncertain authorship. After establishing its origin, Biller recognized the originality of Zwicker's work, both as a polemicist and as an inquisitor, and the treatise as one the most important works of its kind from the late Middle Ages. My argument in this thesis is that the perception Zwicker had of Waldensians was less important than the reality he encountered during the trials as he adapted himself to local particularities and the individual behavior of the suspects.

Before the Cattle Trade.
Animals and People in Muhi, a Medieval Hungarian Village
Kyra Lyublyanovics (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Alice Choyke, József Laszlovsky
External Reader: Pam Crabtree (New York University)

Animal husbandry, meat consumption and social status are closely interrelated cultural phenomena. I investigate these relationships using the example of a thirteenth-century Hungarian village, Muhi. A large number of animal bones were recovered from refuse pits during the archaeological excavation of different parts of this settlement. These finds provide excellent insight into some aspects of life at this Arpadian Age settlement. There has been little comparable research so knowledge about village life in this period is limited.

The study of species ratio, livestock character, bone tools, butchering methods, meat distribution and supply yielded a somewhat ambiguous picture. It had been hypothesized that people living in the settlement core enjoyed a more favorable financial position than those living on the outskirts and therefore had access to good quality meat protein, while poorer people living on the outskirts consumed less meat. Thus, different ratios of body parts were expected. The consumption pattern, however, displays a more subtle picture. Social differentiation was expressed through the quantity rather than the quality of meat consumed. I have demonstrated that our archaeozoological models of status and food habits, mainly based on élite sites, need to be reconsidered.

Sophonias the Philosopher.
A Preface of an Aristotelian Commentary: Structure, Intention, and Audience
Divna Manolova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, Niels Gaul
External Reader: Péter Lautner (Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Piliscsaba)

At the end of the thirteenth century, Sophonias the Philosopher wrote a paraphrasis of Aristotle's treatise *De Anima* [On the Soul]. This exegetical work is accompanied by a methodological preface which presents a discussion on the approaches of

previous commentators followed by a description of Sophonias' own method. This preface and its various aspects constitute the core of this study.

Sophonias' preface to his paraphrasis of *De Anima* is approached from two main perspectives here. First, it is contextualized within three textual frameworks: the genre of commentary (more specifically the Aristotelian commentary), Sophonias' other prefaces, and the text of the *De Anima Paraphrasis*. Second, the preface is analyzed in comparison with two other prefaces to commentaries on *De Anima*: Themistius' and Thomas Aquinas'. Additionally, the first chapter of the inquiry offers a prosopographical reconstruction of Sophonias' activities in order to complement the contextual analysis of the preface.

As a result of this analysis, I argue that the most probable reason for the composition of Sophonias' paraphrasis is that it was meant to serve educational purposes, that is, to introduce certain apprentice(s) to Aristotle's theory on the soul. That is to say, Sophonias developed a method different from that of the exegetes and the paraphrasts in order to deliver the subject matter in a more efficient way.

**Constructing Ideals of Christian Life:
Strategies of Interpretation of the Bible
in the Lausiatic History of Palladius of Hellenopolis**
Yuliya Minets (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisors: Cristian Gașpar, Niels Gaul

External Reader: Sergey A. Ivanov (Russian Academy of Science)

In the *Lausiatic History*, Palladius, bishop of Hellenopolis (363/364-431), used and interpreted different biblical texts for presenting ideals and concepts of exemplary Christian lives, sometimes involving scriptural quotations and references in new rhetorical constructions and introducing new meanings by changes in the text and context where they were used. Previous studies of the ways and methods in which biblical texts were interpreted by Eastern Christian writers have focused mostly on the Western part of the Christian world and on Latin writings; similar research on Greek texts produced by Christian authors in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity is, to the best of my knowledge, not well represented in the existing scholarship. This study traces how biblical quotations and allusions

were used, what ideals and concepts were constructed, how the text depends on the purpose and the target audience, and how the text corresponds with previous Christian authors and works, especially those who could have influenced Palladius' views. The analysis makes it possible to identify the place of the *Lausiac History* in contemporary Christian discourse and to understand the intellectual discussions in which different levels of this discourse were elaborated.

Translation and Identity in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola *Antoaneta Sabau (Romania)*

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy

External Reader: David J. Collins (Georgetown University)

The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola is a text that circulated in the sixteenth century in three versions: the Spanish *Autograph* and its two Latin translations, *Versio Prima* and the *Vulgate*. Following the story of the genesis of the text, the issuance of the translations, and the commerce that was established between the original and its translations may shed light upon what happened to the identity of the text and its author, as well as to what degree the Latin translations influenced this initial identity.

The first part of the thesis reviews the history of the genesis of the text, identifying the features of the context that merged the initial experience of Ignatius into the shape of a manual for universal use. The second part compares the translations with the original using philological tools for theoretical support in the light of medieval theories of translation.

The conclusion is that the auctorial voice was diminished through the process of translation. *Versio prima* is proof not only of servile translation, but of the still-intimate relationship between the vernacular language (Spanish) and Latin. The Vulgate's success is not due to the fact that it is a more accurate and literary translation, but to the fact that it constantly disputes the original identity of the text.

**A Cistercian Network Analysis:
A Road Map through the Mental Imagination of the First
Generations of Monks**
Parker Snyder (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky

External Reader: James Bond (independent scholar)

The Cistercians were a twelfth-century monastic reform originating in Burgundy. After a slow start, they expanded quickly to number some 350 foundations by the death of their notable promoter, Bernard of Clairvaux. But was there a master plan for the development of the Order? Even though the Cistercians were a contemplative reform and largely self-sufficient in their economic life, they recognized the importance of regular communication among abbeys. To connect the members, the twin pillars of the Cistercian Constitution were 1. parental visitation among filia and 2. an annual chapter in Burgundy. Because of these two features, the Cistercian expansion can be modeled as a network. From the nineteenth century scholars have studied the chronological sequence of early foundations and one major mapping project has been completed to date, but no one has yet analyzed network relationships. I argue that Cistercian foundations can be read like a charter to present a general picture of the monks' strategy before administrative structures had been formalized. This thesis treats each foundation as a node and each filial relationship as a link, while the network in its entirety is read like a road map to discover the mental imagination of the first generations of monks.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2007-2008

The Interpreter of the Popes. The Translation Project of Anastasius Bibliothecarius *Réka Forrai (Romania)*

The dissertation presents the career of a medieval translator at the intersection of two lines: the way his knowledge of Greek gave Anastasius Bibliothecarius a monopoly position at the papal court in the second half of the ninth century, and the way the institution itself exploited his translation skills. I draw the profile of a very sophisticated diplomat who employed his language skills for his own political purposes and for the institution he represented. Apart from the intrinsic value of such a monograph, these historico-philological investigations also provide a more thorough insight into Greek-Latin cultural interactions in the ninth century.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a rough contemporary of Eriugena, Photios, and al-Kindi, was active in the second part of the ninth century, a culturally productive period everywhere in the medieval world, whether papal Rome or the Western Frankish Kingdom, Byzantine Constantinople or the Baghdad of the Abbasid caliphate. Born approximately between 800 and 817 and dying probably before 877, he was the most prolific translator of the ninth century. His stormy life is one worthy of interest to the historian. He entered historical records rather problematically – excommunicated and anathematised by Pope Leo IV (847-855) and anti-pope Benedict III (855-858) – he appeared again afterwards under slightly different circumstances, as a close collaborator of three ninth-century popes: Nicholas I (858-867), Hadrian II (867-872), and John VIII (872-882). He was acquainted with all the significant actors in late-ninth century political and cultural life – the popes, the Frankish rulers Louis II (825-875) and Charles the Bald (823-877), Hincmar of Rheims (ca. 806-882), Eriugena (ca. 810-870), and Photios (ca. 810-893) – all in one way or another parts of his worldwide spider web. One of the main reasons he was so often encountered on the Byzantium-Rome-Frankish court axis is that

he possessed a valuable diplomatic skill, rare at that time in the West: knowledge of Greek. His translations, featuring a wide range of literary genres, provide ample proof of this knowledge.

The texts he chose for translation were drawn exclusively from the Christian literary heritage and consist mainly of late antique and early Byzantine literature, comprising genres such as hagiography, theology, and historiography. While the sheer literary value of his selection of works from the Greek patrimony may not excite much attention, I argue that a contextual examination of his translations can reveal a well-defined agenda that served political purposes, being embedded in the very practical aims and interests of the Roman pontiffs.

For such a complex agenda, the traditional settings of a monograph seemed too narrow a frame. I have decided to follow rather the current trend of non-linear biographies, where lives are reconstructed in a mosaic-like manner, focusing on distinctive moments of a protagonist's activity, on scenes which are at the crossings of the particular and the general, the individual and the society he was part of.

This thesis assesses the craft of a medieval translator not only by reading the texts translated, but also by examining other, para- as well as extra-, textual elements (such as the political and cultural context of his prologues) to reconstruct a deeply erudite and at the same time politically engaged project. By calling this pursuit a "project" I suggest that his translations are not the results of random selection reflecting his literary taste, but an assortment of works chosen using a logic which confers unity on it.

I have examined Anastasius' project moving in concentric circles from the inner logic to the outer logic of its constitution. First, the philological context: that is to say, the texts and their nature is examined; second, the historical context, mainly the social and ideological setting of the network Anastasius constructed with these translation-gifts; last but not least what I would call the final means and motivation for such a project is discussed, that is, the role of translations in shaping cultural identity.

Consequently, my thesis comprises the following main parts: after the introductory part presenting Anastasius' life and literary activity comes an exhaustive and detailed catalogue of his works as well as the context of the translations' genesis, problems of composition and layout, genres and preferred authors, and finally the methods and theories applied. This is followed by the general historical framework, the social and ideological setting which called for the existence of such a translation project. Illustrating some of my most important points, two major case studies

assist the general investigation in analyses of two different types of texts that have received little attention so far: the passion of Saint Demetrius and Anastasius' notes on Eriugená's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. Moreover, an unexpected thread unfolded when I was reading Anastasius' notes to the *Corpus Dionysiacum*: as I argue in this chapter, it seems that three short fragments from Eusebius' church history can be added to the list of Anastasian translations. Next to the Eusebian fragments, I have also appended a diplomatic edition of the text of Saint Demetrius' passion to the dissertation.

The pages of this dissertation are by no means the closing remarks on Anastasius' career. Of primary importance would be research on Anastasius' afterlife in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and perhaps even further, studying not only the transmission of his texts, the survival of manuscripts, but the use people made of his translations and indexing all references to his achievements. Moreover, the appearance of the critical texts of the two ecumenical councils will be a new landmark in the research on Greek and Latin interactions. The translation of the *scholia* to the *Corpus Dionysiacum* also needs further attention. And last but not least, perhaps the list of his translations is not yet complete and further texts could be discovered.

Early Sieneese Paintings in Hungarian Collections, 1420-1520

Dóra Sallay (Hungary)

The Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and the Christian Museum in Esztergom – the two Hungarian museums that collect European Old Masters – preserve an exceptionally large number of Sieneese paintings. This dissertation examines the most coherent group of works among them, those dating between about 1420 and 1520: thirty-three paintings that represent nearly all the known Sieneese masters who were active during these hundred years.

Methodology: The Material to be Studied and the Chronological Boundaries

Most of the paintings, now separated in the two museums, originally formed part of the private collection of Bishop Arnold Ipolyi (1823-1886), who in turn purchased all but two of them from the collection of the painter and restorer Johann Anton Ramboux (1790-1866). These collections were formed based on conscious

choices; it thus seemed expedient to study together the works now in Budapest and Esztergom. Furthermore, by fortunate circumstances, the Budapest museum acquired from other sources some Quattrocento Siense pieces that complement the Ipolyi collection.

The choice of chronological boundaries (ca. 1420 - ca. 1520) was suggested by stylistic considerations. The works studied begin with a fragment of Sassetta's first dated work (1423-25), the *Arte della Lana* altarpiece, which has been described as an "artistic bolt from the blue" and heralded the advent of a new epoch in Siense painting. The last works discussed are by masters like Bernardino Fungai and Girolamo di Benvenuto, whose activity reached well into the sixteenth century, but who were still trained in the Quattrocento and never truly abandoned its traditions.

A study of the Siense works in Hungary dating from the period between ca. 1420 and ca. 1520 seemed promising for manifold reasons. The representative nature of the material provided an opportunity to study Siense Quattrocento painting as a whole and interpret the paintings in Hungary in the light of the monographic knowledge of the art of this city-state in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Among the Siense paintings in Hungary, this group of works was also the least studied, and it was here that research was most needed and new results could be most expected. Siense Quattrocento painting has raised much interest among art historians in recent decades, which resulted in a great amount of new information in this field. The dissertation examines the works in Hungary in the light of these new results not only with the traditional methods of art history but with hitherto little-used methods based on detailed technical and structural examinations. The research on the individual works is completed with studies of the reception history and historiography of early Siense art in general and specifically in Hungary, as well as with detailed provenance research and notes on museological history.

Chapter I – Quattrocento Siense Painting and the State of Research

This chapter serves as an introduction to the art of Quattrocento Siena; besides notes on the city-state, its history, and the preliminaries to Quattrocento art – above all, the city's famous Trecento heritage that served as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for later generations – it gives an overview of the art of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and the current scholarship related to it.

The turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth century brought no artistic change. An overview of the period 1420-1520 can be presented in three periods divided by important artistic paradigm shifts. The period ca. 1420-1460 is a transitional phase between the late Gothic and the early Renaissance that has been described in such modulated terms as “gotico ombreggiato di rinascimento” (Roberto Longhi), “pseudo-Rinascimento” (Federico Zeri), or “authentically Siennese post-Gothic” (Keith Christiansen). With the rise of the Siennese Enea Silvio Piccolomini to the papal throne in 1458, a new type of art patronage appeared in Siena. Pope Pius II was a man of great international experience, ambition, and learning, establishing a humanist type of art patronage previously unknown in Siena, which in many respects disregarded earlier traditions. In the wake of Pope Pius’ patronage, full-fledged Renaissance art became established in Siena and brought about an exceptionally flourishing period for local artists between ca. 1460 and 1490. The return to power of the members of the *Nove* political party brought profound changes in art patronage from the late 1480s on. In the period between ca. 1490 and 1520 virtually all important public and private commissions went to foreign artists (Signorelli, Pintoricchio, Perugino, Girolamo Genga, Sodoma, etc.) and local artists were demoted to executing minor works in the city or to working in the countryside. While the activity of the great foreign masters in Siena in this period has been much studied, little attention has been paid to the fate of local masters trained in the Quattrocento, which is one reason why I decided to extend my investigations until about 1520 and examine how the influx of foreign artists influenced their production.

After its incorporation into the Duchy of Tuscany in 1555, Siena had hardly any further urban and economic development for centuries. As elsewhere in Italy, the passing of time and changes in function and taste resulted in the massive destruction and dispersion of early Siennese panel paintings, which culminated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to the suppression of religious institutions in three waves between the 1770s and the 1860s. The names of most of the great masters of the Quattrocento fell into oblivion; their modern rediscovery owes much to surviving archival records and to the research of local historians. An interesting aspect that has a bearing on the works now in Hungary, too, is the revival of interest in Quattrocento Siennese painting: its collecting and early research, which usually went hand in hand. In fact, in the first half of the twentieth century many of the most significant scholars of Siennese Quattrocento painting were also collectors and dealers (Bernard Berenson, Charles Fairfax

Murray, Robert Langton Douglas, Frederick Mason Perkins, etc.). An interesting reflection of the growing appreciation – and price – of the early Sienese paintings was the appearance of workshops in Siena specializing in forgeries at the end of the nineteenth century.

Chapter II – Early Sienese Paintings in Hungary, 1420-1520: A History of Collecting

This chapter examines four private collectors – Johann Anton Ramboux, Raffaele Bertinelli, Arnold Ipolyi, and János Simor – who once owned the works under examination. The origins of the two institutions that now house the paintings are also discussed, with special emphasis on the circumstances of the acquisition of the Sienese works.

Arnold Ipolyi acquired his paintings in 1867 at the auction of Johann Anton Ramboux's collection, which included one of the largest private galleries of early Sienese paintings that ever existed. A smaller number of paintings belonged to a hitherto unknown Roman collector first discussed in this dissertation, Canon Raffaele Bertinelli (1802-1878), whose entire gallery was purchased in 1878 by Cardinal János Simor (1813-1891), the founder of the Christian Museum. Ipolyi's collection was divided in 1872 when he donated sixty paintings to the National Picture Gallery (the predecessor to the Museum of Fine Arts) but kept the rest of his collection, which after many vicissitudes was acquired by the Christian Museum in 1920. The analysis of the collecting interests and methods of these private owners threw light on many connections and similarities but also on important differences between them, especially as regards their attitudes to the Nazarene movement and to the possibilities of using their collections for the art historical, aesthetic, and religious education of the public.

Most noteworthy is the fact that nearly all the Sienese paintings now in Hungary came into private hands in the first half or the middle of the nineteenth century; that is, much before the collecting of early Sienese art began on a large scale at the end of the nineteenth century. Ramboux – a true pioneer in collecting and research – and Ipolyi were connoisseurs who studied and catalogued their own collections. Ramboux aimed at acquiring complete series of works, whereas Ipolyi's purpose in collecting appears to have been to secure the largest number and greatest variety of works possible (both as far as masters and iconography were concerned), even at the cost of breaking up series of companion pieces. Ramboux's and Bertinelli's

precocious interest in early Italian paintings seems explainable by their contact with the Nazarene movement, which turned to the early Italian masters for artistic and religious inspiration. A similar interest formed the taste of Cardinal Simor, whose admiration for the Roman and Viennese Nazarenes seems to have led him eventually to the appreciation of the early Italian masters. The prelates Ipolyi and Simor shared the idea of forming a collection of Christian art, a *museum christianum*, for the education of seminarists and the general public.

Chapter III – Early Sienese Paintings in Hungary, 1420-1520: A Summary of Previous Research and Notes on Museology and Conservation History

Besides surveying the activity of the outstanding curators of the museums in Budapest and Esztergom, the most important catalogues and scholarly publications that deal with the Sienese works and with the history of the institutions, this chapter traces the international relations of the two museums that affected their scholarly work and the rediscovery of the early Sienese paintings in Hungary by international scholarship. The museological history of the Museum of Fine Arts and the Christian Museum deals especially with the history of inventories, photographic documentation, installation concepts, exhibitions, and the care of the collections from the point of view of conservation history.

Chapter IV – Early Sienese Paintings in Hungary, 1420-1520: Catalogue

The major part of the dissertation is preceded by a detailed introduction to a methodology that is rather recent in art historical scholarship and indispensable for the understanding of the type of works found in Hungary: panel paintings that are mostly fragments of larger structures. Every work has been subjected to detailed technical and structural examination and interpreted in the light of fully or partially surviving larger structures, mainly altarpieces. This approach brought unexpected new results in many cases about the original context and function of the pieces. Wherever applicable, I visualized the results in digital reconstructions.

I used this methodology together with the traditional methods of art history, aiming at the complex study of the paintings regarding attribution, dating, stylistic properties, compositional models, iconography, the circumstances of the commission, the original location, and the context and function of the pieces, among other things. The research brought a wealth of new information, of

which only the most relevant can be mentioned here. In the case of Pietro di Giovanni's *Assumption of the Virgin*, I analysed its possible compositional models reaching back to the first half of the fourteenth century, and investigated the changes caused in the iconography and composition of the work by a radical nineteenth-century restoration. For Sano di Pietro's *Banquet of Herod* a great deal of information came to light during research conducted with two co-authors. The predella fragment formed part of an altarpiece commissioned around 1447 by Bartolomea di Domenico di Francesco, the abbess of the Augustinian convent of San Giovanni all'Abbadia Nuova in Siena, where the decapitation of the Baptist had special veneration. All seven fragments from the dismembered predella were reunited: the central *Crucifixion* was proved to have formed part of the predella on the basis of the examination of the irregular wood grain, whereas the two pilaster bases (*St. Francis of Assisi*, *St. Bernardino*) were newly proposed to have belonged to the complex. The attributions of two Madonnas formerly ascribed to Sano were refined: for one, workshop participation was suggested; the other is now catalogued entirely as a workshop product. A third Madonna formerly ascribed to a follower of Sano is in fact by a minor artist best known for his illuminations, Pellegrino di Mariano. Pellegrino's oeuvre as a panel painter was systematically studied in the course of this research. Another work by his hand is the predella fragment showing *St. Catherine of Siena*, for which a lost but documented companion piece showing *St. Nicholas of Tolentino* was discovered in a Dutch collection. In the case of two fragments (*St. Francis of Assisi*, *St. John the Evangelist*) from another dismembered predella by Neroccio de' Landi, stylistic parallels and the use of a unique punchmark confirmed the debated authorship. The two works date from ca. 1475-80 and formed part of a Franciscan altarpiece, possibly Neroccio's triptych dated 1476. In the case of yet another predella fragment, the debated attribution to Benvenuto di Giovanni seems to be correct, and the represented figure is not St. Peter Martyr but the Carmelite *St. Angelus of Licata*. The discovery of an unknown fragment from this predella showing *St. Sigismund* suggests a provenance from the Sienese Carmelite church San Niccolò, where the cult of St. Sigismund is documented. Two more predella fragments found their original context through technical, iconographic, and stylistic examinations. In both cases, the original order of the predella scenes could be established on the basis of matching the fragmented decorative motifs between the predella scenes. One of the scenes, Matteo di Giovanni's *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, is also highly interesting as an iconographic novelty, since it shows

the martyrdom of the apostle prince away from Rome, with a schematic cityscape in the background. Girolamo di Benvenuto's *The Virgin Appears to St. Bernardino* must have formed part of an Observant Franciscan altarpiece, whose main panel is now in the Museum of Montalcino. For many other fragments, the original context was corrected: three works formerly identified as predella fragments were found to be, respectively, a furniture fragment (Circle of Vecchietta: *Conferral of the Balzana*), an independent piece for private devotion (Circle of Benvenuto di Giovanni: *Nativity*), and the fragment of a vertical structure decorated with narrative scenes (Giovanni di Paolo: *St. Ansanus Baptizing*). Matteo di Giovanni's *St. Jerome* was identified together with its companion piece, the *St. Nicholas of Bari* in Altenburg, as unusually large pilaster bases, perhaps from the artist's monumental Augustinian altarpiece from 1474. The most interesting discovery of a companion fragment came by way of iconographic considerations: a fragment showing *Two Angels* – hitherto attributed to Guidoccio Cozzarelli but probably by Matteo di Giovanni – belonged to a Baptism of Christ composition and formed part of a lunette of an altarpiece. The original appearance of another lunette by Matteo (*Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, 1482) was modified based on the technical examination of its fragments, helped by the discovery of an integral version of the composition by Guidoccio, Matteo's student. In another work by Cozzarelli, an altarpiece so far believed to be signed and dated 1486, the old inscription is probably not a signature but a dedicatory inscription by the painter's son Carlo, whereas the painter's signature seems to survive in a copy on the modern bottom frame of the altarpiece. Since this must be based on a damaged original, the date 1486 is not reliable and a dating to ca. 1486-89 should be preferred.

Datings were reviewed in every case save the two securely datable pieces (Cat. 1, 23); they were often revised (Cat. 22, 26, 27, 28, 29), sometimes to a significant degree (Cat. 12, 20, 21), and occasionally proposed for the first time (Cat. 14, 15). The identification of compositional prototypes was relevant in many cases (Cat. 7, 10, 12, 13, 21, 24 and 31). Each master discussed is introduced in a detailed biography. For a convenient review of earlier opinions, I provided an annotated References section for every piece.

On the whole, this research contributes not only to a better understanding of a group of works conserved in Hungarian museums, but also to our knowledge of Quattrocento Sienese art in general, into which these pieces fit, sometimes literally, as the pieces of a puzzle.

**Produced for Transylvania – Local Workshops and Foreign Connections.
Studies of Late Medieval Altarpieces in Transylvania**

Emese Sarkadi Nagy (Romania)

The study of several aspects of late medieval altarpieces in Transylvania provides a selected overview of a larger topic, particularly the problem of local workshops versus invited foreign masters. Winged altarpieces of Transylvania are one of the art history topics which have long been talked around, fingered, but never really grasped. The few studies, articles or catalogue entries that have been published on related topics over the last decades are mainly mired in the results, interpretations or misinterpretations of Saxon research from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The 1916 overview of Victor Roth is still the most often used, along with the mainly popularizing volume published in 1992 by Gisela and Otmar Richter, the conservator-art historian couple who ran the restoration workshop of the Lutheran Church in Kronstadt (Braşov, Brassó) during the 1970s and 1980s. Thorough case studies based on personal investigation of the altars that have been preserved, leading to wider conclusions, are missing. This is therefore the point where my dissertation has started filling in the gaps.

Along with literature published on the topic, early interest in the preserved altarpieces was mirrored by the care for them, by the fact that their restoration began at a very early date. Repair work was naturally influenced continuously by the attitude of the given period: thus, the eighteenth century was characterized by painting over, in many cases the old altarpiece was completely transformed to meet for the needs of the moment. Nineteenth-century restoration work was in many cases carried out by foreign specialized conservators, but their work was still marked by completions and over-painting.

A short history of the restoration attitudes as they changed over the centuries is presented in the introduction to the thesis, based on the data observable on the preserved pieces, closing with the most important era of Transylvanian altar restorations, which was marked by the operations of the Richter workshop in Kronstadt. Because the photo-documentation made by Gisela Richter and her assistants before, during, and after the restoration work was relatively rich, a considerable amount of previously unknown information regarding the history of the altarpieces could be deduced. Thus, this documentation has been used as a main source of information throughout the thesis.

Altarpieces were mainly preserved in the territories inhabited by the Saxons.

However, some examples known are from the Székely *sedes*, a region that remained overwhelmingly Catholic through the centuries. In spite of the fact that historical data clearly show that the territory of the noble counties of Transylvania had flourishing towns with a lively mercantile and crafts environment almost no altarpieces have been preserved from these regions. A short part of the thesis deals with the historical, economic, and ecclesiastical situation in these three large administrative territories, concentrating on their altar production and associated written sources.

A brief characterization of the early period (fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries) of Transylvanian winged altarpieces aims at providing an image of the very beginnings of altar production in or for Transylvania. The few preserved examples and the written data on this period's retables represent important preliminaries for understanding the art of the following decades and also consequently for the two main chapters of this thesis. Retables like the often-discussed ones from Malmkrog (Mălâncrav, Almakerék) and Tartlau (Prejmer, Prázsmár) are presented in this section, bringing into play new aspects of their history and analysis. Additionally, an almost complete overview of this period's preserved panel-paintings and wooden sculptures – probably belonging originally to winged altarpieces – is offered, embedded in the general artistic, architectural development of Transylvania in this period.

The first significant period of Transylvanian winged altarpieces, the period from which the first large number of high quality retables has been preserved, was the 1470s to the 1480s. Although strong foreign influence is evident, these are the first pieces which permit conclusions to be drawn about local workshop production practices versus foreign masters and also important stylistic trends in Transylvania. A group of retables from the time of King Matthias, which almost exclusively characterize the period from the stylistic point of view, was selected to represent this era. These pieces reveal the strong influence of the Viennese Schottenmaster and his circle and are clustered in a narrow geographic region marked by the altarpieces of Mediasch (Mediaș, Medgyes), Grossprobstdorf (Proștea Mare, Nagyekemező), BIRTHÄLM (Biertan, Berethalom), and a wall-painting cycle from Schässburg (Sigișoara, Segesvár). A thorough analysis of these paintings along with historical data related to the history of each locality in that period sheds light on the circumstances under which these altarpieces came into being. Additionally, the nature of the relationship of the masters of these retables to the Viennese workshop of the Schottenaltar was analyzed.

The heyday of unmistakably local Transylvanian winged altar production can clearly be seen in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In order to offer a glimpse

into this world, one special workshop from sixteenth century Hermannstadt (Sibiu, Nagyszeben) has been selected. The *oeuvre* of Master Vincentius offers a feasible and characteristic example of a craftsman's life and work in this period in terms of workshop activity as well as the stylistic influences that can be detected at the beginning of the sixteenth century. A fairly large number of paintings (altarpieces and a wall-painting) have been attributed to this master, based partly on stylistic considerations, but supported in certain cases by the presence of his signature and his – identified here for the first time – hallmark. These features, along with certain historical data known about him, have made it possible to delineate and characterize his *oeuvre* and his workshop practices.

A catalogue at the end of the thesis contains detailed data and objective descriptions of the pieces discussed in the chapters. The writing of this thesis was preceded by a year spent creating an inventory in which 98 altarpieces, fragments or sculptures that may once have belonged to retables were gathered. However, the thorough processing and analyzing of all these pieces understandably did not fit within the framework of a PhD thesis. This work will certainly keep me occupied over the next few years. Still, the dissertation concludes with the presentation of certain general aspects of Transylvanian altar production in this period based on the contours that became evident during the inventory work. Preserved retables, historical sources, and various studies made over the years made it possible to identify the main centers of Transylvanian altar production and certain hints could also be made concerning workshop filiations in and among these towns.

**Enmity, Dispute, and Noble Community in the Late Medieval Kingdom
of Poland: Evidence from the Rus' Palatinate, Fifteenth – Beginning of the
Sixteenth Century**

Yuriy Zazulyak (Ukraine)

I have investigated nobles' enmity and disputes in late medieval Poland. I started with the premise that enmity and dispute played key roles in shaping the ethos and identity of the members of the noble estate. In my approach to noble enmity I view violence and litigation as two major ways to redress wrongs and restore a shaken balance of justice in interpersonal relationships. The main aim of the investigation is to approach noble enmity and conflict as complex social phenomena, interpreting them as points of intersection of different aspects of social reality, including

structures of governance and justice, the social and family network, power relations, statute law, mental attitudes, and so on.

Chronologically this work covers the period from the middle of the fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. This period started with a crisis for the Polish monarchy, which affected many aspects of the social life and manifested itself, first of all, in a weakening of the social order and system of justice. Therefore, it is important to explore the possible repercussions of this crisis at the local level and to analyze how disputes were settled under the worsening conditions of the exercise of justice. Another important point is that the fifteenth century was a time when statute law gradually established itself as the main instrument for regulating noble crime and dispute. Legislative initiatives were crowned by the emergence of a number of legal statutes and privileges in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It will be interesting to clarify how this growing body of legislative texts influenced the local practice of conflict regulation and interacted with local customs.

In spatial terms, the study will focus on one region of the Polish crown: Galician Rus'. This territory constitutes the western part of present-day Ukraine and the southeastern part of Poland. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century the lands of Galicia belonged to the Halyč-Volynian Principality and were ruled by one of the branches of the Rurikid dynasty. During the second half of the fourteenth century they were brought into the Kingdom of Poland; after the introduction of the Polish administrative and judicial system in the 1430s, Galician Rus' became generally known as the Rus' Palatinate.

My principal source material is legal records of the court registers of the Rus' palatinate. The emergence of court registers in Galicia was one of the basic consequences of the radical institutional changes of the years of 1430-1434. The privilege of Jedlno, issued by King Władisław Jagiełło in 1430, and the privilege of his son Władisław III from 1434, sanctioned the final introduction of the Polish legal and administrative system into Galician Rus' and endowed the Galician nobles with rights equal to the nobility of other lands of the kingdom. Galician Rus' was transformed into the Rus' palatinate with its main administrative center in L'viv. The palatinate itself consisted of four administrative-territorial units, called "lands" (*ziemie*): L'viv, Halych, Przemyśl, and Sanok. These, in turn, were divided into districts (*powiaty*). In each of the lands, the system of the castle (*grodzkie*) and land (*ziemskie*) courts as well as a hierarchy of Polish offices was established. Land and castle courts represented major institutional sites for administering justice and settling disputes in Late Medieval Kingdom of Poland.

The law considerably influenced the practice of noble enmity, determining how noble enmity was carried out, and how it was subsequently presented and debated in the courtroom. It offered disputants a wide range of legal procedures and actions necessary for conducting litigation, and it conceived a detailed system of fines and penalties as punishment for all major criminal offenses. Violent trespass on property, assaults on houses and persons, bloody brawls, violent treatment of peasants and servants – all these manifestations of enmity were usually denounced before courts as illegal breaking of norms and were criminalized as actions that disturbed and violated the rules of peaceful, communal coexistence.

The visible growth of a body of legal provisions regulating the conduct of litigation and enmity during the fifteenth century created a demand for legal resources and for appeal to official courts as forums for settling disputes. An elaborate and detailed set of legal actions and a network of courts established as a result of statutory legislation and customary practice offered disputants alternatives to violence for conducting an enmity. This process turned the law into the major instrument of waging enmity. With regard to the ability to exploit and manipulate the resources of the law, whether about written legal instruments or oath-taking, fifteenth-century evidence presents Galician noblemen as experienced and shrewd litigants.

In practice, however, this institutional and legal framework appears to have been weak and ineffective in many respects. Legislative initiatives aimed at better administration of justice were usually thwarted by local legal cultures, rooted in customary and non-professional traditions of law. The principles of collective judgment and communal consent were clearly given preference over the norms and provisions of statutory law. Shortcomings in the administration of justice are perhaps best visible in crime prosecution and law enforcement. Royal captains as the main agents responsible for the administration of justice and the maintenance of order preferred to restrain noble enmity through compromise and preventive means such as sureties and pledges of peace. Penalties imposed as a result of an official prosecution initiated by captains were rare indeed. In addition, evidence of legal records from the fifteenth-century Rus' palatinate suggests that the captains' presence at court proceedings, the element crucial for effective judgment and enforcement of law in the practice of contemporary courts, gradually declined in the course of the fifteenth century.

Enforcement of court sentences was grounded on complicated and contradictory legal mechanisms that allowed convicted men to resist its execution effectively. As a consequence, many sentences were never executed and

wrongdoings went unpunished. In general, these shortcomings of the system of justice as well as some provisions of the statutory law resulted in a situation where many disputes were settled by extra-legal means, including peacemaking, direct violent actions, and self-help.

In the fifteenth-century Rus' palatinate, peacemaking and arbitration represented modes of conflict resolution that were not alternative, but rather complementary, to official court proceedings. Judges in castle and land courts frequently initiated arbitration between disputants or used the practice of postponing cases to provide the parties with time for private settlement. The practice of arbitration reveals the crucial significance of informal ties based on kin solidarities and patron-client relations in the administration of justice. Most arbitrations were temporary compromises that were unable to regulate the long-lasting relationships between disputants. This provisional nature of peacemaking is important for highlighting the processual dimension of noble enmity. As a process, noble enmity went through changing circles of peacemaking and renewal of hostile relationships. Arbitrations were broken and the enmity renewed every time one of the parties wanted to change the terms of the agreement. Dispute settlement appears thus as a process of permanent negotiations in which the chances of reaching a final, lasting reconciliation were small.

The wide spread of pledges of peace imposed by kings and royal captains on nobles to guarantee their peaceful coexistence provides the main evidence of the thriving culture of enmity in late medieval Galicia. To judge by the evidence of pledges of peace, almost all the major noble families of the region in the fifteenth century were involved in the pursuit of enmity. Most of these enmities were short-lived. Enmity as a structuring principle of social relationships within the noble community offers an image of this community as dynamic and constantly changing webs of alliances. Noble enmity also had serious social implications for inter-estate relationships. On the one hand, it operated to reproduce and strengthen social distance between nobles and the subordinated classes. On the other hand, inimical relationships between nobles were often continued on the level of their subjects and even peasants, resulting in the creation of vertical inter-estate social groups based on a shared experience of the exercise of violence.

Though inimical relationships could take a variety of forms, opponents usually drew on a more or less fixed and recognized set of moves, which, following Stephen White, constituted a kind of "inventory of enmity." Violence, real or imagined, can be identified behind most of these techniques. Inimical relationships could be

manifested through the exercise of direct violence like organized raids and assaults with accomplices on an estate or house; terrorizing attacks on subjects and peasants, personal affronts between enemies at court and in public places. Violence could also loom behind inimical relationships in its potential, and even imagined, forms like public threats, slanderous accusations of violence in court, and rituals of public penance. Legal actions, especially if they ended with favorable verdicts, also implied and foresaw the possibility of the exercise of violence. Therefore, regardless its forms and techniques, enmity always opened the door for the exercise of violence, making it one of the most probable scenarios in the development of inimical relationships. In this sense enmity and violence can be considered synonymous.

A conviction that in some situations the redress of wrongs can be achieved only through the exercise of direct violence, not by means of the law, was dominant in contemporary noble society. This conviction, which made possible frequent recourse to violence in dispute settlement, stemmed from a set of values crucial for the noble identity and ethos. A noble reputation, the politics of lordship, and a sense of honor – all these key concepts of noble identity were grounded on the ability to exercise violence. Furthermore, local noble society appears in sources as a world of constant conflict and rivalry which demanded the continual readiness of its members to assert and confirm their position and status. This is how the social tolerance of violence can be explained, as well as claims to legitimacy and justice lying behind the uses of violence. Though tolerated, noble violence was limited. This is clearly suggested by the comparatively small number of murdered noblemen as well as murders committed by nobles during the fifteenth century.